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5th Departure

[Ganjin and his party, though avoiding shipwreck this time, are carried by currents far into the southern regions of the Chinese sea to present-day Hainandao Island. They journey back overland through South-China to Yangzhou.]

[Four years later] in the spring of the seventh year of the era Tianbao (748) Yōei and Fushō went from the city of Tongan 同安 to the Chongfusi temple 崇福寺 in Yangzhou, the place where Ganjin lived. The Great Master and the two monks again used some skillful means. They had a boat built and bought incense and medicine. They prepared many things just as they had [five years before] in the second year of Tianbao. The group consisted of Xiangyan, Shenzang 神倉, Guangyan 光演, Dunwu 頓悟, Daozu 道祖, Rugao 如高, Deqing 德清, Riwu 日悟, Yōei, Fushō and Situo, altogether fourteen clerics and laymen. They hired eighteen seamen. There were also thirty-five others who wanted to come along with them. On the seventeenth of the sixth month they left the Chongfusi and went to Yangzhou's [port on the Grand Canal] Xinhe 新河. They went aboard, [and travelled eastward until] they came to Langshan 狼山 on the border to Chang Prefecture 常州. There the wind became fierce and the waves high, and they were swept hither and thither between the three mountains. The next day they got a [favorable] wind <DBZ 553, p. 26b> and reached Sandashan Island 三塔山島¹ on the border to Yue Prefecture 越州. There they stayed one month.

¹ A picture of Sandashan (the English caption reads “Tripoint Island”) can be found in Andō (1950), pl.26.

[Then] they got good winds, departed and came to Shufengshan 暑風山, where [again] they stayed for a month.

In the morning of the sixteenth day of the tenth month the Great Master said: “Last night in my dream I saw three officials. One was clad in scarlet the two others were clad in green. On top of a cliff they bade [me] farewell. I know these were the gods of this country wishing me goodbye. Certainly this time we will succeed in crossing the sea.” After a short while the wind rose and they departed, orienting themselves by the mountains along the coast.² In the Southeast they saw a mountain, but at noon it was gone and they realized that it was a mirage. They drifted farther and farther away from the coast [into the open sea]. The wind became fierce and the waves rose high. The water was dark like ink. Mounting the splashing breakers was like going up a high mountain. Descending the furious surge again was like entering a deep valley. All the men [moved] as if they were completely drunk, but [kept] praying to [the Bodhisattva] Avalokiteśvara. The boatswain said: “The ship is about to sink! Why should we worry about [our freight now]?” [And they were going to] pull the bamboo-chained baskets with the incense out and throw them overboard. Suddenly a voice was in the air saying: “Don’t throw! Don’t throw!” They stopped. [Later] in the middle of the night a seaman said: “Don’t be afraid. There are four spirit kings in armor holding staffs. <T.2089, p. 990c> Two are at the prow and the other two are at the mast and the stern.” When the others heard this, they calmed down a little.

[Thereafter] for three days they were passing through a “snake-sea”. The longer snakes there measured three meters, the shorter ones more than 1.5 meters. The color [of their skin] was all mottled and the sea was full of them.

[After this] they passed through a “flying-fish-sea” for three days, where the air was filled with white flying fish about thirty centimeters long.

² 少時風起指 [other editions have 順 or 須] 頂岸山發. I suggest reading 順 for 指. Takakusu reads 頂岸山 as place-name, which he identifies as today’s Dongtingdao 東汀島 Island.

One day [later] they passed through a “flying-bird-sea”, where there were birds as large as men. They gathered on the boat, making it heavy almost to the point of sinking. When the men used their hands to push them away, the birds struck at them.

After that for two days nothing happened. There were only the fierce winds and high waves. The monks lay ill; only Fushō prepared everyday a small amount of uncooked rice and offered it to the other monks for lunch at the allowed hour [before noon]. There was no water on the boat. Chewing the rice with their dry throats, they could neither swallow it nor spit it out again. Drinking seawater their bellies swelled. [Thinking of] the hardships of a lifetime, when had it been worse than this?

Suddenly there appeared four golden fish in the sea. Each was about three meters long. They swam around the ship. On the next morning the wind ceased and they saw a mountain.

All people [on board] were craving water and ready to embrace death, when suddenly Yōei's face brightened and he said, “In my dream I met an official, who asked me to administer the precepts to him and [the ritual of] repentance. [That done] I said, ‘This poor follower of the way is really craving some water.’ Then this official took some water and gave it to me, it was of a milky color. When I drank it, it tasted wonderful and my mind became pure and refreshed. I then said to the official, ‘On a boat there are more than thirty men who have not had water for many days. Great indeed is their hunger and thirst. I ask the patron to quickly bring [them some] water.’ Thereupon the official called forth the old man who controls the rain and said to him: ‘You are a person of great ability. Quickly! Bring [them] some water.’ The dream was like this! Surely now the water is going to come. We should quickly fetch our bowls and wait.”

When the people on board heard this, they were all delighted. <DBZ 553, p. 26c>
The next day at around two o'clock in the afternoon, clouds built up in the sky in

the southwest [and soon] the deck was soaked with rain. Everybody held his bowl and drank what he caught. On the next day again there was rain and everybody got his fill.

The next morning they approached a shore. Four white fish appeared to guide the ship. On arrival, the seamen moored the boat, grasped their bowls and vied with each other to get ashore to look for water. After crossing a small hill they found a pond with water, pure and cool and sweet of taste. They scrambled to drink and everybody got his fill. The following day they went again to the pond to drink, but where a pond had been the previous day, was now only solid soil, <T.2089, p. 991a> and the pond was nowhere to be found. They were both sad and happy, and they understood that the pond had been caused to appear by the power of a god.

[All] this was in winter, in the eleventh month [c. December], but the trees were in full bloom and [some] were bearing fruit and the bamboo was sprouting, it was just like in summer. After spending [another] fourteen days on sea they finally arrived at a shore. They dispatched a few men to look for a place to moor the boat. [They met] four travelling merchants, who showed them the way and left. These four said, “It is because of the Great Master’s [good] karma, that you have met us. In this place, there are cannibals. You should leave immediately!”

After that [the seamen] pulled the boat into a small natural harbor. In the evening there came a man with long, unkempt hair, carrying a knife. All were very scared. They gave him some food and he went away.

They left [the same] night and three days passed [on the sea]. Finally they anchored in the delta of a river in Zhen Prefecture 振州³. The four merchants had reported [their encounter with Ganjin’s group] in the capital of the prefecture. [Because of their account] the Administrative Aide (*biejia* 別駕) [of Zhen Prefecture] Feng Chongzhai 馮崇債 dispatched more than four hundred soldiers

³ At the southern tip of the present-day Hainandao Island 海南島.

to welcome [Ganjin]. They escorted him to the prefectural seat. The Administrative Aide came to welcome them and said, “Your disciple [i.e. Feng himself] knew in advance of the Great Master’s coming. Yesterday night I had a dream in which a monk with the name of Fengtian 豐田 was my uncle. Does there happen to be anyone with the name of Fengtian in your party?” When the monks said there was not, he said, “ Now, though there might be no one with the name Fengtian among you, I will take the Great Master as uncle.” Then he welcomed them inside, offering a vegetarian meal. After that he prepared a meeting in the largest hall and took the [Bodhisattva-] precepts. He then lodged them in the prefecture’s Dayunsi temple 大雲寺. The temple’s main hall had collapsed, [so] the monks gave away their robes and personal effects to rebuild it. After living there for one year, the work was done. The Administrative Aide Feng Chongzhai personally prepared more than eight hundred soldiers in armor to escort them on a forty-day journey to Wanan Prefecture 萬安州.

[There] the Great Staff Supervisor⁴ Feng Ruofang asked them to stay in his house, where he accommodated them for three days. For quite some time Ruofang had captured two or three Persian ships each year, seized and sold their goods, and enslaved the people on board. In an area that took three days to cross from north to south and five days from east to west, in this area, village after village was filled with the slaves of Ruofang. When Ruofang entertained guests he often used frankincense as candles. Once he burnt up over one hundred pounds. Behind his house aromatic woods piled up mountain-high, as if fallen from the sky. This could be said of his other valuables as well.

<DBZ 553, p. 27a> They reached the border of An Prefecture 岸州 without [encountering] bandits and the Administrative Aide [and his men] returned [to Zhen Prefecture]. Yōei and Fushō, who went to An Prefecture by ship, arrived there [too] after more than forty days.

⁴ Notwithstanding the insertion of ‘great’, this was a minor rank (as was the rank of their host Feng Chongzhai). Probably the two Fengs were related.

The Chief Military Commissioner⁵ patrolling the prefectures [on Hainandao] Zhang Yun 張雲 came out to welcome them. He led them in and had them stay at the Kaiyuansi temple 開元寺. [Some] officials came to see [Ganjin] and inquired [politely] after his situation. They held a vegetarian feast and their offerings filled a whole room.

At this place there are many [foods] of rare and remarkable taste. For example, black cardamom⁶, coconut, lichee, dragon-eye fruit⁷, sugarcane, mandarin, and pineapple as big as alms-bowls and sweet as honey. <T.2089, p. 991b> The flowers are in the colors of the seven treasures. The aromatic *dantang* 膽唐 tree⁸ grows thickly into a forest. On windy [days] one could smell the scent for five *li*. There are also *poluona* trees 波羅捺樹⁹, their fruits big as gourd melon. These trees resemble the Chinese quince¹⁰, [and its seeds] peppercorn¹¹. Their leaves are like those of the bulrush and the flavor of its roots is similar to dried persimmon.

The [people there] till their fields in the tenth month and bring in the harvest in the first month [of the following year]. They hatch silkworms eight times a year and harvest rice twice. The men wear rattan hats and the women clothes of coarse

⁵ 'Chief Military Commissioner patrolling the prefectures' *zhou you yi dashi* 州遊奕大使 is not listed in Hucker (1995). My rendition is based on the description in the *Hanyu dacidian*, vol.10, p. 1051b.

