A Biographical Dictionary of the Japanese Student-Monks of the Seventh and Early Eighth Centuries

Their Travels to China and their Role in the Transmission of Buddhism

Marcus Bingenheimer

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herausgegeben von Gregor Paul und Muneto Sonoda

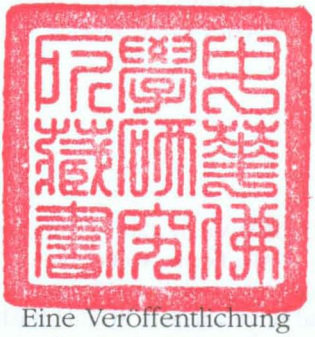

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Abbildung auf der Rückseite des Bandes:

Der chinesische buddhistische Gelehrte Xuan Zang (600–664) bei seiner Rückkehr aus Indien. Gemäß einem Portrait, das 1933 nach einer Song-zeitlichen (960–1279) Darstellung gefertigt wurde.

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To my mother.

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Abbreviations:

DBZ: Dainihon bukkyō zensho 大日本佛教全書
FSR: Fusō ryakki 扶桑略記
GS: Genkō shakusho 元亨釈書
HDCD: Hanyu Dacidian 漢語大辭典
HJAS: Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies
HKD: Honchō kōsō den 本朝高僧傳
JTS: Jiu tang shu 舊唐書
M: Mochizuki bukkyō daijiten 望月佛教大辭典
NBJJ : Nihon bukka jimmei jisho 日本佛家人名辭書
NBJJT: Nihon bukkyō jimmei jiten 日本佛教人名辭典
NG: Nihongi 日本紀
NSD: Nihonshi daijiten 日本史大辭典
SBDE: Sangoku buppō denzū engi 三國佛法傳通緣起
SNG: Shoku nihongi 續日本紀
T: Taishō 大正 (新修大蔵經)
TKD: Tōkoku kōsō den 東國高僧傳
XTS: Xin tang shu 新唐書
ZWJD: Zhongri wenhua jiaoliushi daxi 中日文化交流史大係

Japanese names are spelled in modern Japanese romanization as used in Nelson's *Japanese-English Dictionary*, Chinese names in the Hanyu-pinyin system and Korean names in the standard Korean romanization devised by McCune and Reischauer. I make an exception for *Ganjin* (ch. *Jianzhen*) 鑑真, and use his Japanese name, because he is much more famous in Japan and usually discussed in Japanese sources. For the names of sutras, the Sanskrit, Chinese and Japanese titles are provided in parenthesis at the first mention. After that I choose the less than rigorous approach of using the names that are used most frequently in western literature when discussing Chinese or Japanese Buddhism, e.g. *Lotus sutra* for *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka sūtra,* or *Sifenlü Vinaya* for *Caturvarga vinaya* or *Dharmagupta vinaya*. For the titles of rulers I write 'emperor' for the Chinese emperor (ch. *Huangdi* 皇帝 or *Tianzi* 天子) and 'Tennō'[1] 天皇 for the Japanese emperor, and 'empress' for the female rulers of

[1] I am aware of the fact that the title of 'Tennō' was probably not in use before the end of the seventh century. A wooden strip with the so far earliest indubitable occurrence of the word has recently been discovered (see *Chūnichi Shimbun* 中日新聞, March 7th 1998).

both Japan and China.[2]

Dates are given in the Gregorian calendar year followed by the lunar month. E.g. '608.9' means AD 608, but: the ninth *lunar* month of the sixteenth year of empress Suiko's reign with the cyclical signs 辰戊. To get a closer approximation of the real date one has to add two months.

Acknowledgements

There were many people who helped me while I was working on this small dictionary and I am deeply indebted to all of them.
First, I want to thank Dr. Gerd Naundorf who made it possible for me to spend the time writing comfortably in Japan; without his help this story of the Japanese monks who went to China would not have been told. Also without the friendship of Max Deeg, this book would have looked very different. His advice and encouragement was just as precious when I first came to Japan, as it is now in my advanced troubles in Buddhist Studies. The information he gave me on life in Japan in general and books on Buddhism in particular saved me many hours (and so did the washing-machine – many thanks again).
Susan Tenant's proof-reading helped a lot to straighten out a German's English, for the remaining mistakes and the stylistic awkwardness of course only I alone are to blame.
Also, I want to express my gratitude to the Aichiken provincial government that provided the funding for two years of study. I found Nagoya University a very comfortable place to study, and I want to thank the teachers, the people in the offices and libraries. Especially my supervisor and friend Matsumura Yasuhisa provided some indispensable 'hardware' and 'software' for my research. His friendliness and helpfulness made the good time in Nagoya even better.
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[2] For the period in question this applies only to *Wu Zetian* 武則天 (r.690-705).

Introduction

The early Japanese student-monks (*gakumonsō* 学問僧)[3], the monks who went to Sui and Tang China to study Buddhism, have attracted relatively little attention. This is mostly because the textual evidence concerning their voyages is scarce and their biographies can be reconstructed only very tentatively. Moreover, compared with their successors in the ninth century - famous figures such as *Saichō* 最澄, *Kūkai* 空海[4], *Ennin* 圓仁 and *Enchin* 圓珍 - the monks of the seventh and eighth century had a much less obvious impact on the formation of later Japanese Buddhism. The schools introduced by the early student-monks lost their political influence after the ninth century, and the surviving information on their founders, or rather conveyors, is fragmentary; moreover, none of them left an important text.

Any attempt to outline a picture of their activities has to rely heavily on information preserved in the highly biased sources of official secular and Buddhist historiography such as the *Nihonshoki/Nihongi* 日本(書)紀 (NG), the *Shokunihongi* 續日本紀 (SNG), the *Genkō shakusho* 元亨釈書 (GS) or the *Honchō kōsōden* 本朝高僧伝 (HKD).

In the formation of the Buddhist historiographical narrative the biographies or hagiographies of eminent monks and, to a lesser extent, those of eminent nuns, have played a particularly prominent role. Until the emergence of traditional Buddhist historiography during the eleventh and twelfth centuries[5], these biographies were the principal form of Buddhist historiography[6]. While in China

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[3] A modern term for these monks would be *ryūgakusō* 留学僧, 'monk studying abroad'. In the ninth century there were the terms *shōyakusō* 請益僧 for monks and *shōyakusei* 請益生 for the non-clerical students. Two other terms that are sometimes used to differentiate two kinds of student-monks in the ninth century are *gengakushō* 還学生 (also read *kangakusei*; used for student-monks who were supposed to stay only a few months in China) and *rugakushō* 留学生 (also read *ryūgakusō*; used for student-monks who were allowed to stay several years). Moreover, there are the expressions *nittōsō* 入唐僧 for monks who went to Tang China (618-906) and *nyūsōsō* 入宋僧 for monks who went to Song China (960-1279).

[4] Saichō and Kūkai are considered to be the founders of the Japanese Tendai 天台 and Shingon 真言 schools respectively, schools that became the predominant forces in Buddhism during the Heian Period.

[5] See: Helwig Schmidt-Glintzer: *Die Identität der Buddhistischen Schulen und die Kompilation Buddhistischer Universalgeschichten in China.* Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1982.

[6] On Buddhist biographies in general see: Granoff, Phyllis and Shinohara Koichi: *Monks and Magicians - Religious Biographies in Asia.* Ontario: 1988 [Delhi: Motilal, 1994]; and Kieschnick, John: *The Eminent Monk: Buddhist Ideals in Medieval Chinese Hagiography.* Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1997.

the first collection of biographies was written as early as 514[7], in Japan the earliest comparable work, the *Genkō shakusho*, dates to 1322. In general the Japanese Buddhist biographical tradition is somewhat poorer than its Chinese counterpart in regard to both style and originality. The authors of this comparatively late work had mainly to rely on the information contained in the official histories, especially for the early monks of the seventh and eighth centuries who are the focus of this paper. In working with these texts I tried to bear in mind Albert Welter's comments about them:

> Collections of these [monk] biographies, many of which explicitly profess specific religious points of view, are to be understood then as collections of highly selective and clearly manipulated texts. By comparing all the existing biographies of a given monk the modern scholar can study how the ... Buddhist tradition has appropriated the life of this monk through complex processes in which the meaning of this life was interpreted and reinterpreted from different points of view.[8]

While this paper focuses on the biographies of the Japanese monks who went to China, this is only one part of a much larger picture. The spread of Buddhism throughout Asia in these centuries was mainly achieved by the efforts of peripatetic monks traveling far to search for the Dharma or possible converts. There were monks from India and Central Asia who went to China, Korea and Japan to spread the teaching; Chinese and Korean monks who went to India to find sutras and perhaps a unifying theory that could explain the bewildering differences between schools they encountered at home; and last, but not least, there were Korean[9] and Japanese monks sojourning - often for many years - in China to study Buddhism and Chinese culture.
Though Japanese Buddhist scholarship[10] has drawn a rich and detailed picture

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[7] This is not the famous *Gaosengzhuan* 高僧傳, which is dated 522, but the *Mingsengzhuan* 名僧傳, of which only fragments have survived in a manuscript in the Tōdaiji collection.

[8] Albert Welter: "The contextual study of Chinese Buddhist biographies." In: Granoff, Shinohara (1994, p.261).

[9] For 5th and 6th century student-monks from Paekche to China, see Jonathan Best: "Tales of three Paekche Monks." HJAS 51 (1991). For a list of Silla student-monks to China see Tamura Enchō 田村圓澄: *Nihon bukkyōshi* 日本佛教史 [History of Japanese Buddhism]. Tokyo: Hōzōkan 法藏館, 1983, vol.4, p.242.

[10] From the Chinese side very little has been published on Japanese and Korean Buddhism in general. Buddhist studies in China and Taiwan, suffering from a relative decline in interest in the nineteenth century and suppression in the twentieth century, neglected Japanese Buddhism until the late eighties. Speaking for Taiwan, Lan Jifu writes: "In academic circles in Taiwan, though quite a number of people went to Japan

of the development of Japanese Buddhism, the only study that tries to survey the topic of the student-monks was done by Kimiya Yasuhiko 木宮泰彦 in his comprehensive *Nichika bunka kōryūshi* 日華文化交流史 [History of Cultural Exchanges between Japan and China] (Tokyo, 1955), a work belonging rather to the field of general history than to Buddhist studies. Covering the period between 653 and 883 he offers a list that includes the names of 114 student-monks and 35 students (*gakumonsei* 学問生) who went to Tang China. The list also includes monks who might have gone to Korea and some cases where the identity and origin of the monk cannot be ascertained. Two other helpful lists, provided by Shi Dongzhu and Mori Katsumi, are both based on Kimiya's.[11]
According to Mori Katsumi 森克巳[12], we know the names of twenty-six students (*ryūgakusei* 留学生) and ninety-two student-monks (*gakumonsō*) that went to Tang China. This leads him to suggest that the number of student-monks was three times higher than the number of students. In this however, two other facts should be considered. A great number of the men sent to China for study were craftsmen, artisans, doctors, and artists, and since official historiography was never very interested in these men, almost all their names were lost. On the other hand, the names of student-monks had a much better chance of being preserved because Buddhism in Japan as well as in China was constantly engaged in the historiographical pursuit of creating lineages to legitimize the view of its own sect, thereby preserving and creating a host of sources. The ratio of students and student-monks might therefore be very

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and studied Buddhism there, works in Chinese on Japanese Buddhism came out only recently. This is partly because of a lack of writing skills in the people who went abroad earlier this century and partly because of the influence of the anti-Japanese mood in politics. [...] Zhang Mantao's 張曼涛 "Collection of Modern Works in Buddhist Studies" 現代仏教学術叢刊 in 100 volumes contains only four works on Japanese Buddhism (in vol.84); among these four, one is a translation of a Japanese work, and one is the above mentioned "History of Japanese Buddhism" 日本仏教史 by Shengyan 聖厳. From this it can be seen how Japanese Buddhism has been neglected by Chinese Buddhist circles."
(Lan Jifu 藍吉富, *Fojiao shiliao xue* 仏教史料学 [Resources for the study of Buddhist History]. Taipei: 1997, p.255.)
A notable exception is the work by Shi Dongchu 釋東初: *Zhongri fojiao jiaotongshi* 中日仏教交通史 [History of the Relationship between Chinese and Japanese Buddhism]. Taipei: Dongchu 東初, 1970 [1989].

[11] Shi Dongchu (1989), p.154-162; and Mori Katsumi 森克己: *Kentōshi* 遣唐使 [The Embassies to the Tang]. Tokyo: Shibundō 至文堂 1955, p.140-149. Shi Dongchu lists 89, Mori Katsumi 83 student-monks. For a table that lists all monks who went between Korea, China and Japan between 552 and 711 see Tamura Enchō 田村圓澄: *Nihon bukkyōshi* 日本佛教史 [History of Japanese Buddhism]. Tokyo: Hōzōkan 法蔵館 1983, vol.4, p.146-149.

[12] Mori Katsumi (1955), p.121.

different from that of the names in the sources. In the end, we will probably never know, neither in relative nor in absolute terms, how many students and student-monks went to China.

Though there is still a strong case for the assumption that most of the men who went to China to study were monks, probably none of them, at least during the early stages of transmission, had been properly ordained, at least not according to the principles set down in the *Sifenlü* 四分律 Vinaya, the text on the precepts that during the seventh century became the dominant work on the rules governing the Chinese Sangha. Neither the rites nor a sufficient number of properly ordained monks, were introduced to Japan until the eighth century. Nevertheless, the discussion about what it takes to be a proper monk or nun continues today and the *Sifenlü*-rites themselves have long since been modified. For our purpose, if the texts say 'student-monk' we will consider him a monk, even when, as in the case of *Jōe*, the 'monk' was probably a sobbing, freshly shaven, eleven year old.

One cannot say with any certainty how many student-monks altogether went to China between the seventh and the ninth century. A conservative guess would be that there were at least two or three times as many monks as there are recorded names, totaling 200 to 300 hundred monks. A figure above 300 seems improbable considering the fact that passage to China for Japanese monks was (until the late ninth century) limited to the official embassies to Sui and Tang China, only nineteen of which reached their destination.

In the biographical dictionary section of this study I attempt to present the existing information for 54 Japanese student-monks. These are all the monks known to have gone to China between 607, when the first embassy to the Sui departed, and 732, when *Fushō* 普照 and *Yōei* 榮叡 were sent on an adventurous journey to find competent Vinaya masters in China and invite them to Japan. Their search resulted in the coming of the 'Great Master' *Ganjin*; with whose arrival in Japan the transmission of the Nara schools of Buddhism came to an end. An account of their journey would exceed the scope of this paper, but I plan to retell their story in a different project.

This paper is mainly concerned with the introduction of scholastic Buddhism. There is little evidence connecting the student-monks to the spread of early folk Buddhism (with the possible exception of *Dōshō*). The student-monks of the seventh and early eighth centuries were rather remembered for their influence at court or their role in transmitting certain sutras or schools of scholastic Buddhism.

I use the term scholastic Buddhism to denote the kind of Buddhism that is preoccupied with questions of doctrine rather than practice. By immersing itself in the scriptures and by taking part and continuing the discourse of the scriptures, scholasticism aims at understanding Buddhist doctrine in a rational way

(rational, of course, within the confines of the discourse). Scholastic Buddhism in Japan is embodied by the so-called 'Six Schools of Nara' (*Nara rokushū* 奈良六宗). These were the Jōjitsu 成実 and the Sanron 三論, the Kusha 倶舎 and the Hossō 法相, the Ritsu 律 and the Kegon 華厳 schools. The transmission of these schools to Japan is in various ways connected to the story of the student-monks and I will try to give a overview of this in chapter four[13]. In addition to scholastic Buddhism, one can distinguish Buddhist schools that emphasize meditation (Tendai, Zen) or esoteric rituals (Shingon) as their main form of practice. Apart from that, there was popular Buddhism, about which we know relatively little[14] for the early period.

Concerning the place of scholastic Buddhism in the history of Japanese Buddhism, I agree with the evaluation of Daigan Matsunaga and Alicia Matsunaga (except that I would render *shū* 宗 here as 'School' instead of 'Sect'):

> In the first place, although the Six Nara Sects did not convert the masses, nor in fact even the aristocracy to a proper understanding of Buddhism, they did provide the ground-work for the future Buddhist developments that transformed the entire nation. Like a mammoth time-capsule, Nara Buddhism introduced to Japan over a thousand years of Buddhist thought and the major elements of future Japanese Buddhism. [...] [The Nara scholars] initiated not merely the stimulus to pursue further learning, but completed the basic studies as well, the groundwork for future thinkers.[15]

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[13] For a summary of the doctrinal content of the Nara schools in English see Takakusu Janjirō: *The Essentials of Buddhist Philosophy*. Honolulu 1949 [New Delhi: Oriental Book Reprint Corporation undated], or: Matsunaga Daigan & Alicia: *Foundation of Japanese Buddhism*. 2 vol., Los Angeles/Tokyo: Buddhist Books International. 1974 [1996], vol.1

[14] In Western languages we are still far from a comprehensive picture of Folk Buddhism in China and Japan. The Works of Gernet (1995) and Overmyer (1976, 1990 a.o.) are first inroads into a field of study the sources and methods of which are still largely unexplored. For a dated but still useful discussion of certain features of Japanese Folk Buddhism see Joseph M. Kitagawa: *Religion in Japanese History*. New York: Columbia University Press 1966 [1990], where he outlines the relationship between Shintō and Buddhism, Shamanistic Buddhism and the emerging Amida cult.

[15] Matsunaga Daigan & Alicia (1996), vol.1, p.134.

Part 1: The historical setting and some remarks on the travels of the student-monks and their role in the introduction of Buddhism

Chapter 1: Historical Background

1.1 General Background

The geographical setting in which the student-monks appeared in the seventh century comprised three main areas: Yamato Japan, the kingdoms of the Korean Peninsula and China.

Yamato Japan expanded its rule over Honshū, Shikoku and Kyūshū from the fourth century onwards. Until the introduction of the *ritsuryō* 律令 system in the eighth century, the Yamato state appears to have been a loosely organized hegemony of regional chiefdoms. Its ruling class was a confederation of clans (*uji* 氏)[16], led by the imperial clan which held the position of arbiter among the other groups and represented Yamato in its dealing with other people and countries. The *uji* were also religious entities, each clan having its own patron deity (*ujigami* 氏神) with the *uji* chief (*uji no kami* 氏の神) also functioning as the high priest. Within the *uji* one or more families bore a hereditary title or *kabane* 姓, which made them eligible for the chieftainship of the *uji* and indicated their proximity to the emerging central rule exercised by the imperial clan. The inner circle of families closely related to the imperial family, were *atae* 直, *sukune* 宿禰, *mabito* 真人 and *ason* 朝臣. The most important *kabane* for family elders not directly related with the emperor were *omi* 臣, *muraji* 連, *kimi* 君 and *obito* 首.

In the course of the sixth century the imperial clan started to redefine its position toward the other houses in more abstract and absolute terms, and a court structure evolved with 'officials' capable of rudimentary fiscal administration. The high nobles at this court were basically divided into two groups, the *omi* and the *muraji*. The two leaders of these groups, bearing the title *Ō-omi* 大臣, and *Ō-muraji* 大連, represented the vassal *uji* and were constantly involved in the administration of the realm.

Next to the *uji*, there were two other strata of the Yamato society, the *be* 部,

[16] The word 'clan', *uji*, is here not used in the strict sociological meaning of the word, which defines clan as exogamous subdivision of a tribe, but in the common 'dictionary sense' of a group of families that "all originated from one family and all usually have the same family name" (Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English, 1987).

corporations of workers working for a particular clan, and the *yatsuko* 奴, slaves who served in the households of the *uji*. The relationship between the *be* and the *uji* was complex and changed considerably during the centuries preceding the *ritsuryō* system, but it is safe to say that it were the *be* that provided the economic basis for the *uji* to which it belonged and not the slaves. About five percent[17] of the population is thought to have been *yatsuko,* and they were probably used mainly as servants.

During the discussion of the student-monks quite a few names and titles will appear, therefore it might be useful to have a closer look at the formation of Japanese names in the time of the *uji-kabane* system.

Generally the names for lay people in the records have three components: the *uji* and *kabane* names, which were used together as the hereditary court title, and the personal name. For example, one of the students that went to China with the Embassy in 653 had the name 巨勢臣薬 which today is read *kose no omi kusuri. Kose* 巨勢 is the name of the *uji*, which is also an important indicator of a person's possible region of birth. *Omi* 臣 is the *kabane* and *Kusuri* 薬 is simply the man's personal name. The sequence of *uji*, *kabane* and personal name could vary, however; in the same passage we are informed that the student-monk *Andatchi* is the son of *Nakatomi no Nokome no Muraji* 中臣渠毎連, here the *kabane* takes the final position.

During the fourth century Yamato expanded quickly over central and west Honshū, and even conquered a part of southern Korea where it established the enclave of Mimana 任那 around AD 372. Mimana gradually had to yield to the expanding Korean kingdom of Silla in the 6th century and was finally lost in 562. Through its involvement with the continent however, Japan gained access to the much more sophisticated culture of the mainland. A lively exchange of goods developed in Nihonfu, the main settlement in Mimana, and Naniwa, a seaport in what is nowadays the Osaka region. During the fifth and sixth century a steady influx of immigrants, fugitives and captives came into the Yamato state. It consisted of Korean and Chinese families and individuals who were welcomed because of a need for skilled labour.

Most of the Chinese families came via Korea where they had resided for several generations. Their ancestors had immigrated to Korea in great numbers in the wars following the fall of the Han Dynasty (220) and again after the fall of the Western Jin Dynasty (317), which put an end to Chinese rule in north China until the Sui Dynasty (581-618). In some of the family names of the student-monks, especially of the early period, we find the character *hata* 秦 or *aya* 漢,

[17] J.W. Hall: *Das Japanische Kaiserreich.* (Transl. Ingrid Schuster) Frankfurt/M.: Fischer, 1968 [1994].

indicating that their ancestors lived once under the Qin and Han Dynasties respectively. It is hard to determine to what degree these immigrants preserved their customs, language and beliefs, but as can be seen from modern examples, it is certainly possible for a group of Chinese or Koreans to sustain a common identity for many generations while living in a foreign environment. It is generally reckoned that the immigrants from the continent served as the major bridge for Japan towards material development, cultural refinement and, above all, literacy. That they arrived in large numbers can be seen from the results of a census[18] conducted in 819, where one third of the populace was found to be the descendants of immigrants that arrived in Yamato before the seventh century.[19]

On the Korean peninsular three kingdoms fought over hegemony: Koguryŏ (trad.37 BC to AD 668) in the north, Paekche (trad.18 BC to AD 660) in the west and Silla (trad.57 BC to AD 935) in the east. Centuries of petty wars and rivalry came to an end only in 668 when Silla could established itself as the supreme ruler of the realm, with the decisive help provided by Tang forces. In the years after the fall of Mimana, the Japanese enclave, in 562 it became clear that the Korean kingdoms, especially Silla, were getting stronger because their administrations, under Chinese influence, were better organised: they were more centralised, and their ruling class was more literate and more knowledgeable on how to administrate their realm.
Considering how closely related literacy and politics were in classical Chinese thought, it becomes clear that one central aspect of the influence of China on its neighbours consisted in providing a political theory, a theory that came complete with legitimisation for the ruler and a treasury of classical precedents for every occasion. From the fourth to the sixth century Koguryŏ, Silla and Paekche, were gradually incorporating Chinese ideas and knowledge. In particular, the rulers of Paekche chose to import Chinese ideas on a grand scale. Though being of Manchurian descent themselves, they all but ignored the

[18] The census is the *shinsenshōjiroku* 新撰姓氏録 as cited in *Nihonshichizu* 日本史地図 (1982), p.263.

[19] To explain this movement in our case the common pull and push model of immigration yields sufficient answers. For a movement of populace to take place there must either be a motivation to leave (push) or to arrive somewhere (pull) or both. An example for push is the widespread starvation that led to Irish immigration to America in the nineteenth century; an example of *pull* the California gold rush of 1849. The *push* in our case was provided by the political development in North China, where in the fifth century, non-Chinese rulers seemed to have ended Chinese rule for good, and the constant warfare among the three kingdoms on the Korean peninsula, which made both areas inhospitable. The pull consisted of the demand for skilled Korean and Chinese workers in largely undeveloped Japan, where foreigners were welcomed in the official hierarchy and could advance into the highest ranks at the Yamato court.

barbarian rulers of the north and after the fourth century kept up a frequent exchange of embassies with the southern Chinese dynasties.[20]

China, the origin of the ideas and the relevant texts that the Koreans had used, had in the sixth century to look back on more than three hundred years of relentless warfare. The glorious days of the Han Dynasty that had ended in AD 220, were only remembered in books. After the fall of the Western Jin in 318, various nomadic tribes fought over northern China, establishing kingdoms and empires, all of which were destroyed a few decades later by a new invader or fell apart in fraternal and succession wars. The 'chaos in the north', as Dieter Kuhn[21] calls the time between 318 and 589, did, however, not prevent the dissemination of Chinese ideas on everything 'under heaven (天下)'. In the fifth century the Northern Wei Dynasty (386-534) of the Tuoba tribe tried hard to emulate Chinese approaches to land distribution, demographic policy and education, but even so could neither wholly pacify nor unify China and broke apart after ten years of civil war. In the south, the Chinese dynasty of the Eastern Jin managed to hold on to power for another century after the north was lost. It was followed by the short-lived 'Southern Dynasties': the Song (420-479), Southern Qi (479-502), Liang (502-557) and Chen (557-589).
Under the reign of the Sui-dynasty, founded in 581 by *Yang Jian* 楊堅 (the posthumous *Wendi* 文帝) China was unified again in 589 after more than three hundred years of strife and division. For the Sui (as for every new ruler of China) to switch from conquering to administrating the realm was a critical step. To succeed in this transition, questions of ideology are of paramount importance. For a peaceful reign to be accepted, more is needed than superior coercive power. Without symbolic power to create a common ideology of subjects and rulers, a reign cannot be stabilised. This symbolic power is generally provided by ritual, which in turn relies on an ideology to work. For the Han Dynasty (206 BC - AD 220) a distinctive form of Confucianism had provided a functioning ideology, and this label was again the first obvious choice for setting up an administration.[22] But what was to become of Buddhism that during the centuries of unrest had permeated the Chinese as well as the 'barbarian' societies, and thoroughly changed the outlook and language of commoners and elite alike? Confucianism, which had been victorious in the ideological battles between the '100 schools' in the second century BC, still had to answer the

[20] Jonathan W. Best: "Diplomatic and Cultural Contacts between Paekche and China." HJAS 42 (1982).
[21] Dieter Kuhn: *Status und Ritus*. Heidelberg: 1991, p.410.
[22] In fact two of Wendi's closest advisors, Su Wei 蘇威 and Li Delin 李德林, were stout Confucians. (Kuhn (1991), p.489). See also: A.F. Wright: *The Formation of Sui Ideology*. Chicago: 1957.

spiritual challenge posed by the appearance of Buddhism that explained the conditia humanis in a very different, but arguably more comprehensive (though not necessarily more comprehensible) way. It is of course outside the scope of this study to explore that constellation in any depth. To summarize the result however: the Confucians were not able to develop an equally satisfying, sophisticated ideology until the rise of Neo-Confucianism in the eleventh and twelfth century, while Buddhism in China on the other hand was never able to replace Confucianism as the leading discourse on the level of government.
As seen from Japan, the establishment of the Sui Dynasty promised a new source of knowledge and development. If Japan had hoped in the beginning of its relations with China to be treated as an equal partner as it had been in its relations with Paekche, it must have been disappointed. One thing it had to learn about 'Chinese culture' was that it spelled Chinese with a capital 'C'. Only as far as the Japanese accepted, as the Koreans did, being treated as vassals in all questions of ritual, could it hope to satisfy its curiosity about the way an empire works.

1.2 The first introduction of Buddhism to Japan

Considering the political orientation of the early Japanese sources, it is not surprising that until today the official introduction of Buddhism in 552 has received much more attention than the fact that Buddhism arrived 'privately' at least 30 years earlier.[23] The information that in 522 a certain *Sima Dazhi*[24] 司馬達止 built a little hut, erected an image of the Buddha and practised Buddhism, was conveyed through a ninth century inscription that was recorded by a tenth century monk who is quoted in the twelfth century *Fusō ryakki* (FSR) 扶桑略記[25]. The official historiography evinces no interest in the Buddhism that must have been part of the religious customs of the immigrants from Korea and China, but naturally focuses on the dramatic events its introduction triggered in the ruling class. There were probably groups of Korean-Chinese immigrants that practised Buddhism in Japan several decades before 538 or 552.

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[23] In fact there are two conflicting dates for the first introduction 552 and 538. For a summary of the discussion see Delmer M.Brown (Ed.): *The Cambridge History of Japan*. Vol.1 (Ancient Japan) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993, p.371.

[24] The *zhi* 止 is sometimes given as *deng* 等, giving it the meaning 'Sima Da and others'. (s. Yang Zengwen 楊曾文: *Riben fojiaoshi* 日本仏教史 [A History of Japanese Buddhism]. Hangzhou: Zhejiang renmin, 1995, p.21).

[25] A detailed analysis of that passage can be found in Yang Zengwen (1995), p.22. Yang believes in it. Tsuji Zennosuke (in: *Nihon bukkyōshi* (1944), vol.1, p.42) argues that the passage is a mistake, but cedes that Buddhism had been practiced among the immigrants before 538.

The date of AD 552 is important not so much because it is accurate, but because it has entered the history textbooks[26]. The NG passage (XIX, AD 552), on which it is based, provides in a nutshell the elements for the events of the following 40 years. There are the high expectations placed on Buddhism, the resolve of the Tennō to put it to use, and the ensuing split among the courtiers:

> Winter, 10th month. King *Sŏngmyŏng* 聖明 of Paekche sent the *takol* 達率[27] *Nuri Shichikei* [?] 怒利斯致契[28] of the Western Kishi, with a present to the emperor of an image of the *Shakyamuni* Buddha in gold and copper, several flags and umbrellas, and a number of Sutras.
> Separately he presented a memorial in which he praised the merit of spreading religious worship, saying: "This doctrine is amongst all doctrines the most excellent. But it is hard to explain, and hard to comprehend. Even the Duke of Zhou and Confucius had not attained knowledge of it. This doctrine can create merit and good karma without measure and lead to a realization of the highest wisdom. Imagine a man in possession of treasures to his heart's content, so that he might satisfy all his wishes as he used them. Thus is it with the treasure of this wonderful doctrine[29]. Every prayer is fulfilled and naught is wanting. Moreover, from distant India it has extended hither to the three Han[30], where there are none who do not receive it with reverence as it is preached to them. [...]"
> That day the emperor, having heard to the end, leaped for joy, and gave command to the envoys, saying: "Never before have we heard of so wonderful a doctrine. We are unable, however, to decide this alone." Accordingly, he inquired of his ministers one after another, saying: "The countenance of this Buddha which has been presented by the western frontier state is of a severe dignity, such as we have never seen before. Ought it to be worshipped or not?" The *Soga Ō-omi* 蘇我大臣, *Iname no Sukune* 稲目宿禰, addressed the emperor, saying: "All the western frontier lands without exception do it worship. Shall Yamato alone refuse to do so?" *Okoshi* 尾輿, *Mononobe no Ō-muraji* 物部大臣, and *Kamako* 鎌子, *Nakatomi no Muraji* 中臣連, addressed the emperor jointly saying: "Those who have ruled the empire in this our state have always made it their care to worship in spring, summer, autumn and winter the 180 gods of heaven and earth, and the gods of land and grain. If just at this time we were to worship foreign deities in their stead, it

[26] A discussion of the date of the official introduction can be found in Tsuji Zennosuke (1944) p.35-42. He comes to the conclusion that of 538 and 552, neither date is correct. He places the introduction in Kimmei 7 (AD 546).

[27] The *Takol* was the second highest rank in the Paekche official hierarchy.

[28] This envoy is mentioned nowhere else.

[29] It is generally agreed that this speech has been made up by the compilers of the NG. The identity of the envoy and the fact that certain lines stem from sutras that were translated only in the eighth century, prove that the speech has been fabricated. (*The Cambridge History of Japan*. Vol.1, p.371).

[30] 三韓: Koguryŏ, Silla and Paekche.

> may be feared that we should incur the wrath of our national gods." The emperor said: "Let it be given to *Iname no Sukune* who has shown his willingness to take it, and, as an experiment, make him worship it." The *Ô-omi* knelt down and received it with joy.[31]

In this passage it becomes obvious what Buddhism meant for the rulers at the time of their first meeting: a doctrine hard to explain and hard to understand that promises to fulfil all wishes; to be worshipped experimentally.

Clearly the ministers present were not prompted by a pious concern about religious matters, when they gave their statements. The decisions taken at that time were the results of the previous fifty years of politics. The political agenda of the families involved was as follows. The *Nakatomi* and the *Mononobe* were traditionally the most influential *uji* next to the imperial line. The *Mononobe* had specialised in the production of weapons and had a formidable fighting force, while the *Nakatomi Muraji* was the court ritualist in charge of the services to the various Shintō gods, which represented the individual power of each *uji*. The introduction of Buddhism would significantly weaken the symbolic power the *Nakatomi* wielded at court as well as the *uji*-theology in general. The decisive political question at that time was how to cope with the political situation on the Korean peninsula, and here too the *Mononobe* and the *Nakatomi* were on the same side, advocating a policy that would establish stronger ties with Silla. The other parties at court, the *Soga*, which had strong family ties with Korea, and the *Ôtomo*, were in favour of keeping the traditional alliance with Paekche. Both the *Ôtomo* and the *Soga* had previously been powerful houses, but in the first half of the sixth century had been surpassed by their rivals. *Soga no Iname*, however, had managed a comeback by establishing marriage relationships with the imperial house and was therefore seeking to strengthen the power of the central administration.

Shortly after *Soga no Iname* received the holy image, he put it in a shrine and had three girls "clad in white" worship it. Soon after that, the *Mononobe* used the outbreak of a plague as an excuse to burn the shrine, on the grounds that the foreign deity had caused the catastrophe. The Buddha statue was thrown in a canal.[32]

After *Soga no Iname* died in 570 a few years passed, before his son *Soga no*

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[31] This version follows the translation of W.G. Aston (*Nihongi.* Tokyo: Tuttle, 1972 [1993], p.65) amended for style and transcription of the names.

[32] NG XIX, AD 652. The dating of this first incident is not clear, the NG has 'after that' (於後), but it could also have happened 569. (Yang Zengwen (1995), p.22; and, *The Cambridge History of Japan*, vol.1, p.375).

Umako 蘇我馬子 could continue his father's cause. In 584, *Soga no Umako* built a temple in the eastern part of his manor for a stone figure of a *Maitrya*-Buddha sent from Paekche. Again he installed three nuns[33], not monks, to perform the rituals. One of these nuns was the daughter of the aforementioned *Sima Dazhi* and the others too, were from the community of *ayabito* 漢人[34]. One year later *Soga no Umako* obtained official permission from the emperor to worship the image. As before, the *Mononobe* leader, again holding the worship of the image responsible for a plague, destroyed the temple and the image[35] thus humiliating *Umako*. According to the NG he also had the nuns flogged and imprisoned. Since the epidemic did not recede, the weak *Bidatsu* Tennō (572-585), under pressure from *Umako*, changed his mind again and allowed him to worship the three treasures, on the condition that he did so privately without trying to spread the creed. The nuns were returned to *Umako* who reportedly received them with great honour. In the fight for succession after the death of the *Yōmei* Tennō (585-587), *Soga no Umako* used the opportunity to settle a few scores: he annihilated the house of the *Mononobe* in 587, and made the serfs of the *Mononobe* family work on the premises of the newly founded 'Temple of the Four Heavenly Kings' 天王寺[36].

The official introduction of Buddhism to Japan in the second half of the sixth century was clearly a matter of policy rather than faith. It was supported by at least one strong *uji* and gained a foothold despite resistance of rivalling parties. The first temples developed out of private shrines, where, next to the celebration of ancestral and Shintō rites, images of the Buddha were worshipped. In contrast to China, the people who brought Buddhist ideas were not ethnically foreign monks who stayed outside the circles of power, but Korean-Chinese immigrants, like the Soga clan who held high positions in the fledgling administration. This administration was to a large extent formed by them and their ideas of governance. It was a Korean monk, *Eji* 慧慈[37] who became the preceptor of a friend of *Soga no Umako* - the Crown Prince and Regent *Shōtoku Taishi* 聖徳太子.

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[33] In the beginning none of these 'nuns' had been properly ordained. After the practice of Buddhist worship was further established they were sent to Paekche for training and ordination. Cf. Ishida Mizumaro 石田瑞麿: *Nihonbukkyō ni okeru kairitsu no kenkyū* 日本仏教における戒律の研究 [Studies on the vinaya precepts in Japanese Buddhism]. Tokyo: Zaike Bukkyō Kyōkai 在家仏教協会, 1963, p.1-4.

[34] See Chapter 2.

[35] According to the NG this happened in 585.3.

[36] The Tennōji in Osaka is in the tradition of this temple.

[37] *Eji* (d.622) arrived in Japan in 595.

1.3 Shōtoku Taishi 聖徳太子 (572-622) and his role in the transmission of Buddhism

The literature on *Shōtoku Taishi* on every level of discourse in Japanese society, from comics to dissertations, is vast, and without doubt he ranks among the most important figures in Japanese history. A rarity among them, his fame is unambiguously positive: he has managed to enter historiography as a great statesman without the villainous deeds that usually go along with such a career. The Crown Prince who laid the foundation for the strong central administration that, in varying forms, the Japanese nation enjoys until today is credited with the introduction of every Chinese custom that existed before the year 1000, including the use of chopsticks. He was literate himself, an exception among the rulers in those days, and keen to promote learning, support the growth of Buddhism and pioneer political reform along the lines of Chinese political thought.

