

The Ci'en School during the Song and Yuan Periods

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Chinese Buddhism from the Song 宋 period onwards was dominated by the Chan 禪 and Pure Land 淨土 sects, while the scholastic Buddhism of the Faxiang 法相, Huayan 華嚴 and Tiantai 天台 schools, which had flourished enormously during the Sui 隋 and Tang 唐 dynasties, no longer enjoyed much popularity. But even so the reintroduction from Koryŏ 高麗 (Korea) of Huayan and Tiantai texts resulted in a revival of these two schools in the Jiangnan 江南 region during the Song. In the case of the Tiantai school, there even occurred debates between the Shanjia 山家 and Shanwai 山外 branches into which it had formerly been divided. As regards the Faxiang school, however, whose teachings had been brought back from India to China by Xuanzang 玄奘 and systematized by his disciple Kuiji 窺基 (posthumously known as Great Master Ci'en 慈恩大師), Buddhist histories such as the *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀 make virtually no mention of its activities from the Song onwards, and present-day introductions to the history of Chinese Buddhism also make no reference to it. Consequently, it has come to be considered that this school fell into complete decline after the Song and was no longer active.

But in actual fact the Faxiang school continued to operate in northern China under the Liao 遼 and Northern Song dynasties. The first person to point this out was Tsukamoto Zenryū 塚本善隆, who, in an article entitled "Bukkyō shiryō to shite no Kinkoku daizōkyō" 佛教史料としての金刻大藏經 (The Jin 金 Canon as historical source material on Buddhism),¹⁾ drew attention to hitherto unknown commentaries related to the Faxiang school and contained in the Jin Canon discovered at the Guangsheng si 廣勝寺 in Zhaocheng 趙城 county, Shanxi 山西 province, in 1933, and, citing the *Shangsheng jing shu huigu tongjin xinchao* 上生經疏會古通今新鈔 by Quanming 詮明, a *weishi* 唯識 (*vijñaptimātratā*) or Yogācāra scholar of the Liao, pointed out that the Faxiang school had flourished under the Liao dynasty. But because the prime aim of Tsukamoto's article was to demonstrate the historical value of works contained in the Jin Canon, he did not deal with the history of the Faxiang school from the Song period onwards.

Subsequently, in 1974, a large quantity of Buddhist relics dating from the Liao dynasty were discovered in a wooden pagoda at the Fogong si 佛宮寺 in

Ying 應 county, Shanxi province, and these also included works by Quanming, thereby providing us with further information about his activities. At the same time, it also became evident that references to Faxiang monks which had hitherto been overlooked could be found in inscriptional material and historical works of the Song and Yuan periods. The aim of this article is to utilize these various sources to trace the lineage of the Faxiang school during the Song and Yuan periods.²⁾

It should be noted that in China the Faxiang school, as well as being called the Xiang 相 school or Weishi 唯識 school, is also known as the Ci'en school after the posthumous title of Kuiji, who systematized its doctrines. This designation is similar to the use of the appellation 'Xianshou 賢首 school' to refer to the Huayan school, and because especially during the Song and Yuan periods it was used more widely than other designations, it will be used here too.

I. Weishi Doctrine during the Liao Dynasty: With Special Reference to Quanming

There already exists considerable research on Buddhism during the Liao dynasty, starting with *Ryō-Kin no Bukkyō* 遼金の佛教 (Buddhism during the Liao and Jin; Kyōto: Heirakuji Shoten 平樂寺書店, 1953) by Nogami Shunjō 野上俊靜, and its general features are more or less known. But in recent years there has been a succession of discoveries of new materials, and further details have been added to our knowledge. An especially important yield was the discovery of 47 woodblock Buddhist texts and 30 hand-copied scriptures, etc., inside a statue of Śākyamuni enshrined in the fourth storey of a wooden pagoda (erected in Qingning 清寧 2 [1056]) within the precincts of the Fogong si, a temple in Ying county, Shanxi province. A report on this discovery was published in *Wenwu* 文物 1982-6 and attracted considerable attention among scholars. Then in 1991 an inventory of all the discovered relics was published under the title *Yingxian muta Liaodai mizang* 應縣木塔遼代祕藏 (A Liao-dynasty secret depository inside the wooden pagoda in Ying county; Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe 文物出版社 [hereafter: *Mizang* 祕藏]), and the full scope of the discoveries became clear. This publication includes full photographic reproductions of all the texts discovered, and is extremely useful for researchers. The discoveries included volumes of the Khitan (Qidan 契丹) Canon previously thought to be no longer extant, and there was considerable debate about the date of their printing. There were also numerous Huayan texts, and on the basis of these texts it became clear that the Buddhism of the Liao dynasty had occupied an important position in the sphere of East Asian Buddhism. These matters will not, however, be dealt with here.³⁾