⁶ *Amomum amarum*. Read No. 640.

⁷ *Nephelium Longana*, Camb.. Read No. 302.

⁸ Perhaps the same as *danba xiang* 膽八香, the Black Dammar, *Canarium strictum*, Roxb. (Read No. 339).

⁹ Probably *poluomi* 波羅密, jackfruit trees. *Artocarpus integrifolia* (or *heterophyllus*), Forst. Read No. 596.

¹⁰ The Chinese Quince (*mingzha* 檳楂, jp. *karin*, *Cydonia sinensis*, Thouin. Read No. 425/426) is taller and bears larger fruit than its European and Japanese relatives. It is a deciduous tree, that resembles the papaya in growth. Its fruits are astringent though edible after cooking as with all *cydoniae*.

¹¹ *Piper Longum*, Linn.

silk. They color [their] feet¹², and file [their] teeth¹³. They tattoo their faces and drink through the nose.¹⁴ In this they differ [from other people].

From the Chief Military Commissioner down to [some] female clerks¹⁵ [the officials] lined up to present offerings to the assembled monks. The Chief Military Commissioner served the food with his own hands. He presented fresh vegetables [cooked?] in fig tree leaves and also offered the figs itself to the assembled monks. Then he said:

“Does the Great Master know [this]? This is a fig. This tree bears fruit [but has no]¹⁶ blossoms. That your disciple managed to meet the Great Master is like a fig tree blossoming, hard to come by indeed.”

¹² The meaning of *diaoti* 彫蹄 is unclear. Most likely *ti* refers to the feet of the indigenous people themselves, who, like the ‘barbarians’ in the European tradition, were considered to be something close to animals. Takakusu has ‘gravent les ongles des orteils’, but can one really engrave toenails?

¹³ This is a well-documented custom in South-East Asia, preserved in some societies to the present day.

¹⁴ Both tattooing and the custom of drinking through the nose was still practised in that area four centuries later. Cf. Netolitzky, Almuth: *Das Ling-wai Tai-ta von Chou Ch'ü-fei – Eine Landeskunde Südchinas aus dem 12. Jahrhundert*. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1977, p. 192. Netolitzky's excellent translation is a treasure-grove of information about Southern China in the 12th century.

¹⁵ *Dianzheng* 典正. Hucker (1995, No.6521) has, “Manager of Palace Surveillance, two palace women, Rank 7a”. Here *dianzheng* is probably used to politely denote one or more unranked women associated with some government office.

¹⁶ 此樹有子華, literally “This tree has fruit and blossoms”. The text (seemingly in all editions) omits a *wu* 無 before the 華. There are two reasons to suspect a lacuna here. First, the simile in the following sentence would make no sense otherwise, and second, the textual tradition concerning the fig is unanimously in favor of “fruits but no blossom” (cf. Andō (1960), p. 219). For *Ficus glomerata*, Roxb. Skr. *uḍumbara* see BSJ, p. 18. It is said to blossom only once every three thousand years or, according to another version, when a Buddha or a *cakravartin* appears on earth.

The leaves [of the fig tree] are red and round, about thirty centimeters in diameter. The color of its fruit is dark purple. Its fragrance and taste are sweet and delicious.

There had been a fire in [the capital of] that prefecture, and the [local] temple had been completely destroyed. They asked the Chief Military Commissioner to build a temple. When the Administrative Aide from Zhen Prefecture heard that the Great Master was building [another] temple, he sent a number of slaves and made them bring one piece of lumber each. In only three days [all the material] was brought together. Soon they had built a main hall, a lecture hall and a clay stūpa. From the remaining lumber they made a statue of Shakyamuni Buddha about four meters tall¹⁷.

[When the work was finished, the Great Master] ascended the dais, administered the precepts, lectured on the Vinaya and converted some people. After this, he bade farewell to the Chief Military Commissioner and left [An Prefecture]. The District Magistrate of Chengyu [District] 澄邁 was ordered to see them off as they boarded the ship.¹⁸

After a voyage of three days and three nights they arrived [on the mainland in the coastal] Lei Prefecture 雷州 [from where they went on through] Luo Prefecture 羅州, Bian Prefecture 辦州, Xiang Prefecture 象州, Bai Prefecture 白州, Yong Prefecture 儋州, Teng Prefecture 藤州, Wu Prefecture 梧州, and Jia Prefecture 佳州. [Wherever they went,] officials, monks and elders welcomed [Ganjin] on his arrival and saw him off when he left, paying their respects, making offerings and performing various services. These deeds were too many to be recorded [here] in detail.

¹⁷ *Zhangliufo* 丈六佛 is a general term for a larger-than-life sized Buddha statue. Its real height could therefore have been different.

¹⁸ 看送上船. Takakusu has: “pour accompagner le Maître à bord du navire (à destination du continent).”

Feng Gupu 馮古璞, Duke of Shangdang 上黨, the Commander-in-Chief of Shi'an 始安 [the prefectural capital of Jia Prefecture] and others came out of the city walls on foot, and paid homage to the master by making a kowtow and touching his feet. [Then] they led him into the Kaiyuansi temple 開元寺. When they first opened the Buddha Hall the city was filled with the scent of incense. The local monks hoisted banners, burnt incense, chanted sutras and gathered in the temple like clouds. Officials and common people filled the streets and alleys, paying homage to and praising [Ganjin] day and night without end. Commander-in-Chief Feng came, serving food with his own hands and offering food to the assembled monks. He asked the Great Master to administer the Bodhisattva-precepts to him. <DBZ 553, p. 27b> The seventy-four officials under his command and the scholars taking part in the official examinations gathered in the [capital of the] prefecture and followed the [example of the] Commander-in-Chief. The people who took the Bodhisattva precepts [on that day] were countless.

The Great Master stayed [in Shi'an] for a year. At that time Lu Huan 盧煥, Commander-in-Chief [of the Superior Area Command of] Nanhai 南海, the Imperial Military Investigation Commissioner for the five Garrisons, acting Vice Censor-in-Chief¹⁹ and Governor of Guang Prefecture 廣州, issued a message to the various prefectures to welcome the Great Master <T.2089, p. 991c> and bring him to [the headquarters of] Guang Commandery 廣府 [in today's Guangzhou]. At that time Commissioner-in-Chief Feng came to see the Great Master off personally; he helped him aboard a ship and said, "I and the Great Master will finally meet again in Maitreya's heavenly abode." With bitter tears they parted from each other.

They went down the Gui 桂 River for seven days until they arrived in Wuzhou. From there they went to Duanzhou's 端州 Longxingsi temple 龍興寺. There, all of

¹⁹ 攝御史中丞. Hucker (1995, No. 8174) remarks: "In T'ang the title was commonly borne concurrently (tai) by such regional dignitaries as Surveillance Commissioners (kuan-ch'a shih), who gained prestige from it." In this case, it seems, the prefix *she* 攝 was used instead of *dai* 帶.

a sudden, Yōei died. The Great Master was deeply grieved. They held the funeral service and left.

The Governor of Duan Prefecture welcomed them and escorted the group to Guangzhou. There the Commissioner-in-Chief Lu led several clerics and lay-people out of the city-walls to pay homage and wait on the group in countless ways. He had them enter the Dayunsi temple 大雲寺 and offered the four things²⁰. He ascended the dais and took the [Bodhisattva-] precepts.

In this temple there were two myrobalan trees²¹ with fruit similar to large dates.

Again, in the Kaiyuansi temple 開元寺 there was a foreigner from the western regions, who had carved an image of the *Huayen-sūtra's* nine congregations in white sandalwood. With sixty artisans working under him he had finished [the work] in thirty years. The material used was worth 300,000 strings of cash. When [the man] wanted to take it to India, the Investigation Commissioner Liu Julin 劉巨鱗²² sent a memorandum [to the capital, and] it was ordered that [the image] should stay in the Kaiyuansi to receive offerings. [Adorned with] the seven jewels its splendor was incredible.

Again, there were three Indian monasteries²³ where Indian monks lived. In the ponds [of these monasteries] grew a blue lotus, of which the blossom, leaf, root and stalk each had its own fragrance. On the river there were boats of Indian, Persian and Malay [origin] in countless numbers. Each carried a load of aromatic herbs [i.e. spices] and precious treasures. [All these goods] were piled up like

²⁰ *Sishi* 四事. Food, clothes, furniture and medicine.

²¹ *Helile* 呵梨勒. Skr. *haritakī*. Probably *Phyllanthus emblica*. The yellow myrobalan. One of the five 'medicinal trees' the fruits of which monks were allowed to eat any time. The myrobalan fruit is one of the insignia of the Medical Buddha in the Tibetan tradition.

²² Mentioned before. DBZ 25a.

²³ 婆羅門寺. The term *boluomen* 'Brahmin' was commonly used to denote Indian things and people. During the Tang Guangzhou was one of the most cosmopolitan cities on earth, it had a sizable population of foreigners from Asia and the Middle East.

mountains. [Some] ships had a draught of six or seven feet. There was a coming and going of white and red barbarians from [places like] Sri Lanka, Arabia or Nha-trang [in Indochina] and [people from] many different races were living [in the city]. The city was enclosed by three walls. The Governor General²⁴ commanded six banners (*dao* 纛), one for each army²⁵. His dignity was similar to that of the Son of Heaven. The city was filled with [officials of the highest ranks wearing] violet and purple. The city was crammed with houses standing wall to wall.

The Great Master stayed there for one spring and then set out for Zhaozhou 韶州. A great many people accompanied them a long way. [After] going up [the Beijiang 北江] stream [which links Guangzhou and Zhaozhou] for more than seven hundred *li*, they arrived at the Chanjusi temple 禪居寺 in Zhaozhou, where they stayed for three days. [Then,] [some] officials of Zhaozhou welcomed them and led him to the Faquansi temple 法泉寺, the temple that was built by [empress Wu] Zetian for the Zen master Huineng [638-713]. An image²⁶ of the master was

²⁴ *Dudu* 都督. Here, I follow des Rotours' (as cited in Hucker, No.7311) rendering: '*gouverneur general*'. Hucker has 'Supervisor-in-Chief'.