The two most important political measures that are ascribed to him are the introduction of the twelve-cap ranks and the drafting of a constitution. The cap ranks are a hierarchical system for court officials, allowing promotion and demotion independently of a person's *kabane*. The "17 Article Constitution"[38] is a synthesis of Confucian and Buddhist values. Drafted around AD 604 and until this century thought to be *Shōtoku's* own work, it set the standard for the discourse on Buddhism and the state for the following hundred years. While the first article starts with a quote from Confucius, the second article grants a prominent role to Buddhism:

> May the three treasures be sincerely revered! The three treasures are: Buddha, Dharma and Sangha. They are the final refuge for all four forms of birth[39], the utmost meaning of the countless phenomena. What age, what man would fail to adore this teaching? Few men are utterly bad. They can be taught to follow it. If they don't take their refuge in the three treasures, how should their crookedness be straightened out?[40]

Shōtoku was, until recently, believed to be the author of three sutra

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[38] For an analysis in English of the 'Constitution' under the aspect of intellectual history see William de Bary: *East Asian Civilazations*. London: 1988. Another accessible translation can be found in Tsunoda Ryusaku (Ed.): *Sources of Japanese Tradition*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1964, p.47-51.

[39] The four forms of birth are: egg-born (e.g. birds), womb-born (e.g.mammals), water-birth (e.g. fish), metamorphic (e.g. moths). The expression here means all living beings.

[40] 篤敬三宝。三宝者仏法僧也。則四生之終帰、萬化之極宗。何世何人。非貴是法。人鮮尤悪。能教従之。其不帰三宝。何以直枉。As cited in Tsuji (1944), p.60.

commentaries, together known under the title *Sangyōgisho* 三経義疏.[41] The commentaries have drawn a lot of attention from Japanese scholars and many a volume has been published[42] on them. It seems that a consensus is emerging to the effect that the commentaries are not the work of *Shōtoku* himself, but were finished in his time and with his involvement.[43] For the writing of the *Shōmangisho* the author used a now lost work authored by one of 'The three great teachers of the Liang-Dynasty' (梁三大法師) *Sengmin* 僧旻 (467-527)[44]. For the little community of Korean-Japanese monks around Shōtoku, '*Sōbin*' was therefore the name of an important authority. One among them would assume this name and be among the first known student-monks.

That the Prince was involved in the study of Buddhism is further shown by the fact that he gave several lectures[45] on the *Srīmālā*-sutra to the *Suiko* empress (592-628). One can imagine that this Sutra was especially appropriate for the empress, since it denies the theory prevailing at that time that women cannot reach the higher stages on the way to Buddhahood. The main character, next to the Buddha, is the half fictional Queen *Srīmālā* who is directly addressed by the Buddha. The Buddha grants her eloquence to preach the Dharma and ends their conversation with the words: "Queen, the worship of a hundred thousand Buddhas is less a marvel than your explanation of the meaning". The same egalitarian trait is, to a lesser extent, found in the *Vimalakīrti*-sutra[46], where the layman *Vimalakīrti* is portrayed as superior to even the most distinguished disciples of the Buddha.

In another politically and culturally important move involving Buddhism, *Shōtoku Taishi* restarted the official relations with China. As we will see in the

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[41] These are: the *Hokkegisho* 法華義疏 (a commentary on the Lotussutra), the *Shōmangisho* 勝鬘義疏 (a commentary on the *Śrīmālāsiṁhanāda-sūtra*), and the *Yuimagisho* 維摩義疏 (a commentary on the *Vimalakīrti-sūtra*).

[42] A comprehensive, if somewhat outdated, overview of what has been done can be found in Nihon Bukkyō Gakkai 日本仏教学会: *Shōtoku Taishi kenkyū* 聖徳太子研究. Tokyo: 1964.

[43] Next to text-hermeneutic reasons, one of the arguments that seems most convincing to me, is forwarded by Inoue Mitsusada who shows that the belief in the authorship of *Shōtoku* originated somewhen between 720, when the NG was completed, and 747 when an inventory of the *Hōryūji* 法隆寺, lists the commentaries as written by *Shōtoku*. It is very unlikely that the compilers of the NG, who were ardent admirers of *Shōtoku*, would have omitted the fact that he himself produced the well-written commentaries on three of the most popular scriptures.

[44] Inoue (1971), p.20.

[45] The NG records a three-day lecture in AD 606.7.

[46] Wayman (1974), p.35.

next chapter, he dispatched the Embassies to Sui China in 607, 608 and 614 sending student-monks to China for the first time.

There is no doubt that the travels of the student-monks were a crucial ingredient in the learning process that took place when the Japanese rulers imported and adopted Chinese culture wholesale during the seventh and the eight century. To understand the reason for this, it is important to remember that the conception of 'empire', at least as far as the Chinese model is concerned, has always been interwoven with, and legitimised by, a holistic, cosmological paradigm. In contrast to the modern concept of 'nation', the structure of 'empire' was considered to be the likeness of the cosmos as a whole[47]. The microcosmic and the macrocosmic level were thought to be reigned by the same principles and to influence each other. In this paradigm the emperor is on speaking terms with heaven. In China he was legitimised by the concept of the 'mandate of heaven' (*tianming* 天命), in Japan by being a direct descendant of the sun-goddess. When the Japanese emulated the Chinese in the seventh and eighth centuries - learning empire- in their view, the social, political, textual and religious categories in which we have learned to differentiate today the workings of a society did not exist. For them Buddhism must have been but one facet of the glory of the Tang, not tainted by the stigma of foreigness, as it appeared to the more conservative Chinese scholars. Those considered Buddhism that was introduced from India in the second century CE as a barbarian teaching. This attitude is clearly expressed in the words of *Gu Huan* 顧歡 (390-453):

> Buddhism originated in the land of the barbarians; is that not because the customs of the barbarians were originally evil? The Tao originated in China; is that not because the habits of the Chinese were originally good?[48]

Among the Japanese, Buddhism met with much less resistance. It promised magical protection for the country, offered a more comprehensive world-view than Shintō, and was free from the strong sino-centrism of Confucianism a weltanschauung in which all people outside China proper were barbarians living marginal lives at a periphery. Nevertheless, when Buddhism was introduced to Japan it was certainly accompanied by the "teachings of Confucius and the Duke of Zhou"[49], and although Confucianism was at first not the predominant

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[47] Cf. Nathan Sivin: "State, Cosmos, and Body in the last three centuries B.C." HJAS 55 (1995).

[48] Cited after Kenneth Ch'en: "Anti-Buddhist Propaganda during the Nan-Ch'ao". HJAS 15 (1952), p.172.

[49] The 'teachings of Confucius and the Duke of Zhou' are what the student-monk *Shōan* imparted on his student *Nakatomi no Kamatari*, according to the NG (XXIV,

ideology in Japan, it had a considerably impact via the legal system, the rituals of governance and its language and literature, all of which the Japanese emulated during the seventh and eighth century. This tendency to synthesise Buddhism and Confucianism, or more exactly to utilise Buddhism to attain Confucian ideals, can be traced to the earliest texts concerning statehood in Japan. One of the reasons why *Shōtoku Taishi* gained such a uniquely important place in the early view of Japanese history is that he embodied the spirit with which later rulers were 'learning empire'.

AD 644.1). The Duke of Zhou plays a prominent role in the Chinese classics. He is said to have been the son of King *Wen* 文王 and the brother of King *Wu* 武王, both of whom he served as loyal minister.

Chapter 2: Japanese student-monks and the early embassies to China

2.1 The Japanese embassies to China

The history of the student-monks from the seventh until the ninth century is closely connected to the embassies Japan sent to Sui and Tang China (*kenzuishi* 遣隋使 and *kentōshi* 遣唐使)[50]. Such an embassy usually consisted of two, later four, small ships crowded with a rather heterogeneous group of officials, mariners, artisans, artists, soldiers, interpreters and last but not least the students and student-monks, all in all more than 100 persons per boat. The head of the embassy was the envoy (*taishi* 大使) followed by a vice-envoy (*fukushi* 副使) and several secretaries and scribes. Though the ships were supposed to sail together, more often than not they lost sight of each other during the crossing and arrived at different locations on the Chinese coast, meeting again in or on the way to Chang'an. With the nautical skills of the Japanese in the seventh century, every journey to China was an extremely dangerous adventure. Even two hundred years after the first embassies, there was no considerable progress in shipbuilding and navigation. Edwin Reischauer writes of the ninth century:

> The ships and navigational skills of the Far Easterners of the ninth century were perhaps adequate for short coastal hops in sight of land but scarcely for crossing the five hundred miles of open sea between China and Japan. The compass was not to come in use in this waters for perhaps another three centuries; the ponderous junks of the time could only sail down wind; and worst of all the Japanese did not seem to have the basic meteorological knowledge needed for navigation in their part of the world.[51]

Counting aborted attempts, i.e. when an embassy failed to reach China,

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[50] The classical work in Japanese on the embassies is Mori Katsumi (1955). A more recent work is Mozai Torao 茂在寅男: *Kentōshikenkyū to shiryō* 遣唐使研究と史料 [The Embassies to the Tang, Research and Sources]. Tokyo: Tōkaidaigaku 東海大学,1987. For a detailed treatment of the official relations between Japan and China in the eighth and ninth century one should refer to: Charlotte von Verschuer: *Les Relations Officielles au Japon avec la Chine VIII + IX Siecles*. Paris: 1985. An extensive discussion of the embassies to the Sui and Tang can also be found in the most important work on the history of Japanese-Chinese relations: Kimiya Yasuhiko 木宮泰彦: *Nichika bunka kōryūshi* 日華文化交流史 [A History of the Cultural Exchange between Japan and China]. Tokyo: 1955.

[51] Edwin Reischauer: *Ennin's Travels in Tang China*. New York: Harvard University Press, 1955, p.60.

altogether Japan tried to send four embassies to the Sui[52] and nineteen to the Tang court[53].

Although Japan had dispatched envoys to China since the first century CE[54], all we know of these missions are short remarks in the official histories of China. It is widely assumed that the motivation of these early envoys was the desire for trade rather than for learning, and that they were sent by strong provincial leaders rather than by a unified central authority. The sporadic contacts between the two countries during the first four centuries CE grew more frequent during the fifth century, when eight envoys from Japan are recorded in the history of the Southern Song Dynasty[55]. For the sixth century no such envoys are recorded in Chinese sources[56]. The Japanese were perhaps preoccupied with the situation in Korea.

Therefore, when the prince-regent *Shōtoku Taishi* decided to resume contact with China in the early seventh century he did so on the basis of historical precedent. Contrary to their precursors, however, the embassies to the Sui had a decisive impact on the development of Japanese society, and can been counted among the great successes in the history of intercultural exchange in the sense that one society learned from another voluntarily and peacefully. This does of course not mean that the communication between Japan and China took place on equal terms. The only concept of interchange between the Chinese and other societies provided by pre-modern Chinese theories of foreign relations[57] assumed Chinese superiority as fundamental to that relationship. Even if at times only nominal, this ritualistic submission of the 'other', was ingrained in the system of foreign relations from the Han to the Qing Dynasty and upheld whenever possible, sometimes at great cost. Although China was able to deal with other societies in various ways, ranging from the use of coercive power to regulated trade, the official rhetoric never allowed such relationships to be

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[52] In AD 600 (only in Chinese sources), 607, 608 and 614.

[53] In AD 630, 653, 654, 659, 665, 667 (aborted), 669, 702, 717, 733, 752, 759,761 (aborted), 762 (aborted), 777, 779, 803, 838, 894 (aborted). Cf. Kimiya (1955), p.75-81.

[54] The first mention of an emissary 'from the country of *Nu*' is made in the *Houhanshu* for the year AD 57.

[55] In AD 421, 425, 430, 438, 443, 451, 462, 478. During the fifth century the south was relatively stable and peaceful. Because of the difficult political situation on the Korean peninsular and in northern China, Japan did not establish diplomatic ties with any of the northern dynasties.

[56] Kimiya (1955), p.38.

[57] On this see: Fairbank, John K. (Ed.): *The Chinese World Order: Traditional China's Foreign Relations.* Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press, 1968.

stated in terms of equality and partnership. In the case of Japan in the seventh century, however, this caused only some minor confusion in the beginning. Japan soon recognized it had far more to gain by keeping up contacts with China than to lose by accepting the status of an inferior vassal in these talks. It should be remembered here that Buddhism had a very different outlook on the world. Perhaps *Shōtoku Taishi* was amazed by the contradiction between the Confucian-based foreign policy emphasizing Chinese cultural hegemony, and the universalistic worldview that he had found in his studies of Mahāyāna thought.

2.2 The student-monks of the embassies of 607 and 608

The first official embassy[58] to the Sui in 607 failed to please the Chinese emperor. The embassy is only mentioned shortly in the NG, but the *Suishu* gives a more detailed account of what happened.

> In the second year of Daye 大業 (AD 607) the king [of Wa] *Duolisibigu*, sent envoys to offer tribute. The envoy said: "We have heard that in the West, beyond the sea, there is a Bodhisattva emperor who again promotes[59] the Dharma of the Buddha. Therefore we have sent an envoy to pay reverence, and several dozens of monks to study Buddhism." The message says [also]: "The emperor of the place where the sun rises addresses this letter to the emperor of the place where the sun sets. Peace!" The emperor, on seeing this, was displeased. He said to the Chief Ceremonial Minister: "The letter of the barbarians is not in accordance with the rites. I don't want to hear that again."[60]

The number 'several dozen' seems very high compared to the number of

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[58] The *Suishu* records an emissary for the year 600, who gives a colourful account of Japan and Japanese customs. This mission is not mentioned in the NG, perhaps because the Chinese emperor denied the Japanese ruler the status of 'younger brother'. The *Suishu* says, he thought the idea was sheer nonsense (高祖曰：此太無義理) (*Suishu*, p.1829).

[59] *Zhong xing* 重興 'again promotes' (or 'strongly promotes') is the very phrase used in the edicts of Sui Wendi himself (cited in: Tsukamoto Zenryū 塚本善隆: *Nisshi bukkyō kōshōshi kenkyū* 日支仏教交涉史研究 [Studies on the History of Japanese-Chinese Buddhist Relations]. Tokyo: Kōbundō 弘文堂, 1944, p.12). If this is really the exact wording of the envoy's letter, the Japanese must have been familiar with Wendi's rhetoric. For translation I prefer 'again promoted' because I assume, Wendi refers to himself as *re-establishing* the patronage of Buddhism after the persecutions under emperor *Wu* of the Northern Zhou (574-578).

[60] *Suishu*, p.1827.

student-monks in other embassies. 'Several dozen' 数十 might be a mistake for 'more than ten' 十数, a mistake that sometimes happens when manuscripts are copied. It is not impossible that several dozens of monks went to China that time, but in that case one would expect more of them to have come back. We know of only *Esai**, *Ekō** and possibly *Eun** who returned and can be associated with this group. Moreover *Esai's* biography in the GS says he and *Ekō* went to China with a group of 'more than ten' 十数. Very likely this refers to the embassy of 607.

The central motivation for sending this embassy was clearly the desire to learn more about Buddhism. The address 'Bodhisattva emperor'[61] meant Sui *Wendi* who in his attempt to unify China strongly promoted Buddhism. Emperor *Wendi*, however, had died in 605 and the letter from Japan reached only his son, emperor *Yangdi* (r.605-617). That the Japanese were not aware of an important event like the death of the emperor one or two years after it took place, shows how slow and sporadic the flow of communication between the mainland and the Japanese islands was at that time.

What kind of Buddhism did the Japanese monks find in the early decades of the seventh century? The first Sui emperor *Wendi* (r.581-604) unified China in 589, and the two Buddhist communities of North and South combined their strengths and weaknesses. The southern gentry-Buddhism had found a way to integrate Buddhism in the discourse of Chinese intellectual life: it stayed relatively independent while being at the same time mostly confined to the aristocratic upper class. In the north, the non-Chinese rulers both promoted and controlled Buddhism strongly resulting in a spread of the new religion to all layers of society. The north also saw a vigorous development of Buddhist doctrine through an influx of teachers and scriptures from Central Asia. As a result of this synthesis and imperial patronage, Buddhism flourished for over two centuries.

Emperor *Wendi* himself born in a temple in 541 would play an important role in Buddhist history. It was him whom the first student-monks had hoped to meet when they went to China in 607, and the letter they brought addressed him as 'Bodhisattva emperor' (*bosatsu tenshi* 菩薩天子). Sui *Wendi* was one of the few emperors in Chinese history who founded their reign on Buddhism as the

[61] This title *huangdi pusa* 皇帝菩薩 was first used by the emperor Wu of the Liang Dynasty (r.502-549). Cf. Ren Juyu 任継愈 (Ed.): *Zhongguo fojiaoshi* 中国仏教史 [History of Chinese Buddhism]. Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue yuan 中国社会科学院, 1988, vol.3, p.17. The text in the *Suishu* has *tiandi pusa* 天子菩薩, which is equivalent.

main 'unifying ideology'.[62] In marked contrast to the rulers of the Northern Wei who claimed to be the embodiment of the Tathāgata, he, in an edict of 593, called himself 'disciple of the Buddha' (*sui huangdi fodizi* 隋皇帝佛弟子).[63] Though *Wendi* did not, to my knowledge, call himself 'Bodhisattva emperor', the Japanese used this title, perhaps following the precedent of emperor *Wudi* 武帝 of the Liang Dynasty (r.502-549).

Wendi's active promotion of Buddhism throughout his empire, always done in an economically reasonable way, sent waves throughout North-East Asia.[64] His decision in 601 to send thirty monks equipped with "sacred relics" of the Buddha all over his empire to build stupas and temples shows his resolve to spread Buddhism. Envoys of all three Korean kingdoms requested and received one of the relics. This act of proselytizing followed the precedent of the famous Indian emperor *Aśoka* (r.263-232 BC) who spread Buddhism over India and Central Asia. Only a few years later, two of the monks who had been dispatched with the relics, *Jingye* 淨業 (d.616) and *Lingcan* 靈粲 were ordered to instruct students from the 'three Han', including probably the student-monks from Japan (s.b.).

This does not mean, however, that the Sui rulers relied solely on Buddhism. As Arthur Wright has pointed out:

> Both emperors of the Sui used the symbols and ideas of Buddhism, Daoism, and Confucianism to support their power, and [*Wendi's* successor] *Yangdi* was much more sympathetic to Confucianism than his father had been.[65]

Under *Yangdi* 煬帝 (r.605-617) the examination system for officials was established, an exclusively Confucian institution which secured a hegemonic position for Confucian values in politics and administration.
The early student-monks encountered therefore a Buddhism that was strong and prominent, but not supreme. They saw Buddhism and Confucianism working more or less peacefully together in the consolidation and re-assertion of a culture that had been traumatized by a long period of violent ruptures.
In AD 608.9.11 another embassy left for Sui China. This time the NG lists the names of four student-monks and four students. In the passage concerning their

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[62] Kenneth Ch'en: *Buddhism in China.* Princeton University Press, 1964 [Rep.1973], p.199-201.
[63] Tsukamoto (1944), p.9.
[64] On Wendi's promotion of Buddhism see: Tsukamoto (1944), p.6-16.
[65] Wright, Arthur F.: Review of Kenneth Ch'en's "Buddhism in China." HJAS 26 (1966), p.307.

departure (NG XXII, AD 608) student-monks are mentioned for the first time:

> At this time eight persons were sent to Tang China. The students Yamato no Aya no Atae, Fukuin; Nara no Osa, Emyō; Takamuku no Ayabito, Kuramaro and Imaki no Ayabito, Ōkuni. The student-monks Imaki no Ayabito **Nichibun** 新漢人日文 **[Sōbin 僧旻]**[66]; Minabuchi no Ayabito **Shōan** 南淵漢人**請安**; Shiga no Ayabito **Eon** 志賀漢人**慧隠** and Imaki no Ayabito **Kōsai** 新漢人**廣濟**.[67]

In seven of the eight names we find the character *aya* 漢 mostly in the compound *ayabito* 漢人. According to a dictionary definition, *ayabito* are "Chinese immigrants to ancient Japan or their descendants"[68]. Han Chinese had moved to the Korean peninsula after the Han emperor *Wudi* (r.140-88 BC) established four administrative districts there. After the Japanese established the enclave Mimana in the third century, the Han Chinese, by now partly assimilated as Koreans, and Koreans used this as a gate to move further east beyond the constant strife between the three Korean kingdoms.[69]

To distinguish between early immigrants and newcomers, the term *imaki ayabito* 新漢人 was used in the records for families which immigrated from the second half of the fifth century onwards. Of the seven Chinese-Koreans above, three are *imaki ayabito*. This shows clearly that, at least in the early stages, the cultural assimilation of Chinese knowledge was accomplished by people who considered themselves to be of Chinese ancestry, however distant. I assume that literacy was the decisive factor in the choice of the early students, because it guaranteed basic communication skills. Until they mastered the language, the Japanese student-monks in China had to rely on writing to communicate with their hosts. From the more detailed records of the journeys of *Saichō*, *Kūkai*, *Ennin* and *Enchin* in the ninth century, we learn that this method was quite efficient, especially in the dealings they had with the various Chinese officials, on whose decisions the course of their journeys depended.
The other obvious solution to the language problem was the use of interpreters. Like stage workers at a theatre, seen from time to time half hidden behind a

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[66] For the reading of *Sōbin's* name see the dictionary entry.
[67] 是時遣於唐國学生、倭漢直福因、奈羅訳語慧明、高向漢人玄理、新漢人大國、学問僧新漢人日文、南淵漢人請安、志賀漢人慧隠、新漢人廣済等并八人也.
[68] *Nihonshi jiten* 日本史辞典 [Dictionary of Japanese History], Tokyo daigaku bungakubu kokushishitsu 東京大学文学部国史室編. Tokyo: Sōgansha 創元社, 1954 [1957].
[69] The standard work on these immigrants is: Seki Akira 関晃: *Kikajin* 帰化人 [Immigrants (in Ancient Japan)]. Tokyo: Shibundō 至文堂, 1956. On the impact of the *ayabito* and *imaki ayabito* see also Kimiya (1955), p.47-55.

curtain, interpreters and servants were there, but they never got involved in the acting. In our example, the embassy in 608, there too was an interpreter on board: *Emyō*, 'Interpreter from Nara' who is never mentioned again.

Of the four student-monks listed in this passage - *Sōbin, Shōan, Eon* and *Kōsai* - we know that *Sōbin, Shōan* and *Eon* returned to Japan in the course of the next 35 years and rose to high positions in the secular and clerical hierarchy (if it is appropriate at all to differentiate between the two at this early stage). Of *Kōsai* nothing more is heard; probably he died in China. An important characteristic of the travels of the student-monks in the seventh century is that they stayed in China for many years. *Sōbin*, the first of the three to return to Japan did so in 632, after 24 years in China. *Eon* stayed for 31 years and *Shōan* even longer; he stayed for 32 years. During these years they acquired a broad knowledge of Chinese culture and society far beyond the confines of Buddhism. All three rose to prominence after their return. *Eon* reportedly gave speeches at court to a large audience. *Shōan* was the teacher of two crucial figures in Japanese history, Prince *Naka no Ōe* 中大兄 and *Nakatomi no Kamatari* 中臣鎌足 who masterminded the overthrow of the *Soga* family thereby clearing the way for the Taika Reforms. *Sōbin's* influence at court is attested by the many passages in the NG that record his interpretation of omina.

What happened to the student-monks of 607 and 608 during their stay in China? Where and with whom did they study? There is no information on this in the ancient Japanese sources, but fortunately Tsukamoto Zenryū[70], has retrieved some evidence from the biographies of four Chinese monks in the *Xugaosengzhuan* 續高僧傳, namely *Jingye* 淨業 (d.616), *Lingcan* 靈粲, *Jingzang* 靜藏 (d.626) and *Shenjiong* 神迥 (d.630), which allows us a glimpse into the world of the early Japanese student-monks. In 608 *Jingye* received the order to "enter the Hongluguan and teach the monks of the vassal states"[71]. *Lingcan* was told in 614 "to enter the Honglu and teach the three Han"[72]. Both

[70] Tsukamoto Zenryū (1944), p.17-20. The list is not complete, one could add the monk *Lingrun* 靈潤 who was ordered to teach at the Hongluguan in 614, the same year as *Shenjiong* (T.2060, p.546a).

[71] 召入鴻臚館教授蕃僧 (cited in Tsukamoto (1944), p.18) The Hongluguan or Honglusi was throughout history the government agency responsible for the reception of foreign envoys. Hucker (*A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China,* Stanford: 1985), p.264, translates its name as 'Court for Dependencies'.

[72] 召入鴻臚教授三韓 (cited in Tsukamoto (1944), p.18). 'Three Han' usually refers to the three Korean kingdoms, but the difference between Japan and Korea probably did not mean much to *Daoxuan* (596-667) the author of the *Xugaosengzhuan*, for whom *Jingye*, *Lingcan* and the others were contemporaries. *Daoxuan* might even have

Jingye and *Lingcan* had been among thirty monks whom the Sui emperor *Wendi* dispatched in 601 in an effort to distribute relics and found temples throughout the realm on a grand scale. That means they were both eminent monks and used to teaching the dharma to people from different places and with different backgrounds. The Hongluguan or Honglusi 鴻臚寺, was established during the Northern Qi (550-577) as an official guest-house for visitors from outside China. It came to serve as the school for the foreign student-monks of Korea and Japan. In 613 *Jingzang* was ordered "to enter the Honglu and teach the eastern vassals"[73]. With *Shenjiong* we even get a glimpse of the contents of their class: "Tenth year of Daye [AD 614] he [*Shenjiong*] was ordered to enter the Chanding-temple. Shortly afterwards he was asked to enter the Honglu in order to expound the *Dalun*. He held lectures on it for gentlemen from various areas in the Three Han."[74].

Final evidence that connects the Japanese student-monks with the *Honglusi* comes from the eighth century *Tōdaiwajōtōseiden* 唐大和上東征傳, the text that describes the adventurous journey of the Vinaya master *Ganjin* from China to Japan. When *Fushō* and *Yōei* were arrested in 733 (they had been defamed by a fellow monk) the Governor of Yangzhou sent a messenger to Chang'an in order to check their identity. The authorities in Chang'an inquired at the Honglusi where they were told that the two monks "left the temple for an official journey and have not returned" (which was true). It was according to this information (依寺報) that the authorities in Chang'an sent the following decision to Yangzhou:

> The monks *Yōei* and the others are foreign monks (蕃僧) 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.[75]

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known some of the student-monks.

[73] 召入鴻臚教授東蕃 (cited in Tsukamoto (1944), p.18).

[74] 大業十年。召入禪定。尋又應詔請入鴻臚、爲敷大論。訓開三韓諸方士也。(cited in Tsukamoto (1944), p.18). The '*Dalun*' 大論 is the *Dazhidulun* 大智度論 (T.1509) ascribed to *Nāgārjuna*. The *Dazhidulun* is an important work for the Sanron School; this information confirms therefore the generally accepted view that the Sanron School was the first of the various schools to be transmitted to Japan. Moreover it is a formidable textbook, for it retells almost all of Buddhist history and doctrine. Large parts of it were in fact probably written by its 'translator' *Kumārajīva* 鳩摩羅什 (c. 344-413) with the intention to instruct the Chinese in the basic lore of Buddhism.

[75] DBZ 553, p.24c.

From these passages there can be little doubt that the early student-monks studied in the Honglusi in Chang'an together with monks from Koreans and possibly students from other regions as well. They were instructed by eminent monks who had been close to emperor Wendi and who were probably well acquainted with politics.

2.3 The influence of the early student-monks on the Taika Reforms

It is therefore not surprising that both *Shōan* and *Sōbin* are remembered especially for their role in the Taika Reforms, which took place in the years following the Taika edict of 646, more than for transmitting the dharma. Through the Taika Reforms the leading minister *Nakatomi no Kamatari* 中臣鎌足, a student of *Shōan*, consolidated the power of the central government with the help of *Sōbin* and *Takamuko Genri* 高向玄理, another member of the embassy of 608. In 645.6, on the eve of the Reforms, both were given the title of "national scholar" *kuni no hakase* 國博士. Moreover, in the same year *Sōbin* was made one of the Ten Preceptors *jūshi* 十師, showing that he also held a high position in the officially imposed hierarchy of the clergy.
In 649.2 *Sōbin* and *Takamuko* were ordered to "establish eight departments of state and one hundred bureaus"[76] i.e. to create a comprehensive bureaucratic structure. It is generally believed that they drafted the Taika Reforms relying on their knowledge of how things were done in China. They experienced China in the heyday of the reestablishment of a strong central administration. They both had witnessed the dynastic change from Sui to Tang and the ensuing consolidation of the Tang Dynasty from a vantage point at the very center of things - Chang'an, the booming capital. After *Nakatomi no Kamatari* was made ruling minister in 645, he gave Sōbin and Takamuko the chance to put their experience to use helping him redesign the old clan system.

As a result of this and later reforms, the Ritsuryō state was created, an imperial system based on a penal (*ritsu* 律) and an administrative (*ryō* 令) law code that would prevail until the 10th century. Essentially, the Taika Reforms were a set of measures modeled on those that were used in China to consolidate the power of the central government. They tried to abolish, for example, all private title to land and to create administrative districts and a taxation system. After the reforms of *Shōtoku Taishi* fifty years earlier, the Taika Reforms can be seen as a second step in building an administration system on the Chinese model. The third step would be the adoption of the legal code of Tang China in the form of

[76] 詔博士高向玄理與釋僧旻置八省百官 (NG XXV, AD 649.2).

the *Taihō (-Yōrō)-code* 大宝(養老)律令 in AD 701 (revised in 718).

Among the student-monks, *Sōbin*[77] seems to have gained the greatest influence at court. In the period between his return in AD 632 and his death in AD 653, his name occurs repeatedly in the NG. Three of the passages deal with soothsaying. On two occasions *Sōbin* gives his opinion on celestial phenomena[78]; on another, he is asked to interpret the appearance of a white pheasant, an occasion in which he displays a wide knowledge of Chinese history[79]. It seems that his role at court was rather that of a sage or highly respected diviner, than that of a Buddhist monk. We know of nothing he did that was specifically Buddhist. In China, at least after the forth century, it was not unusual for monks to act as "court-wizards". One of the earliest recorded instances was in 371 when the emperor *Jianwen* 簡文 ordered the monk *Faguang* 法曠[80] to exorcise the influence of an evil star. While the Chinese Buddhist practitioners of magic had to compete with the Taoists[81], the monks in Japan had no equivalent rivals in the Shinto practices of these days. From the seventh to the ninth century at least, it seems that they could easily make themselves the more powerful magicians. We can infer from the prohibition of these practices in the 718 *Sōnirei* 僧尼令, the 'Rules concerning monks and nuns' that many monks and nuns probably capitalized on soothsaying, healing, exorcism and protection

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[77] For a comprehensive account on his role as a politician, see Seki Akira (1956), p.131.

[78] For details see the dictionary entry. Although the explanations Sōbin gives are derived from traditional sources such as the Hanshu, astronomy was by no means an underdeveloped art in those days. The recent (Winter 1997/98) spectacular finding of the oldest celestial chart in Japan shows that the astronomical knowledge of the seventh and eight century was not limited to lore preserved in the Chinese histories. Though up to now the material of the Kitora-kofun tomb in Nara province, is not yet fully analysed, the preliminary results (cf. *Asahi Shimbun* 朝日新聞 Jan. 6th 1998, *Chūnichi Shimbun* 中日新聞, March 7th and 11th 1998, and *Newton* ニュートン *Magazin* July 7th 1998) point to a high level of astronomical knowledge. The celestial chart, which resembles a similar specimen known from Korea (in the area that used to be Koguryŏ), shows how closely connected the ideas of centrality and rulership were at that time. At the centre of three concentric circles there are constellations with names like 'Emperor's Palace' and 'Governance'. The painted chart on the ceiling of the burial chamber depicts the sky as seen from a vantage point 38-39 degree northern latitude, which makes it possible that the original chart was drawn in Pyŏngyang, the capital of Koguryŏ. The tomb is thought to be the grave of a high noble from the court of the *Temmu* (r.673-686) or *Jitō* (r.686-690) Tennō, perhaps a member of the group that had immigrated from Korean after the fall of Peakche.

[79] Cf. *Sōbin's* dictionary entry.

[80] Ch'en (1972), p.73.

[81] The Taoists were formidable spell-mongers themselves, especially renowned for their longevity potions, which caused the premature death of many emperors.

spells.

While the influence of the student-monks on the Taika Reforms was considerable, the actual contents of the reform had little to do with Buddhism. Unlike *Shōtoku Taishi's* 17 Article Constitution fifty years earlier, there are no traces of Buddhist influence in the strictly administrative measures of the Taika Reforms. The early student-monks, in contrast to their successors in the eight and ninth century, were during their long stay in China interested in Chinese culture as a whole, secular as well as religious. They did not limit themselves to the study of Buddhism, but acquired knowledge on a broad range of topics such as literature, astronomy, soothsaying and politics. After *Sōbin* passed away in 653.6, the emperor and his family mourned him 'sending numerous [funerary] presents'[82]. No other student-monk rose to similar prominence at court until *Gembō* 玄昉 a hundred years later.

2.4 The student-monks of the embassy of 653

It has already been mentioned that during the seventh and eighth century the history of the student-monks was firmly tied to the course of the official embassies that went to and fro between Japan, China, and the Korean peninsula. It was not until the ninth century that the ships of Chinese and Korean merchants[83] regularly crossed the sea between China and Japan, making it possible for the student-monks to travel privately, as one could say, to the continent.

The first six[84] embassies to Tang China in 630, 653, 654, 659, 665 and 669 were carried out during a period of domestic and 'international' unrest. Domestically, during the time between 630 and 650, the reform of the old clan system and the resulting conflicts prevented more intensive contact with China. After the Taika Reforms, Japan was again determined to learn more about the way empires work and in 653.5 dispatched a large embassy, for which we know the names of 26 student-monks.
A few years later, however, when it chose to align itself with Paekche, Japan

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[82] NG XXV, AD 653.6.
[83] The first time a student-monk took to sea in a merchant ship in appears to have been in 841 when *Egaku* 慧萼 boarded the ship of an trader from Chuzhou 楚州 (in today's Jiangsu province).
[84] Not counting the one in 667 when a Japanese envoy accompanied the Tang envoy *Sima Fazong* 司馬法聰 until held up Korea.

came into conflict with its role model, China. This happened because China agreed to help Silla against its long-time enemies and joined its attacks first on Paekche and later on Koguryŏ. In exchange, Silla accepted the status of a vassal state. This alliance would decisively change the balance of power on the Korean peninsula and spell the end for Paekche and Koguryŏ. When Paekche in 663 was under heavy attack from Silla and Tang forces, Japan sent a major relief force of 400 small boats, which was dealt a decisive defeat by the Tang fleet in the battle at Hakusonkō 白村江 (AD 663.8). During the years before and after the battle, the situation was tense, with Japan practically at war with Silla and China. Nevertheless, the exchange of envoys continued, if on a reduced scale, and more to negotiate political and military matters than to promote cultural learning. Perhaps as a result of this impasse in the relationships, no student-monks can be connected with any of the early embassies to the Tang, the important exception being the embassy of 653.

On the twelfth day of the fifth lunar month in the fourth year of the era Hakuchi 白雉, i.e. in midsummer AD 653, the up-to-then largest group of student-monks embarked for Tang-China. They were part of the embassy under the leadership of *Kishi no nagani* 吉士長丹 that set out with two ships, each crowded with approximately 120 men. An entry in the NG, two months later, reports that one of the ships had sunk off the coast of Satsuma 薩摩 in Kyūshū. Only five men survived. The other ship, which supposedly took another route along the coast of Korea, safely reached China. The embassy went to Chang'an for an audience with the emperor *Gaozong* 高宗 (r.650-684). The ambassadors and the crew returned to Japan the following year, arriving in the 7th lunar month AD 654. They left behind a group of students and student-monks charged with studying those aspects of Chinese civilization that made Tang China the most culturally and technologically advanced country of its time.

This second embassy to the Tang in 653, was sent after a break of 23 years. It can be assumed that after the embassies to the Sui in 607, 608 and 614 and the first embassy to the Tang in 630, part of the Japanese aristocracy had by that time realized their need for the cultural expertise of China. However, next to the difficult political situation mentioned above, there were other reasons why 23 years had elapsed without any embassies. For one thing, the return in AD 632 of the first embassy to the Tang that had left Japan in 630 and in connection with which no student-monks are mentioned, had resulted in a minor diplomatic quarrel between the Chinese delegate *Gao Biaoren*[85] 高表仁 and the *Jomei* 舒

[85] *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書 and *Wenxian tongkao* 文献通考 have *Gao Renbiao* 高仁表; *Jiu Tangshu* 旧唐書, *Tang huiyao* 唐会要 and the Japanese sources have *Gao Biaoren* 高表仁. I suspect the mistake lies with the authors of the *Xin Tangshu*. *Gao's*

明 Tennō and/or his sons. The task of *Gao* was probably to communicate that the Chinese emperor in his endless kindness had decreed that Japan, being a small tributary state far away from the center of the world (i.e. the emperor himself) did *not* have to send tribute *every* year.[86] Either that was misconstrued by the Japanese or the Japanese court made some mistake in etiquette, for as the *Jiu Tangshu* 旧唐書 says:

> In the fifth year [of the era] Zhenguan 貞觀 [AD 632] an envoy [from Japan] brought tribute. [The emperor] *Taizong* 太宗 pitied them because they had came such a long way, and he decreed that it was not necessary for them to send yearly tribute. He also dispatched the Prefect of Xinzhou 新州 *Gao Biaoren* as a seal-bearer to succour them. But *Biaoren* had no talent in handling the distant realms. He had an argument with the prince[s] over questions of ritual and returned without having conveyed the imperial orders.[87]

In addition to these misgivings, it was quite an effort for a medieval administration to send an embassy overseas. The boats for the journey had to be built, and the several hundred members of the embassy had to be equipped, which must have been quite a strain on the finances of the far-from-solidified Yamato court. Because of the power struggle between the *Soga* family and the other factions of the court, the attention of the ruling class was focused on domestic problems. The struggle at court led to a further weakening of the nascent central administration, which had at any rate never been strong enough to fully unify all clans into an imperial state.