Of particular importance among the works of Liao monks recovered from the wooden pagoda in Ying county are the commentaries written by

Quanming, a scholar-monk of the Ci'en school. Eleven of his works are listed in the *Xinbian zhuzong jiaozang zonglu* 新編諸宗教藏總錄 by Yitian 義天 of Koryŏ (hereafter: *Yitian lu* 義天錄), but none was known to have survived, and it was not even clear when he had lived. But the Jin Canon discovered in 1933, as already noted, included his *Shangsheng jing shu huigu tongjin xinchao* (fasc. 2 and 4) and *Shangsheng jing shu sui xinchao kewen* 上生經疏隨新抄科文 (1 fasc.), and both of these are included in the *Yingyin Songzang yizhen* 影印宋藏遺珍 (1935). His newly discovered writings consist of four fascicles (all xylographs) from the following three works. (The numbers in parentheses are the corresponding serial numbers in the *Mizang*.)

1. *Shangsheng jing shu kewen* 上生經疏科文, 1 fasc. (40)
2. *Cheng weishi ying xinchao kewen* 成唯識論記應新抄科文, fasc. 3 (43)
3. *Fahua jing xuanzan huigu tongjin xinchao* 法華經玄贊會古通今新抄, fascs. 2 & 6 (44, 45)

According to the colophon of (1), this work was printed on the 15th of the eighth month, Tonghe 統和 8 (990), by the Yang 楊 family living in front of the Yaoshan si 仰山寺, and it thus became evident that Quanming had lived during the reign of Shengzong 聖宗 of the Liao dynasty. Zhang Changgeng 張暢耕 and Bi Sujuan 畢素絹, both members of the team charged with sorting the relics from the wooden pagoda, subsequently published an article entitled "Lun Liaochao dazangjing diaoyin" 論遼朝大藏經雕印 (On the printing of the Liao-dynasty Canon)⁴⁾ in which they devote an entire section to the activities of Quanming in Yanjing 燕京. According to their investigations, Quanming was known as the Commentator (*chaozhu* 鈔主) or Great Master Wu'ai 無礙大師, resided in the Minzhong si 憫忠寺, the most famous of Yanjing's temples, and in Tonghe 8 built a hall dedicated to Śākyamuni (Shijia Taizi dian 釋迦太子殿) within the temple grounds. He also prevailed upon Xilin 希麟 to compose the *Xu Yiqiejing yinyi* 續一切經音義, as well as himself compiling the *Xu Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 續開元釋教錄 in 3 fascicles, which is no longer extant. Also of interest is the fact that there still stands in Lihe 李河 village, Daxing 大興 county (approximately 100 li 里 to the south of Beijing), a "stūpa for Great Master Wu'ai" (*Wu'ai dashi zhi ta* 無礙大師之塔) erected in Zhiyuan 至元 9 (1272) of the Yuan. On the basis of the above, Zhang and Bi surmise that Quanming was born during the Tiancheng 天成 era (926-30) of the Later Tang during the Five Dynasties period and died towards the end of the Tonghe era (1012). These would seem to be reasonable suppositions. If they are correct, however, there is a problem with how to interpret the following passage from Yitian's "Ba Feishan biezhuany" 跋飛山別傳義 quoted in the *Shimen zhengtong* 釋門正統 8:

Recently the Emperor of the Great Liao ordered the authorities to have the scholar-monk Quanxiao 詮曉 and others revise the scriptural cata-

logues, burning [Chan texts such as] the *Liuzu tanjing* 六祖壇經 and *Baolin zhuan* 寶林傳 and removing their absurdities. Details of this directive are contained in the *Chongxiu Zhenyuan xulu* 重修貞元續錄 3.