²⁵ *Jun* 軍. 'Army' is not used here in the usual sense as the largest military unit of a country (Tang China had altogether only twelve armies). It means rather that the troops under his command were divided in six units.

²⁶ This image can only be the famous 'true-body-image' *zhenshenxiang* 真身像 i.e. Huineng's lacquered whole-body relic. Huineng's mummification set an example followed by many Zen-masters in later centuries. The mummy was an important object of worship and can still be seen at the Nanhua monastery in Caoqi. Its existence has probably influenced the historiography of the Zen lineages and certainly inspired thousands of believers. A whole body of folklore has built around the 'true-body'. Even Ricci visited it in 1589. One of the many anecdotes surrounding the image one took place only a few years before Ganjin's visit. At that time, in A.D. 723, a 'guest from Silla' tried to steal the head of the statue to take it back to Korea (*Song gaosengzhuan*, T. 2061, p.755b). Though the theft fails according to the Chinese sources, in the Korean tradition it was successful and a relic of this name and its mausoleum can be still be found at the Sanggye-sa on the Chirisan Mountain. On this and more see Faure, Bernard: "Relics and Flesh Bodies: The Creation of Ch'an Pilgrimage Sites." In: Naquin, Susan and Yü Chün-fang: *Pilgrims and Sacred Sites in China*. University of California Press, 1992. [Reprint Taipei: SMC Publishing,

still to be seen at this time. Then they moved into the Kaiyuansi temple 開元寺. After that Master Fushō bade farewell to the Great Master to go north to Mingzhou's Aśoka temple. This was in the ninth year of the era Tianbao (750). The Great Master took Master Fushō's hand and said with bitter tears, "In order to transmit the Vinaya we have made a vow to cross the sea. In the end we have not reached Japan leaving our deepest desire unfulfilled. Therefore, parting with you now I feel indescribable grief."

[Around] that time the Great Master's eyesight dimmed, due to his travelling in hot climates for so long. <DBZ 553, p. 27c> There was a foreigner from the western regions who said that he could cure [Ganjin's] eyes. He applied the treatment and [Ganjin] lost his eyesight [completely].

After that they visited Lingjiusi temple 靈鷲寺 and Guangguosi temple 廣果寺, where he ascended the platform and administered the precepts. They came to Zhenchang District 貞昌縣, crossed the Dasouling 大廩嶺 mountain range and came to Qianzhou's 虔州 Kaiyuansi temple 開元寺. <T.2089, p. 992a> The Vice Director [of the Department of State Affairs 上書省] Zhong Shaojing 鐘紹京, who had been banished to this place, asked the Great Master to stay at his house, erected an ordination-platform and received the Bodhisattva-precepts. Following that, they went to Jizhou 吉州 Prefecture [by boat]. [One morning] the monk Xiangyan sat upright on deck. He asked Master Situo, "Has the Master awakened yet?" When Situo answered, "No, not yet.", Yan said, "I will die now." Situo sought out the Master. The Great Master burned incense and brought an arm-rest. He made Yan sit facing west, supported by the arm-rest, and recite the name of Amida Buddha. Yan recited the name once then, sitting upright, he fell silent and spoke no more. The Great Master called "Yan, Yan", and was immeasurably grieved.

1994.] For an overview of mummification in Chinese Buddhism see Ritzinger and Bingenheimer (2006), for a comparative study of Christian and Buddhist mummification see Bingenheimer (2006). The veneration of whole-body relics is alive and well in Taiwan for this see Gildow and Bingenheimer (2002).

At that time the clerics and lay-people of the various prefectures learned that the Great Master was returning through the north of Lingnan. From everywhere they gathered, often more than three hundred people a day. There was a dense gathering of people and things, and the offerings [brought by the people] glittered brightly. From there they proceeded to Jiangzhou 江州 where they reached the Tonglinsi temple 東林寺 on Lushan 廬山 mountain. This was the abode of Master Huiyuan 慧遠 [334-416], who lived during the Jin Dynasty [265-420]. When Master [Hui]yuan erected an ordination platform there and administered the precepts, a sweet dew fell from heaven and the platform was therefore named the “Sweet-dew-ordination-platform”. It is still there today. Recently, in the ninth year of the era Tianbao (750), when the Vinaya Master Zhien 志恩 administered the precepts on this platform, Heaven was moved again [by this] and rained sweet dew. Clerics and lay-people praised [Zhien] as being equal to Huiyuan of the Jin Dynasty.

After the Great Master had stayed in this area for three days, they went on to Xunyang’s 潯陽 Longquansi temple 龍泉寺. Long ago Master [Hui]yuan had [intended to] build a temple [there]. [Because] there was no water he made a vow saying, “If this is a suitable place to settle down, may there appear a spring.” He stuck his staff²⁷ in the earth. Two blue dragons perched on his staff and water shot forth [from the earth]. Today still, the spring water there bubbles one meter high. This is why [the place] is called Longquansi [Dragon-spring temple].²⁸

²⁷ *Xizhang* 錫杖, skr. *kakkhara*, ‘(walking) staff’, lit.: ‘tin staff’. One of the ‘eighteen things’ a monk owns. It was used by the wandering monk to fend off unwelcome encounters. With a staff this could be done without breaking the precept against taking life. Moses aside, in Asia Major too, the motive of finding springs by hitting the ground with a staff is extremely common. (Kōbō Daishi 弘法大師 seems to have struck the ground with his staff all over Shikoku.) For the *kakkhara* in early Buddhist literature see: Oskar von Hinüber: *Sprachentwicklung und Kulturgeschichte- Ein Beitrag zur materiellen Kultur des buddhistischen Klosterlebens*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner 1992.

²⁸ On this hagiographic motive see Soymié, Michel: “Sources et Sources en Chine.” *Bulletin de la maison Franco-Japonaise* 7, 1 (1961).

From there they went overland to Jiangzhou 江州 city. The Prefect hurried to assemble the monks and nuns of the prefecture, the male and female members of the Taoist clergy, the officials of the prefecture and its districts and [many] lay-people. They welcomed [Ganjin] with fragrant flowers and music and asked him to stay three days [to allow them] to make offerings. [After that] the Prefect personally accompanied [Ganjin and his followers] from the district of Xunyang 潯陽 to the courier station at Jiujiang 九江. [There] the Great Master went aboard a ship and parted with the Prefect. From there they sailed seven days until they arrived in Jiangning District 江寧縣 in Run Prefecture 潤州. [There] they visited Waguansi temple 瓦官寺 and climbed up the ‘Jewel Pavilion’²⁹, which was some sixty meters high. It was built on the order of the emperor Wudi 武帝 [r.502-549] of the Liang 梁 dynasty. Up until today more than three hundred years have passed and [the pavilion-pagoda] had been somewhat damaged and tilted slightly to one side. One night, long ago, a thunderstorm had blown fiercely. The next morning people saw four footprints of spirits at the four corners of the pavilion, one meter long and ten centimeters deep. Today [there are] images of the four spirit-kings that were made and [put in] the four corners of the pavilion [as if] supporting them. The footprints of the spirits can still be seen.

Long ago emperor Wudi deeply believed in the teachings of the Buddha and built many temples. Today, still, there are the Jiangningsi 江寧寺, the Maitreya temple 弥勒寺, the Zhangqingsi 長慶寺, <DBZ 553, p. 28a> the Yanzuosi 延祚寺 and others. Great indeed is their number, splendid their ornamentation and perfect their craftsmanship.

²⁹ *Baoge* 寶閣. In this case rather a tower-like structure, probably a pagoda. It was built during the Southern Song Dynasty (420-479) and its height is given as 240 *chi* (c. 70-80 m). During the Tang it was a popular destination for excursions and it is mentioned in several poems and stories. The pagoda was destroyed during the persecution of Buddhism in 845. Later rebuilt, it was destroyed again during the wars that led to the foundation of the Song Dynasty. At that time, in a tragic incident, several hundred women, who had fled into the tower, died in the flames. (Andō (1960), p. 263).

<T. 2089, p. 992b> When the Great Master's disciple Lingyou learned that the Great Master was coming, he came a long way from Qixiasi temple 栖霞寺 to welcome him. Upon seeing the Great Master he prostrated himself on the ground and touched the feet of the Great Master. His body trembling, he said in tears, "When our Great Master went eastward over the sea, I said to myself that I would never be allowed to see him again. Now, that today I may again pay homage to him it is really like a blind turtle opening its eyes to see the sun³⁰, the lamp of the Vinaya precepts is shining again and the dark ways are lightened up."

Thereupon [Lingyou] led [Ganjin] back to the Qixiasi [on Sheshan 攝山 Mountain] where [Ganjin] stayed three days. Then they went down Sheshan to return to Yangzhou. They crossed the river to the side [where] the Xinhe 新河 River [flows into the Yangzi]. After that they entered the Jijisi temple 既濟寺³¹ in Yangziting 楊子亭³². [Soon] the streets [of that town] were filled with the Buddhist clergy and lay-people of Yangzhou, and on the river the boats that came to welcome [Ganjin] stood stern to prow. [Ganjin and his followers] entered the city [of Yangzhou] and took residence as before in the Longxingsi temple 龍興寺.