However, over the years between 632 and 653 the influence and the knowledge of the returned student-monks bore fruit. As early as 623.7 the first student-monks who returned from China, *Ekō* 慧光 and *Esai* 慧済, gave a positive account of the Tang empire. In their report to the Tennō, they said: "The land of great Tang is an admirable country whose laws are complete and fixed. Constant communication should be kept up with it."[88]

The famous and most influential student-monk of the early years, *Sōbin* had

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title is given as *ci shi* 刺史 which in Tang-times was given to the leaders of prefectures (*zhou* 州). Prefects were ranked 3b to 4a depending on the size and population of their jurisdiction. *Gao* was therefore a rather high-ranking guest for Japan.

Cf. Hucker (1985), p.558.

[86] For China, entertaining the foreign emissaries and their train was a quite costly way to prove its hegemony. The tribute system was in fact an exchange of goods, which in economic terms was almost always a loss for the host. In several cases China felt itself therefore compelled to downscale the visits from the surrounding societies that were all to eager to submit to its splendour and return home with a few bolts of silk.

[87] *Jiu Tangshu*, p.5340.

[88] NG XXII, AD 623.7.

returned with *Gao* in 632; *Eon* 慧隠 and *Eun* 慧雲 came back in 639, and *Shōan* 請安 and *Takamuku Genri* 高向玄理 who had both been in China since 608, returned in 640. Thus, the number of influential people at court, who had studied in China, increased.

Who went to China in 653 as a student-monk? How was the group constituted? The two basic reference points for these questions are two short passages in the NG. First, the list of student-monks in the NG XXV AD 653.5, which is perhaps incomplete, and second, a remark in NG XXV AD 654.2 citing *Iki no Hakatoko*[89] 伊吉博得, where we learn the fate of some student-monks whose names appeared previously, and of others that were not mentioned before.

NG XXV, AD 653.5.12 (Forth year of *Hakuchi*):

> 4th year, Summer, 5th month, 12 day. They were sent to Great Tang: As Chief Ambassador, *Kishi no Nagani* of the Upper Shōsen rank, as Vice-Ambassador *Kishi no Koma* of the Upper Shōotsu rank. As student-priests: **Dōgon** 道厳, **Dōtsū** 道通, **Dōkō** 道光, **Ese** 慧施, **Kakushō** 覚勝, **Benshō** 弁正, **Eshō** 慧照, **Sōnin** 僧忍, **Chisō** 知聡, **Dōshō** 道昭, **Jōe** 定慧 (*Jōe* was the eldest son of the *Naidaijin*[90]) , **Andachi** 安達 (*Andachi* was the son of *Nakatomi Nokome no Muraji*), **Dōkan** 道観 (*Dōkan* was the son of *Ōmi Kasuga no Ahata* of Korean descent). As students: *Kose no Omikusuri* (*Kusuri* was the son of *Ōmi Toyotari*) and *Okina, Hi no Muraji* (the son of *Madama*. Another book[91] adds the student priests **Chiben** 知弁 and **Gitoku** 義徳 and the student *Ihatsumi, Sakahibe no Muraji*). Altogether 121 persons who sailed on one ship. *Mita, Nunobara no Obito*, was appointed as envoy to see them off. Furthermore, [on the second ship] as Chief Ambassador went *Nemaro, Takada no Obito* (also called *Yatsukahagi*) of the lower Daisen rank, and as Vice-Ambassador *Omaro, Kamori no Muraji* of the upper Shōotsu rank. They sailed together with the student-monks **Dōfuku** 道福 and **Gikō** 義向 in one boat, all together 120 persons.

The second passage (NG XXV, AD 654.2 (Fifth year of *Hakuchi*)) says:

> *Iki no Hakatoko* says: The student-monk **Emyō** 慧妙 died in China; **Chisō** 知聰 died at sea; **Chikoku** 智国 died at sea; **Chisō** 智宗 returned in a Silla ship in AD 690; **Kakushō** 覚勝 died in China;

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[89] *Iki no Hakatoko* is a source for the post-Taika part of the NG. The passage mentioned above is the first of four quotes, which are inserted in the running text. It does not give any dates for the deaths of the monks it records. Albeit the source is quoted under AD 654.2, some of the events it describes happened up to 40 years later (e.g. *Chisō's* return). Historiographically the insertion of *Iki no Hakatoko's* text is a breach of style. Annals like the NG usually do not contain any termini ante quem.

[90] The *Naidaijin* 内大臣 was the most powerful ministerial office from 669 until 781. It was first given to *Nakatomi (Fujiwara) no Kamatari* in 669 who is meant with *Naidaijin* in this passage.

[91] It is not clear to which source '*another book*' (或本) refers to.

> **Gitsū** 義通 died at sea; **Jōe** 定慧 returned in AD 665 in the ship of *Liu Degao*[92] 劉徳高; **Myōi** 妙位, **Hōshō** 法勝 and the students *Okina*, *Hi no Muraji* and *Kō Ōgon*, twelve persons in all, with *Kan Chikō* and *Chō Ganhō*, who were half-Japanese, came back this year with the envoys.[93]

It is not said explicitly that all the men who are mentioned in the second passage left Japan in 653, but since four of the thirteen names mentioned in this passage do also appear in the list of 653 (*Chisō*, *Jōe*, *Kakushō* and *Okina from Hi* 氷連老人), the possibility exists that the others were also on the ship that managed to arrive in China. The passage is inserted after a short account of the third embassy which had left Japan only some nine months (in 654.2) after the second, making it possible that it contains information on members of both embassies. In the end, we do not know if *Emyō*, *Chisō*, *Gitsu*, *Myōi* and *Hōshō* went to China in 653, 654 or even earlier.

As can be seen from the first passage, a group of high-ranking courtiers decided to send their sons on the dangerous journey to China. Some of the leading families had by then obviously realized that knowledge of 'things Chinese' would become a factor in the competition for power. Of the five men who are mentioned as members of the aristocracy, four were sent as student-monks (*Andachi*, *Jōe*, *Dōkan* and *Dōshō*). This fact shows how successfully Buddhism had gained a foothold among the aristocracy by that time. There can be no doubt that by the middle of the seventh century Buddhism had made its influence felt throughout the ruling class after its promotion by *Shōtoku Taishi,* and the return of the first student-monks who immediately after their return rose to prominence (especially *Shōan* and *Sōbin*). Its appeal was no longer restricted to certain factions at court and Chinese-Korean immigrants, as it had been in the early seventh century[94].

After the embassies of 630 and 653, five more embassies appear in the records for the years 654, 659, 665, 667 and 669, but without the name of any students or student-monks. The members of the embassy of 659, were detained by the authorities in Chang'an, envoy and all, for more than ten months; allegedly to prevent the leaking out of sensitive information on an imminent attack on Paekche, Japan's ally. After this the relations slowed down and finally came to a standstill for 32 years. When *Mommu* 文武 Tennō (r.697-707) decided to resume contact in 701, Japan abandoned the old northern route along the Korean

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[92] The leader of the Tang embassy to Japan in AD 665.

[93] The speaker's place in time of is not clear. '*Returned this year with the envoys*' means very probably 654. *Kishi no Nagani*, however, arrived in China 653.7.24.

[94] Back then, it will be remembered, three of the four student-monks of 608 whom we know by name, had been descendants of a group of Chinese-Korean immigrants.

coast to Shandong. The ships took instead a southern route that made for a more dangerous crossing, but was safer politically. As the *Xintangshu* says: "Silla blocked the sea route, but [the Japanese] changed and went by Ming [-zhou] and Yuezhou to come to court and pay tribute."[95] As I will try to explain in the chapter on the role of Korea, the political restrictions faced by the embassies and envoys did not always apply to the student-monks. For the seventh century the NG records seven instances where student-monks returned to Japan via Korea, presumably helped by their Korean 'classmates'.

[95] *Xintangshu* 新唐書 *(Zhonghuashuju*-edition), p.6209. Also cited in: Edwin Reischauer: "Notes on Tang Dynasty Sea Routes." HJAS 5 (1940-1941), p.146.

Chapter 3: Buddhism in China and Japan during the early Tang

When the student-monks of the first embassies to the Tang arrived in mid-seventh century China, what kind of Buddhism did they find? How had Buddhism in Chang'an changed since their precursors arrived fifty years earlier as part of the embassies to the Sui? Considering the relative position of Buddhism with respect to its two competing discourses, Confucianism and Daoism, imperial favour towards Buddhism declined after the death of Sui *Wendi*[96]. His son Sui *Yangdi*, although a stout supporter of the Tendai founder *Zhiyi* (538-597), endorsed Confucianism, and this preference was shared by the first Tang emperors *Gaozu* 高祖 (r.618-627) and *Taizong* 太宗 (r.627-650). Daoism also had a strong standing with the Tang rulers. *Laozi*, the author of the *Daodejing* 道德経 whose family name was *Li* 李, was regarded as the great ancestor of the ruling house, a clan of the *Li*-family. This argument proved to be very powerful and most Tang emperors preferred Daoism over Buddhism. It was the fanatically Daoist emperor *Xuanzong* 宣宗 that ordered the largest and most consequential persecution of Buddhism, the so-called Huichang 會昌 persecution of 845.

That Confucianism clearly superseded Buddhism in the political world, however, is not due to the personal whims of a series of emperors. Buddhism simply did not have the same usefulness for the rulers. Its basic tenets were often diametrically opposed to the deification of the secular state, a condition, which could be achieved, or at least covered up, with the help of Confucian doctrines. It had not many things to say on government or the state, and if not favoured by an emperor for personal reasons, it was unable to compete with Confucianism on these issues.

With regard to doctrine and philosophy, however, Tang Buddhism, with its unique fusion of Indian and Chinese thinking, stands to this day as one of the great achievements in the history of human thought. One centre of this synthesis was Chang'an, at that time the world's largest city that in its heyday held a population of up to two million.[97] We can safely assume that the student-monks of the seventh century spent most of their time in this, by medieval standards, awesome capital. We know that the teachers of *Dōkō**, *Dōshō**, *Chitsū** and *Jōe** were residing in Chang'an. Moreover, in the middle of the seventh century, two paramount leaders of the Buddhist world, the monks *Xuanzang* 玄奘(600-

[96] Cf. Stanley Weinstein: "Imperial Patronage in the Formation of Tang Buddhism." Wright, Arthur F. & Twitchett, Denis (Eds.): *Perspectives on the Tang*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973.

[97] In population and size, it was rivalled only by Baghdad.

664) and *Daoxuan* 道宣 (596-667), were active in Chang'an. Both had great influence on the student-monks and on the doctrinal development of scholastic Buddhism in Japan.

3.1 Japanese Buddhism during Asuka and Nara

Unlike in China, Buddhism in early Japan played an important role in the hegemonial discourse of its days. By concentrating on sutras that extol the ability of the layman to reach full enlightenment, early Japanese Buddhism provided the rulers with an ideology that was attractive for several reasons.
First, the all-inclusive approach of Buddhist, especially Mahāyāna cosmology[98], made it possible to come to terms with the larger world that the Japanese had to face after their entry into history. The *Abhidharmakośa* for example, around which the Kusha school was formed, describes in its third chapter a vast universe with *Mount Sumeru* at the centre. The Japanese elite might have found it easier to situate itself in this world rather than in the relatively narrow Chinese topographies. The Chinese options relegated Japan to the periphery of a center that was well known, compared to *Mount Sumeru*.
Secondly, in the seventh and eighth century the rulers experimented with Buddhism as an ideology of legitimisation. To my knowledge, this ideological aspect has been relatively little studied compared to the institutional history of so-called State-Buddhism (*kokkabukkyō* 国家仏教). Starting with the empress *Suiko* (r.592-628) and reaching its apex under the reigns of *Shōmu* Tennō and the empress *Kōken* (r.749-758), the last empress of Japan, I think we have clear proof that the leaders in these days were greatly concerned with Buddhism.[99] It is significant that of the 13 rulers between 592-758, seven were women. It is furthermore very probable that, like their Chinese counterpart empress *Wu Zetian*[100], the Japanese empresses *Suiko*, *Kyōkyoku*, *Saimei*, *Jitō*, *Gemmai*, *Genshō* and *Kōken* found in Buddhism a less biased way of thought as a basis for their reign, a reign that according to Confucian perceptions of gender was

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[98] Cf. Sadakata Akira: *Buddhist Cosmology - Philosophy and Origins*. Tokyo: Kōsei, 1997.

[99] This is a controversial topic. The account in the *The Cambridge History of Japan*, vol.1, p.390, emphasises rather the competition Buddhism had to face in the early Shintō beliefs. There it is assumed that, at least for the period until 645, the rulers were rather High Priests of the *kami* cult than patrons of Buddhism.

[100] On the gender issue in the reign of Wu Zetian see Chen Jo-shui: "Empress Wu and Proto-Feminist Sentiments in T'ang China." Brandauer, Frederick P. & Huang, Chün-chieh: *Imperial Rulership and Cultural Change in Traditional China*. Taipei: SMC Publishing, 1995.

against the rules of propriety.

The scholastic Buddhism of the Nara schools[101] did never attract a large following. It was most influential during the eighth century and strongly involved in politics as well as in textual studies. After the *Kammu* 桓武 Tennō (r.781-806) moved the capital to Kyoto in 794, the power of the old schools that were based in the temples of Nara declined. Though there were later attempts to revitalise the Nara schools, their influence on political and doctrinal development could never compete with that of the Tendai 天台 and Shingon 真言 sects founded in the ninth century. Tendai and Shingon in turn found themselves superseded by the development of the Zen 禪 and Jōdo 浄土 sects in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

As Daigan and Alicia Matsunaga point out[102], the older schools nevertheless played an important role in the transmission of Buddhism. In China, Buddhism was assimilated in the course of four centuries during which new sutras and schools were introduced at a relatively moderate pace. The Buddhist discourse there evolved slowly out of the linguistic and social contexts of India into those of China. Japan, on the other hand, saw itself confronted with the whole abstruse richness of a way of thinking that had developed into many diverging schools over one thousand years. Moreover, it had to come to terms with a vast body of literature that was immediately accessible, without the painstaking effort, but also the mediating effect of translation. Though Japanese is linguistically very different from Chinese, classical Chinese was, at least in writing, the predominant language for Japanese Buddhism until our century. With few exceptions (like *Dōgen*'s *Shōbōgenzō* 正法眼蔵), Buddhist scholar-monks in Japan wrote their commentaries and histories in classical Chinese, the language of the scriptures. The accessibility of a large number of texts from different periods at the same time, allowed - perhaps forced - the Nara scholars to immediately identify and classify the strata of Buddhist tradition. Through the efforts of Chinese scholars like *Xuanzang* and *Daoxuan*, who synthesised the entire idealistic and Vinaya traditions respectively, Japan entered the tradition

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[101] The most thorough examination of early Japanese thought in a western language is to my knowledge Gregor Paul: *Philosophie in Japan – Von den Anfängen bis zur Heian-Zeit*. München: Iudicium, 1993. An informed overview of the Nara schools from the perspective of history of philosophy can be found on pages 83-193. In Japanese an important work on the Nara schools is Ishida Mozaku 石田茂作: *Shakyō yori mitaru Narachō bukkyō no kenkyū* 寫經より見たる奈良朝佛教の研究 [A study of Buddhism in the Nara period based on scripture manuscripts]. Tokyo: Tōyō bunko 東洋文庫, 1930. [Reprints 1966, 1982]. Ishida draws a comprehensive picture of the institutional form and the doctrinal content of the six schools and includes a list with all scriptures that were available at the Nara court.

[102] Matsunaga (1974), vol.1, p.133-137.

with a bird's-eye view that China in the centuries before had lacked.
Nevertheless, each individual monk still had to go through the slow and difficult process of 'studying the Dharma', appropriating the discourse personally for himself. Basically this meant the close reading of scriptures; in most cases together with a teacher and fellow students. This process, considering the scarcity of manuscripts, and the medieval means of communication, naturally led to the demarcation of schools centred around a text, be it *sūtra* or *śāstra*, or a group of texts.
The introduction of Buddhism into Japan coincided with a period when this process of demarcation intensified in China itself. In the sixth and seventh centuries, Buddhist schools (*zong* 宗) began to define themselves more exclusively both in theory and in practice; they organised themselves around a text and the construction of lineages gained in importance. This was also the time when the first Chinese schools of Buddhism were created. The Tiantai, the Huayen, the Chan and in a certain sense also the Faxiang school, relied on the, often highly subjective, interpretation of Mahāyāna scriptures by Chinese patriarchs. With the establishment of these schools or sects Chinese Buddhism became after several centuries independent from India, in particular from the steady stream of translations of Indian scriptures that informed Chinese Buddhism since its inception.
The Chinese term *zong* [jp. *shū*] 宗 had slightly different meanings throughout time and can be translated in various ways. A still very useful discussion of the term can be found in two essays of Tang Yongtong[103]. The most comprehensive work on the use and meaning of the term *zong* during the Sui and Tang has been done by Yan Shangwen.[104] Like Tang, Yan basically distinguishes two meanings for *zong*. In the first, which I translate as 'school', a *zong* is constituted by a doctrine and a rudimentary lineage of teachers and students. In the early sources the first meaning is often written as *zhong* [jp. *shū*] 衆.
In the second meaning, which I translate as 'sect', *zong* denotes a religious entity with a system of doctrines, an elaborate - partly fictitious - lineage, temples in which the respective doctrines are taught, certain features of an organisation and a clear consciousness of being distinct from other groups, meaning distinctly better.
In the case of Japan, the close association of Buddhism and politics led at an

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[103] Tang Yongtong 湯用彤: *Tang Yongtong Xuanji* 湯用彤選集 [Selected Essays by Tang Yongtong]. Tianjin: Tianjinrenmin, 天津人民 1995, p.345-394.
[104] Yan Shangwen 顔尚文: *Suitang fojiao zongpai yanjiu* 隋唐佛教宗派研究 [Studies on the schools and sects of Buddhism during Sui and Tang]. Taipei: Xinwenfeng 新文豊, 1980. This work, which unfortunately seems to have escaped general notice, offers a meticulous quantitative analysis of the schools and sects of that era.

early stage to the quasi-official formation of the 'Six Schools of Nara (*Nara rokushū* 奈良六宗 or *Nanto rokushū* 南都六宗)'[105] to denote and control the various schools that were active during the eight century. The earliest mention of *shū* 宗 in this context is a passage in the SNG in 718.10, a passage that also clearly indicates an awareness of the differences between the schools:

> In the teachings of the five schools and the tenets of the three Tripitakas there are differences in argumentation and the conclusions reached are not the same.[106]

The text says 'five schools' because the Kegon School had not yet been established at that time. The term 'six schools' appears for the first time in 760 in a memorial forwarded by the three members of the Sōgō[107]. The term was partly an administrative concept, an official acknowledgement of certain groups; later it was utilised by Buddhist historiography to structure the discourse on Nara-Buddhism. It did not necessarily represent the self-perception of the Buddhist community in those days. In the inventories of the Hōkōji and the Daianji[108], dated 747, a few other schools (here written *shū* 衆 'group') like the *Shutarashū* 修多羅衆, the *Shōronshū* 攝論衆 and the *Betsusanronshū* 別三論衆 are mentioned. Because the names of these schools dropped out of the official narrative, their doctrinal positions can only be guessed from their names.[109]

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[105] I.e.: The Jōjitsu 成実, the Kusha 倶舎, the Hossō 法相, the Sanron 三論, the Kegon 華厳 and the Ritsu 律 schools. The term lumps together some of the exegetical pre-Tang schools (Jōjitsu, Kusha, Sanron) with two sinized, philosophical Tang schools (Hossō, Kegon). These stages of development would have to be separated in a historic-critical narration. Since the aim of this paper is an analysis of the Japanese tale, I accept the term as it is. For an account of the historical sequence and connections between the schools see e.g. Stanley Weinstein: *Buddhism under the T'ang*. Cambridge University Press, 1987.

[106] 五宗之学。三蔵之教。論討在異。辯談不同。SNG VIII, AD 718.10.

[107] SNG XXIII, AD 760.7.

[108] ZWJD, vol.4 (Religion), p.106, mentions a Hōryūji inventory (法隆寺資財帳). This is a mistake for Hōkōji 法興寺, the name of the Gangōji before its move to Nara. The *Daianji garan engi narabini ryūki shisaichō* 大安寺伽藍縁起並流記資財帳 is contained in the DBZ (DBZ 687, the passage in question can be found on p.386b). The full name of the Gangōji inventory is *Gangōji garan engi narabini ryūki shisaichō* 元興寺伽藍縁起並流記資財帳 (DBZ 692, the passage in question is p.4a).

[109] On Shutara see: Matsunaga (1974) p.112 and Tamura Enchō 田村圓澄: *Nihon bukkyōshi* 日本佛教史 [History of Japanese Buddhism]. Tokyo: Hōzōkan 法蔵館 1983, vol.2, p.90-110.

The *Shōronshū* must have studied the *Mahāyānasaṃgraha śāstra* [ch. *Shedacheng-lun* 攝大乘論, jp. Shōdaijōron], T.1592-1594, by *Asaṅga* (ca.410-500). Chinese

Three of the 'Six Schools' vanished in the course of history. The Kusha and the Jōjitsu school have been incorporated in the Hossō and the Sanron school respectively, while the Sanron school itself ended with the death of the priest *Echin* 慧珍 in 1169. A few temples are operating in the name of the Kegon, Hossō and Ritsu schools today. In the following I will try to give an account of the transmission of the six schools of Nara to Japan. Focusing on the role of the student-monks in the history of transmission, I will not touch on the doctrinal content and development of the schools.[110]

3.2 The Kusha 倶舎 and the Jōjitsu 成実 school

The Kusha school and the Jōjitsu school were perhaps never more than two groups of monks devoted to the study of one single, albeit voluminous, text. In the process of their formation schools became affiliated with the temples where they were studied. In the seventh and eighth century it was usual for one temple to house different schools. This practice fostered discussion and led to the disintegration of the Kusha and Jōjitsu groups, when they were interpreted as early forms of Hossō respectively Sanron doctrine. Both schools have their origin in China, where their predecessors are included among the '13 schools (*shisan zong* 十三宗)', a relatively broad count that comprises schools from different stages of development. The central text of the Jōjitsu school, the *Satyasiddhi śāstra*[111], was introduced to Japan very early by way of the Sanron scholars who were the teachers of *Shōtoku Taishi*[112]. A commentary that combines the tenets of the *Satyasiddhi śāstra* with the Lotus sutra, written by the Chinese monk *Fayun* 法雲 (467-530), was among the most important sources of the *Hokkegisho* 法華義疏 ascribed to *Shōtoku*. Later, between 673 and 686 the Paekche monk *Tojang* 道蔵 arrived in Japan and wrote a

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Translation by *Buddhaśānta* 563, *Paramārtha* 563 and *Xuanzang* 648-649. French Translation by E. Lamotte: *Mahāyānasaṃgraha*. 2 vols. Paris: Louvain, 1938-1939.

[110] For this see in English: Matsunaga (1974), Takakusu (1949). In Chinese see: Huang Chanhua 黄懺華: *Fojiao gezong daiyi* 佛教各宗大意 [The general doctrines of the schools of Buddhism]. Taipei: Xinwenfeng 新文豊, 1988. In Japanese see: Yūki Yoshihiro 結城令聞 (Ed.): *Nihon bukkyō no shūha* 日本仏教の宗派 [The schools of Japanese Buddhism]. Tokyo: Daizō shuppan 大蔵出版,1981, vol.1. In German: Paul (1993)

[111] *Satyasiddhi śāstra* [ch. Chengshilun 成実論, jap. Jōjitsuron], by Harivarman (c.250-350). Chinese translation by *Kumarajiva* (done 411-412) (T.1646).

[112] Notably *Hyeja* 慧慈 (arrived 595.5) from Koguryŏ and *Hyech'ong* 慧聰 (arrived 595) and *Kwarŭk* 観勒 (arrived 602.10) from Paekche. (*Kwarŭk* would become the first Sōjō in 624).

commentary on the *Satyasiddhi śāstra* in 16 chapters.[113]
On the other hand the prestige of the Kusha school's *Abhidharmakośa*[114], probably rested on its popularity with *Xuanzang* who retranslated it and other *Abhidharma* scriptures. *Xuanzang* was the ideal of a generation of student-monks. To see him investing years of his time in the translation of *Abhidharma* literature, certainly encouraged the study of the *Kośa* immensely.
Another reason for the high status of the *Abhidharmakośa* and the Jōjitsu school's *Satyasiddhi śāstra* in eighth century Japan was probably their usefulness as primer for the Buddhist doctrinal discourse, a feature they have retained until today. Moreover, their association with *Xuanzang* and *Shōtoku Taishi* respectively helped these schools to be included in the 'Six Schools', securing them lasting visibility and attention. Other schools or study-groups, for example the one that was centred around the *Mahāyānasaṃgraha śāstra*[115], simply dropped out of the tale of traditional historiography until pulled back again by the stubbornness of later historiography.

3.3 The transmission of the Hossō 法相 school

Of all six Nara schools, only the Hossō [ch. *faxiang* 法相][116] school relied exclusively on Japanese student-monks for its transmission. In the seventh century the Hossō school was just being created by the diciples of *Xuanzang*, one of the most prominent figures in Buddhist history. When the great India

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[113] This is the train of events as recorded in the SBDE (DBZ 467, p.17). The SBDE lists some more commentaries, and explains in detail how the Jōjitsu school was incorporated in the Sanron school. *Tojang* is also mentioned in the FSR, p.84.
[114] *Abhidharmakośa* [ch. *Jushejing* 俱舍論, jp. *Kusharon*], by Vasubandhu (420-500). Chinese translations by Paramārtha 563-567 (T.1559) and Xuanzang 651-654 (T.1558). French translation by L. de la Vallée Pousin: *L'Abhidharmakośa de Vasubandhu*, 6 vols. Paris: 1923-31.
[115] This is the *Shōronshū* mentioned above in the Daianji-temple. See also the entry for *Dōshō*.
[116] The Faxiang school is a Chinese development of a trail of Indian thought called Yogācāra (ch. Yujia 瑜伽, jp. Yuka) or late Vijñānavāda (ch. Weishi 唯識, jp. Yuishiki). For the Chinese school after *Xuanzang* there is also the name Cienshu 慈恩宗 named after the Cien-temple where *Xuanzang's* student *Kuiji* (the posthumous *Cien daishi* 慈恩大師) systematised the teachings of *Xuanzang*. For the establishment of the Faxiang school in China see: Handa Ichirō 飯田一郎: "Hossōshū no seiritsu to sono denrai ni tsuite 法相宗の成立とその傳来に就いて [On the establishment of the Hossō school and its transmission]." *Shina bukkyō shigaku* 支那佛教史学 V, 3,4 (1941). Unfortunately, Handa does not analyse the transmission to Japan beyond the level of traditional historiography.

pilgrim and translator returned in 645, Chinese Buddhism regained some of its imperial patronage, although even during the close relationship between *Xuanzang* and the emperor *Gaozong* 高宗 (r.650-684), the emperor denied Buddhism primacy over Confucianism and Daoism.[117] Among the many outstanding Chinese monks of the seventh century, *Xuanzang's* feat was the most spectacular. He left for India in 629 and after a long and adventurous journey, studied in Nālandā, the large Buddhist university, which was the eminent centre of Buddhist scholarship in the world at that time. Returning to China he wrote the *Datang xiyu ji* 大唐西域記 [An Account of the Western Realms of Great Tang][118], and translated a record number of sutras he had brought back from India. In Chang'an he resided in the Hongfusi 弘福寺 from 645 to 648 and in the Ciensi 慈恩寺 from 648 to 658. In 658 he moved to the newly built Ximingsi 西明寺, a huge temple that would become the temporary residence of several student-monks from Japan, such as *Dōji* 道慈 (dp.701 - rt.718), *Yōchū* 永忠 (dp.777 - rt.805), *Kūkai* 空海 (dp.804 - rt.806) and *Enchin* 円珍 (dp.853 - rt.858). In all, *Xuanzang* and his school were of paramount importance for the transmission of scholastic Buddhism to Japan. The factual founder of the Hossō school was however not *Xuanzang*, but his disciple *Kuiji* 窺基 (632-682) who crafted its doctrinal framework in his *Chengweishilunshuji* 成唯識論述記 and many other commentaries.

Hossō is a branch of India's idealistic Vijñānavādin thought, but, as his choice of sutras for translation shows, *Xuanzang's* interests were not limited to this school.[119] He was a powerful intellectual figure, and his approach to Buddhism relied heavily on textual hermeneutics. It is no wonder that the influence of his school in Japan contributed, via the Japanese student-monks, to the scholastic enterprise of Nara Buddhism, where the study of the Dharma was equivalent to the study of complex and difficult philosophical texts. After the first Japanese students came back from Chang'an, they naturally followed the '*Xuanzang* way', which concentrated on the intensive study of scriptures, while at the same time enlisting support from the ruling class for the promulgation of Buddhism on the

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[117] A lot of research has been done on Xuanzang. One of the most comprehensive studies is 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. For a general account of Xuanzang's story in English one can still refer to Arthur Waley's: *The Real Tripitaka and other pieces*. London: Allen and Unwin 1952.

[118] An English translation is Samuel Beal: *Buddhist Records of the Western World - Translated from the Chinese of Hiuen Tsang*. London: Trübner, 1884 [Delhi: Munshiram, 1983].

[119] His largest translation, the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā* (ch. *Daibannuojing* 大般若經) in 600 Chapters, for example belongs to the early *Pāramitā* sutras. Between 651-654 he also retranslated the *Abhidharmakośa*, replacing the earlier translation made by Paramārtha between 563-567.

scale they had witnessed in China. Financial assistance from the rulers was crucial for temple-building, the production of images and ritual implements and the copying of scriptures.
The central texts of the Hossō school are concerned with the investigation of phenomenal existence, based on the assumption that all dharmas are created by ideation only. Among the many Yogācāra[120] treatises, the two most important for the formation of the Hossō school were the *Yogācārabhumi śāstra*[121] and the *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi śāstra*[122].

Official Buddhist historiography[123]distinguishes 'Four Transmissions' of the Hossō school to Japan. Like the 'Three Transmissions of the Sanron school' the term should be considered an attempt to organise tradition rather than reflecting so-called 'historical facts'. The Buddhist discourse of all periods is extremely rich in numerical terms that seek to make abstract concepts more tangible (e.g. the five aggregates (*skandha*) of personality etc.). Buddhist historiography employs the same device. It is full of expressions like the 'Three great masters of the Kaiyuan era (*Kaiyuan san dashi* 開元三大士)' or the 'The three great Dharma teachers of the Liang-Dynasty (梁三大法師)'. Using formulae like these, history is rendered in a form that might be easier to memorise, but that is also subject to 'closure' in the semiotic sense, meaning formation of a self-contained narrative by the exclusion of other, perhaps dissenting, voices.
The first transmission by *Dōshō* and the second by *Chidatsu* and *Chitsū* is also called South Temple- or *Asukadera*-Transmission (*Nanjiden* 南寺傳 *Askaderaden* 飛鳥寺傳). The third transmission by *Chihō* and the fourth by *Gembō* is also called the North Temple- or *Kōfukuji*-Transmission (*Hokujiden* 北寺傳 *Kōfukujiden* 興福寺傳). Both the Asukadera and the Kōfukuji were important Hossō temples in Nara. In the eighth and ninth century the monastic communities of these temples had an argument about some minor doctrinal issues. If the concept of 'Four Transmissions' already is a construct, the further separation into a nothern and a southern tradition is even further removed from all textual evidence.

The first transmission by *Dōshō** 道照:

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[120] Cf. the entry *Yogācāra* in Eliade (1986).

[121] Ch.*Yujiashi dilun* 瑜伽師地論, jp. *Yugaron*, by *Asaṅga* (ca.410-500). Chinese translation by *Xuanzang* (finished 648) (T.1579).

[122] Ch. *Chengweishilun* 成唯識論, jp. *Jōyuishikiron*, by *Dharmapāla* (439-507). Chinese translation and edition by *Xuanzang* (T.1585). French translation by L. de la Vallée Poussin: *La Siddhi de Hiuen-tsang*. 2 vols. Paris: 1928.

[123] Here especially the works of *Gyōnen* 凝然 (1240-1321), whose version of events is usually repeated in the modern biographical dictionaries and histories.

Dōshō, who went to China in 653, is said to have had an especially close relationship with *Xuanzang* himself. As I try to show in the dictionary entry, the case for such a relationship is weak and there is no evidence that *Dōshō* chiefly transmitted Hossō doctrines or primarily taught Hossō texts. *Sueki Fumihiko* remarks[124] that *Dōshō* cannot have transmitted the central texts of the Hossō school because he left China two years before 659, when *Xuanzang* finished the work on the *Chengweishilun* 成唯識論. The date of *Dōshō's* return, however, is unclear and it is possible that he returned after 659.

The second transmission by *Chidatsu** 智達 and *Chitsū** 智通:
Chidatsu and *Chitsū* are said to have left for China in 658. In Chang'an they studied *Asvabhāva's* (ch. *Muxing* 無性) commentary on the *Mahāyānasaṃgraha śāstra*.[125] The study of the *Mahāyānasaṃgraha* was later assimilated into the Faxiang school, but in the seventh and eighth century it was still considered an independent school in China. *Chidatsu* and *Chitsū* have probably not studied texts of the Hossō school proper; like *Dōshō*, they are rather connected with early Yogācāra texts.

The third transmission by *Chihō** 智鳳, *Chiran** 智鸞 and *Chiyū** 智雄:
These three monks allegedly studied Hossō doctrines with *Zhizhou* 智周 (668-723), the third patriarch of the school. *Chihō* and *Chiran* especially, have been made the teacher of *Gien* 義淵 (d.728) who again was the teacher of *Gembō** 玄昉.[126] *Chihō* and the others, however, left in 703, the same year that *Gien* was promoted to the highest office in the official monk-hierarchy. It is somewhat unlikely that the Sōjō[127] *Gien* formally became a student of *Chihō* and *Chiran* after their return. Tamura Enchō, in his short sketch of *Gien*[128], also remarks that the transmission from *Chihō* and *Chiran* to *Gien* cannot be ascertained. He proposes a link between *Dōshō* and *Gien* who must have met in the Hōkōji 法興寺, where they both lived. Another possible teacher of *Gien* was perhaps *Shinei* 神叡* who studied Hossō doctrines in Silla.
On the whole, also the textual evidence for the third transmission is extremely

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[124] ZWJD, vol.4 (Religion), p.113.

[125] The *Mahāyānasaṃgrahopanibandha* [ch. *Shedachenglunshi* 攝大乘論釋, jp. Shōdaijōronshaku]. Chinese translation by *Xuanzang* (T.1598).

[126] SBDE, DBZ 467, p.14.

[127] Sometimes translated as 'Head of the office of monastic affairs' or 'Archbishop'. The Sōjō was highest rank for a monk in the officially imposed clerical hierarchy (*sōgō* 僧綱).

[128] Tamura Enchō 田村圓澄: *Nihon bukkyō no rekishi - Asuka Nara jidai* 日本仏教の歴史—飛鳥奈良時代 [History of Japanese Buddhism - Asuka and Nara period]. Tokyo: Kyōsei 佼成, 1996, p.138.

weak: the earliest mention of *Chihō* (spelled 智寶) can be found in the FSR, an eleventh century source. *Gyōnen* mentions *Chihō* in the *Hasshū kōyō*[129] (dated 1268) but not *Chiran* and *Chiyū*. Their names appear only in *Gyōnen's* later work the SBDE. Given that the account in the SBDE was written almost six hundred years after the events took place, the dates and identities of the conveyors of the third transmission are even more questionable than those of the other 'conveyors'.

The fourth transmission by *Gembō** 玄昉:

Gembō, whose story is told in his dictionary entry, went to China on the same ship as *Kibi no Ma(ki)bi* 吉備真(吉)備 (693-775) and *Abe no Nakamaro* 阿部仲麿 (701-770), two Japanese students who made a name for themselves among Chinese scholars and justify a short digression.

Abe, a friend of the poets *Li Bo* 李白 and *Wang Wei* 王維, seemed to have enjoyed Chinese culture, and entered the services of the Chinese emperor (*Xuanzong* 玄宗 r.712-756). We know of no less than five poems[130], among them examples by *Li Bo* and *Wang Wei* at their best, that deplore the departure of *Abe* who had to leave China when ordered back to Japan in 753. Fortunately for the friends and for *Abe*, who in all likelihood did not want to return anyway, the ship after leaving the harbour drifted further and further down south until the crew finally decided to land in Nan'an 南安, near today's Quanzhou 泉州. *Abe* went back to Chang'an and stayed in China until his death. His fellow-student *Kibi no Makibi* decided to return to Japan together with *Gembō* seventeen years later and became one of the most influential politicians of his time. As in the case of *Gembō*, *Kibi* seemed to have known emperor *Xuanzong* quite well. On the occasion of *Kibi's* departure (on the same ship as Gembō) *Xuanzong* composed a poem to compliment *Kibi* (and himself) and wish him a safe return.

日下非殊俗　　天中嘉會朝
念余懷義遠　　矜爾畏途遙
漲海寬秋日　　帰帆駄夕飆
因驚彼君子　　王化遠昭昭[131]

this capital is different from the foreign realms
in the centre of the heavens we happily gather for the morning audience
I hope after this you will by righteousness pacify the distant realms
I take pity on you and am worried about your long way

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[129] *Hasshū kōyō* (1980), p.376. (In his annotations Hiragawa mistakenly writes: "*Chihō* was a Korean who immigrated to Japan; he later became Sōjō." He might have confused *Chihō* with *Chizō*.)