Traveling from Nanzhen Prefecture 南振州 to Yang Commandery 楊府 the Great Master raised ordination platforms and administered the precepts. His journey was not in vain! Now again, he incessantly lectured on the Vinaya and

³⁰ Should we sense a bit of malice here? Ganjin had gone blind since Lingyou had last seen him, and the use of the words 'blind turtle' might be interpreted as Lingyou ironically saying, "I told you so". According to Chen Yuan, the reknown scholar of Buddhism, this is indeed the case. For Chen, however, Lingyou's metaphor is unthinkable under these circumstances and he therefore suggests that Ganjin went blind later, after having arrived in Japan. (See: Huang Xianian 黄夏年 (Ed.): *Chen Yuan ji* 陳垣集 [Collected works of Chen Yuan (1880-1971)]. Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue 中国社会科学, 1995, p. 246.) I don't think it is necessary to assume a mistake in the text, and rather tend to believe that Lingyou, who seemed to have had a very close relationship with Ganjin, made an ironic remark, which somehow found its way into the transmission.

³¹ See above. This is the temple where they prepared the dried food for their first attempt to leave China.

³² Identified by Takakusu (1929), p. 470, as the small town Yizheng 儀徵 near Yangzhou city.

administered the precepts in the Longxing[si], the Chongfu[si] 崇福, the Daming[si] 大明, the Yanguang[si] 延光 and other temples.

Long ago the Vinaya Master Daoan 道岸 (653-717) from Guang Prefecture 光州 was highly influential and outstanding. He had administered the precepts in over four hundred prefectures. After Daoan died, his disciple the Vinaya Master Yiwei 義威³³ from Hangzhou 杭州 whose fame spread in all four directions and whose virtue flowed in the eight regions, was considered the eminent ordination master. When Master Yiwei died in the twenty-first year of the era Kaiyuan 開元 (733), the Great Master was forty-six years old. South of the Huai[he] 淮河 River and all along the Yangzi³⁴, only the Great Master, supreme and incomparable, upheld the pure Vinaya [tradition]. Clerics and lay-people alike took refuge with him and paid homage to him as 'Great Teacher administering the precepts'. Forty times he lectured on the complete Vinaya with commentaries³⁵, seventy times he lectured on [Daoxuan's *Sifen*] *lü* [xingshi] *chao* [四分] 律 [行事] 抄³⁶, ten times on [Daoxuan's *Liangchu*] *qingzhong yi* [量処] 輕重儀³⁷ and ten times on [Daoxuan's

³³ Regardless of his reputation in his day, not much is known about Yiwei now. He does not for instance appear in the traditional lineages of the Vinaya School. In the seventeenth century Japanese work *Ritsuen sōbō den* 律苑僧寶傳 (DBZ 480) a short passage on Yiwei says: "The name of the master was Yiwei, he was a student of Master Zhou [-xiu?]. ...He wrote the *Shichao lingshan* 事鈔靈山 in several *juan* and he was one of sixty eminent teachers (家)." Yiwei's work, now lost, was probably a commentary on Daoxuan. The appearance of Yiwei in the *Tōseiden* is somewhat enigmatic, we do not know what kind of connection there is with Ganjin.

³⁴ An area roughly corresponding to today's Jiangsu province.

³⁵ Here without doubt meaning the *Sifenlü* 四分律 Vinaya.

³⁶ With full name 四分律刪繁補闕行事鈔, T.1804. This is Daoxuan's most influential work.

³⁷ T.1895. A treatise on the distribution of the possessions of a deceased monk. Its contents were obviously of importance in Ganjin's time, when the Chinese Sangha had amassed considerable wealth. It probably became necessary to agree on a kind of hereditary law among the monks. The basic rule was that all the less valuable ('lighter' 輕) possessions of a deceased monk were given to his friends and disciples, while all that was valuable, ('heavy' 重) belonged to the Sangha as a whole, in practice, the community in which he died.

Sifenlü] *jiemoshu* [四分律] 羯磨疏³⁸. He practiced the three [branches of] learning [precepts, meditation and wisdom] and he was well versed in the five vehicles³⁹. His outward demeanor was impeccable while in his heart he was striving for the most hidden truths. In between lecturing and administering the precepts, he had temples and *vihāras* built and received clerics from all ten directions as guests. Innumerable Buddha and Bodhisattva images were made [on his orders]. [Moreover,] one thousand robes and two thousand pieces of clerical undergarments were tailored [on his orders] and donated to monks [living] in the Wutaishan Mountains 五台山. He organized a *wuzhedahui* 無遮大會⁴⁰ dharma meeting. [Ganjin] also opened [a hospice for] the poor and sick called “Field of Compassion” and [another place] called “Field of Reverence” for offerings to the three treasures [of Buddha, Dharma and Sangha]. [On his orders,] three copies of the whole Tripiṭaka were made, with eleven thousand *juan*⁴¹ each. Altogether during his career he administered the [Bodhisattva-] precepts to approximately more than forty thousand people.

Those of his disciples that were exceptionally outstanding and became model teachers for their generation were:

³⁸ With full name *Sifenlü shanbusuiji jiemo* 四分律刪補隨機羯磨, T.1808, one of the 'three great commentaries' by Daoxuan which are the basic texts of the Nanshan Vinaya School.

³⁹ Of humans, gods, *pratekyabuddhas*, *śrāvakas* and Bodhisattvas. This Mahāyāna term for organising Buddhist doctrines is still used in Chinese Buddhism today. Shi Yinshun's 釋印順 *Chengfo zhi dao* 成佛之道 (1960, engl. transl. by Wing H. Yeung: *The Way to Buddhahood – Instructions from a Modern Chinese Master*. Boston: Wisdom Books, 1998) strictly follows this term in its exposition of the Dharma and became one of the most influential books in Taiwanese Buddhism.

⁴⁰ On the *wuzhe(da)hui* see the comprehensive study by Max Deeg: “Origins and Development of the Buddhist Pancavārsika. Part 2: China” in: *Nagoya Studies in Indian Culture and Buddhism*. No. 17 (1996).

⁴¹ *Juan* 卷, a scroll, sometimes translated with ‘chapter’ which is not really correct. A chapter is a device with which an author can freely structure his text, while a *juan* is more or less a limitation placed on the writer by the material.

Xiangyan 祥彦 of the Chongfusi temple 崇福寺 in Yangzhou 揚州⁴²
 Daojin 道金 of the Tianxiangsi temple 天鄉寺 in Runzhou 潤州⁴³
 Xuanguang 璿光 of the Anguosi temple 安國寺 in the Western Capital
 [i.e.Chang'an 長安]
 Xiyu 希瑜 of the Qixiasi temple 栖霞寺 in Runzhou 潤州
 Fajin 法進 of the Baidasi temple 白塔寺 in Yangzhou 揚州
 Qianyin 乾印 of the Qixiasi temple 栖霞寺 in Runzhou 潤州
 Shenyong 神邕 of the Xiangguosi temple 相國寺 in Bianzhou 汴州⁴⁴
 <T. 2089, p. 992c> Fazang 法藏 of the Sanmeisi temple 三昧寺 in Runzhou 潤州
 <DBZ 553, p. 28 b> Zhien 志恩 of the Dalinsi temple 大林寺 in Jiangzhou 江州
 Lingyou 靈祐 of the Fuguangsi temple 福光寺 in Luo Prefecture 洛州
 Minglie 明烈 of the Jijisi temple 既濟寺 in Yangzhou 揚州
 Mingzhai 明債 of the Anguosi temple 安國寺 in the western capital [i.e.Chang'an]
 Xuanzhen 璿真 of the Daoshusi temple 道樹寺 in Yuezhou 越州
 Huicong 惠琮 of the Xingyunsi temple 興雲寺 in Yangzhou 揚州
 Fayun 法雲 of the Guoqingsi temple 國清寺 in the Tiantai Mountains 天台山

and others, [all in all] thirty five persons. They were all of outstanding talent and, each in his own place, promoted the Teaching [of the Buddha], and led and converted a great number of people.

6th Departure

[After which Ganjin after further travails finally reaches Japan where he is received with great honors.]

In the twelfth year of Tianbao on the fifteenth day of the tenth month (14th Nov. 753) there arrived at the Yanguangsi temple 延光寺 the Chief-envoy of Japan

⁴² The Taishō text has 揚州, which is a mistake.

⁴³ Here and in the following it is unclear whether *zhou* here means the prefecture or its capital.

⁴⁴ The Taishō text has 沛州, which is a mistake.

Fujiwara no Ason Kiyokawa 藤原朝臣清河, the Vice-envoy Ōtomo no Sukune Komaro 大伴宿禰胡麻呂, of the rank silver-blue, head of the council of dignitaries; Kibi no Ason Ma[ki]bi 吉備朝臣真備 of the same rank, head of the archives; and Abe no Ason Chōkō 安部朝臣朝衡 member of the guard and others.⁴⁵

They told the Great Master, “[We,] your disciples, have for some time known that the Great Master [tried in vain] to cross the sea for Japan five times in order to transmit the teachings. Therefore now, it is our great pleasure to meet [the Master] face to face and pay our reverence. [We,] your disciples, recently put the Great Master’s venerable name on a list together with that of five of your disciples, guardians of the Vinaya. [With that] we petitioned the emperor to let the precepts be transmitted to Japan. The emperor [however,] insisted on ordering some Taoist masters to go [instead]. The King of Japan has never favored the Taoists, but nevertheless has allowed Chun Taoyuan 春桃原⁴⁶ and four others to stay [in China] and study the Taoist doctrines. Therefore too, the Great Master’s name had to be withdrawn. We now beseech the Great Master himself to devise some ‘skilful means’. [We,] your disciples, have four ships filled with presents [given in exchange for the tribute Japan offered] at our disposition. All

⁴⁵ Kibi no Makibi (693-775) and Abe no Nakamaro 阿部仲麿 (701-770) were among the two most successful students that Japan sent to China in the 8th century. Both left Japan in 717 and spent many years in Chang’an where they had access to emperor Xuanzong 玄宗 (r.712-756), who composed a poem on the occasion of Kibi’s return to Japan (for a translation see Bingenheimer (2001), p. 53). Abe even became an influential official. That the text uses Abe’s Chinese name (Zhaoheng 朝衡, an other alias is Zhaoqing 晁卿) might be due to the fact that Genkai was copying from Situo’s *Ganjinden*. Situo would have used Abe’s Chinese name, while Genkai might not have recognized Abe no Chōkō as Abe no Nakamaro, who did not return to Japan.