[130] Duly collected in: Shi Dongchu (1989), p.305-310.

[131] As cited in Shi Dongchu (1989), p.308.

the ocean tides rise high in these autumnal days
the violent evening winds will burden the sails on your journey home
the gentlemen there will be surprised
far and wide extends the influence of kingship

Regarding *Gembō's* role in the transmission of the Hossō school, all evidence that *Gembō* studied with *Zhizhou* 智周 comes as usual from the Japanese historiographical tradition. Though is possible that he met *Zhizhou* (allegedly the teacher of *Chihō* and the others of the third transmission) and listened to his lectures, this cannot be confirmed. *Gembō's* contribution lay probably in the large collection of scriptures he made available for study.
The importation of this comprehensive collection also marks in a certain sense the end of the transmission of scholastic Buddhism to Japan. While the days of Tendai, Esoteric Buddhism and Zen were still to come, the transmission of the older schools had come to an end with the availability of most relevant texts. An exception is the Vinaya school, which relied, as did the meditation and the esoteric school, on a personal, direct transmission from a properly ordained master. With the arrival of *Ganjin* in 753 this school in Japan also gained independence from further imports.

3.4 The transmission of the Sanron 三論 school

The Sanron school was the first discernible strand of Buddhist thought that came to Japan. It was based on three treatises (*san ron*) concerning the central questions of metaphysics and epistemology as to the nature of being and the nature of knowledge. These three texts are the *Madhyamika śāstra*[132], the *Dvādaśanikāya śāstra*[133] and the *Śata(ka) śāstra*[134].

During the first half of the seventh century and before, Sanron was the prevailing school of thought for the few monks in Japan that were engaged in doctrinal thinking. At the end of empress *Suiko's* reign (628) the number of these monks did not exceed one thousand. As in the case of the Hossō school,

[132] Ch. *Zhonglun* 中論, jp. *Chūron*, by *Nāgārjuna.* Chinese translation by *Kumarajīva* (409) (T.1564). German translation by Max Walleser: *Die Mittlere Lehre des Nāgārjuna.* Heidelberg: 1912.
[133] Ch. *Shiermenlun* 十二門論, jp. *Jūnimonron*, by *Nāgārjuna.* Chinese translation by *Kumarajīva* (408) (T.1568).
[134] Ch. *Bailun* 百論, jp. *Hyakuron*, by *Āryadeva.* Chinese translation by *Kumarajīva* (404) (T.1569). English translation by Giuseppe Tucci: *Pre-Dinnāga Buddhist Texts on Logic from Chinese Sources.* Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No.XLIX, Baroda Oriental Institute, 1929, p.1-89.

Buddhist historiography organised the transmission of the Sanron school neatly according to a number of conveyors and called the result 'The three transmissions of the Sanron school (*Sanron no sanden* 三論之三傳)'. As with the Hossō school the claim to these transmissions is founded on rather weak evidence.

The first transmission by *Hyegwan* 慧灌 (also: 慧観)

Though the SBDE mentions that the Korean scholar monks around *Shōtoku Taishi* Sanron had introduced Sanron and (Jōjitsu) thought, and by inference the school's basic texts, traditionally the first conveyor of the Sanron school is thought to be the monk *Hyegwan* from Koguryŏ. An entry in the NG (XXII, AD 625) tells us:

> Spring, first month, seventh day. The King of Koguryŏ sent tribute of a Buddhist monk, named *Hyegwan*. He was appointed Sōjō.

Thus *Hyegwan* was appointed Sōjō immediately after his arrival, replacing the Paekche monk *Kwarŭk* 観勒 who had arrived in Japan in 602 and became the first *Sojō* in 624[135]. Though most of the Korean monks who lived in Japan were considered Sanron scholars, *Hyegwan* was especially qualified to enter the lineage, because he had studied with *Jizang* 吉蔵 (549-623)[136] in China before he came to Japan. Perhaps, however, he owes his prominent position in history rather to the fact that he was a competent rainmaker. His GS biography says:

> That summer (625) there was a great drought. *Hyegwan* was ordered to make rain. When he, clad in blue robes, lectured on the three treaties, plenty of rain started to fall. The rulers were very happy, and he was made Sōjō.[137]

The episode of rainmaking, however, is somewhat dubious: to make rain, monks

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[135] The actual succession of the early Sōjōs and their relation to the 'Ten Preceptors' instituted in 645 is very difficult to assess and has been the subject of some discussion. The successor of *Kwarŭk* might have been the Chinese monk *Fukuryō* (ch. *Fuliang*) 福亮. Cf. Naobayashi Futai 直林不退: *Nihon kodai bukkyōseidoshi kenkyū* 日本古代仏教制度史研究 [Studies in the History of the Institutionalisation of Buddhism in Ancient Japan]. Tokyo: Nagata bunshōdō 永田文昌堂, 1988, p.155-160. Naobayashi's work is one of the latest and most comprehensive on the problem of early Buddhist institutions.

[136] *Jizang* is the actual founder of the Sanron lineage. His work on the Three Treaties, the *Sanlun xuanyi* 三論玄義 (T.1852) became a standard commentary for Sanron scholars.

[137] 其夏天下大旱。詔灌祈雨。灌著青衣講三論。大雨便下。上大悦擢爲僧正。 GS in: DBZ 470, p.70.

usually recited *dhāraṇīs*, in some cases sutras, or made use of Tantric rites[138]; the three treatises were not usually used for it.
Hyegwan is said to have been the teacher of the Chinese monk *Fukuryō* 福亮, and of *Fukuryō's* son *Chizō** 智蔵 who is credited with the second transmission. Both *Fukuryō* and *Chizō* are said to have studied with *Jizang* too, and it is not impossible that *Hyegwan* met them at *Jizang's* place in China. Kamata Shigeo also includes the monks *Emyo** and *Eun** among *Hyegwan's* students.[139]
The connection of *Hyegwan* with the Sanron is not evinced by the NG, which does not mention what kind of teaching *Hyegwan* promulgated. This is of course no proof to the contrary, since the NG was primarily concerned with political events. According to Sueki Fumihiko[140], the earliest source connecting *Hyegwan* to the Sanron school is the *Daijōsanronshi shiden* 大乗三論師資傳, dating from the ninth century.

The second transmission by *Chizō** (ch. *Zhizang*) 智蔵
As discussed in the dictionary entry, there might have been three monks with the name *Chizō*. One of the central questions about the second conveyor of the Sanron-school is, whether, as some sources say, he went to China *again* after he was there as a child with his father *Fukuryō*. I tend to doubt this. As was *Hyegwan*, *Chizō* was allegedly a student of *Jizang*, an assumption that rests on very weak evidence.
It is possible in the light of the *Kaifūsō* biography that the 'second conveyor' is entirely a fabrication of historiography and the 'real' *Chizō* was the one described in the *Kaifūsō*. As in the case of *Benshō** and *Dōji** the *Kaifūsō* contains many aspects that do not square with the 'politically correct' version presented in the NG, the SNG and the standard works of Buddhist historiography. With *Dōji* the discrepancies can still be united in one biography, but *Benshō's* and *Chizō's* identities separate in a *Kaifūsō*- and an 'official' biography. If we assume that the *Kaifūsō* is correct, and I see no motivation for the compiler to have manipulated the biographies, then the cases of *Chizō*, *Dōji* and *Benshō* show how much has been lost by the streamlining of the official records.

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[138] Cf. the descriptions of rainmaking by the three founders of Tantric Buddhism in China translated by Chou Yi-Liang: *Tantrism in China.* In: HJAS 8 (1945), p.268, 276 and 299.
[139] Kamata Shigeo 鎌田茂雄: *Chōsen bukkyōshi* 朝鮮仏教史 [A History of Korean Buddhism]. Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku 東京大学 1987, p.28. I was not able to verify the claim. This *Emyō* was probably the *Emyō* that was made one of the 'Ten Preceptors', rather than the student-monk who died in China.
[140] ZWJD, vol.4 (Religion), p.109.

The third transmission by *Dōji*

Dōji is said to have studied under *Chizō**. His biography is, like that of one *Chizō*, included in the *Kaifusō*. The fact that the texts do not mention any relation between them strengthens the assumption that the *Kaifusō Chizō* and the 'Second Conveyor' are indeed not the same person. Another possibility is that the 'Second Conveyor' did not exist as described, or that *Dōji* simply was not his student[141]. *Dōji* has been linked to the transmission of a branch school called 'New Sanron' (*Betsu Sanron* 別三論, lit. 'Different Sanron') that is mentioned in the inventory of the Daianji dated 747. This form of Mādhyamika thought developed in India during the sixth and seventh centuries and arrived in China with the Indian teacher *Divākara*[142] in 676. Sueki Fumihiko says:

> The *Betsu Sanron* that appears in the records of the Daianji [...], was a form of learning that gave the traditional Sanron school new impulses (like the newly translated discourses of *Bhā[va]vivaka* [c.490-570]). This new influx of knowledge was necessary to counter the Hossō school that at that time was extremely popular. Because *Dōji's* line was continued at the Daianji it differed considerably from the old school at the Gangōji.[143]

Dōji's association with the *Betsu Sanron* shows that he was involved in the scholary discussions at a very advanced level. His position in the line of transmission stands on somewhat firmer evidence than that of other 'Conveyors', such as *Gembō*. *Dōji's* reputation as a scholar was high, and the claim that he transmitted the sophisticated Sanron teachings is certainly plausible. In Chang'an he would have studied with *Yuankang* 元康, a second-generation disciple of *Jizang*, and *Yuankang's* student *Xuanshi* 玄湜. As Asaeda Akira[144] remarks, the *Chūron shoki* 中論疏記 (T.2255) that made an important contribution to Japanese Sanron thought is a treatment of *Jizang's Zhonglunshu* 中論疏 (T.1824), a commentary on the *Mādhyamika śāstra*. It was written by *Anchō* 安澄 (763-814) a second-generation student of *Dōji*. It seems certain that *Dōji* studied both forms of Mādhyamika thought in China and Japan, but

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[141] Sueki in ZWJD, vol.4 (Religion), p.110, assumes that making *Dōji Chizō's* student is an interpolation of later biographers.

[142] Cf. M.3611a (*Dipoheluo* 地婆訶羅). These were the ripples that reached Japan of an Indian controversy between the Prāsaṅgika and the Svātantrika school in the Madhyamaka tradition. A lucid account of the differences in argumentation of the two Indian schools is Donald S. Lopez: *A Study of Svatantrika*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion Publications, 1987.

[143] ZWJD, vol. 4 (Religion), p.110.

[144] Asaeda Akira 朝枝照: "Dōjiden no mondaiten 道慈伝の問題点 [Problems in Dōji's biography]." *Ryūkoku Shidan* 龍谷史壇 No.59 (Nov.1967), p.68-69.

the Sanron-lineage can hardly claim *Dōji* exclusively. As shown in his dictionary entry, all sources agree that during his long life he studied several schools with various masters, in his person uniting the scholastic, the Vinaya and perhaps even the early Tantric tradition.

3.5 The transmission of the Kegon 華厳 school

The transmission of both the Kegon and the Ritsu school is credited not to Japanese student-monks but to Korean, Chinese and even Indian monks who went to Japan to promulgate their teachings.

The Kegon school was the last of the six Nara schools to arrive, In China itself the school was founded relatively late by *Fazang* 法蔵 (643-712). A new translation of its basic text, the *Avataṃsaka sutra*[145], was brought to Japan in 736 by the Chinese monk *Daoxuan* 道璿[146] (702-760), but was not further studied, perhaps because *Daoxuan* was preoccupied with teaching the Vinaya tradition. *Daoxuan* arrived on the same ship that brought the Indian monk *Bodhisena* 菩薩遷那 (704-760)[147] to Japan who would later conduct the eye-opening-ceremony for the Tōdaiji Buddha in 757. The casting of this monument was a tremendous financial and technological effort for medieval Japan. Its inception was a direct result of the lectures the Korean monk *Simsang* 審祥 (d.742) had delivered on the Kegon sutra. *Simsang* went from Silla to China to study with *Fazang* and from there to Japan. With his arrival in 740 and the lectures he gave at court, the study of the Kegon sutra got under way, relying heavily on *Fazang's* commentaries. The imagery of the Kegon sutra had a great influence on *Shōmu* 聖武 Tennō (r.724-749) who, according to Takakusu Junjirō, "intended to govern Japan by the totalistic principle of the Kegon school"[148]. It was the *Shōmu* Tennō who decided in 740 to build the Tōdaiji as the chief temple of a system of national temples closely connected with the government. A huge image of the *Mahāvairocana* Buddha was cast, a project that bound up Japan's resources for more than a decade, but came to provide a common purpose and to a certain degree unified the various secular and

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[145] Ch. *Huayanjing* 華厳經, jp. *Kegonkyō*. Translated by *Śikṣānanda* in AD 695 (T.279).

[146] Not to be confused with *Daoxuan* 道宣 (596-667) the Vinaya master.

[147] *Bodhisena* (also written 菩薩仙那) became Sōjō in 757, the same year he served as master of ceremonies during the eye-opening-ceremony of the Tōdaiji Buddha.

[148] Takakusu Junjirō (1949), p.116. In how far this is true would, however, require further research.

religious groups[149] in society. The most important source for this image of the *Mahāvairocana* Buddha is of course the Kegon sutra. The Tōdaiji is to this day the head temple of the Kegon school.

3.6 The transmission of the Ritsu 律 school

In contrast to the other Nara schools, the Ritsu school was in principle not centred around a certain text, sutra or śāstra, but took 'practice' as its main point of doctrine and contemplation. Practice in the Vinaya sense means the observation of the various precepts for monks and nuns, as well as competence in religious ritual, especially ordination. In principle, every monk, no matter of which sect, was involved in *ritsu* [skr. *vinaya*], which tries to define how to become and how to live as a monk.

This definition was always also a concern for the rulers of a realm, though arguably for different reasons. They too understood that whoever obtained control over this definition was in control of the Sangha. One of the characteristics of Buddhism, as it spread to China, Korea and Japan, was that the Sangha had to surrender the authority over this definition in large part to the local governments. It is tempting to think that the pre-eminence of the Zen and Pure Land schools after the ninth century is a consequence of this loss of the Sangha's authority to govern itself. Whereas in Sri Lanka and South East Asia, 'practice' in the sense of the Vinaya is still at the centre of the discourse, Buddhism under Chinese influence had to 'retreat' to the high-ground of meditation practice and folk religiosity, both spheres of little interest for the rulers of a realm.

Notwithstanding its comparatively practical concern, the Vinaya school (like later the Zen school) developed a highly scholastic literature. Precepts and, to a lesser degree, ritual are recorded in the Vinaya scriptures (*ritsuzō* 律蔵). Of the five Vinayas that were translated into Chinese, only the *Sifenlü* [jp. *Shibunritsu*] Vinaya gained lasting importance. Through *Daoxuan's* 道宣 (596-667) influential commentaries, the *Sifenlü* became the basis of the development of ritual and precepts in Chinese Buddhism.

In Japan a problem of *ritsu* appeared first when *Soga no Umako* tried to 'appoint' three nuns to serve in his temple (cf. Ch.1.2). How does one appoint a

[149] For a summary of the many-layered motivation and impact of Shōmu's project see Matsunaga (1974), p.120-123 A detailed description of the establishment of the Tōdaiji and the Kokubunji 國分寺 can be found in Inoue Kaoru's 井上薫 massive: *Narachō bukkyōshi no kenkyū* 奈良朝仏教史の研究 [Studies in the History of Buddhism in the Nara state]. Tokyo: Yoshikawa 吉川 1966, p.181-481.

nun? While in this particular case the question was solved by sending the three girls to Paekche to get them trained and ordained, the problem stayed with the Japanese rulers for another 200 years. According to the SBDE, the student-monk *Dōkō** introduced *Daoxuan's* work on the *Sifenlü* to Japan, probably in 679. It was, however, not widely studied, and only 50 years later it was decided to invite some prominent Vinaya master from China to settle certain questions pertaining to the precepts in general and to ordination in particular. The two monks *Fushō* and *Yōei* were sent in 732 with orders to find a monk who was ready to dare the dangerous crossing to Japan and teach in a foreign realm. As a first result of their efforts the young monk *Daoxuan* 道璿 (702-760) [jp. *Dōsei*] arrived in 736. *Daoxuan* seems to have lectured and taught several sutras. In addition to the Ritsu school, he is mentioned in connection with the Kegon, the early Tendai and the Zen school. His Vinaya teachings however, were not sufficiently influential to provide the awaited orthodoxy. Perhaps *Daoxuan* was not charismatic enough (at 34 he might have been deemed too young), or he himself did not care about orthodoxy much; at any rate, no decisive changes were made in the ordination system until the arrival of *Ganjin* (ch. *Jianzhen*) 鑑真 (688-763) in 753.

When *Yōei* and *Fushō* went to China to study Vinaya, they found that from a strict point of view neither themselves nor their brethren at home were validly ordained. The Vinaya prescribed along with other hurdles that a minimum number of five fully ordained monks must be present at an ordination. The ordination had to be done on a ordination platform (*kaidan* 戒壇), which had to be constructed following certain rules.[150] After staying in China for ten years they asked *Ganjin* to help with a proper transmission of Vinaya lore to Japan. *Ganjin*, who by all accounts was an extremely active and energetic master, accepted the challenge and decided to leave for Japan. Since the Tang authorities were not willing to let him go, the preparations for every attempt to leave had to be made in secret. When *Ganjin* finally reached Japan in 753.12 after five failed attempts to leave China[151], he was already 65 and blind. His arrival is portrayed as a great success for Japanese Buddhism: the Tennō, his

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[150] For an extensive treatment of the development of the *kaidan* in China, Korea and Japan see: Ōchō Enichi 横超慧日: "Kaidan ni tsuite 戒壇について [Concerning the Kaidan]." *Shina Bukkyō shigaku* 支那仏教史学 vol.5-1,2,3 (1941).

[151] Ganjin's adventures on his way to Japan are recorded in the *Tōdai wajō tōsei den* 唐代和上東征傳 [The High Priest of the Tang conquers the East] (by *Mabito Gankai* 真人元開 (722-809), dated 779, in: DBZ 553), a very entertaining and detailed account of his life and times. A translation by Takakusu Junjirō has been published in French: "Le voyage de Kanshin." *Bulletin d'Ecole Francaise de l'Extrême Orient* XXVIII (1928) p.1-42 (Introduction), p.442-472 (Translation I); BEFEO XXIX (1929) p.48-62 (Translation II). I have done an English version (forthcoming).

family and a large part of the aristocracy allegedly received the lay-precepts in 754.4 at a newly built ordination platform at the *Tōdaiji*.[152] *Ganjin's* story entered the schoolbooks and literature[153], and because of this his name is known to most Japanese. His teachings, however, probably had little impact beyond the ideological legitimisation they provided for the Ritsuryō state. Though he was made Sōjō soon after his arrival, he retired from his positions in 758 and taught in the *Tōshōdaiji* 唐招提寺, highly respected but with very limited impact on the development of the Sangha. The *Tōshōdaiji*, built especially for him, was also the site where *Ganjin* built his own ordination platform, the use of which was not continued after his death.

[152] This ordination probably never took place. See my: *Der Mönch Ganjin und seine Bedeutung für die Überlieferung des Buddhismus auf dem Weg von China nach Japan.* Würzburg University: unpublished, 2000.

[153] Inoue Yasushi's famous novel *Tempyō no Iraka* (1957) that retells the story of Ganjin's crossing was quite popular in the sixties and seventies. An English translation is: Inoue Yasushi: *The Roof Tile of Tempyō* (Trans. James Araki) Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1975.

Chapter 4: The role of Korea

One of the central problems concerning the student-monks is the question of how their travels were related to the societies on the Korean peninsula, especially Silla. A large number of student-monks are said to have gone to China or returned to Japan via Silla. We know of others who studied only in Silla, and the term 'student-monk' (*gakumonsō* 学問僧) was used generally for monks who studied abroad not discriminating between whether they went to China or Silla.

The importance of the Korean peninsula is easily overlooked, because exploring the interplay between China, Japan and Korea in these early days one soon finds that there is a regrettable lack of textual evidence for the Korean side. Nevertheless it is true, as Edwin Reischauer writes, that: "Then as now, some eleven centuries later, these three peoples were the major national groupings in that part of the world, and of the three, the Koreans played the least known but, as we see in *Ennin's* diary, perhaps the most interesting role."[154]

Although in recent years Korean Buddhism has received somewhat more attention, research is still far behind the intensive study of Chinese, Japanese and Tibetan Buddhism that has taken place during the last decades. This tendency to neglect the role Korea played in North-East Asia, especially by Japanese historians, has a long history, starting with the compilation of the *Kojiki* 古事記 and the NG.[155] Both works are good examples for how identity is created by constructing history, and how the history thus constructed is used to legitimise the status of its creators (common practice, of course, in all ages and cultures). In writing and rewriting the history of the early interactions between the Korean, Chinese and Japanese cultures, Japanese historians tended to emphasise the cultural impact of China and minimise the degree of Korean influence, referred to mainly as Chinese culture via Korea.[156] During the last decades on the Japanese side, however, the writings especially of Tamura Enchō and Kamata Shigeo[157] have tried to overcome the partisan, prejudiced view of

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[154] Reischauer (1955), p.272.

[155] See Paul (1993), p. 38-48.

[156] See the article of Hong Soon-Chang in Tamura Enchō 田村圓澄 and Hong Soon-Chang 洪淳昶: *Shiragi to Asuka - Hakuhō no bukkyōbunka* 新羅と飛鳥・白鳳の仏教文化 [Silla and Buddhist culture in the Asuka and Hakuhō eras]. Tokyo: Yoshikawa 吉川, 1975.

[157] Here especially Kamata Shigeo 鎌田茂雄: *Chōsen bukkyōshi* 朝鮮仏教史 [History of Korean Buddhism]. Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku 東京大学, 1987; and Tamura Enchō 田村圓澄: *Kodai chōsenbukkyō to nihonbukkyō* 古代朝鮮仏教と日本仏教

the Korean-Japanese relationship and to provide a better outline of the development of Korean Buddhism and its importance for Japan.

The Korean kingdoms, especially Paekche and Silla, were important for Japanese Buddhism in both the material and the doctrinal sense. By sending images and sutras and providing means of transport for student-monks and students on their way to and from China, they helped the flow of information between China and Japan. However, to see the Korean kingdoms only as conveyors or as a bridge to Japan would be to deny their contribution. As Kamata Shigeo points out:

> It has often been thought that Korean Buddhism has been either an emulation or a transplantation of Chinese Buddhism, but it is neither simply an emulation or a transplantation. Of course it is a historical fact that the first transmission came from China, but while accepting Chinese Buddhism, Korea managed to build an independent Buddhism and an independent Buddhist culture. [...]
> The first Buddhism introduced to Japan came from Paekche, after that there was an influx of Buddhism from Koguryŏ; later, when at the end of empress *Suiko's* reign the relationship with Silla became closer, Buddhism from Silla was transmitted. After that, with the return of the embassies to Sui and Tang China, continental Buddhism came to Japan. The transmission of Buddhism to Japan happened therefore via Paekche, Koguryŏ, Silla and the Continent in this order, or rather it was a transmission constituted from these layers entwining with each other.[158]

This transmission took place between roughly the middle of the sixth to the middle of the eighth century. These two hundred years were an intensely formative period in the history of East Asia. During this period, after centuries of domestic as well as external warfare, three societies emerged victorious, the very same societies that compose the political landscape of 'East Asia' until today. China, Japan and Korea managed to unify the divergent powers and cultures in their respective territories and to construct coherent and stable states, complete with institutions and ideologies that included histories and religions.

While for China, this process was the regaining of a union remembered from at least the times of the Han Dynasty, Korea and Japan as territorial entities came into existence during these centuries. For both Korea and Japan the central axis

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[Ancient Buddhism in Korea and Japan]. Tokyo: Yoshikawa 吉川, 1980. In Western languages there is the series *Studies in Korean Religions and Culture* edited by Lewis Lancaster and Chai-shin Yu and the short *Introduction to the Buddhist History of Korea* by Kim Young-tae (Seoul: Dongguk University Press 1986).

[158] Kamata Shigeo (1987), p.3-4.

of foreign relations lay with China, the large neighbour with a long memory. Both modelled themselves to a large degree after China, and both ended the assimilation process before it led to political integration. Another common trait of the three Korean kingdoms and Japan was that the power of the king was to a large part legitimised by his being invested with his title by China.
The relationship of the Korean kingdoms and the societies on the Japanese archipelago towards each other was more complex than their relationship with China, pervaded as it was by a sense of competition as well as the acknowledgement of a common interest.

4.1 Political and cultural relations between Paekche, Koguryŏ, Silla and Japan before 663

What is called Yamato Japan attained a tentative unity and pre-eminence early in the sixth century, and its voice is the only one recorded. The other societies on the archipelago, such as the Ainu tribes or the communities on Kyūshū, which under different circumstances might also have been called kingdoms, dropped out of the narrative. This leaves Yamato as the sole player in the discourse on foreign relations during the sixth and the seventh century.

The earliest histories of Korea the *Samguk sagi* 三國史記[159] and the *Samguk yusa* 三國遺事[160] were compiled relatively late, in the middle of the Koryŏ period (935-1392), after the end of the Silla Dynasty that for some reason had neglected to write its own history. Contrary to the Japanese rulers, the Silla rulers did not emulate China in historiography though they were close political allies. The absence of an early Korean work comparable to the *Kojiki* or the NG greatly restricted the emergence of an independent Korean narrative for the early period.

In their relationship towards Japan, the three Korean kingdoms (*sankan* 三韓) - Koguryŏ, Paekche and Silla - differed considerably. Koguryŏ, geographically the most remote of the three, had the least impact on Japan and the exchange of envoys was less frequent than between Japan and Silla or Paekche. Buddhism in Koguryŏ declined after a strong start, when Buddhism as practised in the northern Dynasties was introduced during the fifth and sixth century. It could

[159] Compiled by Kim Pusik 金富軾 (1075-1151) in 1145.
[160] Written by the monk *Iryŏn* 一然 (1206-1289) and concerned with Buddhist history especially. An English translation has been done by Ha Tae-hŭng & Grafton K. Mintz (Trans.): *Samguk Yusa: Legends and History of the three Kingdoms of Ancient Korea.* Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 1972.

not obtain the support of the aristocracy and encountered some form of opposition, the exact circumstances of which are not known, starting probably from the end of the sixth centuries. This resulted in the emigration of many monks from Koguryŏ to Silla and Japan[161] and the rise of a competing discourse - Taoism. After Taoism was made Koguryŏ's official religion in 643, nothing is heard of Buddhism there again until the fall of Koguryŏ and the subsequent unification of the peninsula in 668, when Buddhism, as favoured by the Silla rulers, spread again through the realm.

The relations between Paekche and Japan were generally friendly since the first contacts. Japan owes to Paekche not only the introduction of Buddhism but also the considerable development in terms of material culture (architecture, pottery etc.) that took place from the fifth century onward. Paekche Buddhism was influenced by the way Buddhism was practised under the Southern Dynasties, with which Paekche had strong diplomatic ties. This strand of the Buddhist tradition was less involved in politics and ideology and was more or less left to govern itself. Paekche's reputation for a strong Vinaya tradition also points in this direction. Paekche was a close observer of the reign of the fervently Buddhist emperor *Wudi* 武帝 (r.502-550) and many Buddhist scriptures and beliefs entered Paekche during his reign. When the empress *Suiko* in 624 made a first attempt to nominate an ecclesiastical hierarchy of monk-officials (*sōkan* 僧官), the first Sōjō 僧正 was *Kwarŭk* 觀勒 from Paekche. The second, appointed only one year later, was *Hyegwan* 慧観 from Koguryŏ. The titles of the hierarchy – Sōjō, Sōzū 僧都, Risshi 律師 – point towards a southern rather than an influence from the north, where the positions in the official hierarchy had different names. During the period between 552 and 663, the NG mentions Paekche in connection with Buddhism twelve times, compared to ten passages that mention Koguryŏ and four mentioning Silla.[162] With regard to Korean monks and nuns that came to Japan in the sixth and seventh century, 46 were said to be from Paekche, 13 from Koguryŏ and only 8 from Silla.[163] It seems certain that during the Asuka period (552-645) Paekche had a strong, formative influence on the development of Japanese Buddhism. However, beginning with *Shōtoku Taishi* who sought closer ties with the continent this role was gradually taken over by Silla.

In Silla, Buddhism had entered a period of rapid growth under the Kings *Pŏphŭng* 法興 (r.514-539) and *Chinhŭng* 真興 (r.540-576). Against strong

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[161] For the late sixth to the early seventh century the NG frequently mentions monks from Koguryŏ (e.g. NG XX, AD 584; XXII, AD 595; XXII, AD 602 et al.).
[162] According to a count by Hong Soon-Chang (1975), p.283.
[163] As listed by Tamura Enchō (1983), vol.4, p.146.

opposition from the aristocracy, both kings successfully tried to make Buddhism a centre pillar of their ruling ideology. During the long reign of *Chinhŭng* especially, the aristocracy partly accepted this, and by the end of the sixth century, Buddhism was firmly established. As *Lee Ki-beak* points out[164], the decisive reason for the acceptance of Buddhism by the members of the aristocracy was the discovery that Buddhism was not only useful to the king, but that they themselves could use it in turn to justify their own position by the doctrine of transmigration and accumulated good karma.

Another important feature of early Korean Buddhism was the *Maitreya* cult. The belief in *Maitreya* the future Buddha that was popular both in Paekche and in Silla, influenced the emergence of Japan's *Shōtoku Taishi* cult and later, as had been the case in China, the emergence of the Pure Land schools. Worship of *Maitreya* comes in two versions. The millenarian or messianic view, favoured in Paekche, assumes that *Maitreya* will one day descend from his paradise, the Tuşita-heaven (*tosotsuten* 兜率天), become the new Buddha and teach the Dharma.[165]

The second view, neither antagonistic nor clearly separated from the first, stressed the aspect of personal salvation. It held that a true believer could be reborn in *Maitreya's* heaven and be near to *Maitreya* at the time of his descent. It was this second aspect of the movement that would later gain particular importance in Silla and Japan during the seventh and eighth centuries[166], obviously because of the promising prospect of a rebirth in heaven, a novelty among religious imaginations in East Asia at that time. In Silla the *Maitreya* cult was characterised by a unique institution, an organisation of young men called Hwarang 花朗. The association of these young men and *Maitreya* rests on a tradition that claims that a 'Hwarang' (Flower Boy) is one of the incarnations of *Maitreya*. The formation of the Hwarang, which is sometimes depicted as semi-military, had a great unifying and identity-building effect on society, binding together not only the later leaders of the aristocracy but also defining a pattern for the interaction between the king and the aristocracy. On one level the king was identified with the *cakravartin,* the ideal Buddhist ruler, while the Hwarang were associated with *Maitreya*, or at least were helping the *cakravartin* in preparing the world for the coming of *Maitreya*.

Impressive witness to the transmission of the *Maitreya* cult to Japan are the 31

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[164] Lee Ki-baek: "Early Silla Buddhism and the Power of the Aristocracy." In: Lancaster, Lewis R. & Yu, C. S. (Eds.): *Introduction of Buddhism to Korea - New Cultural Patterns*. Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, 1989, p.161-185.

[165] This view is based on the two sutras *Mile dachengfo jing* 弥勒大成佛經 (T.456) and *Mile xiasheng jing* 弥勒下生經 (T.453).

[166] This aspect of the *Maitreya* cult has its textual basis in the *Guan mile puti shangsheng doushuaitian jing* 觀弥勒菩薩上生兜率天經 (T.452).

Maitreya sculptures from Paekche and Silla carved in the sixth and the seventh centuries that have survived in Japanese temples.[167] The seated, pensive images of *Maitreya*, with one leg resting on the knee of the other, count among the greatest treasures of Buddhist sculpture. The images are believed to show *Maitreya* as a Hwarang youth. The Hwarang organisation itself was not transmitted to Japan; it remained a strictly Korean phenomenon.
If Silla exerted a growing influence on Japanese Buddhism before the unification of the peninsula, its dealings with Japan even increased after emerging as victor in the century-old struggle between the three kingdoms.

4.2 The relationship between Silla and Japan after 663 and its influence on the travels of the student-monks

An important event in the history of East Asia is the unification of the Korean peninsula, brought about by the obliteration of Paekche and Koguryŏ by the hand of Silla and Tang forces. In 660 Paekche suffered a devastating defeat at the hands of Tang and Silla forces and King *Ŭija* 義慈 (r.641-661) was captured and killed. The final defeat of Paekche and Japan in the battle at the Hakuson river in 663 and the fall of Koguryŏ in 668, left Japan without friends. After its fleet had been devastated by Tang forces, Japan's relations with Tang China came to a halt. Those with Silla, however, continued. In fact, relations between Silla and Japan during the later Hakuhō-era (c.670-710) were of an unprecedented friendliness. Japan seemed to have overcome the grudge it bore towards Silla because of the loss of Mimana in 562, and the powerful prime ministers *Fujiwara Kamatari* and his son *Fuhito* actively tried to establish a good rapport with the kingdom next door. A frequent exchange of envoys[168] took place that continued among some bickering over diplomatic ritual (recorded for 743 and 753) until Silla cut off the relations unilaterally in 779.

During the late seventh and early eighth century, faced with a strong and expanding China, both countries had some interest in friendly relations with each other. Although Japan had more to gain by upholding the contacts with its

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[167] Listed and analysed in Tamura Enchō (1980), p.77-97.

[168] The word 'envoy' should not be taken too seriously here. As we have seen, there was a relatively busy traffic between Japan and the Korean peninsula, with many Koreans and Korean-Chinese living on the Japanese archipelago, and we can safely assume that some so-called 'envoys' were simply trading missions.
Nevertheless there were official contacts between the two countries, and it seems that Japan had to accept a junior role in them. While its envoys were of ranks five or six, all the Korean envoys held only ranks eight or nine.

advanced neighbor on whom it had now to rely for a further influx of continental culture[169], Silla too could not afford to alienate Japan. It was afraid of an alliance between Japan and China that would have resulted in Silla sharing the fate of Paekche and Koguryŏ.

There is another reason for the fact that relations between Silla and Japan were rather friendly, though they were technically at war over the question of Paekche in the 660s. Japanese and Korean culture was at that time just too similar. Considering the long history of immigration from Korea to Japan, including the large number of refugees that came after the fall of Paekche, there were no cultural or linguistic barriers preventing a lively exchange of goods and information. Many Koreans lived in Japan and many of the Japanese were of Korean ancestry themselves.

It is therefore no surprise that Silla is frequently mentioned in connection with the student-monks. For the seventh and early eighth century, fourteen such cases can be found in the records.

AD 622.7: The monks *Esai** and *Eko** return from China following a Silla envoy.
AD 632.8: *Ryōun** and *Sōbin** return to Japan accompanying the envoy from China *Gao Biaoren*. They come via Silla and arrive in Japan together with a Silla envoy.
AD 639.9: *Eon** and *Eun** return in the train of a Silla envoy.
AD 640.10: *Shōan** and *Takamuku Genri* return via the peninsula and arrive with envoys from Paekche and Silla "bringing tribute".
AD 657.9: *Chidatsu** is sent to China via Silla, but passage is denied and he has to return.
AD 658.7: *Chidatsu** and *Chitsū** manage to enter China via Silla.
AD 678.9: *Jōe** allegedly returns via Paekche, at that time already part of Silla.
AD 685.5: *Kanjō** and *Ryōkan** come from Silla
AD 687.9: *Chiryū** comes to Japan in the train of a Silla envoy.
AD 689.4: *Meisō** and *Kanchi** return after studying in Silla.
AD 693.3: *Bentsū** and *Shinei** are sent to Silla.
AD 690.9: *Chisō**, *Gitoku** and *Jōgan** return in the train of a Silla envoy.
AD 704 to AD 706: *Chihō**, *Chiran** and *Chiyū** return to Japan. They

[169] In particular, the navigational and ship building skills of the Koreans that guaranteed them a dominant position on the sea routes of northern East Asia, made them important for Japan. They were able to maintain their advantage until the tenth century.

were sent in 703. Their identity is unclear, but probably they were Koreans by birth.
AD 707.5: *Gihō**, *Giki**, *Sōjū**, *Jijō** and *Jōdatsu** return from Silla.

As can be seen from the list above, the passage of student-monks through Silla routes became more frequent during the second half of the seventh century, when Paekche had ceased to exist and Japan had not yet resumed contact with China, leaving Silla as its sole counterpart in foreign affairs.

A large number of Koreans lived in Chang'an and other parts of China, and Korean student-monks who went to China could rely on a much stronger community than their Japanese colleagues. [170] As Tamura Enchō has suggested[171], the Japanese and the Korean student-monks in Chang'an probably became friends easily, both were foreigners in China who studied Buddhism and shared a similar cultural background.

The fact that many of the early student-monks were either Koreans, of Korean descent, or of unknown origin indicates a more important role for the Koreans in the process of transmission than admitted by traditional historiography. Especially in the case of the last group, those monks whose place of birth is unknown, I suspect that the origin of many was purposely left out of the narrative because they were Koreans. An example of this might be the case of *Chihō*, *Chiran* and *Chiyū* who appear as Koreans in the fourteenth century SBDE while in the seventeenth century the TKD states that *Chihō's* origin is unknown.[172]

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[170] Cf. Reischauer, Edwin: *Ennin's Travels in Tang China*. New York: Harvard University Press 1955, especially Ch.8 "The Koreans in China". Reischauer points out that Ennin's "personal contacts during this time [after the end of the Buddhist persecution in 845] seem to have been primarily with Koreans rather than with Chinese...In fact, although his diary recounts the travels of a Japanese in China, in its pages Koreans rival Chinese in number and decidedly overshadow the Japanese." (p.272).

[171] Tamura Enchō (1996), p.54.

[172] 不知何許人也。TKD in DBZ 471, p.237.

Part 2: Biographical Dictionary

ANDACHI 安達 (?-?) (dp.653.5.12 - ?)
BENSHŌ 弁正 or 辨正 (?-736?) (dp.653.5.12 - ?)
BENSHŌ 弁正 or 辨正 (?-before 719) (dp.702.6 - ?)
BENTSŪ (or BENDŌ) 弁通 or 辨通 (?-716 or later) (dp.693.3 - rt. before 696.11)
CHIBEN 知弁 (?-?) (dp.653.5.12 - ?)
CHIDATSU 智達 (?-?) (dp.658.7 - ?)
CHIGOKU 知国 (?-?) (dp.653? - ?)
CHIHŌ 智鳳 (?-?) (dp.703 - rt. before 706)
CHIRAN 智鸞 (?-?) (dp.703 - ?)
CHIRYŪ 智隆 (?-?) (? - rt.687.9)
CHISŌ 知聰 (?-?) (dp.653.5.12 - ?)
CHISŌ 智宗 (?-?) (dp.653? - rt.690.9.23)
CHITSŪ 智通 (?-?) (dp.658.7 - rt. before 672)
CHIYŪ 智雄 (?-?) (dp.703 - ?)
CHIZŌ 智蔵 (?-?) (was in Japan 645 and 672) (? - ?)
CHIZŌ 智蔵 (?-?) (dp.671 or 672 - rt. between 687-696)
CHIZŌ 智蔵 (?-?) (?-?) (must have met Liu Yuxi 劉禹錫 (772-842)
DŌFUKU 道福 (?-653.7) (dp.653.5.12 - 653.7)
DŌGON 道厳 (?-?) (dp.653.5.12 - ?)
DŌJI 道慈 (?-744.10) (dp.702 - rt.718.10)
DŌKAN 道観 (?-?) (dp.653.5.12 - ?)
DŌKŌ 道光 (?-694.4) (dp.653.5.12 and/or 676 - rt.678?)
DŌKU 道久 (or DŌBUN 道文, DŌBIN 道旻) (?-?) (? - rt.671.11)
DŌSHŌ 道照 or 道昭 (629-700.3.10) (dp.653.5.12 - rt.659 or 661)
DŌTSŪ 道通 (?-?) (dp.653.5.12 - ?)
EKŌ 慧光 (or ESEN 慧先) (?-?) (? - rt.623.7)
EMYŌ 慧妙 (?-?) (dp.653? - ?)
EON 慧隠 (?-?) (dp.608.9.11 - rt.639.9) Shiga no Ayabito 志賀漢人
ESAI 慧済 (?-?) (? - rt.623.7)
ESE 慧施 (?-701) (dp.653.5.12 - rt. before 685)
ESHŌ 慧照 (?-?) (dp.653.5.12 - ?)
EUN 慧雲 (?-after 653) (? - rt.639.9)
GEMBŌ 玄昉 (?-746.6) (dp.717 - rt.735.4)
GIHŌ 義法 (?-?) (? - rt.707.5) Obito Ōtsu no Muraji 首大津連
GIKI 義基 (?-?) (? - rt.707.5)

GIKYŌ 義向 (?-653.7) (dp.653.5.12 - 653.7)
GITOKU 義徳 (?-?) (dp. 653.5.12 - rt.690.9.23)
GITSŪ 義通 (?-?) (dp.653.5.12? - ?)
HŌSHŌ 法勝 (?-?) (dp.653.5.12? - rt.654?)
JIJŌ 慈定 (?-?) (? - rt.707.5)
JŌDATSU 浄達 (?-?) (? - rt.707.5)
JŌE 定慧 (643?-665.12.23 or, less likely, 715) (dp.653.5.12 - rt.665 or 678)
JŌGAN 浄願 (?-?) (? - rt.690.9)
KAKUSHŌ 覚勝 (?-?) (dp.653.5.12)
KANCHI 観智 (?-716) (? - rt.689.4)
KANJŌ 観常 (?-?) (? - rt.685)
KŌSAI 廣濟 (?-?) (dp.608.9.11 - ?) Imaki Ayabito 新漢人
MEISŌ 明聡 (?-?) (? - rt.689.4)
MYŌI 妙位 (?-?) (dp.653.5.12? - rt.654)
RYŌKAN 靈観 (?-?) (? - rt.685.5)
RYŌUN 靈雲 (?-?) (? - rt.632.8)
SHINEI 神叡 (?-737) (dp.693.3 - rt. before 717.7)
SHŌAN (or SEIAN) 請安 (?-?) (dp.608.9 - rt.640.10) Minabuchi no Ayabito 南淵漢人
SŌBIN (or SŌMIN) 僧旻 (or NICHIMON 日文, BIN (or MIN) 旻, HIFUMI 日文) (?-653.6) (dp.608.9.11 - rt.632.8) Imaki no Ayabito 新漢人
SŌJŪ 摠集 (?-?) (? - rt.707.5)
SŌNIN 僧忍 (?-?) (dp.653.5.12 - ?)

DBZ: Dainihon bukkyō zensho 大日本佛教全書
FSR: Fusō ryakki 扶桑略記
GS: Genkō shakusho 元亨釈書
HDCD: Hanyu Dacidian 漢語大辭典
HJAS: Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies
HKD: Honchō kōsō den 本朝高僧傳
JTS: Jiu tang shu 舊唐書
M: Mochizuki bukkyō daijiten 望月佛教大辭典
NBJJ : Nihon bukka jimmei jisho 日本佛家人名辭書
NBJJT: Nihon bukkyō jimmei jiten 日本佛教人名辭典
NG: Nihongi 日本紀
NSD: Nihonshi daijiten 日本史大辭典
SBDE: Sangoku buppō denzū engi 三國佛法傳通緣起
SNG: Shoku nihongi 續日本紀

T: Taishō 大正 (新修大蔵經)
TKD: Tōkoku kōsō den 東國高僧傳
XTS: Xin tang shu 新唐書
ZWJD: Zhongri wenhua jiaoliushi daxi 中日文化交流史大係

To make the dates more convenient for the reader, the years are given for the western calendar, while months and days refer to the Asian (lunar) year (counted by the 64-cycle and named after era-mottos). E.g. the date 653.5.12 in the text means: Anno Domini 653 - but: the twelfth day of the fifth month of the fourth year of the era Hakuchi. To get an approximation of the 'real' date one should add two months. The second embassy to the Tang left therefore in midsummer 653.
In the first pair of brackets I put the years of birth and death of the person. In the second pair follow the years of departure (dp.) to and return (rt.) from China. A 'd.' in front of a date means of course 'died', and a 'r.' means 'ruled'.
The asterisk * means that the name in front of it has an entry of its own.
In translations, if no other name is given, text in square-brackets [ ] is my addition. Text in round brackets ( ) is an annotation, usually printed in smaller type, as found in the edition of the original.

ANDACHI 安達 (?-?) (dp.653.5.12 - ?)

In the list of student-monks of the group that left in AD 653 (see p.40), *Andachi* is one of three monks who have a short entry after their names, concerning their family background. For *Andachi*, it says that he was the son of *Nakatomi no Kome no Muraji* 中臣渠毎連 a courtier, of whom not much else is known. The fact that he belonged to the mighty *Nakatomi* clan (the later *Fujiwara*) makes *Andachi* distantly related to *Jōe**.

BENSHŌ 弁正 or 辨正 (?-736?) (dp.653.5.12 - ?)

Apart from the passage recording his departure in 653, the name *Benshō* can be found in the SNG where a person of this name is said to have been promoted to the title of Shōsōzu 少僧都 (VII, AD 717.7). This might well have been the student-monk *Benshō* of 653. It seems that most of the student-monks in the group of 653 were in their teens and twenties (see *Dōshō* and *Jōe*). If we assume that he was 16 in 653 he would have been 80 in 717. But this is not the last we hear from him; more then ten years later a certain *Benjō* 弁浄, who is thought to be the same person as *Benshō* by the editors of the SNG, is made Daisōzu 大

僧都 (SNG X, AD 729.10). One year later *Benjō* (this time written 弁静) is made Sōjō 僧正[173] (SNG X, AD 730.10). The *Sōgobunin*[174] records his death for 736. If *Benjō* and *Benshō* are really one man, he must have been the Methuselah among the monks who went to China in 653, for in 736 he must have been far into his nineties. It is generally agreed among Japanese historians that this *Benshō* is not identical with the *Benshō* of whom two poems and a biography are included in the *Kaifūsō* 懐風藻 (s.b.).

BENSHŌ 弁正 or 辨正 (?-before 719) (dp.702.6)

This *Benshō's* story has come down to us through the remarkable career of his son. The *Kaifūsō*[175] 懐風藻, an eighth century collection of *kanbun*-poetry, contains a short biography and two poems of *Benshō* who went to China with the eighth embassy to the Tang in 702.6 and died there. In China, *Benshō* fathered two sons *Chōkei* 朝慶 and *Chōgan* 朝元. *Chōkei* died in China while *Chōgan* went to his father's homeland with the returning embassy of 719. In 720, under his father's family name *Hata* 秦, he was given the *kabane* Imiki 忌寸. He made a career at the Nara court, serving as secretary for the embassy of 733 and various other posts.[176] The passage in the *Kaifūsō* says:

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[173] Sometimes translated as 'Head of the office of monastic affairs' or 'Archbishop'. The Sōjō was highest rank for a monk in the officially imposed clerical hierarchy (*sōgō* 僧綱).

[174] The *Sōgobunin* 僧綱補任 (DBZ 484) is a thirteenth century work that records the succession of monks in the *Sōgo*, the official hierarchy of the clergy. On the development of the *Sōgo* and its precursors in China see: Naobayashi Futai 直林不退: *Nihon kodai bukkyōseidoshi kenkyū* 日本古代仏教制度史研究 [Studies in the History of the Institutionalisation of Buddhism in Ancient Japan]. Tokyo: Nagatabunshōdō 永田文昌堂, 1988.

[175] The *Kaifūsō* 懐風藻, by an unknown author, dates from the eighth century, and is an important source of information about the three student-monks *Benshō*, *Chizō* and *Dōji*. Basically a collection of poems written in Chinese by Japanese authors, it sometimes includes a short biography that is both old and in a way outside the mainstream biographical tradition, which makes it especially valuable. The edition I use, is edited and annotated by Sugimoto Yukio 杉本行夫, Tokyo: Kōbundō 弘文堂, 1943. The preface of the *Kaifūsō* has been published in an English translation in: Tsunoda Ryusaku; deBary, Wm. Theodore (Eds.): *Sources of Japanese Tradition*. New York: Columbia University Press 1964, p.88-91.

[176] *Chōgan's* career reveals another interesting fact about the preparations that the court made before it sent student-monks abroad. In the SNG X, AD 731.3 (*Tempyō* 2) we find in a list of appointments made to the capital-academy *daigaku* 大学:
"...Moreover in the different provinces and foreign realms the customs are not the same. If there are no interpreters it is difficult to get around. Therefore *Awata no Asomi no Umakai, Harima no Atai no Otoyasu, Harima no Atai no Otoyasu, Yako no Fubito no Mami,* ***Hata no Chōgan*** and *Bun no Gantei*, these five people were assigned

> There was the Dharma teacher *Benshō* whose family name had been *Hata*. He was of sanguine character and well versed in discussion. Early in life he became a monk and studied deeply the unfathomable teaching [of Buddhism]. In the Taihō-era (701-704) he was sent to study in China. He met *Li Longji*[177] before he ascended the throne and because he was good at chess, he was invited often and held in high regard [by the crown prince]. He had the sons *Chōkei* and *Chōgan*. *Benshō* and *Chōkei* died in China. *Chōgan* went to Japan and became an official. During the *Tempyō*-era (729-749) he was asked to serve as secretary on an embassy to the Tang[178]. In China he met the emperor who remembered *Chōgan's* father and bestowed his special favor on him and rich gifts. [*Chōgan*] went back to Japan and died soon after.[179]

This passage shows again that some student-monks had access to the highest circles in Chang'an. *Benshō's* family name *Hata* indicates that he was of Korean-Chinese descent. There seems to be no connection between the *Benshō* of the *Kaifūsō* and the *Benshō* of the NG and the SNG[180].

One of *Benshō's* two poems offers us a glimpse of the emotional situation of the student-monks. The title is 'Homesick in Chang'an'

> 在長安憶本郷
> 日邊瞻日本　　雲裏望雲端
> 遠遊労遠國　　長恨苦長安[181]

> when the sun rises I stare towards the land of the rising sun
> amidst the clouds I am looking for the clouds' end
> having travelled far I now have to labour in a land far away
> beset by a long-enduring grief suffering in Chang'an

The poem is a bit stilted; it was perhaps an exercise in parallelism (日 sun 日 sun, 雲 clouds 雲 clouds, etc.). The other poem is also rather conventional; perhaps *Benshō* was a better chess-player than poet.

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two students each to teach them Chinese."
Chōgan was therefore one of the Chinese teachers who prepared the students and student-monks for their journey to China. As the editors of the SNG point out, he must have lived at least 10 years longer then the *Kaifūsō* biography implies, because he was promoted once in 738 and again in 747 (SNG, Iwanami edition, p.474).

[177] The later emperor *Xuanzong* 玄宗 (r. 712-756).

[178] This can only have been the embassy of 733.

[179] *Kaifūsō* (1943), p.72.

[180] For a general assessment of the question of the *Kaifūsō* biographies see Ch.3.4.

[181] *Kaifūsō* (1943), p.77.

BENTSŪ (or **BENDŌ**) 弁通 or 辨通 (?-716 or later) (dp. 693.3 - rt. before 696.11)

The NG (XIII, AD 693.3) says *Shinei* and *Bentsū* received presents as they were to be sent to Silla. If *Bentsū* went to *Silla*, it must have been a short stay, because in 696.11 he is mentioned again. This time, the "monk *Bentsū* of the Daianji received forty households [as sustenance-fief]." We are not told why this special favour was granted to *Bentsū*, perhaps he received it on the occasion of his return. More than fifteen years later, in 712.5, the SNG records *Bentsū's* appointment to the post of Shōsōzu 小僧都. According to the *Sōgō bunin* he held this office for four years until 716[182]. After this, he is not mentioned again. *Bentsū* has no entry in the GS or in the HKD.

BIN 旻 see **SŌBIN**

CHIBEN 知弁 (?-?) (dp.653.5.12 - ?)

Chiben is one of the two names 'another book' adds to the list of names of the group that left in AD 653. He is not mentioned again anywhere else, as far as I know. Mori Katsumi[183] says *Chiben* returned 654. As source he gives the NG, but this is probably a mistake.

CHIDATSU 智達 (?-?) (dp.658.7 - ?)

Chidatsu is, together with *Chitsū*, called 'Second conveyor of the Hossō-school (法相第二伝)'. For their departure and study in China see *Chitsū**. According to the NBJJT (p.519), he taught Hossō doctrines in the Hōkōji 法興寺 after his return.

Chidatsu is mentioned in the NG (XXVI, AD 657.9) almost one year before his departure:

> This year envoys were sent to Silla with the following message: "We wish to send the monk *Chidatsu* [and others] to China under the charge of your country's envoys." Silla refused to grant such escort, and therefore the monk *Chidatsu* and the others returned.

This refusal[184] shows that Japan was not an equal partner to Silla, though the language of the NG tries to evoke this impression.

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[182] *Sōgō bunin*, DBZ 484, p.2. The author of the *Sōgō bunin* wonders about *Bentsū's* fate, after his last listing as *Shōsōtsu* a remark says: "Did he leave his position [or die], one wonders. 去職歟可尋".

[183] Mori Katsumi (1955), p.141.

[184] See Ch.4.2.

CHIGOKU 知国 (?-?) (dp.653? - ?)

The quote in NG XXV, AD 654.2 says that a student-monk named *Chigoku* died at sea. He is not mentioned elsewhere, so we do not know exactly when he left for China.

CHIHŌ 智鳳 (?-?) (dp.703 - rt. before 706)

Chihō is one of the three monks who are credited with the 'Third Transmission of the Hossō School'. Unlike his two travel companions *Chiran** and *Chiyū**, about whom we know next to nothing, a few scraps of information on *Chihō* have survived. His entry in the GS consists of a single line, which says:

> The Monk *Chihō*. Went to China in the third year of the era *Taihō* 大宝 [703], studied *Vijñānavāda* 唯識. The Sōjō *Gien* 義淵 was a student of *Chihō*.[185]

The account in the TKD is three lines longer without saying anything more. The central passage regarding the 'Third Transmission' is from the SBDE where it reads:

> Fifty-one years after *Dōshō** went to China that is in the third year of the era Taihō [703] under the reign of [...] *Mommu* Tennō, three teachers, the Korean[s] *Chihō*, *Chiran* and *Chiyū* received the imperial order to cross the sea to China. They studied the Hossō school [teachings] under Master *Puyang*. (It is also said that they studied the principles of this school with *Xuanzang* and *Cien*. But these two masters had already been dead for years at that time.) After they came back they greatly promoted the school's teachings. *Chihō* gave a lecture on the *Vimalakīrti nirdeśa sūtra* in the third year of the era Keiun [706].[186]

Chihō is not mentioned in the SNG, but a passage in the FSR (V, AD 706) seems to refer to him:

> In the same month [the 10th month of Keiun 3] [...] a Vimalakīrti-dharma-meeting (*Yuima hōe*[187]) was held for the first time. *Chihō* 智寶

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[185] DBZ 470, p.149.

[186] 第三傳者。道昭入唐之後五十一年[...]文武天皇御宇大宝三年寅卯。新羅智鳳。智智鸞。智雄三師。俱奉勅命渡海入唐。謁撲揚大師学法相宗。或遇玄奘慈恩学習宗旨者。然二師入滅經年序。遂帰本朝大弘宗教。智鳳慶雲三年丙午維摩講師。DBZ 467, p.14.

[187] The *Yuima hōe* was one of the great Dharma-meetings of Nara Buddhism. Basically it consisted of lectures on the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa sūtra* lasting for a few days. Its origins were prayers that were held to restore the health of sick members of the ruling class. For the development of the *Yuima hōe* cf. M., p.4907a and Marianus de Visser: *Ancient Buddhism in Japan - Sutras and Ceremonies in Use in the Seventh and Eighth*

> who had studied in China was asked to lecture on the *Mukujō-sūtra*[188].[189]

In spite of the different spelling, the '*Chihō* 智寶' of this passage is generally believed to be identical with '*Chihō* 智鳳'. The Vimalakīrti-dharma-meeting was organized by *Fujiwara Fuhito* on the occasion of the death of his father, *Fujiwara Kamako* (the father of *Jōe**). Though the TKD says *Chihō's* origins are unknown, we know from the passage in the SBDE that he was Korean, as perhaps were *Chiran* and *Chiyū*. Moreover, the passage in the FSR is found after an entry on the arrival of envoys from Silla. I assume the three monks came to Japan in the train of these envoys. Whether they went to China directly from Silla or, as the SBDE asserts, 'received imperial orders' from the Japanese emperor cannot be decided without a second source. They might even have been Koreans who had emigrated to Japan.

Concerning *Chihō's* teacher 'Master *Puyang'* who is none other than *Zhizhou* 智周 (668-723), the third patriarch of the Hossō school, there has been an interesting development that shows some of the mechanics of official Buddhist historiography. In his earlier work *Hasshū kōyō* 八宗綱要 *Gyōnen*, the great Buddhist historiographer of the thirteenth century, says that *Chihō* studied with *Xuanzang*. He corrected himself in the SBDE, recognising that *Xuanzang* had died much earlier, and mentioned *Zhizhou* who was active at the time *Chihō* went to China. The young *Gyōnen* was misled by a wrong source, which connected *Chihō* with *Xuanzang* and *Cien*. This might have been the same source that is mentioned in the *Shichidaiji nempyō* 七大寺年表, a work dated 1165, where it is said :

> The Imperial Records say this year [AD 703] Master *Chihō* and the others obeyed the imperial order and went to China. They met *Xuanzang* Tripitaka and studied the Hossō [teachings of the] Mahāyāna.[190]

Centuries A.D. and their History in Later Times. Leiden: Brill 1935, vol.2, p.596.
After this first *Yuima hoe* in 706, the FSR records two others that were held by student-monks: in 707 by *Kanchi** and in 709 by *Jōdatsu**. On all three occasions the ceremonies were led by student-monks who had studied in Silla.

[188] *Mukujō* 無垢稱 is an alternative (linguistically correct) translation of *Vimalakīrti* (usually rendered *Yuima* 維摩) proposed by Xuanzang. The *Mukujōkyō* is of course the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa sūtra*.

[189] 同月。[...] 初開維摩法會。屈入唐学生智寶。講無垢稱經。FSR V, AD 706, p.75.

[190] 國史云。此年智鳳法師等依勅命。度海入唐。遇玄奘三蔵。学習法相大乘。DBZ 647, p.348.

That this source existed shows again how important it was to claim as prestigious a teacher as possible for every link in the chain of transmission.

In the *Hasshū kōyō* as well as in the SBDE, we find the claim that *Chihō* was the teacher of *Gien* (d.728). *Gien* was an important leader of the monk community and for 25 years, between 703 and 728, held the highest position in the monk hierarchy, called Sōjō 僧正. He is said to have been the teacher of many of the most famous eighth century monks. Tamura Enchō, in his short sketch of *Gien*[191], remarks that the transmission from *Chihō* to *Gien* cannot be ascertained. If it was true and *Gien* was indeed *Chihō's* student, it would be but one more example for the great influence Korean monks had on the transmission of Buddhism to Japan.

CHIRAN 智鸞 (?-?) (dp.703 - ?)

In a passage in the SBDE (DBZ 467, p.14), *Chiran*, together with *Chihō** and *Chiyū**, is said to be responsible for the 'Third Transmission of the Hossō school' (*hossō daisan den* 法相第三傳). For this see *Chihō**. Together with *Chihō*, he is also said to have instructed *Gien*.

CHIRYŪ 智隆 (?-?) (? - rt.687.9)

Chiryū arrived in the train of Silla envoys.[192] He is not mentioned elsewhere, and we do not know if he returned from China via Silla or had studied only in Silla; neither do we know if he was born in Korea or Japan.

CHISŌ 知聰 (?-?) (dp.653.5.12 - ?)

Chisō's name is on the list of the group of student-monks who went to China with the second embassy to the Tang in 653. NG XXV, AD 654.2, says that *Chisō* died at sea (*kaiji* 海死). Since his name is among the group that embarked on the first ship of the embassy of 653, which made its way to China without sinking, he must have died on his way back. The possibility is that there is a mistake in the list and *Chisō* was on the second ship that sank off Kyūshū in 653.7.

CHISŌ 智宗 (?-?) (dp.653? - rt.690.9.23)

Chisō's name is mentioned in the remark under NG XXV, AD 654.2 (see Ch.3.2). That makes it likely that he was a member of the embassy of 653. His return together with *Gitoku**, is described in NG XXX, AD 690. He arrived in

[191] Tamura Enchō (1996), p.138.
[192] 学問僧智隆附至。NG XXX, AD 687.9.

northern Kyūshū in the train of a Silla envoy in 690.9 and went from there to the capital where he arrived in 690.10.

CHITSŪ 智通 (?-?) (dp.658.7 - rt. before 672)

Together with *Chidatsu**, *Chitsū* is called "Second Conveyor of the Hossō-school (法相第二伝)". The passage in the NG XXVI, AD 658.7 that records their departure is interesting in many ways:

> In this month the Buddhist priests *Chitsū* and *Chidatsu* received the command of the empress [to leave], boarded a Silla ship and went to China, where they were instructed in *Asvabhāva's* doctrine concerning sentient beings at Master *Xuanzang's* place.[193]

For the first time we are told where the student-monks go and what they learn.[194] The text alluded to above is *Asvabhāva's* commentary on the *Shedachenglun* 攝大乘論. The *Shedachenglun* was concerned with early Vijñāvādin thought that differed slightly from later Vijñāvādin (i.e. Hossō) thought, which was introduced to China by *Xuanzang's* translations after 645.

The commentators of the Iwanami-edition of the NG wonder if *Chitsū* and *Chidatsu* were sent especially to study that particular commentary. To do so, the news that *Xuanzang* had translated *Asvabhava's Shedachenglun shi* 攝大乘論釋 must have reached Japan by that time. This is possible, considering that at least three student-monks who must have heard of *Xuanzang* returned before 658, namely *Chiben**, *Myōi**and *Hōshō**. Studying this commentary at the place where *Xuanzang* taught would have meant gaining access to avant-garde knowledge in the Buddhist world.

The TKD[195] says in its short biography of *Chitsū*:

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[193] 是月、沙門智通、智達、奉勅、乘新羅船、往大唐國、受無性衆生義、於玄奘法師所。(NG, Iwanami-bunko edition, p.530) Aston translates (mistakenly): "...where they received instruction from the teacher of religion, Xuanzang, on the philosophy of things without life and living beings." (Aston, p.254).

[194] *Asaṅga's Shedachenglun* 攝大乘論 (*Mahayanasaṃgraha śāstra**) T.1592+1593 was commented upon by his brother *Vasubandhu* (*Shiqin* 世親) T.1595+1597 and by *Asvabhāva* (*Muxing* 無性) T.1598. Though the Sanskrit titles of the two works are different (*Mahāyānasaṃgrahabhāṣya** and *Mahāyānasaṃgrahopanibandhana*) the Chinese title is the same: *Shedachenglun shi* 攝大乘論釋. *Vasubandhu's* commentary was translated 3 times (the first time by *Paramartha*). *Asvabhāva's* commentary was translated only once - by *Xuanzang* (T.1598). *Xuanzang* also retranslated the *Shedachenglun* (between 648 and 649) and *Vasubandhu's* commentary (T.1594 and T.1597).

[195] DBZ 471, p.237c.

His contemporaries all followed him because he received instruction from *Xuanzang* himself.

That *Chitsū* and *Chidatsu* were ordered to go to China via Silla aboard a Silla ship shows again that the surprisingly smooth cooperation between Silla and Yamato monks continued, even amidst rising tensions and an attack looming on Yamato's ally Paekche. While it was common for student-monks in the seventh century to return to Japan via Korea (see Ch. 5), the journey of *Chitsū* and *Chidatsu* is the only known example of Japanese student-monks *going to* China via Silla. For *Chidatsu's* failed attempt to gain passage via Silla in 657.9 see his entry.

After his return, *Chitsū* resided in the Hōkōji-temple 法興寺 and allegedly taught the doctrines of the Hossō school. For his promotion to the position of Sōjō, three different dates can be found in the literature: 672 (GS 16[196], TKD and M.[197]), 673 (*Sōgō bunin shōshutsu* 僧綱補任抄出 and NBJJT[198]) and 675 (GS 21[199]). The third date (AD 675) is almost certainly a mistake. The first date appears in *Chitsū's* short biography as 'third month of the first year of *Hakuhō'* (白鳳元年三月) which is 672.3. However, as *Naobayashi Futai* shows, the *Sōgō bunin shōshutsu* is the most reliable source here.[200]

CHIYŪ 智雄 (?-?) (dp.703 - ?)

Chiyū, together with *Chihō** and *Chiran**, is said to be responsible for the 'Third Transmission of the Hossō school' (*hossō daisan den* 法相第三傳) in a passage in the SBDE (DBZ 467, p.14). For this claim see *Chihō**. As far as I can see, *Chiyū* is not mentioned in any sources earlier than the SBDE.

CHIZŌ 智蔵[201] (?-?) (was in Japan in 645 and 672) (?-?)

Information on this *Chizō* is contained in the FSR, the *Sogōbunin*, the GS, the HKD and the SBDE. Kimiya Yasuhiko however, does not give him his own entry in the list of student-monks[202]; he considers him to be identical with the *Chizō* mentioned in the *Kaifūsō*. I include him as a separate entry, because the

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196 DBZ 470, p.149a.
197 6:155a.
198 NBJJT, p.520.
199 DBZ 470, p.178a.
200 Naobayashi Futai (1988), p.163.
201 The sources seem to create three student-monks with the name *Chizōs*. On one of them we have the usual array of short biographies in the SBDE, the GS and the HKD. The second is mentioned in a little story in the *Kaifūsō*. For the third we know only through the title of a poem that he existed.
202 Kimiya Yasuhiko (1955), p.138-154.

biographies mentioned above and the one in the *Kaifūsō* do not match. *Chizō's* biography in the GS begins like this:

> *Chizō* from *Wu*[203]. He was the son Master *Fukuryō*[204] fathered when he was still a lay-man. He asked the [Master of] *Jiaxiang*[205] for instruction and received the sublime and mysterious doctrines of the Sanron-school. He came to this realm, lived in the Hōryūji and propagated the teaching of the void. In the first year of *Hakuhō* (AD 672) he became Sōjō. The monks *Dōji* and *Chikō* were his students....[206]

It seems likely that *Chizō* came to Japan together with his father, sometime before 645.

Chizō is part of the Sanron-school's lineage and called "Second Conveyor of the Sanron-school". The SBDE says unambiguously:

> *Fukuryō* passed [the Sanron teaching] on to Sōjō *Chizō*. *Chizō* went to China to receive another transmission of Sanron. After that he returned and spread what had been transmitted to him. This was the second transmission [of the Sanron-school].[207]

That *Chizō* went to China again is a problematic statement that also appears in the HKD where it is said:

> *Chizō* from *Wu*. He was the son Master *Fukuryō* fathered when he was still a lay-man. As a young man he followed Sōjō *Hyegwan* at the Gankōji and studied the principles of the doctrine of the void. He went to China again. His character was reserved. He came back. He lived in the Hōryūji. His lectures guided the assembly of monks. In the first year of *Hakuhō* (AD 672) he became Sōjō. When he died is not recorded....[208]

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[203] Today's southern Jiangsu and Zhejiang.

[204] Biographies of *Fukuryō* 福亮 (ch. *Fuliang*) are included in the GS and HKD. He was born in south China, studied Sanron under *Jizang* and is first attested in Japan for the year 645 where he is made one of the 'Ten Preceptors' (jishi 十師) (NG XXV, AD 645.8). In 658, he was invited to give a lecture on the *Vimalakirtinirdeśa sūtra* (FSR IV, AD 658; (1965, p.57)).

[205] Master *Jiaxiang* 嘉祥 is the famous *Jizang* 吉蔵 (549-623), who since 599 lived in Chang'an. It is possible that *Chizō*, following his father, met *Jizang*, but he must have been very young then.

[206] 智蔵呉國人。福亮法師俗時子也。謁嘉祥受三論微旨入些土居法隆寺。盛唱空宗。白鳳元年爲僧正。道慈。智光。皆蔵之徒也。(DBZ 470, p.70).

[207] 福亮授智蔵僧正。智蔵越海入唐。重傳三論。遂乃帰朝弘通所傳。是第二傳。(SBDE in: DBZ 467 p.13a).

[208] 少隨慧観僧正於元興寺。習究空論之旨。又入唐國。質餘蘊。帰。住法隆寺。講誘衆僧。白鳳元年詔任僧正。不記其終。(DBZ 472, p.29) Similar statements can be found in the sixteenth century work *Sanron soshi den* 三論祖師傳 (DBZ 489).

The text of the biography in the HKD seems slightly garbled, but still it is clearly said that "he went to China *again* (又入唐國)" We have no further information to confirm that *Chizō*, after he arrived in Japan, left Japan for China and came back again. The journey to China might have been inserted in an attempt to bring the biographies of *Fukuryō's* son and the *Kaifūsō-Chizō* together. It is probably safe to assume that he studied Sanron with his father in China and met *Jizang*, before he came to Japan sometime prior to 645, when his father was made one of the 'Ten Preceptors'[209]. *Chizō* was made Sōjō in 672 together with *Chitsū** and three other monks; this was the year when the Sōgō-system was re-established. (Later there would be only one Sōjō in Japan.)

CHIZŌ 智蔵 (?-?) (dp.671 or 672 - rt. between 687-696)

The existence of this *Chizō* and his strange adventures is recorded only in the *Kaifūsō* 懐風藻 where we find two of his poems and a short biography. His connection to the other *Chizō* who entered the Sanron lineage, even whether or not they were one and the same person, is not clear. The *Kaifūsō* biography of *Chizō* says:

> Master *Chizō*. His family name had been *Ineda* 禾田. In the time of the *Tankai* Tennō[210] he was sent to China to study. At that time in the area between *Wu* and *Yue*[211] there lived a highly learned nun. *Chizō* asked her to teach him. During the course of six or seven years he made outstanding progress. His fellow students were becoming dangerously jealous. The Master saw this and thought of a way to save his body. He let his hair grow long, put on the expression of a madman and ran swaggering up and down the road. He secretly made excerpts from the scriptures, hid them in a wooden tube, which he lacquered and kept secretly buried. When [he and his fellow monks departed] departed, he shouldered his tube. His fellow students did not pay attention to what he did, because they thought he was mad. Thus he went unharmed. During the reign of *Jitō* Tennō [690-697] he returned to Japan. His fellow students ascended the platform to expound the scriptures. The Master then showed his real face and said with a smile: "I too, will expound the true meaning of the scriptures." But they jeered and laughed at him and thought he spoke nonsense. But when he ascended the platform to explain the scriptures, his reasoning was by far the best, his pronunciation elegant and beautiful. When the debate became

[209] The 'Ten Preceptors' (*jishi* 十師) were a short-lived institution created in the wake of the Taika Reforms. Copied from a similar group that was installed in Tang China in 614, its duty was the supervision of the Sangha and the financial administration of its assets. For a short time it replaced the Sōgō as the main instrument of state control over the Sangha.

[210] This is the *Kōbun*-Tennō (671-672).

[211] Today's Jiangsu and Zhejiang.

> excited like a swarm of bees, he responded [calm] as water and defeated them all. There was no one who was not awed [by his performance]. The emperor asked him to become Sōjō. At that time he was 73.[212]

The story draws a lively, though not a very friendly picture of the student-monk community. Competition and infighting was obviously as common in the early period as 150 years later in the ninth century when *Ennin* and *Enchin* told their stories about the dubious behavior of their fellow monk *Ensai*. As always, the colorful picture of the *Kaifūsō* stands in marked contrast to the sober, streamlined biographical accounts of the GS and especially the HKD, works that have been edited under the influence of a historiographical tradition with an agenda of its own.

The two poems of *Chizō* that have been preserved in the *Kaifūsō* are written in a rather secular vein. Nothing in their imagery alludes to anything Buddhist; all are taken from the classical Confucian-Daoist repertoire of the classical scholar. One example should suffice: 'Words on an autumn day'

> 秋日言志
> 欲知得性所　　来尋仁智情
> 氣爽山川麗　　風高物候芳
> 燕巣辭夏色　　雁渚聽秋聲
> 因茲竹林友　　榮辱莫相驚
>
> if you want to understand the true nature of things
> come and look for the delight of the human and the wise
> crisp air - the beauty of mountains and rivers
> the high winds - filled with the season's scents
> swallow nests - farewell to the hues of summer
> wild goose at the river bank - hark the sounds of autumn
> therefore the friends in this bamboo grove
> don't scare each other with praise and insults[213]

The *Chizō* in the story above and the *Chizō* called "Second conveyor of the Sanron-school" might be the same person. However, after considering all sources, I have decided to follow the editors of the NBJJT and the NBJJ and make two entries. The name, the fact that both became Sōjō and that they are connected to the same place in China indicate that the *Kaifūsō* passage might refer to the same person as the biographies of the "Second Conveyor". However,

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[212] *Kaifūsō* (1945), p.27.

[213] The delights of the human and the wise are rivers and mountains; at least according to *Confucius* (*Lunyu*, Chapter Yongye: 知者楽水仁者楽山). The motive of 榮辱 is from *Laozi* (XIII: Favour and disgrace is scaring). 'Friends of the Bamboo grove' alludes to the famous group of Neo-Daoist friends in the third century.

we know that the "Second Conveyor" became Sōjō in 672, when the *Chizō* mentioned in the *Kaifūsō* was in China. Moreover, *Ineda* 禾田, the family name given for the *Kaifūsō-Chizō* sounds distinctly Japanese, not Chinese as would have been the case with the son-of-*Fukuryō-Chizō*. As the biography of the *Kaifūsō-Chizō* does not square with the biographies of the "Second Conveyor"; and since *Chizō* No.3 (the recipient of the poem by *Liu Yuxi*) is not mentioned anywhere else, I think it is best to treat all of them as separate (biographical) entities.

CHIZŌ 智蔵 (?-?) (?-?) (must have met Liu Yuxi 劉禹錫 (772-842)

The name of this *Chizō* has been preserved only because the great poet *Liu Yuxi* chose to dedicate a poem to *Chizō*. The poem's title is 贈日本僧智蔵 - 'For the Japanese Monk *Chizō*'.

浮杯萬里過滄溟　遍禮名山適性靈
深夜降龍潭水黒　新秋放鶴野田青
身無彼我那懐土　心會真如不讀経
爲問中華学道者　幾人雄猛得寧馨

your 'floating cup' came floating a long way - ten thousand miles across the sea
praying at every famous mountain you stilled your heart's desire
in deep night you tamed the dragons of the dark deep waters
in early autumn you released the cranes over green wild fields
in the corporeal realm there is neither an 'other' nor an 'I'- why should you yearn for home
the mind is certainly the Tathāgata - you don't need to read sutras
asking the Chinese students of the way
how many men bravely attained this

The poem is typically ambiguous and most of the stanzas could be rendered in different grammatical categories. To take the last couplet as an example: "If you ask a Chinese student of the way [i.e.: me]: Only few men with fierce determination attained that." would also be a possible version. The 'floating cup' refers to a drinking game where cups were placed floating on a pond or a rivulet. The person at whose seat it arrived had to empty it (there are other versions in which he had to write a poem). The first part of the second couplet alludes again to the crossing of the ocean. There are several stories where the Law of the Buddha subdues dragons (and tigers) (降龍). In Asian mythology dragons are also believed to inhabit and rule the oceans (the dark deep waters 潭水黒). One connotation of the passage is therefore that *Chizō* managed to cross the ocean with the help of his strong belief in the Dharma. I confess that I

have no idea what 放鶴, literally 'to release cranes', means on a meta-level. It is interesting to notice that the imagery of Liu Yuxi's poem is much more Buddhist than that of the poems of the student-monks Chizō and Benshō.