⁴⁶ Andō (1960), 277, tries to identify this Japanese Taoist, who is mentioned here under a Chinese name. If he is correct Chun Taoyuan is Ōkasuga no Kiyomitsu (?) 大春日淨足. According to an entry in the *Nihon Isshi* 日本逸史 (5th month Enryaku 11 (792)) a certain Ōkasuga of rank 5b went to China, married a Chinese woman with the conspicuously Taoist name Li Ziran 李自然, and returned with her.

preparations have been made. To leave would not be difficult.” In the end the Great Master agreed to [their] plan.

At that time everybody in Yangzhou, clerics and lay-people, said, “The Great Master now wants to go to Japan.” Therefore Longxingsi temple was under strict surveillance and no one could leave or enter [without being watched]. Then the Meditation Master Rengan 仁幹 came from Wuzhou 務州. He was secretly told that the Great Master wishes to leave. He prepared some boats at the riverbank and waited to meet [Ganjin and his followers]. The Great Master left Longxingsi around eight o’clock in the evening on the twenty-ninth day of the tenth month in the twelfth year of Tianbao (28th Nov. 753). When they arrived at the riverside and were about to go aboard, there came twenty-four weeping novices, who said to the Great Master, “The Great Master goes eastward over the sea, and we might never see him again. Please allow us the final wish to tie our destiny [to yours].” So at the riverside [Ganjin] ordained the twenty-four novices. This done, they boarded the boat and went downstream to [a riverport called] Huangxu[si]pu 黄洳[泗]浦 in Suzhou 蘇州 Prefecture.

The disciples that went along [with Ganjin and the Japanese] were:

Fajin 法進 a monk of the Baidasi temple 白塔寺 in Yangzhou 揚州,

Tanjing 曇靜 a monk of the Zhaogongsi temple 超功寺 in Quanzhou 泉州,

Situo 思託 a monk of the Kaiyuansi temple 開元寺 in Taizhou 台州,

<T.2089, p. 993a> Yijing 義靜 a monk of the Xingyunsi temple 興雲寺 in Yangzhou 揚州,

Fazai 法載 a monk of the Lingyaosi temple 靈耀寺 in Quzhou 衢州,

Facheng 法成 a monk of the Kaiyuansi temple 開元寺 in Douzhou 竇州,

Zhishou 智首 a nun of the Tongshansi temple 通善寺 in Tengzhou 藤州 and two other nuns,

<DBZ 553, p. 28c> Pan Xiantong 潘仙童 a lay-follower from Yangzhou 揚州,

An Rubao 安如寶 from the country of Hu 胡國 [i.e.Parthia]⁴⁷,

⁴⁷ Takakusu annotates “(Sūli ou Sogdiane)”. Though the term *huguo* 胡國 in Tang times can

Junfali 軍法力 from the country of Kunlun 崑崙國⁴⁸,
Shanting 善聽 from the country of Zhanbo 瞻波國,
[and others], twenty-four altogether.

Things taken [to Japan included⁴⁹:]

Three thousand small pieces of relics from the Tathāgata⁵⁰,
One sheet of an embroidered image, [done for the accumulation of] merit,
showing the “universal reunion” 普集變⁵¹,
One sheet of an image of Amitābha Tathāgata,
One statue of the thousand-armed [Avalokiteśvara] carved of white sandalwood,
One sheet of an embroidered image of the thousand-armed [Avalokiteśvara],
One sheet of an image of *Jiushi guanshiyin* 救世觀世音 [Tāra Avalokiteśvara],
[sculptured] images adorned with jewels, of Bhaiṣajyaguru, Amitābha and
Maitreya, one each,

indeed denote the Soghdiana region, in its broader meaning, it could comprise the whole of Central Asia and Iran. (On the various names for this area in Central Asia see Mizutani Shinjō 水谷真成 (Transl. & Annot.): *Daitō seiiki ki* 大唐西域記 [Records of the Western Regions]. Tokyo: Heibonsha 平凡社, 1971, p. 20.) Here, it is likely that Takakusu is following the then popular thesis of Kuwabara Jitsuzō that the surname *An* 安 indicates that a person comes from *Anguo* 安國, i.e. Bukhara, a city in the Soghdiana. According to traditional sources, however, *An* indicates *Anxi* 安息 i.e. Parthia, a country some leagues further west along the silkroad, in present-day Iran. Against this Antonino Forte (“Kuwabara’s Misleading Thesis on Bukhara and the Family Name An 安”. In: *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 116.4 (1996), p. 645-652) argues that Kuwabara’s influential thesis is incorrect and that people named *An* in all likelihood did indeed come from Parthia.

⁴⁸ The Kunlun mountain range is at the southern rim of the Takla-Makan desert. The expression *kunlunguo* however, came to mean the various Buddhist countries of Southeast Asia. Including present-day Malaysia and Indonesia (s. M.1382a).

⁴⁹ As in the earlier list (DBZ 553, p. 25a), the fact that the images are listed before the scriptures, indicates that they were considered more precious than the texts.

⁵⁰ These relics, small pearl-sized pieces of bones, are today still kept in the Tōshōdaiji.

⁵¹ Takakusu (1929), p.49, interprets this to be one of the Mandalas in the collection of *dhārāṇī* (*Tuoluoniji jing* 陀羅尼集經) that he edited (T.901).

A panel [/panels?] with images of the same [three figures],

[Of scriptures there were:]

The *Dafangguangfo huayenjing* 大方廣佛華嚴經⁵² in eighty *juan*, written in golden letters,

The *Dafomingjing* 大佛名經⁵³ in sixteen *juan*,

One copy of the *Dapinjing* 小品經⁵⁴ written in golden letters,

One copy of the *Dajijing* 大集經⁵⁵ written in golden letters,

One copy of a southern edition of the *Niepanjing* 涅槃經⁵⁶ in forty *juan*,

One copy of the *Sifenlü* 四分律⁵⁷ in sixty *juan*,

Five copies of the commentary on the *Sifenlü* 四分律疏 by Master Fali 法勵 (569-635) in ten *juan*⁵⁸,

One copy of a commentary on the same work by Master Guangtong 光統 on one hundred twenty sheets of manuscript⁵⁹,

Two copies of the *Jingzhongji* 鏡中記⁶⁰,

⁵² T.279. The larger *Avataṃsaka sūtra* was translated by Śikṣānanda 實叉難陀 (652-710) between 695 and 699, i.e. it was brand new for Japan.

⁵³ T.441 The “Large Sutra of Buddha names” *Māhābuddhanāma sūtra*.

⁵⁴ T.223 *Mahāprajñāpāramitā sūtra*.

⁵⁵ T.397 *Mahāsaṃnipāta sūtra*.

⁵⁶ T.375 *Mahāparinirvāṇa sūtra*.

⁵⁷ T.1428 The Vinaya of the Indian *Dharmagupta* school translated between 410-412 by *Buddhayaśas* 佛陀耶舍.

⁵⁸ This must be Fali’s *Zhong shu* 中疏 in ten *juan*, one of the ‘Three essential commentaries (*san yao shu* 三要疏)’ of the Chinese Vinaya school.

⁵⁹ “Master Guangtong 光統” alias Huiguang 慧光 (467-537). His *Lüe shu* 略疏 in four *juan*, is another one of the ‘Three essential commentaries’.

⁶⁰ This text has not survived and neither its identity nor its author is known for sure. Takakusu offers an educated guess which I could neither prove nor disprove. He writes: “ Nous ignorons ce qu’est ce *King tchong ki*. Une édition du *Fa-houa hiuan yi ki* 法華玄義記, ou *Fa-houa wen kiu ki* 法華文句記, contient une préface par la çramaṇa Chen-houei 神迴 de King-tchong 鏡中, King-tchong représentant un nom de lieu. C’est peut être son commentaire. Pour Chen-houei, v. le *Siu*

A commentary on the Bodhisattva precepts by Master Zhizhou 智周 (668-723)⁶¹ in five *juan*⁶²,

A commentary on the Bodhisattva precepts by Lingxi shizi 靈溪釋子⁶³ in two *juan*,
The *Zhiguanfamen* 止觀法門, *Xuanyi* 玄義 and *Wenju* 文句⁶⁴ of the Tiantai [-school] each in ten *juan*,

The *Sijiao yi* 四教義⁶⁵ in twelve *juan*,

The *Cidai chanmen* 次第禪門⁶⁶ in eleven *juan*,

The *Xing fahua chanfa* 行法華懺法⁶⁷ in one *juan*,

kao seng tchouan T.2060, k.13.”

⁶¹ Some editions have Zhishou 智首 (566-635) (who is someone else). In Japanese the names sound even more similar than in Chinese (Chishū 智周 vs. Chishu 智首). Takakusu (p. 59) in his translation (though for some reason not in his edition of the Chinese Text in the T. and the DBZ) chooses to use *shou* 首, perhaps because he thought that Zhizhou, who was a scholar of the Faxiang school, was a far less likely author than Zhishou, who was the ordination master of Daoxuan and a patriarch of the Nanshan School. According to M. (p. 3588b), however, the ‘commentary on the Bodhisattva precepts’ is Zhizhou’s work.

⁶² With full name *Fanwang pusa kaiben shu* 梵網菩薩戒本疏. Only chapters two and four of this commentary on the *Fangwangjing* are still extant.

⁶³ The identity of the author is not clear. Chūjō (1990, p. 414) gives the appropriate location of three Chinese rivers with the name Lingxi, but says none of them can be connected to any monk. I would guess, however, that the commentary mentioned above (菩薩戒疏) is identical with the *Pusakai yi shu* 菩薩戒義疏 in two *juan* by Chiyi (538-597). *Lingxi shizi* is not a known alias of Chiyi, though a connection is possible. Chiyi was born in the district Huarong of today’s Hunan province, very near to where one of the three Lingxi flows by. Also, his years on Tiantai were spent in the vicinity of another Lingxi river.

⁶⁴ These three are the basic scriptures (*tiantai san dabu* 天台三大部) of the Tiantai school, written by the founder of the school Chiyi. It is thought that Ganjin introduced them to Japan for the first time.

⁶⁵ T.1929 Another work by Chiyi, the *Daben sijiao yi* 大本四教義 expounds the Tiantai teaching of the four different grades of teachings in the context of the *Vimalakīrti sūtra*.

⁶⁶ Chiyi’s teachings on meditation, recorded by his student Fashen 法慎. Its full name is *Shichan boluomi cidai chanmen* 釋禪波羅蜜次第法門, T. 1916.

⁶⁷ This name does not appear anywhere else. Probably the text is identical with Chiyi’s *Fahua sanwei chan yi* 法華三昧懺儀, T. 1941.

The *Xiao zhiguan* 小止觀⁶⁸ in one *juan*,
 The *Liu miaomen* 六妙門⁶⁹ in one *juan*,
 The *Mingliao lun* 明了論⁷⁰ in one *juan*,
 The *Shizong yiji* 飾宗義記⁷¹ by Master Dingbin 定寶 (d.after 741) in nine *juan*,
 Additional explanations of the [aforementioned work] *Shizong ji* 飾宗記⁷²,
 Two copies of the *Jieshu* 戒疏⁷³ each in one *juan*,
 Two copies of the *Yiji* 義記 by Master [Da]liang [大]亮⁷⁴ of the Guanyinsi temple
 觀音寺,
 The *Hanzhu jieben* 含注戒本⁷⁵ by Master Daoxuan 道宣 (596-667) of the [Zhong-]
 nan [終]南 Mountain, in one *juan* and a commentary thereof,
 Five copies of the *Xingshichao* 行事鈔⁷⁶ in twelve *juan*,
 Two copies of the *Jiemoshu* 羯磨疏⁷⁷,

⁶⁸ A concise meditation primer by Chiyi, the *Xiao zhiguan*, is a shortened version of the *Cidai chanmen* listed above.

⁶⁹ T.1917, also by Chiyi.

⁷⁰ Full name *Lü ershier mingliao lun* 律二十二明了論, T.1461. An outline of the Vinaya of the Indian *Sammītiya* school that was translated by Paramartha in the sixth century. Used extensively by Dingbin for his *Shizong yiji* (s.b.).

⁷¹ *Sifenlü shu shi zongyi ji* 四分律疏飾宗義記. A subcommentary to Fali's *Sifenlü shu*.

⁷² According to a fragment of the *Ganjinden* that is cited in Gyōnen's *Kegon nishushōji gi* 華嚴二種生死義, the author of this 補釈飾宗記, was Lingyou, Ganjin's student who tried using all means to keep his master in China (s.a.) (for the quote see Chūjō (1990), S.417).

⁷³ With full name *Sifen biqiu jieben shu* 四分比丘戒本疏, T.1807. Dingbin's commentary on the *Prātimokṣa*.

⁷⁴ Takakusu (1929), p. 51, suggests that this is Baoliang 寶亮 (443-509) (biography in *Gaoseng zhuan*, T.2059, p. 381b). However, most probably the *Yiji*, which is no longer extant, was written by a student of Manyi called Daliang. (s. Manyi's biography in the *Song gaoseng zhuan* (ch.14)). Gyōnen in his *Sangoku buppō denzu engi* 三国佛法傳通緣起 states that Ganjin, during his days in Chang'an, listened five times to Daliang's lectures on the commentaries of Fali.

⁷⁵ *Sifenlü biqiu hanzhu jieben* 四分律比丘含注戒本, T.1806, by Daoxuan 道宣 (596-667). This is an annotated *Prātimokṣa*, the basic list of rules for monks and nuns.

⁷⁶ *Sifenlü shanfan buque xingshi chao* 四分律刪繁補闕行事鈔, T.1804, by Daoxuan. This is Daoxuan's most important and comprehensive work on the Vinaya.

⁷⁷ *Sifenlü shanbusuiji jiemo* 四分律刪補隨機羯磨, T.1808, by Daoxuan. Dealing with the ritual

A commentary on the *Prātimokṣa* by Master Huaisu 懷素⁷⁸ in four *juan*,
The *Piji* 批記 by Master Dajue 大覺⁷⁹ in fourteen *juan*,
Two copies of [a work called] *Yinxun* 音訓⁸⁰,
Two copies of the *Biqiuni zhuan* 比丘尼傳⁸¹ in four *juan*,
One copies of the *Xiyu ji* 西域記⁸² by Master Xuanzang 玄奘 in twelve *juan*,
The *Guan zhongchuang jietan tujing* 關中創開戒壇圖經⁸³ by Master [Dao-]xuan
[道] 宣 of the Zhongnan Mountains,
Altogether 48 works.

Also [they brought]

a jade ring ,
four hand[-held] flags [adorned with] crystal,
? {two characters missing} of gold,
a pearl ? {one character missing},
a jar of lapis-lazuli from a western country,

administration of precepts and the *uposatha* (rite of repentance). The three works above form the basic commentaries of the Nanshan school, the 'Three great parts of the Vinaya school' (*lüzong sandabu* 律宗三大部).

⁷⁸ The *Tōseiden* seems the only known source where a *Prātimokṣa* commentary by Huaisu (625-698) is mentioned. Huaisu attacked Fali's opinions on the *Sifenlü*. Huaisu was also the founder of the short-lived Dongta school, which competed with the Xiangbu and Nanshan schools for the correct interpretation of the Vinaya.

⁷⁹ With full name *Sifenlü xingshichao pi* 四分律行事鈔批, this sub-commentary to Daoxuan's *Xingshichao* seems to be the only work by Dajue. It is dated 712.

⁸⁰ This work, perhaps on the proper incantation of ritual texts, is lost. Probably it was connected to Huaisu's Dongta school. When some hundred years later the Japanese student-monk Enchin 圓珍 (814-891) returned from China he brought back a work titled *Sifen dongta shu yinxun* 四分東塔疏音訓 [Instructions on sounds in the *Sifenlü* Dongda school's commentary].

⁸¹ T.2063.

⁸² T.2087.

⁸³ T.1892. Under the slightly different title *Guanzhong chuangli jietan tujing* 關中創立戒壇圖經.

grand ? {*one character missing*} three jars filled with seedlings of the Bodhi [-tree]
盛 ? 菩提子三斗,
twenty seedlings of blue Lotus,
eight bowls made of tortoiseshell,
two pairs of leather boots from India,
an original calligraphy by General Wang [Xizhi],
three pieces of calligraphy by Wang's son [Wang Xianzhi]⁸⁴ ,
<DBZ 553, p. 29 a> fifty writings with different scripts from India, Zhuli 朱黎⁸⁵ and
other [places],
? {*eleven characters missing*}

<T. 2089, p. 993b> All [the items on the list], from the crystal-adorned hand-held
flags onwards [to the last item on the list], were [later] presented to the court.
There was also an imitation of the stūpa [they had seen] in the Aśoka temple
made of gold and bronze.

On the twenty-third day (22th Nov. 753⁸⁶) the Chief-envoy [Fujiwara no
Kiyokawa] decided that the Great Master and his entourage were to board the
ship of the Vice-envoy [Ōtomo no Sukune Komaro] and his train. After this the
followers of the Chief-envoy discussed among themselves: "If the [authorities] of
the Guangling Commandery 廣陵郡 [i.e. Yangzhou and environs] learn that the
Great Master is leaving for Japan, they will want to search the ships; if they find

⁸⁴ Wang Xizhi 王羲之 (307-365) and his son Wang Xianzhi 王獻之 (344-388), usually referred to as the two Wangs, are the most famous calligraphers in Chinese art history. The earliest copies of their work stem from the Tang dynasty.

⁸⁵ The text has *zhuhe* 朱和. In a footnote ((1929), p. 52) Takakusu corrects his edition and identifies *Zhuli* with *Zhulina* 珠利那, a kingdom mentioned by Xuanzang. Takakusu was probably referring to *Zhuliye guo* 珠利耶國 (*Coja*) in South India that is described by Xuanzang in ch. 10 of his *Xiyuji* 西域記 (cf. Beal (1884), ii p. 227 and Mizutani (1971), p. 334).

⁸⁶ As we have seen (T.2089, p. 992c) Ganjin left Yangzhou on the 28th Nov. 753. The events recorded in this passage constitute a break in chronology as they happened before Ganjin's departure from Yangzhou.

[Ganjin] our mission is in peril. Also, if [once on sea] we are driven back onto Chinese shores by the winds, we will not escape [their] indignation at our misdemeanor.” Therefore the monks disembarked and stayed ashore.⁸⁷

On the evening of the tenth day in the eleventh month (9th Dec. 753) the Vice-envoy Ōtomo no Komoro secretly invited the Great Master and his followers onto his ship, without letting anybody know. On the thirteenth day Fushō came from the Commandery of Yuyao 餘姚郡 in Yue [Prefecture] 越[州] and boarded the ship of the Vice-envoy Kibi [no Makibi]. On the fifteenth day (14th Dec. 753) the four ships set out together, [however] there was a pheasant flying before the first ship and they stopped and lowered their anchors.⁸⁸ On the sixteenth day they set out [again]. On the twenty-first day the first and the second ship arrived together at the Aernaibodao Islands 阿兒奈波島 [i.e. Okinawa], southwest of Taneshima Island 多禰島⁸⁹. The third ship had [already] arrived there the previous night.

On the sixth day of the twelfth month (4th Jan. 754) wind rose from the south. The first ship hit on a rock [in the water] and could not be moved again. The second ship set out for Tane[shima]. On the seventh day it arrived in Yakushima Island 益救島. On the eighteenth it left Yaku[shima]. On the nineteenth there was heavy wind and rain and they lost their orientation. Around noon they could see mountain peaks from the tops of the waves. On the twentieth around noon the second ship arrived in the port of Akimeya 秋妻屋 in the district of Ata 阿多在 the country of Satsuma 薩摩 [in southwest Kyūshū]. On the twenty-sixth the monk Enkei 延慶⁹⁰ led the Great Master to Dazaifu 太宰府 [the capital of Kyūshū].