DŌBUN 道文 see **DŌKU**

DŌFUKU 道福 (?-653.7) (dp.653.5.12 - 653.7)

Dōfuku embarked on the 2nd ship of the 653 embassy, which sank off the coast of Kyūshū in 653.7 (NG XXV, AD 653). Of the 120 people on board, only 5 survived. It must be assumed that *Dōfuku* perished with the others.

DŌGON 道厳 (?-?) (dp.653.5.12 - ?)

Nothing is known about *Dōgon* besides the fact that he departed with the second embassy to the Tang in 653. In the NG (XXI, AD 587) another *Dōgon* is mentioned, but this cannot be the same person; he would have been too old to make the journey.

DŌJI 道慈 (?-744.10) (dp.702.6 - rt.718.10)

Dōji is one of the more famous student-monks. He is held to be one of the conveyors of the Sanron school. Most of the information on *Dōji* is recorded in two early sources: the SNG (especially a biography in XV, AD 744.10) and the *Kaifūsō*. *Dōji* departed for China with the seventh embassy to the Tang that was assembled in 701.1. The embassy however, had difficulties making a crossing and in 702.6 the SNG records:

> The ambassador to the Tang and the others went into the open sea at Tsukushi last year. But wind and waves put them at terrible risk and they could not cross the sea. Now they finally departed.[214]

Dōji returned in the 10th month of the second year[215] of the era *Yōrō* 養老 when the returning eighth embassy to the Tang arrived in Dazaifu 大宰府 on Kyūshū. Two months later, in 718.12, he and the other members of the embassy reached the capital. Altogether *Dōji* stayed in China for 16 years.

Unlike the *Kaifūsō* entries for *Benshō** and *Chizō**, *Dōji's* biography is quite similar to the 'official version' of his life. There are however, a few points mentioned in the *Kaifūsō* that are not found in the SNG and the later biographies

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[214] SNG II, AD 702.6.

[215] The GS (DBZ 470, p.77) has, mistakenly: 'first year (*gannen* 元年)'.

and vice versa. Asaeda Akira[216] summarises three main discrepancies:

- Only the *Kaifūsō* hints at a conflict between *Dōji* and other factions at court. It says:

> [*Dōji*] returned in the second year of the era *Yōrō*. The Tennō liked him and asked him to become 'Master of Discipline' (Risshi) in the 'Office of monastic affairs' (Sōgō). [But *Dōji*] was of unbending character and therefore at that time was not accepted. He abandoned public office and withdrew in the wilderness of the mountains. [Later] one time he became teacher in the capital and built the Daianji.[217]

- While the *Kaifūsō* connects *Dōji* to the *Ninnōhannyakyō* 仁王般若經[218] the SNG mentions the *Muryōjukyō* 無量壽經[219], and the *Konkōmyōkyō* 金光明經[220]. This however is not a problem, since all three sutras belong to the same category. Together they comprise the so-called 'Three sutras for the protection of the state (*Gokokusambukkyō* 護国三仏経)', sutras with strong connection to Tantrism. Their recitation was thought to provide magical protection for the state. All three sutras were commented on by *Jizang* 吉蔵 (549-623) the prolific writer and founder of the Sanron tradition that claims *Dōji* as the 'Third Conveyor (*Sanrondaisanden* 三論第三傳)'. *Dōji* therefore might have become aquainted with them during his studies in the Sanron tradition.

- An important part of the SNG biography that is not found in the *Kaifūsō* is the summary of a text *Dōji* must have written late in life. This now-lost text, the *Gushi* 愚志, is summarised with the words:

> The way in which lay-people and monks practice the Dharma in Japan differs completely from the way the holy teaching is propagated in the Great [Empire of the] Tang among monks and lay-people. If one follows the sutras, the country can be protected. If one goes against the scriptures, one is of no benefit to the people. If Buddhism penetrates the whole country, and every family practices the good, how could the foundations [of society] fail to be substantial? How could one not pay attention to this?

Before dealing further with these differences I want to look at the two poems

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[216] Asaeda Akira 朝枝照: "Dōjiden no mondaiten 道慈伝の問題点 [Problems in Dōji's biography]." *Ryūkoku Shidan* 龍谷史壇 No.59 (Nov.1967).

[217] 養老二年。帰来本國。帝嘉之拝僧網律師。性甚骨鯁。爲時不容。解任帰遊山野。時出京師。*Kaifūsō* (1943), p.236.

[218] *Prajñāpāramitā sūtra* on the Benevolent Kings, T.245.

[219] *Sukhāvatīvyūha sūtra*, T.360. English translation by Max Müller: in SBOE 49.

[220] *Survaṇa prabhāsa sūtra*, T.665.

and the letter that have been preserved in the *Kaifūsō* next to the short biography. The first of the poems bears witness to the veneration paid to *Shōtoku Taishi* as early as the eight century, and that in later centuries would turn into worship. Its title is "In Tang China dedicated to the Prince of our country."

在唐奉本國皇太子
三宝持聖徳　　百靈扶仙壽
壽共日月長　　徳與天地久

the three treasures assist our prince endowing him with holy virtue
all beings supported him during his long life
his presence lasting like sun and moon
his virtue enduring like heaven and earth

The second sample of *Dōji's* writing is a letter declining an invitation. The letter and the poem attached show *Dōji's* resolve as well as his mastery of the etiquette of letter-writing, a social custom that was highly esteemed in Tang China[221].

Declining an invitation of *Nagayaō*[222] to a banquet at his house, while staying at *Tsugeyamaji*[223]-temple in early spring.

The monk *Dōji* says: Your invitation - of which I'm utterly unworthy - fills me with deep gratitude. Receiving your note, I feel stunned and panicked, and do not know where to put my hands and feet. However I, *Dōji*, have long since renounced the world and became a monk. As for erudite, learned talk - I never had any talent for it. Moreover the state of mind of somebody who follows the Dharma and the state of mind of worldly people differ completely. [Like] a teacup and a wine cup they are not the same. This mediocre person here going to a lofty meeting there, [would mean] the principle [of the action] goes against the actual

[221] For the use of etiquette in writing by the student-monk *Ennin* see: Patricia Ebrey: "T'ang Guides to Verbal Etiquette." HJAS 45 (1985), p.610.

[222] *Nagayaō* 長屋王 (684-729) served as Minister to the Right (*udaijin* 右大臣) from 721.1-724.2 and as Minister to the Left (*sadaijin* 左大臣) from 724.2-729.2. He was a powerful man, who in 729 however, fell from power and was forced to kill himself. Seventeen out of one hundred seventeen poems in the *Kaifusō* deal with banquets at *Nagayaō's* place, including one by the host himself. At the time the *Kaifūsō* was compiled, around 751, the events surrounding the fall of *Nagayaō* must have been still present in peoples' minds. *Dōji's* rather assuming letter is, as far as I can see, the only negative reply to an invitation. The last line of poem No.90 ("Autumn day banquet at the mansion of Minister Nagayaō") contains a pique that might have been a response to *Dōji*: "...For someone who has attained great peace and stability what use are the [remote] places where [people] look for immortality."

[223] Probably identical with the *Chikurinji* 竹林院 on Mount *Hiei* (at that time still a Hossō temple).

circumstances. The circumstances will then depress the mind. If fish and hemp change place, the square and the round alter their characteristics, it has to be feared that the propriety of one's fostered nature becomes lost. That would be against the proper use of things. So I will have to calm down, stay peacefully in my abode and respectfully write this verse to decline a seat at your esteemed table.
Respectfully sending you the following, ashamed [to know] it will soil your ear and eye.[224]:

素緇杳然別　　金漆諒難同
衲衣蔽寒體　　綴鉢足飢嚨
結蘿爲垂幕　　枕石臥巖中
抽身離俗累　　滌心守真空
策杖登峻嶺　　披襟稟和風
梅花雪冷冷　　竹溪山沖沖
驚春柳雖変　　餘寒在単躬
僧既方外士　　何煩入宴宮

white-clad [layman] and black-clad [monks] differ immensely
gold and lacquer is truly not the same
a monk's cloths shelter the freezing body
the mended alms-bowl satisfies the hungry throat
twisted wisteria leaves will do for a curtain
with a stone as cushion one can sleep in any gorge
getting away - leaving the worldly burden
cleansing the heart - abiding in true emptiness
a stick in hand climbing the mountain ranges
opening the garment to gather the spring winds
snow on the plum blossoms - chilly and cold
the Bamboo Stream mountains - deep and unfathomable
amazing - even with the willows sprouting already in spring
the lonely body is still filled with wintry cold
a monk is someone who has left all abodes
why should he bother to enter a banquet hall

The information preserved in the *Kaifūsō* reveals as usual some more personal aspects of *Dōji*. As mentioned above, the short biography is more or less consistent with the official tradition; however, one important detail in it is not mentioned anywhere else, maybe because it points to a certain amount of discord in the establishment, a fact that usually does not enter the records. The

[224] 初春在竹溪山寺於長王宅宴追致辭。 沙門道慈啓。以今月二十四日。濫蒙抽引。追預嘉會。奉旨驚惶。不知所措。但道慈少年落飾。常住釋門。至於屬詞吐談。元来未達。況乎道機俗情全有異。香盞酒盃又不同。此庸才赴彼高會。理乖於事。事迫於心。若夫魚麻易處。方圓改質。恐失養性之宜。乖任物之用。撫躬之驚惕。不遑啓處。謹裁以韻。以辭高席。謹至以左。羞穢耳目。 *Kaifūsō* (1943), p.243.

Kaifūsō says that *Dōji* was 'not accepted' and 'left public office to live in the wilderness of the mountains'. Nothing about this can be found in the officially compiled records, be they the SNG or the works of the Buddhist tradition such as the FSR, the GS or the HKD. Who would have had the power to contradict the Tennō's recommendation? Who had opposed *Dōji's* appointment?
Asaeda[225] discusses the theory that *Dōji* was the author of the *Bukkyōdenraiki* 仏教伝来記 a passage in the NG (XIX, AD 552)[226]. He is not convinced by the evidence pointing to *Dōji*. For Asaeda the likely author was the Sōjō *Gien* 義淵 (d.728), a student of *Dōshō* who for some 25 years was the politically most influential cleric of his time. The relationship between *Gien*, the leader of the Hossō school and *Dōji* is not clear, but I suspect there may have been tensions between the homecoming student-monk and the established church-leader. The views forwarded by *Dōji* in his letter to *Nagayaō* show a determination to separate spiritual and mundane matters that must have run contrary to the opinions of a Sōjō of the Ritsuryō state where the Buddhist church was deeply involved in court politics. My guess is that *Gien* disliked *Dōji* and prevented his promotion. Only the year after *Gien* died in 729, more than ten years after his return, was *Dōji* made Risshi, a position he held until his death. Because traditional historiography is not interested in recording tensions inside the Buddhist establishment, *Dōji's* years in the 'wilderness of the mountains' are not admitted. He is even made a student of *Gien* in the later biographies[227], a claim to which, if my assumption is true, he would not have agreed.

Probably *Dōji* was especially qualified for the post of the 'Master of Discipline', because he had stayed at least some of his years in China in Chang'an's Ximingsi 西明寺[228] where some 50 years earlier *Daoxuan* 道宣 (596-667) had taught, and partially reformed, the Vinaya tradition. *Daoxuan's* equally famous student *Yijing* 義浄 (635-713) also stayed at this temple after his return

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[225] Asaeda (1967), p.66.
[226] Quoted in Ch.1.2.
[227] According to the SBDE, *Gien* had eight famous students (including *Dōji*), all of them influential figures in the Buddhist world of the seventh and eight century. Among them was the activist *Gyōgi* 行基 (also considered a student of *Dōshō*), who propagated popular Buddhism and came into conflict with the authorities, and also *Ryōben* 良辨, a Kegon scholar, who was carried away by an eagle right after his birth (GS in: DBZ 470, p.78c), and *Gembō**.
[228] Cf. Horiike Hajime 堀池春: "Nittō ryūgakusō to Chōan Seimeiji 入唐留学僧と長安・西明寺 [The student-monks to the Tang and Chang'an's Ximingsi]." *Nihon shūkyōshi ronshū* 日本宗教史論集. Tokyo: Yoshikawa 吉川, 1976, vol.1, p.96-130. Horiike thoroughly examines the connection between the Japanese student-monks and the Ximingsi. He shows that, although there is no watertight evidence that *Dōji* stayed in the Ximingsi, such an assumption can be justified on the grounds of the sutras he brought back.

from India, where he went to gather texts of the Vinaya tradition. It is very likely that *Dōji* met him there. In any case, it was *Dōji* who introduced *Yijing's* version of the *Konkōmyōkyō,* the so-called *Konkōmyōsaishōōkyō* 金光明最勝王經 to Japan.[229] This newer version quickly superseded the former version (translated by *Dharmakṣema* between 385 and 433) that had came to Japan earlier.

All biographies agree that *Dōji* studied with several teachers of different Buddhist schools. He also encountered Tantric Buddhism that had newly arrived in China at the end of the seventh century. The GS records that:

> [*Dō*]*ji* met a follower(s) of Tantric Buddhism while he was at Tang China and acquired the *Kokūzō gumonji hō*[230]. He passed that on to [his students] *Zengi* 善義 who passed it on to *Gonsō* 勤操 who in turn passed it on to *Kūkai* 空海[231].

The HKD gives a name to the 'follower(s) of Tantric Buddhism' (*missha* 密者):

> Staying at Chang'an he [*Dōji*] studied with master *Śubhakarasiṃha* and obtained the *Gumonji* and other tantric formulars.[232]

In connecting *Dōji* with *Śubhakarasiṃha* (637-735) [ch. *Shanwuwei* 善無畏, jp. *Zemmui*], the editors of the HKD follow the SBDE.[233] *Śubhakarasiṃha* came to

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[229] *Survārṇaprabhāsa [uttamarāja] sūtra* (Sutra of the Golden Light). Chinese translations by *Tanwuchen* 曇無讖 (Dharmakṣema from Central India) (T.663), *Yijing* 義淨 (635-713) (T.665). German translation by Johannes Nobel: *Survārṇa prabhāsottamasūtra – I-tsing's chinesische Version und ihre tibetische Übersetzung.* 2 vols. Leiden: 1958.

[230] The *Kokūzōgumonjihō* 虛空蔵求聞持法 (T. 1145) (Bodhisattva *Ākāsagarbha's* spell to remember all things heard) is a tantric formula (*dhāraṇī*) that supposedly enables the practitioner to remember everything he has heard. This was an important ability, especially for Indian Buddhism where sutras were generally learnt by rote oral memorisation, i.e. by endlessly repeating the text as heard from the teacher. Only later, in China and Tibet, where the climate allowed a prolonged storage of books and textiles, did Buddhism rely more on the written text, inscriptions and mandalas, appealing to visual rather than auditory memory.

[231] We know that *Kūkai* 空海 (774-835) practised the *Kokūzōgumonjihō* before he went to China in 804. The connection to *Gonsō* 勤操 (758-827) however is doubtful. Cf. Hakeda Yoshito: *Kukai: Major Works* (Translations and Biography). Columbia University Press 1972, p.22 & 28.

[232] 乃居長安。謁善無畏三蔵。受求聞持等密法。

[233] The SBDE dwells extensively on a journey *Śubhakarasiṃha* supposedly made to Japan between 728 and 732. The HKD does not repeat this claim, which does not agree with the general tradition. The story appears first as far as I can see, in the FSR, AD

Chang'an in 716 and stayed in the Ximingsi where he translated and taught Tantric Buddhism. He translated the *Gumonji* dharani in 717[234], one year before *Dōji* left China.

Another feature of *Dōji's* biography is his connection with the Hossō monk *Shinei* 神叡 (d.737)[235], a high ranking monk who entered the Sōgō during *Dōji's* absence. *Shinei* was promoted in 729, after the powerful *Gien* died and *Dōji* became Risshi. Together with *Benshō** the three student-monks were for more than a decade in charge of the Buddhist church. *Dōji* and *Shinei* are mentioned together in a passage in the SNG and one of the tales in the *Konjaku monogatari* features a contest between them. The SNG (VIII, AD 719.11) elaborately praises first *Shinei* then *Dōji* for their wisdom and virtue, depicting them as models for their fellow monks. Moreover the Tennō bestows the yield of fifty households to each of them, in effect giving them a sinecure, making them independent of temple affiliation. The *Konjaku monogatari* (XII, 5) more than two hundred years later records a story that tells its own version of what happened between the two monks on the occasion that resulted in the Tennō's gift:

> Once upon a time, during the reign of the *Shōmu* Tennō, there were two monks called *Dōji* and *Shinei*. *Dōji* was from the district of *Sōnoshimo* 添下 in Japan. His family name had been *Nukata* 額田. Great was the wisdom of his heart and well had he progressed on his path to study the Dharma. To study the Dharma even further he went to China in the first year of the era *Taihō* [701] following the ambassador to the Tang *Awata no Michimaro* 粟田道麻呂.[...(lacunae in the original)]
> And again there was the Hossō monk *Shinei* from [...(lacunae in the original)] There was wisdom in his heart but his knowledge was somewhat shallow and he couldn't be compared to *Dōji*. But *Shinei*, asking sincerely for wisdom, put up a cast image of Bodhisattva *Ākāsagarbha*, formed like a calabash, in the pagoda of the Genkōji 現光寺 of the Yoshino 吉野 district in Japan. He made offerings and prayed: "I ask the Bodhisattva *Ākāsagarbha* to help me to reach [?] wisdom". Day by day passed [in that manner] until *Shinei* had a dream. He dreamt that a noble man approached him and told him: "In this country in the district of Sōnoshimo 添下 there is a temple called Kanshionji 観世音寺, in the centre pillar of its pagoda you can find

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717.11. The *Kokushi taikei*-edition has a comment in small type after the entry of *Śubhakarasiṃha's* arrival, saying the story is based on a mistake.

[234] M., p.1136 b.

[235] *Shinei* (GS in: DBZ 470, p.148; HKD in: DBZ 472, p.40) was of Chinese origin. He became Risshi 律師 in 717 and Shōsotsu 少僧都 in 729. In 693 he was sent to Silla for study.

the seven chapters of the *Daijōhōenrinshō* 大乗法苑林章[236]. Take these and study them."
After his dream *Shinei* went to this temple and in the centre pillar of the pagoda discovered the seven chapters. He took them and studied them and became a man of formidable wisdom.
Therefore, the Tennō, upon hearing this, quickly called *Shinei* to the palace to have him meet *Dōji* and be tested by him. *Dōji* had always been a man of broad wisdom and moreover he went to China where he followed teachers of the highest renown for sixteen years. The Tennō had never heard that *Shinei* was a man of broad wisdom; thus when he heard that *Shinei* attained wisdom the Tennō asked himself how much it might be. When *Dōji* questioned *Shinei* his answers were indeed in the manner of *Kātyāyana*[237] in antiquity. So, after 100 questions were asked and answered, it was established that *Shinei's* wisdom was outstanding. The Tennō was moved and took the vows of refuge with both of them. [Then] he gave each of them [the yearly yield of] fifty households. He let *Dōji* stay in the Daianji 大安寺 to study the Sanron teachings and let *Shinei* stay in the Gankōji 元興寺 and study the Hossō teachings. [...]
If one thinks about it; the kindness of the Bodhisattva *Ākāsagarbha* is limitless indeed! Through it *Shinei* attained his wisdom. This tale has been told among the people.

Did the Tennō really make the monk *Dōji* who had just returned from China, test the Risshi *Shinei* who had been a member of the Sōgō since 717? The *Konjaku monogatari's* folk tale is of course not a reliable source here. As the other sources do, however, it implies that the Tennō liked the newly arrived, highly learned *Dōji*. Remarkable also is the fact that *Dōji's* fame, based not on feats of magic but on his scholarship, lasted more than 250 years in an oral tradition. He really seems to have been a scholar monk of considerable inspiration. Even in China in those days when there was no shortage of learned monks *Dōji's* talents seem to have been outstanding. On one occasion he was chosen as one of a hundred monks who excelled in exegesis (義学) to lecture on the *Ninnōhannyaharamitsukyō* 仁王般若波羅經 (T.245) at the imperial court in Chang'an.[238]
Next to his connection with *Shinei*, *Dōji* is mentioned in SNG XII, AD 736.2 together with *Gembō**. Here the Tennō gives each of them six boy-servants. No explanation is offered for this token of the Tennō's favour.

[236] Its full name is *Daijōhōengirinshō* 大乗法苑義林章 [ch. *Dacheng fayuanyilin zhang*], a Hossō tract by *Xuanzang's* student *Kuiji* (T.1861).
[237] One of Shakyamuni Buddha's ten great disciples, said to have been foremost in debate.
[238] *Kaifūsō* (1943), p.235.

Dōji's most famous feat, and one of the main reasons why he is remembered, is his connection with the Daianji 大安寺, one of the famous 'Seven Temple-halls' (*shichidō garan* 七堂伽藍) which, according to the later biographies, are said to have been modelled after the famous Ximingsi in Chang'an. The Daianji had been closely associated with the imperial family and had, under different names, moved with the court from capital to capital until finding its present location in Nara in 729. It is agreed by all sources that *Dōji* was in charge of the move to Nara and the temple's reconstruction; in fact he seems to have been involved even in the day to day business of building, for the SNG says:

> When the Daianji was to be moved and rebuilt in Nara, Master *Dōji* was put in charge of the matter. The Master was a superb craftsman. And in construction and design everybody followed his guidelines. All workmen praised and admired him

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Neither the SNG nor the *Kaifūsō* however, mention that the construction work was done according to the layout of Chang'an's Ximingsi. Horiike[239] shows that the tale of *Dōji* modelling the Daianji after his former residence in China evolved only in the late ninth to tenth century and is slightly flawed. A certain Chinese influence in *Dōji's* work is however very probable.

During his fifteen years as Risshi, *Dōji* actively tried to strengthen the Buddhist church in the doctrinal rather than in the political realm. He is said to have been responsible for the dispatch of *Yōei* and *Fushō* to invite a Vinaya master to Japan. Probably this was part of his attempt to address the problem of the *shidōsō* 私度僧, self-ordained monks, a phenomenon that challenged the role of an official, political body of monks. In 735, also supposedly under his influence, conditions for a proper ordination were introduced: an aspiring monk had thenceforth to be able to recite by heart one chapter of either the Lotus sutra or the *Konkōmyōsaishōōkyō*.[240]

For *Dōji's* role in the transmission of the Sanron school see Ch.4.4.
There is an entry for *Dōji* in the GS (DBZ 470, p.78), HKD (DBZ 472, p.39) and M. (p.3871).

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[239] Horiike Hajime (1976), p.123.

[240] To associate *Dōji* with these events, as several scholars have done, is completely plausible, although we have no first hand textual evidence. Cf. Sakuma Ryū 佐久間竜: "Kaishi shōsei ni tsuite 戒師招請について [On the Invitation of a 'Master of the Precepts']." Hiraoka Jōkai 平岡定海 (Ed.): *Gyōki - Ganjin* 行基・鑑真. Tokyo: Yoshikawa 吉川, 1983, p.264.

DŌKAN 道観 (?-?) (dp.653.5.12 - ?)

In the list of student-monks of the group that left in AD 653 *Dōkan* is one of three monks who have a short entry after their names, concerning their family background. For *Dōkan*, it says that he was the son of '*Hasuka no Awata* a courtier of Korean descent' 春日粟田臣百済, of whom nothing else is known.

DŌKŌ 道光 (?-694.4) (dp.653.5.12 and/or 676 - rt.678?)

The exact date of *Dōkō's* return is not known for certain, although Mori Katsumi[241], as well as the *Nihon bukkyō jimmei jiten*[242] (NBJJT), give the year 678. In the SBDE, the source that contains the most information on *Dōkō*, it is said that he returned in the seventh year of the *Temmu* Tennō 天武 (r.671-686). There we are also told that he returned together with *Jōe* who, according to one version of his story, came back in 678. This, together with the fact that the preface of a summary he wrote (s.b.) is dated 678, makes this year the most probable date for his return.

The SBDE, however, contains also a few passages, which cannot be explained well with the dates given above. The passage concerning *Dōkō* says:

> In the 4th month of the fourth year of Hakuhō 白鳳 (676) *Temmu* Tennō held a big vegetarian feast (*saie* 斎会) inviting more then 2400 nuns and monks. Though there were many nuns and monks, the Vinaya[243] precepts (*kairitsu* 戒律) had not yet been transmitted [to Japan]. *Temmu* Tennō ordered the Vinaya master (*risshi* 律師) *Dōkō* to go as envoy to the Tang and study the Vinaya scriptures (*ritsuzō* 律蔵). Following his orders, *Dōkō* went to China and spent a year studying the Vinaya (*ritsu* 律). In the seventh year of the same reign (678), he returned. That same year he wrote an abstract of [*Daoxuan's*] *Sifenlü xingshi chao* (*e shibunritsu shōsenrokubun* 依四分律抄撰録文[244]). In its preface it says: "In 678.9.19 the *Temmu* Tennō of great Yamato ordered the student-monk *Dōkō* to set down the [proper] proceedings for the Dharma." The last line [i.e. the title] was *On the Procedures for the Shibunritsu precepts - in one fascicle* 依四分律撰録行事一巻. The *Temmu* Tennō himself ordered him to go to China and study the Vinaya scriptures; he returned at the same time as the monk *Jōe*. It is not

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[241] Mori Katsumi (1955), p.140.

[242] 日本仏教人名辞典 Tokyo: Hōzōkan 法蔵館, 1992.

[243] On the doctrinal level the Vinaya is the set of explicit rules that structure the Sangha. It can be described as a self-imposed form of legislation, with the strongest penalty being expulsion from the community. Defined on a textual level, the *Vinaya* scriptures constitute the first part of the traditional division of the *Tripitaka*, the collection of Buddhist texts in three 'baskets': *Vinaya* scriptures, *Sutras* and *Abhidharma* scriptures.

[244] M. (p.4001b) gives this work as *Shibunritsu shōsenrokubun* 四分律抄撰録文. It is no longer extant.

known exactly in which year *Dōkō* entered China but probably [he went] between the first and the 7th year of *Temmu* Tennō's reign (671-678). At that time during the Tang Dynasty the study of Vinaya scriptures was flourishing, promoted by such Vinaya teachers as *Daocheng* 道成 [7th cent.], *Manyi* 満意 [7th cent.], *Huaisu* 懐素 [625-698], *Daoan* 道岸 [653-717], *Hongjing* 弘景 [late 7th cent.], *Rongji* 融済 [?-?] and *Zhou* [*xiu*] 周[秀] [7th cent.]. *Dōkō* decided to ask these Vinaya masters for instruction and studied the [teachings of] the Vinaya school [*risshū* 律宗]. *Daoxuan's* 道宣 [596-667] *Gyōjishō* 行事鈔 was at that time introduced [to Japan] by *Dōkō*.

Dōkō therefore, probably brought the first copies of *Daoxuan's Sifenlü xingshi chao*[245] to Japan. The transmission of this text would have been the most important event for the development of the Japanese Vinaya school until the arrival of the Chinese monk *Jianzhen* [jp. *Ganjin*] 鑑真 in 753, and it is surprising that *Dōkō* is not included in the lineage of the Ritsu school. The abstract in one chapter that he wrote on *Daoxuan's* seminal work has not survived.

As can be seen from the quote above, the SBDE does not mention *Dōkō's* departure in 653, but says he left between 671 and 678. As the account says the vegetarian feast was held in 676, this would be the most likely date. The passage seems to put special emphasis on the fact that the *Temmu* Tennō himself dispatched *Dōkō*, while the embassy in 653 left under *Kōtoku* Tennō (r.645-654). Were there two *Dōkōs*, one who left in 653 and the other embarking in 676? Was there one *Dōkō* who went twice? Both possibilities are unlikely but cannot be wholly discarded. A vegetarian feast is mentioned in the NG (XXIX, AD 676.8) but there it says nothing of *Temmu* dispatching *Dōkō* or anyone else after the feast; besides, according to the SBDE it should have been held in 676.4 not 676.8. Moreover, it is highly unlikely that *Gyōnen* 凝然(1240-1321), the author of the SBDE, forgot about the famous group of 653.[246] M.[247] seems to

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[245] 四分律行事鈔 [Transcript of the procedures for the *Sifenlü*-precepts](T.1804). The *Sifenlü xingshi chao* was of great importance to the development of the Vinaya school.

The *Sifenlü* 四分律 (*Dharmagupta-vinaya*) is one of five Vinayas which were translated in China between the fifth and the seventh century. In the 7th century there were two, later three, lines of transmission of the *Sifenlü*. *Daoxuan's* biography and his writings are discussed in Kansho Entatsu 甘蔗円達: "Dōsen no shina kairitsushijō ni okeru chii 道宣の支那戒律史上に於ける地位 [The Position of Tao-hsüan in the Chinese History of Vinaya]." *Shina bukkyō shigaku* 支那佛教史学 III,2 (1939).

[246] It is interesting that *Gyōnen* does not mention *Dōkō* in his earlier work *Hasshū kōyō* 八宗綱要, dated 1268. In the *Hasshūkōyō* he gives a more 'conservative' account of the introduction of the transmission of the various sects from India via China and Korea to Japan. He wrote the SBDE in 1311, when he was 72.

[247] M., p.4001b.

follow *Gyōnen*, when it says that *Dōkō* left in 671 and returned in 678. After all is said however, there remains a discrepancy between the accounts in the SBDE and the NG.

One other interesting point mentioned in the SBDE passage is that *Dōkō* studied under several Vinaya masters, among them *Daocheng*, head of the Hengjisi 恆濟寺 temple in Chang'an and his disciples *Huaisu*[248], and *Manyi*[249]. While *Daocheng*, *Huaisu* and *Manyi* belonged to the *Xiangbu* 相部 line of the *Sifenlü*-school. *Daoan*, *Hongjing*[250], *Rongji* and *Zhouxiu* belonged to the *Nanshan* 南山 line.[251] All of them resided in Chang'an. *Dōshō* and *Jōe* also stayed there during their years in China. Very likely *Dōkō* stayed in the famous Ximingsi temple 西明寺, where *Daoxuan* served as abbot from 657 until 664; *Huaisu* also held a high position there as well as *Shentai* 神泰 (?-?) who allegedly was the teacher of *Jōe*.[252]

Dōkō is mentioned once again in the NG (XXX,AD 694.4) where it is said that "a contribution was sent for the funeral expenses of the Vinaya master (*risshi* 律師) *Dōkō*". The GS states that, when the monk (*shamon* 沙門) *Dōkō* died, money and brocade for the funeral was given.[253] The same GS, however, as well as the TKD and the HKD, surprisingly contains no entry for *Dōkō*. *Dōkō* is not listed as Risshi in the *Sōgō bunin* 僧綱補任, the title '*risshi*' that appears with his name in the NG was therefore honorary, which means probably that he had actually studied Vinaya teachings.[254]

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[248] *Huaisu* is the author of the *Sifenlü kaizong ji* 四分律開宗記, a commentary on the *Sifenlü xingshi chao*, dated AD 684.

[249] A disciple of *Manyi*, *Dingbin* 定賓, would later become one of the teachers of *Fushō* 普照 and *Yōei* 榮叡 on their journey to recruit a Vinaya master for Japan.

[250] *Daoxuan's* student *Hongjing* was the teacher of *Ganjin* (ch. *Jianzhen*) 鑑真, who, invited by *Fushō* and *Yōei*, arrived in Japan in 753.

[251] The *Xiangbu* 相部-line founded by *Fali* 法礪 (569-635) and the *Nanshan* 南山-line of *Daoxuan* 道宣, were two lines of transmission of the *Sifenlü* in the 7th century. Of these two, only the *Nanshan*-line was continued.

[252] Cf. Horiike Hajime 堀池春: "Nittō ryūgakusō to Chōan Seimeiji 入唐留学僧と長安・西明寺 [The student-monks to the Tang and Chang'an's Ximingsi]." *Nihon shūkyōshi ronshū* 日本宗教史論集. Tokyo: Yoshikawa 吉川, 1976, vol.1, p.96-130. Horiike discusses the relationship between the Ximingsi and the student-monks, but does not mention *Dōkō* and *Jōe*. He starts with *Dōji** 道慈 (?-744) (dp.701 - rt.718) who allegedly stayed in the Ximingsi for 18 years.

[253] DBZ 470, p.180a.

[254] Ishida Mizumaro suggests that *Dōkō* was made Risshi in 684 for which year there is a lacuna in the text. See Ishida Mizumaro 石田瑞麿: *Nihonbukkyō ni okeru kairitsu no kenkyū* 日本仏教における戒律の研究 [Studies on the Vinaya Precepts in Japanese Buddhism]. Tokyo: Zaike Bukkyō Kyōkai 在家仏教協会, 1963, p.26.

I suspect that during the formation of the narrative concerning the transmission of schools it was decided that the Vinaya school had been introduced by the teachers invited by *Fushō* 普照 and *Yōei* 榮叡 on their adventurous journey to China between 733-753. *Dōkō's* earlier attempts to introduce the Vinaya therefore dropped out of the story, though *Gyōnen* in the early fourteenth century, still had access to material that told of *Dōkō's* studies with the famous Chinese Vinaya masters of the seventh century.

DŌKU 道久 (or **DŌBUN** 道文, **DŌBIN** 道旻) (?-?) (? - rt.671.11)

The passage in the NG that tells us of *Dōku's* return says:

> On the day after the moon's birth, four persons, the monk *Dōku* 道久, *Sachiyama Tsukushi no Kimi, Saba Karashima no Suguri* and *Iwa Nunoshi no Obito* arrived from China and reported that the Tang Envoys under *Guo Wuzong* ...anchored at Hijishima, where they said: "Our ships are numerous, and if they suddenly arrived there, their guards might be alarmed and shoot their arrows at us." So they sent on *Dōbun* 道文 and the others to give some notice in advance of their coming.[255]

It is widely believed that *Dōku* and *Dōbun* are the same person and modern editions of the NG have *Dōku* for *Dōbun*.
The author of the GS in one passage has *Dōbin* 道旻[256], which is probably a mistake. M. has *Dōbun* 道文[257].

We do not know when *Dōku* departed or whether he was Chinese or not, but the fact that he came together with three men bearing Japanese names and was sent on a mission demanding language skills makes it probable that he, too, was Japanese. Tamura Enchō, however, lists him as Chinese.[258]

DŌSHŌ 道照 or 道昭[259] (629-700.3.10) (dp.653.5.12 - rt.659 or 661)

Of the group that left Japan in 653 *Dōshō* is the student-monk on whom we have the most information. The fact that he was said to have studied directly with *Xuanzang* 玄奘 who at that time was arguably the most influential priest in

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[255] NG XXVII, AD 671, see also Aston p.298.
[256] DBZ 470, p.178a.
[257] M., p.155a.
[258] Tamura (1983), vol.4, p.148.
[259] His name appears as 道照 in the SNG and other sources, as 道昭 in the NG, the GS and HKD and other sources.

Chang'an lent his teachings considerable authority after his return. In the same way that *Xuanzang* was honored by his contemporaries because he had studied in Nālandā, the famous center of Buddhist scholarship in India, *Dōshō* too was admired because he had had direct access to *Xuanzang*. *Dōshō* is credited for being the 'First conveyor of the Hossō-school' (*hossō daiichiden* 法相第一傳) to Japan.