[Ganjin's reception at the Nara court]

⁸⁷ That way they could feign non-involvement in the case of a search.

⁸⁸ The pheasant was considered a bad omen.

⁸⁹ Today written 種子島. An island near the southern tip of Kyūshū.

⁹⁰ Enkai appears as Ganjin's translator in the fourth chapter of the *Tōdaiji yōroku* 東大寺要録 (cited in Chūjō (1990), p. 423). Visiting the Great Buddha in the Tōdaiji the monk Rōben asked Ganjin if in China there was such a large image of the Buddha. Enkai translated Ganjin's polite answer: "No".

On the eleventh day⁹¹ in the first month of the sixth year of the era Tempyō Shōhō (c. 7th Feb. 754⁹²) the Vice-envoy Ōtomo no Sukune Komaro [reported to the court] that the Great Master had arrived in Dazaifu on Tsukushi 築志 [i.e. Kyūshū]. The first day of the second month [Ganjin and his followers] arrived at Naniwa [i.e. near today's Osaka].

The Chinese monk Zhongdao 崇道 and others welcomed the Great Master and made offerings [of food]. On the third day they reached Kawachi 河内 County [between Osaka and Nara]. The Grand Councilor (*dainagon* 大納言) of rank 2a, Fujiwara no Ason Nakamaro 藤原朝臣仲麻呂 sent a messenger to welcome them. Also the Vinaya Master Daoxuan 道璿 sent his disciple Shantan 善談 to welcome and pay homage. Also some monks, eminent in their practice, like Shichū 志忠, Kenkei 賢璟, Ryōfuku 靈福, Gyōki 曉貴 and others, altogether more than thirty people came to welcome and greet [Ganjin].

On the fourth day they entered the capital [Nara]. Following imperial orders the prince Yasukabe 安宿 of rank 4a went to welcome [Ganjin] at the Rashōmon 羅城門 Gate and pay homage. He led [Ganjin] to the Tōdaiji [which thenceforth was his] residence. On the fifth day the Chinese Vinaya Master Daoxuan and the

⁹¹ Some editions have the 'thirteenth day', the date Takakusu uses in his translation. As usual I follow his T./DBZ edition.

⁹² From here on the text switches to the Japanese era-names. Though the counting of days was supposed to be parallel in Japanese and Chinese calendars, sometimes minor inconsistencies occurred and the Western dates given might be wrong by a margin of one or two days. (I convert based on Xue Zhongsan 薛仲三 & Ouyang Yi 歐陽頤 (Eds.): *A Sino-Western Calender for two thousand Years 1-2000* – 兩千年中西曆对照表. Hongkong: Commercial Press 商務, 1955 [1961]. If one does not mind that the Western dates at that time were not counted like this anywhere in the world (the conversion to the Gregorian calender started only in 1582) the conversion helps to imagine more easily the time in which the events took place.)

Brahman [i.e. Indian] Sōjō Bodhi[sena] 菩提 [仙那]⁹³ came to welcome [Ganjin] and inquire [about his health].

The Prime Minister, the Minister to the Right, the Grand Councillor <T. 2089, p. 993c> and more than one hundred other officials came to pay homage and talk. <DBZ 553, p. 29b> After that, Kibi no Ason Ma[ki]bi of rank 4a, was sent by imperial order [to Ganjin] to deliver an imperial message⁹⁴.

“Across the blue sea the Great Master came to this country from afar. Utterly in accord with our wishes indeed! Our delight about this is incomparable. More than ten years ago we built this Tōdaiji temple, desiring to set up an ordination platform so that the Vinaya precepts might be transmitted. Since then, day and night, we have kept this wish alive in our heart. Today, many eminent monks have come from afar to transmit the precepts. This deeply agrees with our wishes. From now on we will leave the administration of the precepts and the transmission of the Vinaya entirely to the Great Master.”

⁹³ The Indian monk Bodhisena (703-760) went on a quest to find the abode of Mañjuśrī. He traveled to China by sea in 733, visited the Wutai Mountains, and from there went to Japan where he arrived in 736. He became friends with the preacher Gyōgi. In 749 he was in charge of the Eye-Opening Rite, the consecration ceremony of the Great Buddha at the Tōdaiji. 750 he was made Sōjō, the highest ranking cleric of the realm. It is due to his influence that the Japanese syllables were ordered in the way they are still taught today (A-I-U-E-O), which is similar to the way the sounds are arranged in Sanskrit.

⁹⁴ Probably this message came from the ex-emperor rather than the empress. Though nominally Tennō Shōmu had abdicated the throne in 749.4.14 and installed his daughter as empress Kōken, he stayed in charge of affairs until his death in 756. This form of control from behind the scenes, in an imperial context called Insei reign 院政, has been a characteristic feature of Japanese politics up until our century.

Kibi no Makibi (693-775) had been to China 716-735, where he moved in the highest circles at the imperial court. When he left China the emperor Xuanzong composed a poem for him (translated in Bingenheimer (2001), 53). After his return Kibi became one of the most influential politicians at the Nara court.

Moreover the Sōzū⁹⁵ Ryōben 良辨 was ordered to make a list of virtuous monks to mount the ordination platform, and before the day came to a close an imperial decree conferred the title of “Great Lamp-Transmitting Dharma Master (*dentō-daihōshi* 傳燈大法師)” [on Ganjin].

In the fourth month of the same year an ordination platform was erected in front of the Vairocana Hall [at the Tōdaiji]. First the [retired] emperor [Shōmu 聖武] ascended the platform to receive the Bodhisattva precepts. Then his wife and the crown-princess⁹⁶ also mounted [the platform] and took the precepts.⁹⁷ After that,

⁹⁵ At that time the Sōzū was the second in the official clerical hierarchy that was appointed by the government.

⁹⁶ Who was already nominally empress 孝謙 (r. 749-758) at that time.

⁹⁷ This part of the account is extremely dubious. According to the findings of Fukuyama Toshio 福山敏男 (“Tōshōdaiji no konryū 唐招提寺の建立 [The Founding of the Tōshōdaiji]”. In: *Rekishī chiri* 歴史地理 No.60-4 (Okt.1932)) this ceremony never took place in the form described above. The imperial family probably took the Bodhisattva precepts before Ganjin’s arrival. A passage in a work called *Gyōgi nenpu* 行基年譜 (by Izumi Takanori no Sukune 泉高父宿禰) says:

“On the fourteenth day of the first month of the year 749 (Tempyō) at the Nakashima Palace in the capital the former Tennō [Shōmu], the empress [? his daughter Kōken] and the former empress [? Shōmu’s wife] asked the great Bodhisattva [Gyōgi] to be ordained, they received the Bodhisattva precepts and became his disciples. The former Tennō was given the [Dharma-] name Shōman, the empress the [Dharma-] name Tokuman and the former empress received the [Dharma-] name Mampuku” (天平廿一年正月十四日、於平城中島、奉請大菩薩而太上天皇中宮皇后宮並三所、出家入道受菩薩戒、成大菩薩御弟子也、太上天皇御名勝滿、中宮御名德滿、皇后宮御名萬福。(cited in Fukuyama (1932), p. 346).

It seems that Ganjin’s follower Situo - always eager to please his new Japanese rulers - “transferred” the incident from Gyōgi’s to Ganjin’s biography, from where it found its way into the *Tōseiden* and the *Shokunihongi*. This is all the more likely if one considers that Situo’s first account of Ganjin’s adventures does not mention that the imperial family received the precepts at all. This earlier account, the *Ganjinden*, is lost, but a fragment concerning the ordination has survived in the *Tōdaiji yōroku* 東大寺要録, Ch.4:

“In this year ([754] Tempyō Shōhō 6) at the beginning of the fourth month, there was an imperial order to erect a dais in front of the Roshana Buddha [at the Tōdaiji temple]. There the precepts were granted to the Novice Shōshū and more than 430 others. After that in the imperial chapel [another] ceremony was held [where] Shinei, Gyōsen and 55 others took the Hīnayāna

Shōshū 證修 and more than four hundred and forty other novices were ordained. Also the great monks [who had been ordained before under the] old [ordination rites] Ryōfuku 靈福⁹⁸, Kenkei 賢璟, Shichū 志忠, Zenchō 善頂, Dōen 道縁, Hyōtoku 平徳, Ninki 忍基, Zensha 善謝, Gyōsen 行潛, Gyōnin 行忍 and others, altogether more than eighty monks, cast away their old precepts to follow from there on the precepts of the Great Master.⁹⁹

Later, to the west of the Hall of the Great Buddha, a separate hall was built for the ordination platform. There they moved the earth from the platform where the emperor had received the precepts and [re-] built it.

and Mahāyāna precepts again [i.e. they had been fully ordained before].” 其年(勝寶六年)四月初勅於盧舍那佛前立壇、為沙彌證修等四百三十餘人受戒、後有內道場興行、僧神榮行潛等五十五人重受大小乘戒。(cited in Fukuyama (1932), p. 345).

It is probable that the imperial family has been present at least at the second ceremony, the ordination in the imperial chapel, but there is no word here of them taking the precepts with Ganjin. It appears that Situo has changed the story. While he probably wrote the *Ganjinden* before 779 (the date of the *Tōseiden*) his later biography of the Shōmu Tennō in the *Enryaku sōroku* 延曆僧錄 (written between 782 and 805) tells the story in its “official” version, in which the rulers receive the Bodhisattva precepts during a large ceremony at the Tōdaiji. The role of Genkai, the author of the *Tōseiden*, in the affair is not clear.