A longer study on *Dōshō* has been done by Hannelore Eisenhofer-Halim.[260] There are a few points in *Dōshō's* biography, however, which cannot be clarified with the existing material, e.g. the exact date of his return, which could have been as early as 654, or the exact nature and motivation of his social activities. Nevertheless it can be said that the picture we possess of *Dōshō* is the most comprehensive of all monks in seventh century Japan. By way of his earliest biography in the SNG[261] I, AD 700, even a few anecdotes about *Dōshō* have survived. It is one of the earliest comprehensive biographies of a Japanese Buddhist monk:

> 3rd month 10th day. The priest *Dōshō* died. The Tennō was greatly grieved and sent a messenger to convey his condolences. He was a man from *Tajihi* in *Kawachi*[262]. His family-name was *Fune no Muraji* 船連. His father was *Esaka* 慧釋, of the Lower Shōkin 小錦 rank[263]. His manner of preaching was faultless. He was especially an exponent of the virtue of patience. Once a disciple who wanted to put him to the test, secretly made a hole in his urinal so that *Dōshō's* bedding became unclean. The priest only smiled and said: "Some naughty monk has defiled my bedding." and not a word more.[264] Before that, during the reign of *Kōtoku* Tennō 孝徳天皇, in the 4th year of *Hakuchi* (AD 653), he went to China in the train of an embassy. Fortunate in meeting *Xuanzang*, he received special instruction from him. *Xuanzang* loved him dearly and allowed him to share his room. He told *Dōshō*: "Formerly, when on my way to India, very hungry and poor, with nowhere a village where I could beg, there suddenly appeared a priest with a pear in his hand, which he gave me to eat. After having eaten it my energy grew daily. You were the priest that gave me the pear."
> Furthermore he said: "The sutras and śāstra are profound. It is impossible to study them thoroughly. Therefore, study meditation and teach it in Japan." Thus *Dōshō* received instruction and was the first [Japanese] to learn about meditation, and his insight gradually

[260] Hannelore Eisenhofer-Halim: *Dōshō - Leben und Wirken eines japanischen Buddhisten*. Frankfurt/M.: Peter Lang, 1995.
[261] Compiled in AD 797.
[262] Today Osaka-fu.
[263] The 12th rank in a system of twenty six. *Esaka* was a follower of *Soga no Umako* (s. Chapter 1.2.). *Dōshō* was therefore born in circles that were strongly involved with Buddhism.
[264] I could not find any hagiographic motive for this and am inclined to take the anecdote as something that actually happened.

deepened. After this he went back to Japan with an embassy.[265] In parting, *Xuanzang* gave him all the scriptures and relics in his possession, saying: "In the *Analects* of Confucius it is said: 'A man can enlarge the principles he follows'[266]. Besides that, I want to give you this little vessel. I brought it from India. Whatever is cooked in it acquires great healing-powers." Thereupon *Dōshō* folded his hands in gratitude, and weeping, he took leave. When he arrived in Dengzhou 登州[267], many men of the mission had fallen ill. *Dōshō* took out his vessel, heated water and cooked gruel with it. He made all patients eat from it and on the same day they were cured. They unfastened the ropes and set out to sea. When the ship was in the midst of the sea it went hither and thither and did not make any headway for seven days and seven nights. The people thought it strange and said: "The wind being favorable and counting out the sailing days, we ought to have arrived by now. But the ship does not make any headway. Presumably, this has a meaning." A diviner said: "The Dragon King wants the [healing] vessel." *Dōshō* on hearing this said: "The vessel is a present of *Xuanzang*. There is no reason why the Dragon King should want it." Thereupon they all said: "If he doesn't surrender the vessel, the ship will be overturned and we will all become fish-food." Therefore the priest took the vessel[268] and flung it into the sea. Immediately the ship proceeded and returned to Japan. *Dōshō* built a meditation-hall in the south-eastern corner of the Gangōji 元興寺 and lived there. At that time those in the country who studied Buddhism all learned meditation from *Dōshō*. Later, traveling all over the country, he made wells by the roadsides, established ferries across rivers, and built bridges. The Bridge of Uji 宇治 near Yamashiro 山背, for instance, is his construction. *Dōshō* had been traveling in this way for more than ten years when an imperial order called him back. He resumed his life in the meditation-hall, practicing meditation intensively as before. Sometimes he would rise only once in three days, at other times only once in seven days. One day the fragrance of incense came from his room. His disciples were amazed and frightened and entered. They found *Dōshō* sitting dead but upright on his meditation seat. At that

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[265] This could have been in AD 654, AD 655 or AD 661. The last date is the least likely, because this embassy returned via *Yuezhou* 超州 and not via *Dengzhou* 登州 as stated below.

[266] *Lunyu* 論語 XVIII. I follow Legge's translation here. The second half of the passage is "But the principles cannot enlarge the man."

[267] A port in what is today northern Shandong 山東.

[268] The story of the healing vessel has become a common inventory in all following biographies. It is perfectly possible that *Dōshō* had to throw a precious present overboard in the hope of satisfying the 'Dragon King'. To jettison Buddhist ritual implements to pacify the sea was common practice in these days, as is attested by *Faxian* 法顯 (?-ca.422). According to *Ennin's Diary* (Edwin Reischauer: *Ennin's Travels in Tang China*. New York: Harvard University Press 1955 p.88), it was common practice to make offerings to Shinto gods and read sutras in order to influence the weather almost 200 years later.

> time he was 72 years of age. According to his instructions his disciples incinerated him in Awahara 粟原. This was the origin of cremation in the Realm. It was said that after the cremation, relatives and disciples were fighting over his bones, when suddenly a strong storm arose and took them away; nobody knows to where. The people at that time thought it strange. When afterwards the capital was moved to Nara, *Dōshō's* younger brother(s) and his disciples petitioned the Tennō to move the meditation-hall and rebuild it in Nara. This is the meditation-hall that is today in the eastern district of Nara. In this hall many sutras and śāstra are stored. The books are in good order and without mistakes. These have all been brought over by *Dōshō*.[269]

All other biographies of *Dōshō* rely heavily on this first account. In the following I will try to summarize the picture of *Dōshō* that evolves while looking at some other sources.

Dōshō and *Xuanzang*

Dōshō allegedly had a close relationship with *Xuanzang* (600-664) the famous India-pilgrim and translator who allegedly taught him Yogācāra and meditation. It is doubtful, however, that *Dōshō* really had extensive direct access to *Xuanzang* over a longer period and even studied along with *Xuanzang's* eminent disciple *Kuiji* 窺基 (632-682) as the SBDE[270] claims. His name is not mentioned in any of the contemporary Chinese sources that provide a relatively detailed picture of *Xuanzang's* last years. Had he really shared his cell with *Dōshō* for a longer period, it would probably have also been recorded in Chinese sources. The fact is that many foreign monks were in Chang'an in these days and many seemed to have been in the circle of *Xuanzang*. Since *Xuanzang* was an extremely busy man, torn as he was between his various semi-official duties at court and his translation project, it is unlikely that he spent much time teaching a young Japanese who could not help him much with the translations anyway. Moreover, it must have taken quite a while until *Dōshō* had learned spoken Chinese well enough to understand lectures on the intricacies of Vijñānavādin thought.

On the whole, the extent of *Dōshō's* relationship with *Xuanzang* cannot be ascertained, as all the material we have has been written by *Dōshō's* admirers (as can be assumed for the SNG-biography) or by Japanese monks who followed the claim of the Hossō school to include *Dōshō* in its lineage.

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[269] Another English version of this account can be found in J.B. Snellen: "Shoku Nihongi." *Transactions of the Asiatic Society Japan* Ser.XI 1934. A German version in: Eisenhofer-Halim (1995), p.103f.

[270] DBZ 467, p.14a.

Dōshō as the 'First Conveyor of the Hossō school'

The Hossō school calls *Dōshō* its 'First Conveyor', but it is not clear what, if any, doctrines he taught or which sutras he expounded. Interestingly, the historiographer *Gyōnen* (1249-1321) does not mention *Dōshō* in his earlier outline of the various schools, the *Hasshū-gōyō* 八宗綱要, dated 1268. Here *Gyōnen* says:

> Concerning its [the Hossō school's] transmission to Japan, altogether there have been three transmissions. The first conveyors were *Chizū* 智通 and *Chidatsu* 智達. They studied with master *Xuanzang*.

Fifty years later, however, *Gyōnen* included *Dōshō* in the SBDE as the first conveyor. For *Dōshō* to stand as a conveyor of the Hossō school he would have had to have studied and taught its central texts (for example the *Yogācārabhūmi śāstra*[271]) the translation of which *Xuanzang* finished in 648. There is, however, no evidence that this text came to Japan at such an early stage.
Tamura Enchō[272] makes a strong case for the introduction of the Shōron school 攝論衆 by *Dōshō*. The Shōron school is based on the *Mahāyānasaṃgraha*[273] that was retranslated by *Xuanzang* between 648 and 649. *Xuanzang's* long-standing interest in this text stemmed from the time before he left China for India. In fact, it was the desire to get further clarity on the doctrines that served as the main motivation for his journey[274]. According to Tamura, *Dōshō* was much more likely to have studied the *Mahāyānasaṃgraha śāstra* than any of the other major Faxiang treatises. The Chinese Shelun school was very successful during the fifth and the sixth century until superseded by the Faxiang school that, evolved out of *Xuanzang's* new translations and *Kuiji's* commentaries, offered arguably the more comprehensive explanations. Tamura argues that most of *Kuiji's* commentaries were probably written after *Dōshō's* return to Japan. Furthermore, it is questionable whether the existence of an entity deserving the name Faxiang/Hossō school can be assumed at all before *Kuiji* emerged as its leading figure that is after *Xuanzang's* death in 664. An inventory of the Gangōji, dated 747, mentions three schools or study groups: the Sanron, Jōjitsu and Shōron schools (here *shū* 衆). Tamura believes that all three

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[271] Chinese *Yujiashidilun* 瑜伽師地論 jp. *Yugashijiron*, by Asaṅga (ca.410-500), T.1579.
[272] Cf. Tamura Enchō 田村圓澄: *Nihon bukkyōshi* 日本佛教史 [History of Japanese Buddhism]. 6 vols., Tokyo: Hōzōkan 法藏館 1983, vol.2, p.48-90.
[273] T.1592-1597. The *Mahāyānasaṃgraha* had been translated twice before. The translation by Paramārtha done in 563 became the basis of the Chinese Shelun-school, while the Japanese Shōron study-group or school probably read *Xuanzang's* version.
[274] Tamura (1983), vol.2, p.57.

schools already existed at the temple before it was moved from Asuka to Nara, and that the Shōron school there had been established by *Dōshō*. This argument is strengthened by the fact that the inventory makes no mention of a Hossō school, which it should, if *Dōshō* had introduced the teachings bearing this label.

Though Tamura's argumentation is all but compelling, we have to remember that it is doubtful if any protagonist at that time thought in such categories as the Hossō or Shōron school. I do not believe that *Dōshō* introduced any particular sect or school to Japan. *Dōshō* seems to be one of the cases where the Buddhist historiographers out of their desire to create clear-cut lineages, schools, and sects, constructed a narrative that suited this purpose. Because of his connection to *Xuanzang*, *Dōshō* is included in the Hōssō-lineage, regardless of what he might have 'really' lived or taught. The scholastic element in the figure of *Dōshō* seems to be less important than *Dōshō's* emphasis on meditation and his social activities.

Dōshō as meditation master

While his biography in the SNG does not mention any affiliation of *Dōshō* with a particular school, it seems to stress that *Dōshō* seriously practiced meditation. The establishment of the meditation-hall (*zenin* 禪院) in his mother-temple Gangōji (in Dōshō's days still called Hōkōji 法興寺), and his teaching of meditation there is credible. Because of the SNG biography, *Dōshō* is credited with the introduction of meditation in Japan. He seems to have done meditation-retreats long before the Zen-sect was introduced in the 12th (*Eisai* 榮西) and 13th century (*Dōgen* 道元).

Concerning his career in the art of meditation, the GS adds another detail. It says that *Xuanzang* told *Dōshō* to study meditation with another Master named *Huiman*[275] 慧滿:

> I [*Xuanzang*] know the subtle and wonderful principles of the Chan-school. Learn them and transmit them to the East. *Dōshō* was very happy; he practiced and soon had an experience of enlightenment. He was also told to meet the meditation-master *Huiman* of the Longhua-temple in Xiangzhou. *Huiman* gave him detailed explanations and told him: "[My] former master *Sengna* 僧那, said: 'Once *Bodhidharma*

[275] Cf. Eisenhofer-Halim (1995), p.123n: In short, not much is known of *Huiman* except that he was a student of *Huike* (487-593) and *Sengna*, lived the life of a wandering monk, and seemed to have been around seventy in 642 when he was seen in Loyang. It is possible that *Xuanzang* met him there or more than 30 years earlier on his way to India. *Huiman* must have been very old when *Dōshō* met him.

> gave the *Laṅkāvatāra* sutra to the second patriarch[276] [i.e. *Huike* 慧可] and said: 'From dawn to dusk I have studied the sutras. Only these four chapters left their trace in my heart.'" After he had completed his studies *Dōshō* returned to *Xuanzang*.[277]

We have no further proof with regard to this very dubious passage. The GS, dated 1311, is not a reliable source in this case; first, because it is too late, and second, because the Zen school had at that time already exerted its considerable influence on Buddhist historiography. As always, the tradition had some interest in making its transmission appear as old as possible. The story related above uses the motive of *Bodhidharma* transmitting the *Laṅkāvatāra*, a frequently told story in the Zen tradition. Xiangzhou is near today's Anyang 安陽, at a distance of approximately 500 km from Chang'an. If *Dōshō* returned to Japan in 654 he could have hardly made the journey.

Dōshō's social activities

His travels through Japan alluded to by the phrase "drilling wells next to roads, establishing ferries and building bridges" seem to indicate some form of social engagement which could have been irritating to the rulers who were rather looking to Buddhism for magical means to consolidate their power and not for schemes to alleviate poverty. The 'imperial order' that made *Dōshō* go back to Asuka might have been the edict of AD 679.10, commanding that: "All monks and nuns [should] always stay in their temples to guard the three treasures."

Whether the bridge of Uji was really built on *Dōshō's* orders is open to question.[278] The motive itself is part of Buddhist hagiography and can be found in monk-biographies from the beginning of the genre to the Qing Dynasty.[279] However, considering that *Dōshō* was the teacher of *Gyōgi* 行基 (668-748), a famous preacher who early in his career got into conflict with the establishment, it is very probable that *Dōshō* was indeed inclined to a socially active Buddhism, an idea he passed on to *Gyōgi*. Neither *Gyōgi* nor *Gien* 義淵 (d.728), another important student of *Dōshō* who became Sōjō in 707, is

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[276] This is a terminus ante quem. In *Dōshō's* days the various Chan lineages had not yet been established. Chan as an independent school was not fully developed before the eighth century.

[277] DBZ: 470, p.70c.

[278] Cf. Eisenhofer-Halim (1995), p.117.

[279] For examples and their position in the wider context of activities of the Sangha that were considered beneficial for society see Zhen Hua 震華, Yu Liaoweng 余了翁: *Sengjia hu guo shi & Sengjia chi du* 僧伽護國史僧伽尺牘 [History of the Protection of the Country through the Sangha & Model Letters for the Sangha]. Mainland China 1933 [Reprint Taipei: Taiwan Liulijing Fang, 1976], p.37-38 (under the entries: *yi jing* 義井, *dao he* 導河, *zao qiao* 造橋).

mentioned in *Dōshō's* SNG biography.

According to the HKD[280] *Dōshō* was made Daisōzu 大僧都 in 698.11 shortly after the 'Eye-opening of the Buddha-Ceremony' of the Yakushi-temple 薬師寺, traditionally one of the 'Three great temples of the Hossō school'. Formally, the Daisōzu is the second highest position in the official monk-hierarchy.

Dōshō gave orders that his body was to be cremated, not interred as was the custom until then. The SNG says explicitly that *Dōshō* thereby introduced the (Indian) custom of cremation to Japan for the first time. Other written sources as well as archeological data seem to confirm this claim.[281] Like Buddhism in general, the custom of cremation was first accepted by the aristocracy and from there spread through society. Cremation is the common form of burial in Japan up until today.

DŌTSŪ 道通 (?-?) (dp.653.5.12 - ?)

We know nothing more of *Dōtsū* than the year of his departure (see p.40).

EKŌ 慧光 (or **ESEN** 慧先) (?-?) (? - rt.623.7)

Ekō, the *kō* 光 sometimes written *sen* 先 resulting in the name *Esen*, was one of the first two monks returning from China. He and *Esai** returned via Silla in 623.7.

EMYŌ 慧妙 (?-?) (dp.653? - ?)

The remark in NG XXV, AD 654 says a student-monk named *Emyō* died in China. That makes *Emyō* a possible participant in the group that left in AD 653. In a footnote in the Iwanami edition of the NG the editors say it is very unlikely that this *Emyō* is identical with the *Emyō* mentioned in NG XXV, AD 645.8 who was made one of the 'Ten Preceptors'.[282] The reason for their conclusion may be that the latter must have been a middle-aged man of at least 45, while it seems that in 653 mostly younger people were sent as student-monks. Furthermore a famous figure as *Emyō* would have been mentioned in the name list of 653.

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[280] This information in the HKD is probably based on the *Sōgōbunin* 僧綱補任.
[281] Cf. Eisenhofer-Halim (1995), p.121.
[282] NG: Iwanami Bunko 岩波文庫 (1995), p.327.

EON 慧隠 (?-?) (dp.608.9.11 - rt.639.9) Shiga no Ayabito 志賀漢人

Eon is one of the four monks who left for China with the embassy of 608. This is the first time student-monks are mentioned in the NG by name[283]. The others were *Sōbin**, *Shōan** and *Kōsai**.

The NG (XXIII, A.D.639) states that *Eon* returned together with *Eun** 慧雲 following an envoy from Silla in 639. The following year he gave a lecture on the *Sukhāvatīvyūha sūtra*[284] at court (NG XXIII, A.D.640). In 653 at another lecture he delivered on the same sutra, allegedly more than one thousand monks were present (which is very unlikely). From the little we know, it seems that *Eon* had a very successful career after studying abroad for 31 years.

Short biographies of *Eon* can be found in the GS[285] and the TKD[286], but not in the HKD. This makes *Eon* one of the rare cases where a name drops out of Buddhist hagiography.

ESAI 慧済 (?-?) (? - rt.623.7)

According to the NG (XXII, AD 623.7) *Esai* returned to Japan together with *Eko** following a Silla envoy to Japan in 622. In the same company were the 'students of medicine' *Ejitsu* 慧日 (who might have been a monk, too, judging from the name) and *Fukuin* 福因, the latter being a member of the *kenzuishi* 遣随使 of 608. After their arrival *Eijitsu* presented a memorial saying:

Those who have stayed in Tang to study have all become highly proficient in their fields. They ought to be summoned. Moreover the land of Great Tang is an admirable country whose laws are complete and fixed. Constant communication should be kept up with it.[287]

In effect, *Ejitsu* was asking to send an embassy to the Tang to give the students and student-monks a chance to return from China, where they perhaps felt stuck due to the political situation after the fall of the Sui Dynasty. The first embassy to the Tang however, was sent only several years after this appeal, in 630.

We do not know when *Esai*, *Ekō* and *Ejitsu* left for China, but probably they all belonged to the group of 'several dozen' monks that is mentioned in the *Suishu* 隋書[288] for the first embassy to the Sui in 607. (*Eun**, too, could have been

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[283] NG XXII, A.D.608

[284] Chinese *Wuliangshoujing* 無量壽經, jp. *Muryōjukyō*. One of the three main Pure Land sutras. English translation by Max Müller in SBOE 49.

[285] DBZ 470, p.149.

[286] DBZ 471, p.238.

[287] NG XXII, AD 623.7 (Aston: AD 622.7).

[288] *Suishu*, p.1827.

among this group.)

Esai's biography in the GS seems to confirm this, at least for *Esai* and *Ekō*:

> *Esai* went together with *Esen* (*Ekō*) to China for study. [...] At first there were more than ten of them, but only *Esai* and *Esen* returned. Some of the others stayed in China. Some died before their years. It was with *Esai* and his comrades that [men of] our nation traveled afar for the first time.[289]

Esai's biography in the TKD says:

> *Esai*'s family name is not known nor the place where he lived. He was exceptionally clever and loved to travel and study. One time he, together with *Esen* (*Ekō*) and more than 10 others, set out for China. They went on pilgrimage to famous mountains in their quest for knowledge. Like the gifted child [in the *Kegon* sutra] they went south to inquire [about the law].[290]

ESE 慧施 (?-701) (dp.653.5.12 – rt. before 685)

Ese's family name, *Azuki* 小豆, has been preserved in the *Sōgobumin* 僧綱補任[291]. We also hear of him in an inscription at the Hōkiji[292] 法起寺, saying that he was involved in building the three treasure-pagodas (*sanbōtō* 三寶塔) at the crown prince's bidding in 685. The Hōkiji is a Hossō temple. Perhaps *Ese* studied Hossō teachings together with *Dōshō* at *Xuanzang's* place in Chang'an. In 698.3.22 *Ese* became Sōjō 僧正 (SNG AD 698) an office he held until his death in 701. His involvement with the crown prince and his promotion suggest that he was a very influential figure. It would be interesting to know something about his relationship with *Dōshō*, they must have known each other for almost fifty years.

ESEN 慧先 s. **EKŌ** 慧光

ESHŌ 慧照 (?-?) (dp.653.5.12 - ?)

No more is known about *Eshō* other than that he left for China in 653. (NG XXV, AD 653)

EUN 慧雲 (?-after 653) (? - rt.639.9)

We do not know when *Eun* went to (Sui or Tang) China. He might well have

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289 DBZ 470, p.148.
290 DBZ 471, p.238.
291 DBZ 484, p.1.
292 The *Hōkijitō-robammyō* 法起寺塔露盤銘.

been one of the 'more than ten' monks who followed the first Japanese envoy to the Sui according to the *Suishu*[293]. He is first mentioned in the NG (XXIII, AD 639.9), where it says: "In the 9th month the monks *Eon** and *Eun* who had studied in China entered the capital in the train of the Silla Envoys".
In 645, six years after his return, he was appointed one of the 'Ten Preceptors' (*jishi* 十師) (NG XXV, AD 645.8).

In the GS[294] it is said that *Eun* was the teacher of *Jōe** who went to China in 653. *Jōe* was the son of *Fujiwara no Kamatari*, at that time the most powerful minister at court. *Eun* had therefore become a prominent, perhaps influential, figure after his return.

GEMBŌ 玄昉 (?-746.6) (dp.717 - rt.735.4)

Gembō was by all accounts a very gifted man. He managed to impress the Chinese emperor and after his return gained great political influence in Japan, while at the same time contributing to the development of scholastic Buddhism. Apart from his biographies in the SNG, the GS and the HKD, a few more details about *Gembō* are preserved in the rarely mentioned biography of *Gembō* included in the pre-fourteenth century work *Nanto kōsōden* 南都高僧傳.
When *Gembō* died in 746, his death was recorded in the SNG, followed, as in the case of *Dōshō**, by a short biography. This earliest biography can serve as a starting point for a discussion of the few incidents in his life we know about:

> The fifth month of the 18th year of the era Tempyō 天平 (746), day eighteen: The monk *Gembō* died. *Gembō's* family name was *Ato* 阿刀. In the second year of the era Reiki 靈亀 [716] he went to China to study. The Chinese emperor respected *Gembō*, promoted him to the third rank and ordered him to wear a purple robe. In the seventh year of the era Tempyō [735] he accompanied the ambassador *Tajihi no Mabito Hironari* 多治比真人広成[295] back to Japan. He brought with him more than five thousand chapters of sutras and śāstra as well as several images of the Buddha. His Majesty the [Japanese] emperor also bestowed the purple robe on him and respectfully made him Sōjō. He was allowed to stay in the Naidōjō 内道場[296]. Thenceforth honors and favors were bestowed on him day by day; [however,] he deviated slightly from the [appropriate] conduct for a monk. The people of his day disliked this, and in the end he died an exile. There are rumors that

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[293] 聞海西菩薩天子重興仏法、故遣朝拝、兼沙門数十人来学仏法. Suishu 隋書, p.1827. See Chapter 2 on the reading of 数十.
[294] DBZ 470 p.112.
[295] Ambassador *Hironari* was the leader of the tenth embassy to Tang China that left Japan in 733.
[296] The Naidōjō was the Buddhist sanctuary on the premises of the imperial palace.

he was killed by the [avenging] spirit of *Fujiwara Hirotsugu*.[297]

If we analyze this passage statement by statement, the following picture emerges:

The *Ato no Muraji* were part of the aristocracy and probably part of the clan was of relatively recent Korean origin.[298] The biography in the *Nanto kōsōden* has *Abe* 阿部 as family name; this would make him a relative of *Abe no Nakamaro* 阿部仲麿 (701-770) who went to China with the same embassy.

That *Gembō* went to China in 716 is not quite exact, since it was in 717.3 that the ninth embassy departed for Tang China. The embassy was assembled in 716.8, consisting of more than 550 persons on four ships, and *Tajihi no Mabito Agatamori* 多治比真人縣守 was invested as its leader. *Kibi no Ma(ki)bi* 吉備真(吉)備 (693-775) and *Abe no Nakamaro*, two Japanese students to China that would make a name for themselves among Chinese scholars, went together with *Gembō*[299].

That the Chinese emperor *Xuanzong* (r.712-755) bestowed the purple robe (*shie* 紫衣) on *Gembō* doubtlessly means that *Gembō* enjoyed imperial favor and was a figure well-known at the imperial court. These were also the days when *Abe no Nakamaro* and *Kibi no Makibi* were actively participating in the political and cultural life of cosmopolitan Chang'an. The purple robe was first given to the monk *Falang* 法朗[300] when he presented a politically opportune commentary on the *Dayunjing* 大雲經 (skr. *Mahāmegha sūtra*) to the empress *Wu Zetian* 武則天 in 689.[301] Since then the robe had been bestowed by the secular authorities on monks close to them as a special sign of honor. Purple was the color of the garments third-rank officials were allowed to wear according to the Chinese court hierarchy.[302] The bestowal of the purple robe therefore equaled a promotion to the third rank. The Tennō decided to emulate the custom and bestowed the purple robe on *Gembō* again in 737.8.

Probably *Gembō's* most important contribution to the development of Japanese

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[297] SNG (Iwanami edition 1992), vol.3, p.30.
[298] SNG, vol.1, p.77.
[299] Cf. Ch. 3.3.
[300] This is not the *Falang* 法朗 (507-581) of the Sanron school, who was *Jizang's* 吉蔵 teacher.
[301] This story has been analysed in the by now classical study of Antonino Forte: *Political Propaganda and Ideology in China at the End of the Seventh Century*. Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale/ Seminario di Studi Asiatici, 1976.
[302] Strictly speaking, for a monk to wear purple is a violation of certain Vinaya rules. Monks were originally only allowed to wear orange (including brown and reddish hues), black or green-blue. Cf. M., p.1720.

Buddhism was to bring back the 'more than five thousand chapters of sutras and śāstra', mentioned in the above quote. The scriptures are thought to be identical with the works listed in the twenty-chapter 'Buddhist catalogue of the *Kaiyuan*-era' *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 開元釋教録[303], at that time, the newest and most comprehensive list of Buddhist texts. Concerning these scriptures the FSR says:

> The sutras and śāstra [*Gembō*] brought, were all put in the Kōfukuji 興福寺.[304]

The arrival of this trove of scriptures, old and new, must have been a major event for the tradition of scholastic Nara-Buddhism, then in its formative stage. It provided ample material for study, and provided the opportunity to identify and compare the strata of Buddhist tradition in India and China. The importation of this comprehensive collection of texts marks the culmination of the transmission of scholastic Buddhism to Japan.

Gembō was made Sōjō in 737.8 and is listed in the SBN as Sōjō until 745, the year when he fell out of favor and was banished to Kyūshū. For this year *Gyōki* 行基 who promulgated Buddhism among the common people and had long been an outsider to the establishment in Nara, is listed as Daisōjō 大僧正, an indication that *Gembō's* power had declined. In other words, *Gembō* held the highest office for some eight years.

Gembō's rise and fall can be traced by listing the references made to him in the SNG. In 736.2 (SNG XII, AD 736.2), shortly after his return, he received the revenue of one hundred households, the yield of ten *chō* 町[305]of fields, and eight boys as servants. In 737.8 he was made Sōjō (SNG XII, AD 737.8). In 737.12 (SNG XII, AD 737.12) the Sōjō *Gembō* 'healed' *Fujiwara Miyako* 藤原宮子[306], the mother of the reigning *Shōmu* Tennō 聖武 (r.724-749), at the time a widow in her forties. The passage goes:

> [*Tempyō* 9 (AD 737), 12th month, 27th day]: On this day the Tennō's mother, who was a member of the *Fujiwara* family, went to the rooms of the Tenno's wife and met with Master *Gembō*. The Tennō went there too. Out of a deep depression she had long since stopped associating with others and since the birth of the Tennō had never seen him. The moment she saw Master *Gembō* [however], she was healed. That done

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[303] A survey of 650 years of translation and interpretation, the *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* was written by *Zhisheng* 智昇 in 730. *Zhisheng's* dates are not known, the *Song gaoseng zhuan* says that 'in dating and editing the scriptures no one surpassed *Zhisheng*' (T. 2061, p.734a).

[304] FSR, p.95.

[305] One *chō* is approxiamately 100 square meters.

[306] *Fujiwara Miyako* was the daughter of *Fujiwara Fuhito* 藤原不比等. She gave birth to the *Shōmu* Tennō in 701 and died in 755.

> she was ready to meet the Tennō. Everybody in the land was celebrating and congratulating.[307]

Following that, *Gembō* was richly rewarded with many bolts of various silks, and was given six servants each endowed with special skills (各有差). These servants were transferred from service to the wife of the *Shōmu* Tennō, *Fujiwara Kōmeiko* 藤原光明子 who was the younger sister of *Miyako*.

The manner in which *Gembō's* conduct 'deviated slightly (稍乖)' from the behavior appropriate to a monk, is not further explained. The ambiguous wording of the passage above might imply that *Gembō* had an affair with *Fujiwara Miyako* or other women at court. The fact, however, that a monk was asked for help in curing illness, especially mental illness, was not unusual. Healing powers were part of the Buddhist-magical repertoire together with rainmaking, soothsaying and miraculous assistance in wars.

In 740.9 *Fujiwara Hirotsugu* 藤原広継 rebelled in north Kyūshū in protest against the prominent roles *Gembō* and *Kibi no Makibi* played at court. This shows how strongly *Gembō* was involved in court politics. *Hirotsugu* was put to death in 740.11 after the suppression of the uprising. According to the *Nanto kōsōden,* half a year later, in 741.7, *Gembō* vowed to give food to support one thousand monks copying one thousand sutra chapters, perhaps in gratitude for his victory.

In 745.11 *Gembō's* star fell and though nominally still Sōjō, he was sent to Dazaifu 大宰府, the provincial capital of northern Kyūshū, from where *Fujiwara Hirotsugu* had led his uprising five years earlier, to oversee the construction of a Kannon-temple there. A few months later, in 746.5 or 746.6, he died there under mysterious circumstances. His death seems to have caused wide discussion, and slightly differently worded accounts can be found in most of the sources. To cite two only examples, the FSR says:

> It was the day of the memorial service for the dead at the Kanshion-temple and *Gembō* was in charge of the ritual. During the ceremony, he got on his chariot. Suddenly he was seized by [something in] the air, and died instantly. Later his head fell down in front of the 'Chinese study' of the Kōfukuji [in Nara].[308]

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[307] 是日皇太夫人藤原氏就皇后宮。皇太夫人、爲沈幽憂、久廢人事、自誕天皇、未會相見。法師一見慧然開晤。至是適与天皇相見。天下莫不慶賀。(SNG, *Iwanamishoten*-edition, vol.2, p.334) As Tsuji Zennosuke (1944, p.157) points out the passage can be interpreted somewhat differently, depending on the punctuation. If one punctuates:「皇太夫人爲沈幽憂、久廢人事、自誕天皇、未會相見法師。一見慧然開晤。」, it becomes: "...stopped associating with others. Since the birth of the Tennō she had not seen Master *Gembō*. Upon meeting [him] she was cured."

[308] 観世音寺供養之日。爲其導師。乘於腰輿供養之間。俄自大虛捉捕其身。忽然失亡。後日。其首落置于興福寺唐院。(FSR, p.95) The 'Chinese study' (*tōin* 唐院)

The *Nanto kōsōden*:

> In the fifth month he suddenly rose up in the air several meters, fell down to earth and died. There was no [sign of harm done to the] bones and no blood [spilled]. The people said: "This was done by the spirit of *Hirotsugu*". There are many other rumors. Some say that he took leave from his position as Sōjō and was sent to the west meaning that he was exiled.[...] Others say that in the second month of *Tempyō* 8 [736.2] the emperor mother *Miya* [*-ko*] gave him one plate of refined gold, and dedicated a 6 feet [ca.2m] high Buddha statue, made of silver.[309]

Again here, *Gembō's* banishment is connected to his dealings with *Fujiwara Miyako*. That *Gembō's* 'slight deviation' might have to do with women is also evinced (by denial) in the amusing eulogy that is added to *Gembō's* biography in the GS:

> If a man, however talented, does not restrain his conduct, he cannot become a great man. *Gembō* was a highly gifted, far-traveled man. He brought several thousand sutra chapters to Japan. *Shōmu* favored and trusted him; how could he have been anything but admirable? [But] people say he associated with imperial concubines in the rooms of *Fujiwara* [*Miyako*(?)]. Therefore it came to a rift with the *Fujiwara* family.[310] Now it appears he has met [his fate] and his head and body were torn apart. Does that mean [the accusations] are true? Certainly not! He was one of the eminent monks who transmitted the Dharma. Who dares to deny that? Oh, why did he die so young? Therefore I say one has to restrain one's conduct. Ah, what a tragedy![311]

The weird incident of *Gembō's* head falling down in Nara can be resolved by looking at another source. The *Heike monogatari* records some further details, which allow a guess about what really happened:

> The people in China laughed at *Gembō's* name and said: "*Gembō* 玄昉 sounds like *gembō* 遠亡 [to die in a distant place]. Certainly he will come into troubles after he returns to Japan."[312] [...] On the 18th day in the 6th month of Tempyō 19 [747] a skeleton head (*sharekōbe* 髑髏)

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of the Kōfukuji was probably *Gembō's* permanent residence.

[309] 五月忽然登空数丈。落地死亡。更無骨血。云々俗云。広継霊所爲。云々又異説多。或云除僧正職遣鎭西是流罪也。云々[…]又説云。天平八年二月従皇后宮賜錬金一枚奉丈六佛也。料銀云々。 *Nanto kōsōden* 南都高僧傳, DBZ 474, p.105.

[310] 世云昉通花鳥使于藤室。故與藤氏有隙。

[311] DBZ 470, p.149. A similar eulogy is added to the biography in the HKD.

[312] This pun, of course, is homegrown. The Chinese *xuanfang* 玄昉 is not a homophone to *yuanwang* 遠亡, neither in Modern Mandarin nor in the Late Middle Chinese of the Chang'an dialect.

> with 'Gembō' written on it fell down in the gardens of the Kōfukuji. There was a horrible laughter in the air, as if of a thousand men. The Kōfukuji is a Hossō temple. The students of the Sōjō [*Gembō*] took the head, made a grave for it and buried it there. The place was called 'head tomb'(頭墓). It is still there today.[313]

That the head that fell down was a skeleton head and that the incident happened at least a year later, makes the whole story much more credible. Perhaps the supporters of *Hirotsugu* played a prank to settle some old scores posthumously. The *Konjaku monogatari* also contains a chapter on *Gembō*, which does, however, not elaborate on the head-story[314].

As we have seen, in the earliest sources there is no trace of *Gembō* being a member of any particular school. Only his affiliation with the Kōfukuji, where the sutras were stored and the skeleton head fell down, connects him loosely to the Hossō school. The SBDE however says

> Sixty-four years after *Dōshō*, in the second year of the era Reiki [716], [*Gembō*] crossed the dangerous ocean to China. [There] he studied Hossō teachings with the Grand Master *Zhizhou* 智周[315] of Puyang. At that time, *Zhizhou* was 38 years of age, this was the fourth year of the [Chinese] era Kaiyuan [716]. *Gembō* studied the sutras in China for 20 years. Under the reign of the *Shōmu* Tennō, in the seventh year of the era Tempyō [735], he returned to Japan. Great were his transmissions of the meaning of the subtle teachings of *Zhizhou*.

We do not have any further proof of this. *Zhizhou* is also said to have been the teacher of *Chihō**. It is possible that *Gembō* studied with the same teacher, but that *Zhizhou* was thirty-eight in 716 is wrong. He was forty-eight and *Gembō* must have met him between 717 (when the embassy arrived in China) and 723 when *Zhizhou* died. In any case, the tradition credits *Gembō* with the 'Fourth transmission of the Hossō school' (*Hossō dai yon den* 法相第四傳) and defends his reputation posthumously.

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[313] *Heike monogatari* 平家物語, author unknown, early 13th century, edited and annotated by Sasaki Hachirō 佐佐木八郎: *Heike monogatari hyōkō* 平家物語評講. 2 vols. Tokyo: Meijishoin 明治書院, 1963, p.847.

[314] *Konjaku monogatari* 今昔物語, author unknown, Heian (11th century), edited by Nagazumi Yasuaki 永清安明. Tokyo: Heibonsha 平凡社, 1980. Honchōbu 本朝部, vol.1, p.24.

[315] *Zhizhou* (668-723) is considered the third patriarch of the Hossō school, after *Xuanzang* and *Kuiji*. Because he taught for a long time in the Baocheng temple 報城寺 at Puyang 濮陽, in northern Henan, he was also called 'Grand Master of Puyang' 濮陽大師.

GIHŌ 義法 (?-?) (? - rt.707.5) Obito Ōtsu no Muraji 大津連首

Gihō arrived in Japan with four other student-monks in 707.5. The short entry in the SNG says:

> *Mino no Muraji Kiyomaro* of rank 5b2 and the student-monks *Gihō*, *Giki**, *Sōjū**, *Jijō**, and *Jōdatsu** came back from Silla.[316]

Kiyomaro was sent as envoy to Silla a year earlier in 706.8. We do not know when the student-monks went there and how long they stayed. Three of the five, *Giki*, *Sōjū* and *Jijō* are not mentioned again. *Gihō's* case is especially interesting, because he is the only student-monk we know of who, after coming back, decided to return to lay-life.
Seven years after his return to Japan the SNG records:

> The monk *Gihō* returned to lay life.[317] His kabane was [from there on] *Ōtsu no Muraji* and his personal name *Obito*. He received the rank 5b2 and became a diviner.[318]

As diviner at court *Obito*, was a member of the 'Board of Yinyang [-practice]' (*inyōryō* 陰陽寮)[319], ostensibly very much involved in politics and the social life of the rulers.

The last time *Obito* is mentioned in the SNG is in 730 where he was called upon to instruct three students in Yinyang-practice.[320]

Two of his poems have been preserved in the *Kaifūsō* under the name '*Ōtsu no Muraji Obito* Chief [of the bureau] of Yinyang practice of Rank 5b2 従五位下陰陽頭大津連首'. They offer us a glimpse of his life that apparently became quite secular after he gave up being a monk. One is titled 'Feasting on a spring

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[316] SNG III, AD 707.5. 5b2 is rank twenty on a scale of 36. Cf. *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*. (1995), p.5.
[317] On the meaning of the term 'return to lay life' *genzoku* 還俗 and its use in the SNG see SNG (1989), p.291.
[318] SNG VI, AD 714.3.
[319] The Inyōryō, a bureau belonging to the secretariat (Chūmushō 中務省), was established under Temmu Tennō in 686. Among its functions was not only the practice of geomancy, divination and the interpretation of omina, as well as astrology and menology. For a summary of the development of Yinyang-practises in Japan see: ZWJD, vol. 3 (Intellectual History), p.115-131; and Felicia Bock: *Classical Learning and Taoist Practice in Early Japan*. Tucson: Arizona State University Press, 1985.
[320] SNG X, AD 730.3.

day at the house of the Minister to the Left *Nagayaō*[321] 春日於左撲射長王宅宴'

日華臨水動　　風景麗春塍
庭梅已含笑　　門柳未成眉
琴樽宜此處　　賓客在相追
飽徳良爲醉　　傳盞莫遲遲[322]

morning light moves shiningly on the water
the landscape in beauty in spring on the terraces of the garden
where the plum-blossoms smile already
but where at the gate the willow's leaves have not sprouted yet
a perfect place for koto and wine jar
where guests and visitors seek out each other
filled with generosity one gets really drunk and merry
when the cups are passed around - let's not tarry

The other poem too, ends in a bucolic note: "If you want to know the course of the feast's pleasures, fill your wine jar and forget the burdens of the world." It is interesting to compare this attitude with that of *Dōji**.

GIKI 義基 (?-?) (? - rt.707.5)

Giki belonged to a group of student-monks mentioned in the SNG (III, AD 707.5) who arrived in Japan in 707.5. Presumably they studied in Silla. See also *Gihō**, *Jōdatsu**

GIKYŌ 義向 (?-653.7) (dp.653.5.12 - 653.7)

Gikyō was one of the members of the embassy of 653 that had the ill luck to board the 2nd ship under the ambassador *Takada no Nemaro* which sank off the shore of Kyūshū in 653.7 (see p.40).

GITOKU 義徳 (?-?) (dp.653.5.12 - rt.690.9.23)

Gitoku is one of the two names 'another book' adds to the list of the 653 group. He is mentioned only once again in NG XXX, AD 690, when he returned after almost forty years in China. The passage says:

> In the fourth year of *Jitō* (AD 690), 9th month 23rd day:
> The student-monks *Chisō** 智宗, *Gitoku* 義徳 and *Jōgan* 浄願 and the private soldier named *Ōtomobe no Hakama*, of the district of Upper

[321] This is this same *Nagayaō* whose invitation *Dōji** declined, it might even have been the same banquet.
[322] *Kaifūsō* (1943), p.192.

Yame in the province of Tsukushi who went to China returned to Tsukushi in the train of the Silla Escort Envoy.

GITSŪ 義通 (?-?) (dp.653.5.12? - ?)

A remark in NG XXV, AD 654.2 says that a student-monk named *Gitsū* died at sea. He is not mentioned elsewhere.

HIFUMI 日文 see **SŌBIN**

HŌSHŌ 法勝 (?-?) (dp.653.5.12? - rt.654?)

The Name *Hōshō* is mentioned together with *Myōi** 妙位 in the quote inserted in NG XXV, AD 654.2. It says that they returned 'this year' with the envoys, which probably means 654.

JIJŌ 慈定 (?-?) (? - rt.707.5)

Jijō belonged to a group of student-monks mentioned in the SNG (III, AD 707.5) who arrived in Japan in 707.5. Presumably they studied in Silla. See also *Gihō**, *Jōdatsu**.

JŌDATSU 浄達 (?-?) (? - rt.707.5)

Jōdatsu arrived with four other student-monks in the train of an envoy returning from Silla (see *Gihō*). Of the five monks who arrived in 707, only *Jōdatsu* has an entry in the GS. The very short entry records only his study in Silla and that he held a *Yuima hoe* 維摩法會 (cf. *Chihō**) for *Fujiwara Fuhito* in 709.

JŌE 定慧 (643?-665.12.23 or, less likely, 714) (dp.653.5.12 - rt.665 or 678)

The story of *Jōe* comes in two versions, one fairly old and credible, the other legendary. The only thing both versions agree on is that *Jōe* left for China with the group of 653 on the same ship as *Dōshō*, *Dōkō* and the others. The discrepancies concerning his fate after his return arise mainly between three conflicting sources, the NG, the *Keden* 家伝[323] and the GS[324]. In the *Keden*, *Jōe* is said to have been the first-born son of *Fujiwara* (or *Nakatomi*) *no*

[323] The Keden is a chronicle of the Fujiwara family, written around 760. Jōe's name is written *Jōe* 貞慧. The entry 貞慧傳 can be found in the history part (*shibu* 史部) of the *Zokuzoku gunsho ruijū* 續續群書類従. Ichijima Kenkichi 市島謙吉 (Ed.). Tokyo: Kokusho kankōkai 国書刊行会, 1911, vol.3, p.426.

[324] The GS version is connected with or even based on a story told in a earlier text, the *Tōnomine ryakki* 多武峯略記, by Seiin 静胤 (c.1197), dated 1197, DBZ 736.

Kamatari 藤原(中臣)鎌足, at that time the most powerful man at court, but the GS claims that he was in fact a bastard son of the emperor.
In the NG *Jōe* is mentioned only twice. Once on account of his departure and the second time in the remark in NG XXV, AD 654, where we are told that: "*Jōe* returned in the [cyclical] year *Kinoto no ushi* (AD 665) in the ship of *Liu Degao*."

In the short passage of the *Keden* concerning *Jōe* it is said that *Jōe* returned in 678.9 via Paekche 百済[325], and was poisoned 3 months later by 'men from Paekche who envied his skill'[326]. According to the *Keden* passage, the incident that gave rise to the murder was a poem that Jōe started but none could continue. It was common to test a person's literary skills by having him or her compose poems on given themes, and that had to be continued both metrically and thematically. The challenge Jōe devised was:

帝郷千里隔　　邊城四望秋
ten thousand miles away is the emperor's city
all around the city walls - autumn everywhere

Naoki Kōjirō[327] has discussed some of the problems concerning *Jōe* based on the *Keden*-account. He explains the motivation a powerful man like *Kamatari* might have had in sending his 11-year old son on a dangerous journey by suggesting a combination of religious and political reasons. Furthermore Naoki doubts that *Jōe* has been poisoned. In the passage in question *doku* 毒 could mean merely 'to hate'[328]. For the reason why *Kamatari* had send his eldest son abroad as 'monk', Tamura Enchō[329] suggests that the sons of the high aristocracy in the group of 653 were in fact hostages and that their position as clerics might have been devised for their protection.

The third source, the long and richly embellished biography in the GS gives still

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[325] Paekche of course did not exist anymore in 678. It had been conquered by Silla in 660. This however, doesn't mean much, the name 'Paekche' has continued to be used for the region of the former state Paekche until our times.
[326] 以白鳳一六年歳次乙丑秋九月經自百済来京師也、[...]、百済士人窃妬其能毒之。
[327] Naoki Kōjirō 直木孝次郎: *Kodai Nihon to Chōsen, Chūgoku* [Ancient Japan, Korea and China] 古代日本と朝鮮・中国. Tokyo: Kōdansha 講談社, 1988.
[328] Cf. Naoki (1988), p.174n. Judging from the context however, 'poisoned' seems definitely more likely since the text continues: ...毒之，則以其年十二月二十三日，終於大原之第，春秋二十三，道俗揮涕 ... (poisoned him, whereupon he died on the 23rd day of the 12th month in same year in the Ōhara mansion. Both clerics and lay-folk wept [over his death].)
[329] Tamura Enchō (1983), vol.2, p.65 and also Tamura Enchō: *Fujiwara Kamatari* 藤原鎌足. Tōkyō: 1966, p.111.

another date for *Jōe's* return. It deserves to be translated in full:

> The monk *Jōe* was the eldest son of the prime-minister [*Fujiwara no Kamatari*]. Once *Kōtoku* Tennō 孝徳 had a consort who was pregnant in the sixth month. He bestowed a favor to *Kamatari* and gave him the consort as a wife. He said: "If the child is a son it shall be your son[330], if it is a girl she shall be my daughter." The woman gave birth to *Jōe* who was thus called the son of *Kamatari*. He became a monk under *Eun* 慧隠. In 653 he followed the embassy to the Tang, went across the sea and arrived in the city of Chang'an. This was in the fourth year of *Yonghui* 永徽 (654). He studied almost 10 years with *Shentai*[331] 神泰 of the Huirisi 慧日寺-temple. In the first year of Tiaolu (679) he joined an envoy from Silla and arrived [in Japan]. This was in the 9th month of the seventh year of Hakuhō (678)[332].
>
> During his stay in China the prime-minister had died. He asked his younger brother *Fuhito* 不比等[333]: "Where is our ancestor buried?" He was answered: "At the Ai 阿威 mountains in Sesshū 攝州." Thereupon *Jōe* said: "Our ancestor once told me secretly: 'The Tammiko 談岑 mountains[334] in Washū 和州 are a magical site, not inferior to the Wutai 五台 mountains in China. If I would be buried there, it would be of great advantage for my children and grandchildren.' [*Jōe* continued:] When I resided in the Wutai mountains [sic] I dreamed I was in Tammiko and our ancestor told me: 'I have already ascended to heaven. If you start a temple in this place and practice Buddhism, I will descend again and protect it forever after.' This was in the second watch of the 16th night of the 4th month in 669." When *Fuhito* heard this, he cried and said: "This was just the night when our ancestor died. The master's dream was not empty." Then *Jōe* and his followers went up the Ai Mountain, took the remains [of *Kamatari*] and buried them at Tammiko. Thereupon they erected a 13-storeyed temple-pagoda. The material for the building *Jōe* had already selected and prepared while in China. When he came back he brought it

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[330] Your son: *qingzi* 卿子. The Text has *xiangzi* 郷子, which can only be a mistake.

[331] *Shentai* was a teacher of the Sanron school and a student of *Xuanzang*. After the famous Ximingsi 西明寺 temple was finished in 657, it was ordered that *Daoxuan* 道宣 (596-667) should serve as abbot (*shangzuo* 上座), *Shentai* as rector (*sizhu* 寺主) and *Huaisu* 懐素 as controller (*weina* 維那) (M., p.1428b), but *Shentai* was affiliated with more than one temple. He was also the author of several important texts, most of them now lost, among them the *Jushelunshu* 倶舎論疏 (parts of which have survived) that became one of the 'Three great *Jushe* 倶舎-commentaries' (*jushe sandashu* 倶舎三大書). For a list of his works see Tamura (1983), vol.2, p.66.

[332] There must be a small mistake here: the Chinese era Tiaolu lasted from 679.6 to 680.8. The Japanese year Hakuhō seven should be AD 678.

[333] *Jōe's* mother *Kurumamochi no kimi* 車持君 gave birth to *Jōe's* (half-)brother *Fuhito* 不比等 in 659, six years after *Jōe* had left. *Fuhito* followed in his father's footsteps and became a powerful politician.

[334] Today's Tōnomine 多武峯 mountains near Osaka.

> along by boat. But the boat was too small, so the material for one of the storeys couldn't fit in. The pagoda was designed after the pagoda at the Baochiyuan 寶池院[335] in the Wutai mountains. But when they erected it, it only had 12 stories and *Jōe* regretted that he left one behind in China and the construction could not be finished. One night then, there was a thunderstorm with lightning bolts flashing through the sky and the mountain trembling. And the next morning in the first light, there lay the needed material, as if flown from afar. There was neither too much of it, nor too little. The people in Bokuyashū 僕射州 were all deeply moved. An image of the Bodhisattva *Monju*[336] 文殊 was carved and put in the pagoda. *Jōe* died in the seventh year of Wadō (AD 714)."[337]

The events in this hagio-biography are usually not even mentioned in the academic writing on *Jōe*. The date the GS gives for *Jōe's* return (678) is at odds with the remark in the NG (which has 665) and the date it has for his death differs from the one in the *Keden* (where he dies in 678.12). Probably both dates are wrong. Still, the elements of this tale are worth a closer look.

That *Jōe* was allegedly a student of *Eun* throws some light on the process of how the knowledge about studying in China had been passed on from one generation of student-monks to another. *Eun* had been one of the first student-monks; he stayed in China until 639.9[338].

Also interesting is the statement that *Jōe* has been to the Wutai mountains. If this was true, it would have meant that *Jōe* left Chang'an around 664 after studying under *Shentai*, but from there went not to Japan to be poisoned, but to the Wutai mountains, which were a very likely destination for a Buddhist pilgrim in those days. This would make him the first Japanese pilgrim that is known to have been on Wutai.[339] Aston says in a footnote that *Jōe* buried the remains of *Kamatari* 'under a miniature pagoda of stone'[340] and that 'this marks the decline of the old style of interment'. The biographies, as far as I can see, do not mention a *small stone* pagoda. And although it is true that the party of 653 had a strong impact on the burial rites of the Japanese, this was rather by the introduction of fire burial ascribed to *Dōshō*, than by the change of *Kamatari's*

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[335] A pool named Baochi was believed to exist in the paradise of *Monjū*. In his diary *Ennin* mentions two six-storeyed pagodas situated next to a 'Pool of the Eight Virtues (*Bagongde chi* 八功德池)', a name which here is synonymous to Baochi 寶池. Cf. Mochizuki, p.2407b; Reischauer (1955), p.242.

[336] *Monju* (ch. *Wenshu*, skr. *Mañjuśrī*) is the patron saint of the *Wutai*-mountains.

[337] DBZ 470, p.112.

[338] Cf. NG XXIII, AD 639.9.

[339] Cf. Mori Katsumi (1955), p.161, would award this honor to *Gembō* 玄昉 who went there in AD 725.

[340] W. G. Aston (1972), p.242n.

last resting place. That such a change took place however, we know for sure. After his death in 696.10, *Kamatari's* remains were laid in a memorial hall on a mountain (south of Ōzu). After an unusually long period of mourning his corpse was buried at Yamashina 山科 (east of Kyoto). When the capital was established at Nara (705 –710), *Kamatari's* grave was moved to the Tammiko (later called Tōnomine) mountains.[341]

Concerning the erection of a pagoda on *Jōe's* (step-) father's gravesite, there is another story to be considered. According to a passage in the *Samguk Yusa* 三国遺事[342], the Silla monk *Chajang* 慈蔵 (7th century) arrived in Chang'an to study Buddhism in 638. During his sojourn in China he too, visited the Wutai mountains where *Monjū* appeared to him in the vicinity of a lake called Taihechi 太和池. The Bodhisattva instructed *Chajang* to build a nine-storeyed pagoda at the Hangryongsa 皇龍寺 temple to secure Silla success in its struggles with its neighbors. After his return to Silla in 643 *Chajang* followed *Monjū's* advice and had the pagoda built; each storey symbolizing an adjacent country, it became a monument to the idea of 'Buddhism for the protection of the state (*gokoku bukkyō* 護国仏教)'. The stories of *Jōe* and *Chajang* show remarkable structural similarities. Both find the plan for their pagoda while traveling in the Wutai mountains, their discovery and erection of the pagoda is connected to a lake and to *Monjū*. Moreover both monks lived at approximately the same time and *Jōe* is said to have returned in a Silla ship. It seems that the stories in the GS and the *Samguk Yusa*, being written relatively late, evolved from a common source. This relegates the GS account of the events after *Jōe's* return even further into the realm of hagiography.

For the circumstances and the date of his death it certainly seems more reasonable to rely on the *Keden* account, which is much earlier, less edited than the GS, and squares more easily with the NG. If he had lived out his time, *Jōe's* return and his life in Japan would very likely have been recorded in the NG and the SNG.

If however, the GS accidentially preserved an oral tradition that had been purged from the other official histories, and *Jōe* was indeed the emperor's son,

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[341] Tamura (1966, p.163). Tamura asserts that *Liu Degao* was sent to Japan in order to return the young son of *Kamatari*. He notes that, according to the NG, *Jōe* was murdered in 665.12, only a few days after the embassy returned to China, perhaps by a member of the "Paekche faction" at court, who opposed closer ties with the Tang. For the tradition that connects *Jōe* with the Tammiko, i.e. Tōnomine mountains see also the *Tōnomine engi* 多武峯縁起, Muromachi-era DBZ 737. Tamura (1966, p.176) gives some background information on the political intentions of the *Tōnomine engi*.

[342] The earliest history of Korean Buddhism, written by the monk *Iryŏn* 一然 (1206-1289). I refer to the story as retold in Kamata (1987), p.43.

therefore in direct line of succession to the throne, the possibility of a political murder should not go unconsidered. *Jōe's* decision (if it was his own) to return a man after he had been sent away as a boy was perhaps not altogether wise. Assuming he returned in 678, his (step-) father *Kamatari* had died and his (half-) brother *Fuhito* was too young to grant him any protection (provided that he would have wanted to protect an elder brother he had never seen before). In the end, we will probably never know if *Jōe* fell victim to envious immigrants from Paekche or to some political intrigue using the 'men from Paekche' as scapegoats.

JŌGAN 浄願 (?-?) (? - rt.690.9)

Jōgan returned to Japan in 690.9 on a Silla ship. He was in the company of *Chisō** and *Gitoku**. (NG XXX, AD 690). *Jōgan* is not mentioned elsewhere.

KAKUSHŌ 覚勝 (?-?) (dp.653.5.12)

Kakushō left for China in 653 (NG XXV, AD 653) and died there (NG XXV, AD 654.2). The information on his death is given in a quote that is inserted in NG AD 654.2, but since the fact itself is not dated, and grouped together with other events that happened later than 654, we do not know when he died.

KANCHI 観智 (?-716) (? - rt.689.4)

Kanchi and *Meisō** returned in 689 in the train of a Silla envoy.[343] The same envoy brought a statue of the Bodhisattvas *Amida*, *Kannon*, and *Daiseishi*.[344] Probably *Kanchi* and *Meisō* did study in Silla for the NG records that two months after their return,

> the empress commanded ... to give the student-monks *Meisō* and *Kanchi* each 140 *kin* [c.80kg] of coarse silk to send to their teachers and friends in Silla.[345]

We know nothing about the further fate of *Meisō* but *Kanchi* is mentioned again in the FSR. In 707.10 he lectured on the *Vimalakīrti nirdeśa sūtra* at the invitation of *Fujiwara Fuhito*.[346] In 712.9 he was made Risshi 律師.[347] *Kanchi*

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[343] 並上送学門僧明隆・観智等。NG XXX, AD 689.4. Aston translates *ra* 等 with 'and others'. To my mind, the *ra* here is used in the sense of marking the end of an enumeration.

[344] *Daiseishi* 大勢至 [skr. *Mahāsthāmaprāpta*] is one of the Bodhisattvas associated with the *Amida* cult. In Buddhist iconography he waits on *Amida* from the right side.

[345] 詔[...]賜学門僧明聡観智等爲送新羅師友綿各一百四十斤。NG XXX, AD 689.6.

[346] 十月淡海公在厩坂寺。請新羅遊学僧観智講維摩詰両本經。FSR (1965), p.77.

died in 716, the year *Gembō** went to China.

It is very possible that *Kanchi* as well as *Meisō* were Koreans, i.e. born on the peninsula. The *Shichidaiji nenpyō* calls him Korean in the note on his death. As in the case of *Chihō* who lectured on the *Vimalakīrti sūtra* one year earlier, tradition might have silently 'promoted' these Korean monks to the status of Japanese subjects who studied abroad.

KANJŌ 観常 (?-?) (? - rt.685.5)

The NG says that the student-monks *Kanjō* and *Ryōkan** came to Japan in 685 in the train of an envoy from Silla.[348] They are not mentioned anywhere else, and it is not clear if they were Japanese *student-monks* who came back from Korea or even China or Korean *scholar-monks* (also 學僧) who immigrated to Japan. The latter is more likely since the wording of the entry in the NG does not use the character for 'to return' (*ki* 帰) as is often the case with student-monks.

KŌSAI 廣濟 (?-?) (dp.608.9.11 - ?) Imaki Ayabito 新漢人

We do not know what happened to *Kōsai* after his departure in 608. There are no biographies of him and he is not mentioned in the NG or the SNG again. Since the NG gives the exact dates for the arrivals of the other student-monks of the group that left in 608, *Sōbin**, *Eon** and *Shōan**, *Kōsai*'s return too, would probably have been mentioned. Moreover, returned student-monks often rose to high positions in the monk hierarchy making a biography almost unavoidable. Considering these facts it is probable that *Kōsai* died in China or on the way there.

MEISŌ 明聡 (?-?) (? - rt.689.4)

Meisō returned to Japan together with *Kanchi** with whom he studied in Silla. (NG XXX, AD 689.4.)

The passage is quoted in the *Shichidaiji nenpyō* 七大寺年表 (DBZ 647, p.349) that is dated seventy years later than the FSR. Here however, the 維摩詰両本經 "The two versions of the *Vimalakīrti nirdeśa sūtra*" become: 維摩詰新古両本經 "The 'old and new' version of the *Vimalakīrti nirdeśa sūtra*". What versions exactly these were is hard to decide, because at that time there were already six or seven versions extant. Probably the 'old version' was the one done by *Zhiqian* 支謙 in the third century (T.474), while the 'new' one was translated by *Kumārajīva* in the early fifth century (T.475). The *Shichidaiji nenpyō* also records the year of *Kanchi's* death.
The year before *Chihō* had held a *Vimalakīrti* dharma-meeting for *Fuhito*.

[347] Also recorded in the SNG V, AD 712.9.

[348] 乃学問僧観常靈観従至之。NG XXIX, AD 685.5.

MIN 旻 see **SŌBIN**

MYŌI 妙位 (?-?) (dp.653.5.12? - rt.654)

The name *Myōi* appears in the remark in NG XXV, AD 654.2, where he and *Hōshō** are said to have come back with the envoys 'this year', which very likely means 654.

NICHIMON 日文 see **SŌBIN**

RYŌKAN 靈観 (?-?) (? - rt.685.5) see **KANJŌ**

RYŌUN 靈雲 (?-?) (? - rt.632.8)

Ryōun returned together with *Sōbin* in the train of an embassy from Silla (NG XXIII, AD 632.8). Later, also together with *Sōbin*, he became one of the 'Ten Preceptors' (*jishi* 十師) (NG XXV, AD 645.8). He is not included in the GS or the TKD, but has an entry in the HKD. It is not clear what sources this HKD biography has used, but it recounts several interesting details:

> The monk *Ryōun* from the Gankōji temple in Washū. (*Nihonshoki* XXIII and XXV.) *Ryōun* went to China during the final years of the reign of empress *Suiko* [r.592-628]. He asked the great teacher *Jizang* 吉蔵 [549-623] for instruction and studied the teachings of the Sanron school with him. In the eight month of the forth year of *Jōmei* Tennō's reign [632] he returned together with *Sōbin*, following the Tang-envoy *Gao Biaoren*. He lived at the Gankōji 元興寺 temple and with great success taught the teaching of emptiness [Sanron]. When *Kōtoku* Tennō elected the 'Ten Preceptors' to instruct and command the community of monks and to proliferate and penetrate the scriptures, *Ryōun* was part of this [movement].[349]

That *Ryōun* should have been a Sanron scholar is interesting, because in that case he should have been counted among the 'Conveyors of the Sanron-school'[350]. However, the earliest texts on the introduction of Sanron to Japan make no mention of him.
If he really left sometime during the 'final years of *Suiko*', he could not have studied with *Jizang*, who died in 623, for very long.

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[349] DBZ 472, p.393c.
[350] Officially, the 'Three Conveyors of the Sanron-school' are the Korean *Ekan*, *Chizō** and *Dōji**

SEIAN 請安 see **SHŌAN**

SHINEI 神叡 (?-737) (dp.693.3 – rt. before 717.7)

For 693.3 the NG records that *Shinei* and *Bentsū** were given presents of cloth and silk probably as part of the preparations for their impending departure to Korea. We hear of *Shinei* again only 25 years later in 717.7, when he is promoted to the position of Risshi 律師 (on the same occasion that the student-monk *Benshō** is made Shōsōzu 小僧都.) *Shinei* stayed in the Sōgō, at the highest level of clerical power for twenty years until his death in 737. In 729.10, after the death of Sōjō *Gien,* when *Dōji** entered the Sōgō, *Shinei* was made Shōsōzu and *Benshō* became Sōjō. Together the three student-monks were in charge of the Sōgō for eight years at a time when the Nara schools solidified and developed their role in society.

In an unusual passage in the SNG (VIII, AD 719.11), elaborate praise is heaped first on *Shinei* then on *Dōji.* For an alleged contest between *Shinei* and *Dōji* reported in the *Konjaku monogatari* see *Dōji's* entry.

A interesting piece of information about *Shinei* has survived in a passage from *Situo*'s 思託 *Enryaku sōroku* 延暦僧録[351] quoted in the FSR:

> The monk *Shinei* studied in China. [...] He went into the wilderness. Relying on the Genkōji 現光寺 [for food and clothing?] he built a hut, determined to read through the Tripitaka. Every day and by candle light at night he read fervently and untiringly for more than twenty years. He mastered the most subtle doctrines.[352]

Situo seems to assert that *Shinei* went to China, which is possible, considering that some student-monks went there via Korea[353]. The *Konjaku monogatari* tale also alludes to *Shinei* erudition though there he is portrayed more as a saint than a scholar.

That he spent twenty years in retreat would explain the long silence in the official histories. If *Shinei* returned to Japan together with his travelling companion *Bentsū*, i.e. before 696.11, he could have spent 'more then twenty years' in his study before becoming Risshi in 717.

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[351] *Situo* was a disciple of the Chinese Vinaya master *Ganjin* who followed his master to Japan in 753. Of this work by *Situo* 思託 (d. between 782-805) only fragments have survived (most in the third Chapter of the *Nihon kōsōden yōmonshō* (DBZ 468)).

[352] 沙門神叡唐学生也。便入芳野。依現光寺。結廬立志披閲三蔵。秉燭披翫夙夜忘疲。愈二十年。妙通奥旨。FSR VI, AD 730.10; p.90.

[353] See Chapter 4.

SHŌAN (or SEIAN) 請安 (?-?) (dp.608.9 - rt.640.10) Minabuchi no Ayabito 南淵漢人

Besides the dates of his departure and return *Shōan* is mentioned only once again in the NG.

Shōan returned together with *Takamuku Genri*, one of the masterminds of the Taika reform, in 640. The NG (XXIII, AD 640.10) says: "[*Shōan* and *Genri*] arrived via Silla. In their company were tribute-bearing envoys from Paekche and Silla."

Shōan became the teacher of Prince *Naka no Ōe* 中大兄 and the influential *Nakatomi no Kamatari* 中臣鎌足. Allegedly the two were plotting the murder of *Soga no Iruka*, and perhaps the beginning of the Taika reforms, inconspicuously on their way from the city to the dwelling of their common teacher, *Shōan*. A passage in NG (XXIV, AD 644) says they studied "the doctrines of the Duke of Zhou and Confucius with the learned teacher *Minabuchi*"[354]. This shows that the monks who went to China in the 7th century learned, and later taught, not only Buddhism but other 'things Chinese' as well (the monk-astronomer *Sōbin** is another example). Later, in the 8th and 9th century, a Japanese Buddhist monk would not spent his time in China studying Confucian doctrines. At that time a more sophisticated understanding of Chinese thought had developed in Japan and the monks who went to China had a fairly clear idea of what sort of teaching to look for.

Shōan's grave (南淵請安墓), or at least a site of this name, exists or existed ca. 4 km South-east of the site of Fujiwarakyō 藤原京, the residence of the Tennō from 694 until the move to Nara in 710.[355]

SŌBIN (or SŌMIN) 僧旻 (or NICHIMON 日文, BIN (or MIN) 旻, HIFUMI 日文) (?-653.6) (dp.608.9.11 - rt.632.8) Imaki no Ayabito 新漢人

Sōbin was among the group of four student-monks that left in 608. These four are the first student-monks we know by name. The other three were *Eon**, *Shōan** and *Kōsai**. Assuming that *Kōsai* died in China, *Sōbin* was the first of the remaining three to return to Japan (NG XXIII, AD 632.8) after he had stayed in China for twenty-four years.

There is little doubt that the 'student-monk' *Nichimon Imaki no Ayabito* 日文親

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[354] …而倶手把黄巻、自学周孔之教於南淵先生所。

[355] This place name can be found on the map on p.261 in the *Nihon rekishi chizu* 日本歴史地図. Tokyo 1982. I could not find it elsewhere and never went there.

漢人[356] and the student-monk *Sōbin* who returned from China in AD 632 are the same person, even though the wording of the entry that describes his return does not say explicitly that *Sōbin* 'returned'. We only learn that in the 8th month of the forth year of the era Jomei,

> Great Tang sent *Gao Biaoren* to escort *Mitasuki* [on his way back from China to Japan (W. G. Aston)]. They anchored together at Tsushima. At this time the student-priests *Ryōun* 靈雲 and *Sōbin* 僧旻, together with *Suguri no Torikahi* and Silla escort envoys, came in their train.[357]

In the later biographies it is not mentioned that *Sōbin* went back via Korea, nor is there an explanation, why he was in Korean company. What Aston translated as "came in their train" (従之) became "followed *Gao Biaoren*" (随高表仁) in the GS, TKD and HKD biographies[358]. It is possible that *Sōbin*, born in Japan into a family of Korean descent, went to China and from there to Korea. *Sōbin's* clan belonged to those of the Chinese-Korean immigrants that came to Japan via Korea in the second half of the fifth century, as the 'Imaki Ayabito' in his name indicates. This background comprises all the elements we have in our picture of *Sōbin*: his knowledge of the Chinese classics, his connection with the Koreans and his prominent role at the Yamato court.
The reason for the name-change from *Nichimon* to *Sōbin* could be either a scribal error, occurring sometime early during the tradition of the text, or a conscious contraction of *nichi* 日 and *mon* 文 to *min* 旻 perhaps in an effort to have the same name as the then famous Chinese monk called *Sengmin* (466-527).[359]

Sōbin is mentioned in the NG more often than any other student-monk, and it is possible to present his career only by recounting these passages. His biographies in the GS, TKD and the HKD add nothing new to this.

AD 608.9: The student-monk *Nichimon Imaki Ayabito* leaves for China.

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[356] Cf. quote in Ch.2.2.
[357] W.G. Aston (p.166) transcribes '*Ryŏng-un* and *Bin*'. I see no reason why *Ryōun* should be more Korean than *Sōbin*. Moreover in the text the *sō* 僧 belongs to *bin* or *min* 旻, forming a compound name which is used from this passage on, every time *Sōbin* is mentioned.
[358] In the first case, 従 can mean 'to follow', or 'to catch up with'. Rightly translated, I think, by Aston with "came in their train", leaving open the option that they returned via Silla.
[359] The *Sengmin* that lived in China was one of the 'Three Great Dharma masters of the [Southern] Liang [Dynasty (502-557)]' (*liang san da fa shi* 梁三大法師). According to Inoue Mitsusada (1971, p.20) *Sengmin's* writings have been among the sources for the commentaries ascribed to *Shōtoku Taishi*. This means his name must have been known in Buddhist circles at the time *Sōbin* left for China.
For the Chinese *Sengmin* see M. p.3104.

AD 632.8: The student-monk *Sōbin* comes to Japan together with envoys from Silla.
AD 637.2: *Sōbin* interprets the appearance of a comet and thunder with the words: "It is no comet, it is the celestial dog. Its voice sounds like thunder."[360]
AD 639.1: There was 'thunder without clouds' and ten days later 'a storm without thunder'. Moreover, "on the 26th day a long star appeared in the north-west. *Sōbin* said, "This a comet. When it is seen, there is famine."[361]
AD 645.6: *Sōbin* is made 'National Scholar' (*kuni no hakase* 國博士) together with *Takamuku Genri* who went to China together with *Sōbin* in 608.
AD 645.8: *Sōbin* is made one of the 'Ten Preceptors' (*jishi* 十師) together with *Ryōun**, his travel companion on his way back from China.
AD 649.2: The two 'National Scholars', *Takamuku* and *Sōbin*, were ordered to 'establish Eight Departments of State and one hundred bureaus'.
AD 650.1: *Sōbin* gives an interpretation of the appearance of white pheasants as a sign that an able and just ruler is on the throne. His argumentation, if the NG recorded his words faithfully, shows that he is completely familiar with Chinese history. It could have been forwarded by any Confucian scholar-official.

> This is to be deemed a lucky omen, and it may be said that this is rarely seen. I have heard that when a ruler extends his benign influence to all four quarters, then will white pheasants be seen. They appear, moreover, when a ruler's sacrifices are not in mutual discord, and when his banquets and garments are in due measure. Again, when a ruler is of frugal habits, white pheasants are made to come forth on the hills. Again, they appear when the ruler is humane and wise. In the time of King *Cheng* of the Zhou Dynasty[362], the *Yueshang* family brought a white pheasant and presented it to the emperor, saying: "We are told by

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[360] The first mention of a Buddhist monk in China dabbling in magic and astrology is recorded for the Emporer *Jianwen* (371-373) (cf. Ch'en (1964) p.73). Some 60 years after *Sōbin*, in AD 701, the *Sōnirei*-regulations forbade the Buddhist clergy all forms of soothsaying and astrology.
Sōbin refers with his interpretations to a passage in the *Hanshu*-chapter on astronomy (*Tianwenzhi* 天文志) where it says: "When the celestial drum sounds, it sounds like thunder, but it is not thunder. The celestial dog looks like a large comet." (cited in NG (*Iwanami bunkō* edition, p.179)). W.G. Aston cites the *Shanhaijing* 山海經 for that passage: "The Classic of the Mountains and Seas (a very ancient Chinese book) says: 'At the Heaven-gate-mountain there is a red dog, called the Celestial dog. Its lustre flies through Heaven, and as it floats it becomes a star several tens of rods (10 feet) in length. It is swift as the wind. Its voice is like thunder, and its radiance like lightning.'"
[361] NG XXIII, AD 639.1.
[362] According to the editors of the Iwanami edition of the NG, the case of King *Cheng* 成王 (r. BC 827-782) is from the work *Yiwen leiju* 藝文類聚 (Chapter *Shuibu* 水部). Using a rare source like this for a precedent, *Sōbin* shows that his erudition was not confined to the classical canon.

> the old men of our country: 'A long time has it been since there were great storms or long rains, and the great rivers and the sea have not swelled over onto the land. Three years now have elapsed. We think that in the Central Land there is a sage. Would it not be well to go and pay your respects at his court?' Therefore we have come, having tripled our interpreters."

To celebrate this occasion the emperor declared an amnesty and decided to change the year-motto from Taika in Hakuchi 白雉 (white pheasant).

AD 653.5: *Sōbin* is ill and the emperor visits him.

This story again, shows the extraordinary influence *Sōbin* must have had at court. The emperor is even quoted to have said that: "If your Reverence dies today, We shall follow you in death tomorrow". The emperor did not have to live up to his promise, since *Sōbin* died during the next month (NG XXV, AD 653.6), on which occasion the imperial family went in mourning.

Together with *Takamuku*, *Sōbin* is credited with drafting and implementing the Taika reforms.[363] Except for his promotion among the 'Ten Teachers' there is no trace left of him being active as Buddhist monk. *Sōbin* made apparently no contribution to the introduction of Buddhism.

Biographies of *Sōbin* can be found in the GS (DBZ 470, p.149), HKD (DBZ 472, p.371). He is one of the few student-monks who have their own entry in M. (p.3105).

SŌJŪ 摠集 (?-?) (? - rt.707.5)

Sōjū belonged to a group of student-monks mentioned in the SNG (III, AD 707.5) who arrived in Japan in 707.5. Presumably they studied in Silla. See also *Gihō**, *Jōdatsu**

SŌNIN 僧忍 (?-?) (dp.653.5.12 - ?)

About *Sōnin* nothing is known, except for the date of his departure in 653. (NG XXV, AD 653)

[363] See Chapter 2.3.

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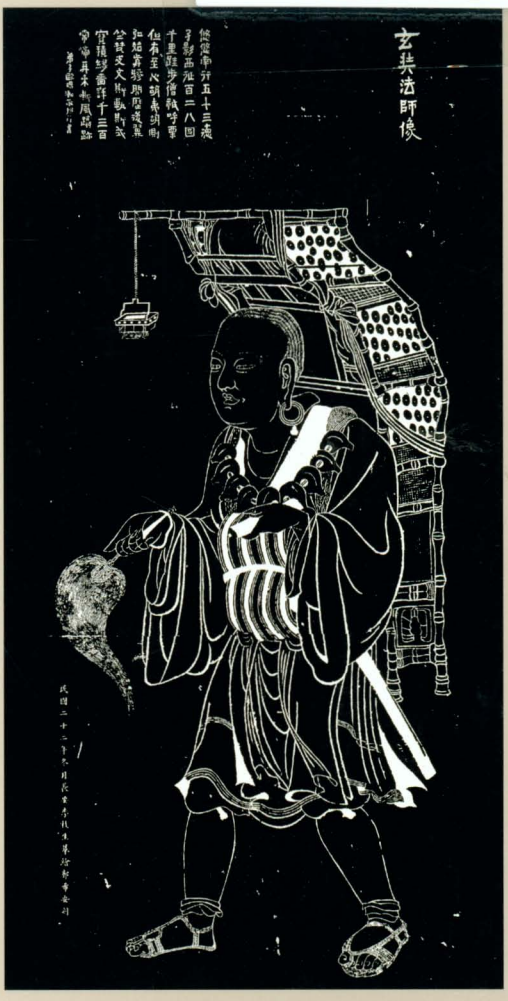

In der Reihe *Buddhismus-Studien/Buddhist Studies* erscheinen deutsch- und englischsprachige Arbeiten, die weithin unbekannte Aspekte des Buddhismus erschließen und zu weitergehenden Untersuchungen stimulieren sollen. Die einzelnen Beiträge folgen unterschiedlichen Ansätzen und behandeln unterschiedlichste Themen. Sie sind geeignet, einseitige Vorstellungen über „den Buddhismus" durch ein treffenderes Bild zu ersetzen.

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