Fukuyama’s interesting results have unfortunately been completely neglected. If they are valid, they would make quite a difference for the story of Ganjin’s reception in Japan.

Another reason to doubt that the ceremony happened as described is that *Buan* 豐安 (?-840) in his *Ganjin wajō san jji* 鑑真和上三異事 (DNBZ 554) does mention the ceremony only in one short remark, as if grudgingly consenting to an official version. This, although Buan as Ganjin’s second generation successor and abbot of the Tōshōdaiji, had every reason to make the most out of a tale that connected the founder of his lineage with the imperial house.

⁹⁸ Here Takakusu, in his edition and translation, uses *Ryōyū* 靈祐. Chūjō (1990, p. 288) uses *Ryōfuku* 靈福 a name that appeared some paragraphs earlier. Probably at one point during the transmission of the text *Ryōfuku* 靈福 became confused with the name of Ganjin’s Chinese disciple *Lingyou* 靈祐.

⁹⁹ This reordination of monks previously ordained served to legitimize the Japanese Sangha once and for all. It was the main purpose of Ganjin’s journey.

Beginning in the second year of the era Tianbao (743) the Great Master for the sake of transmitting the Vinaya prepared to cross the sea five times, putting himself at great risk on the high seas. Though driven back by the waves he never rescinded his vow [to go to Japan], and on his sixth attempt was able to reach Japan. Altogether thirty-six people died in these attempts. More than two hundred clerics and lay-people gave up. Only the Great Master, the student-monk Fushō and the Tiantai monk Situo took part in all six attempts. Finally, after more than twelve years their original intention bore fruit and they came [to Japan] to transmit the holy precepts. <T.2089, p. 994a> Thus it can be known how deeply they harbored the karma [that destined them] to help all beings compassionately, and how they defied death many times.

At that time from all four directions there came many to study the precepts and the Vinaya, but because they could not be supported in these numbers, many had to return. The court heard of this and on the twenty-second day of the eleventh month of the first year in the era Tempyō Hōji 天平寶字 (c. 6th Jan. 758) the bestowal of one hundred hectares of paddy fields in Bizen 備前 County was decreed.

With the revenues from these fields the Great Master wished to build a temple. An imperial decree [for that purpose] bestowed a park on Ganjin that used to be part of the old residence of prince Nittabe 新田部親王¹⁰⁰ of the first rank. Fushō and Situo asked Ganjin to [have a] temple built in this place, and [thereby] extend his transmission of the trove of *Sifenlü*-scriptures, [such as] Fali's *Sifenlüshu*, [Dingbin's] *Zhenguo daochang shizong yiji* 鎮國道場飾宗義記¹⁰¹, and Master [Dao]xuan's transcript; and thus to protect the nation by wielding the power of the precepts. The Great Master said: "Very well."

¹⁰⁰ Nittabe (d.735) was the seventh son of the Temmu Tennō (r.673-686).

¹⁰¹ Takakusu renders the title (incorrectly): "Traité sur le dessein de parer la doctrine au tertre sacré pour l'apaisement du pays". 鎮國道場, however, is only the name of the monastery where Dingbin lived. The text appears under the name *Shizong yiji* 飾宗義記 in the above list of the scriptures Ganjin's party brought to Japan.

<DBZ 553, p. 29 c> On the first day of the eighth month in the third year of the era Tempyō Hōji (c. 27th Aug. 759) the Great Master himself chose the name “*Tōritsu shōdaiji* 唐律招提寺” and after this asked the authorities [to inscribe this name] on a tablet [for the temple entrance] and by that confirm [his choice]. On the day [this was granted] Master Zenshun 善俊¹⁰² lectured on the aforementioned texts. The temple then established is today’s Tōshōdaiji.

In the beginning [of the construction progress] the Great Master was invited by Hikami no Mabito 氷上真人¹⁰³, Vice-councillor of rank 3b, at [Hikami’s] house. [Ganjin] furtively tasted the earth and reckoned it was suitable to build a temple there. He said to his disciple Fazhi 法智¹⁰⁴: “This is auspicious ground, suitable for a temple.” Now that a temple has been built there, it can be said, that [these were words of] providence [spoken out of] enlightened insight.

The Great Master [though] born in the age of the Semblance Dharma¹⁰⁵ made himself into a messenger of the Buddha. As the scripture says: “Everywhere the Tathāgata saves human beings. Thou shalt learn from the Tathāgata, broadly advancing the salvation of human beings.” The Great Master followed this splendid example. [During his career] he converted more than 40,000 people. Next to the deeds mentioned above he held numerous lectures.

The Chinese monk Daoxuan said to Situo, a disciple of the Great Master, “In learning there must be a fundament. My students have studied Chinese and I have ordered them to study [Fa]li’s 法勵 [*Sifenlü*]shu [四分律]疏 and [Dingbin’s 定

¹⁰² Zenshun (?-?) was at first a student of Daoxuan; later he studied with Situo. He resided in the Daianji between 757 and 765. That he was given the honor to lecture on the Vinaya on the opening day of the Tōshōdaiji, indicates that he must have been an important figure.

¹⁰³ Hikami (d.765) was the son of Prince Nittabe (see above) and had to surrender his ground for the construction of the Tōshōdaiji.

¹⁰⁴ Fazhi is not mentioned elsewhere. Takakusu writes Hōchi, but since Ganjin spoke to him directly, he might have been Chinese.

¹⁰⁵ *xiangfa* 象法, often translated as “Counterfeit Dharma”. For “Semblance Dharma” see Nattier (1992), p. 89.

寶] *Zhenguo [daochang shizong yiji]* 鎮國[道場飾宗義]記. I hope you would give [them] some instruction.” Situo agreed and taught Ninki and the others several times over a period of four or five years in the Chinese Hall (*tōin* 唐院) at the Daianji temple 大安寺.

In the third year of the era Tempyō Hōji (759), the monk Ninki 忍基 was lecturing on [Fali’s] commentary and [Dingbin’s *Zhenguo daochang shizong yiji*] in the Chinese Hall at the Tōdaiji temple 東大寺. The monk Zenshun 善俊 lectured [on these works] at the Tō[shodai]ji temple 唐[招提]寺. The monk Chūe 忠慧 lectured [on these works] in Ōmi 近江 County. The monk Eshin 慧新 lectured [on these works] at the Stūpa Hall of the Daianji. The monk Jōgi 常巍 lectured [on these works] at the Daianji. And the monk Shinpō 真法 lectured [on these works] at the Kōfukuji temple 興福寺 [in Nara].

From that time on, ritual [and practice] of the Vinaya in Japan became gradually stricter and more ordered and [by establishing] a line of masters [the teaching was spread] throughout the land. <T.2089. p. 994b> Just as the Tathāgata had said:

“If my disciples transmit and practice it [i.e. the teaching], it will be as if the Tathāgata does not die and is there forever.” It is again, “like a lamp that lights a hundred thousand lamps, for all those lost in darkness a light, always bright.”¹⁰⁶

(*Ganjin’s demise*)

In the seventh year of the era [Tempyō] Hōji (763), in spring, the disciple monk Ninki dreamt that the balcony of the lecture hall had collapsed and he awoke startled and in fear. This was a portent foreboding the death of the Great Master. Thus some disciples were ordered to form an image according to the likeness of the Master.

¹⁰⁶ The first quote is from the *Fo chong ban niepan lü shuo jiao jie jing* 佛重般涅槃略說教誡經 (T.389, p. 1112b). The second quote is taken from the *Vimalakīrti nirdeśa sūtra* 維摩經, (T. 475, p. 543b).

On the sixth day of the fifth month in that year (21th June 763) [Ganjin] died sitting in the full Lotus seat facing west. He was seventy-six years old. After his demise the top of his head stayed warm for three days. Therefore he was not buried right away. When he was cremated the scent of incense filled the mountains.¹⁰⁷

Once the Master had said to Situo: “When I die, I hope I shall do so sitting. You should construct an image hall (*eitō* 影堂) next to the ordination platform [for my statue]. The rooms where I used to live should be given as living quarters to the monks.”

The *Qianbijing* 千臂經 sutra says, “If at the time of death one sits upright, like having entered into meditation, it can be known that this person has attained the first level of sainthood.”¹⁰⁸ From this viewpoint, it is [still] hard to judge whether [Ganjin] was a saint or an ordinary human being.

In the eighth year of the same era (764) Japan sent an envoy to different temples in Yangzhou city in China <DBZ 553, p.30a> to bring the unhappy news [of Ganjin’s death to his followers there]. [His followers] all put on mourning cloth and facing the east, held a three-day mourning [rite]. They all gathered at the Longqingsi temple and held a large meagre feast.

¹⁰⁷ Robert Sharf points out that in the *Song gaoseng zhuan* account of Ganjin’s death (T.2061, p.797c), which is based on Situo’s *Ganjin den*, there is evidence that an attempt was made to preserve Ganjin as “flesh body” idol, i.e. as lacquered mummy. According to Sharf’s analysis it is likely that Genkai did not mention the attempt to mummification because something went wrong and the body finally decayed. The modern day dry-lacquer image of Ganjin would in that case be a mere substitute for the failed flesh-body idol. (Sharf, Robert: “The Idolization of Enlightenment: On the Mummification of Ch’an Masters in Medieval China.” *History of Religions* 32:1 (1992), 1-31 (1992).)

¹⁰⁸ 臨終端坐如入禪定。當知此人已入初地。 This is probably a free quote from the 千眼千臂觀世音菩薩陀羅尼神咒經 (T.1057b) sutra where there is one similar passage (p.91b, l.16-17): 臨命終時如入禪定。生生之翳處得宿命智。所有罪障皆悉消滅。 Parallel in T.1057a, p.85a, l.17. Both sutras had been translated in the early seventh century.

[Later] the Longqingsi burned down once and only the Great Master's former living quarters were spared by the fire. This is the lucky result of the virtue [accumulated by following] the precepts.

Composed on the eighth day in the second month of the tenth year of the era Hōki (779).

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