This is a well-known passage attesting to Quanming's burning of Chan texts. That Quanming later assumed the new name of 'Quanxiao' is evident from a gloss in the *Xu Kaiyuan shijiao lu* quoted in the *Yitian lu*, and he did this in order to avoid violating the name taboo of the emperor Muzong 穆宗 of the Liao.⁵⁾ Hitherto the "Emperor of the Great Liao" mentioned in the above passage has been equated with either Daozong 道宗 or Xingzong 興宗, but in their above-mentioned article Zhang and Bi identify him with Shengzong 聖宗 and argue that the "revision of the scriptural catalogues" was undertaken in preparation for the printing of the Buddhist canon and took place at about the start of the Tonghe era. But Yitian wrote the postscript in which this passage appears when he visited Song China in 1085–86, which means that, had the order to revise the scriptural catalogues been issued at the start of the Tonghe era (983), more than a century would have elapsed since then, and he is hardly likely to have referred to an event that had occurred so long ago as having happened "recently." It would seem more natural to equate the "Emperor of the Great Liao" with the contemporary Daozong, with whom Yitian was on intimate terms and exchanged letters, and for this very reason he would have used the title "Emperor of the Great Liao" as a sign of respect. But if the "Emperor of the Great Liao" corresponds to Daozong, then Quanming could not have lived during his reign, and one must assume either that Quanxiao was another person or that the postscript is in error. I am inclined to believe that the latter possibility is the more likely. Quanming's compilation of the *Xu Kaiyuan shijiao lu* was probably confused with the editing of the canon by Jiaoyuan 覺苑 and others at the behest of Xingzong,⁶⁾ and this was then wrongly dated to the reign of Daozong.

Bibliographical details of Quanming's three works recovered from the wooden pagoda in Ying county are provided in the Mizang, and so I will not repeat them here. I would, however, like to add some comments on the *Fahua jing xuanzan huigu tongjin xinzhao*, the most important of these three works. This is a commentary on the *Miaofa lianhua jing xuanzan* 妙法蓮華經玄贊 (10 fascs.), a commentary on the *Lotus Sūtra* (*Miaofa lianhua jing* 妙法蓮華經) by Kuiji of the Tang, and it was circulating in Koryō, for in the section on the *Lotus Sūtra* in the *Yitian lu* 1 we read: "*Huigu tongjin xinzhao* 會古通今新抄, 10 fascs.; *Ke* 科, 4 fascs.; *Dake* 大科, 1 fasc." In addition Jōjin 成尋, a Japanese monk who visited China during the Song, writes as follows in his *San Tendai Godaisan ki* 參天台五臺山記 1 (entry for the 28th of the second month, Xining 熙寧 6 [1073]):

In the northern China, many monks studies the Ci'an school. It was given

to understand that I was studying the *Xuanzan* 玄贊. When I asked about the *Sheshi* 攝釋 and *Jingshui chao* 鏡水抄, I was told that they were not available, and I was given the *Quanming chao* 詮明抄 composed by a Khitan monk. It is said to be a commentary on the *Xuanzan*.

The *Sheshi* refers to the *Fahua jing xuanzan sheshi* 法華經玄贊攝釋 (4 fascs.) by Zhizhou 智周 of the Tang, while the *Jingshui chao* corresponds to the *Fahua jing xuanzan yaoji* 法華經玄贊要集 (35 fascs.) by Xifu 栖復 of the late Tang, and both are extant, having been brought to Japan at an early stage. However, they were not available in Kaifeng 開封, the capital of the Northern Song, and instead Jōjin was given the *Quanming chao* by a Khitan monk. Needless to say, this was the *Fahua jing xuanzan huigu tongjin xinchao* by Quanming, and it is thus evident that in the mid-eleventh century it was also circulating in the Song.

During this period both the Song and the Liao were nervous about books being carried out of their realms, and in the case of the Liao in particular anyone who took books to the Song is said to have been put to death.⁷⁾ But in actual fact quite a number of Buddhist works found their way from the Liao to the Song, including the *Longkan shoujing* 龍龕手鏡 by the Liao monk Xingjun 行均 and the *Quanming chao*. In contrast, the Song dynasty presented neighbouring countries, including Japan, with sets of the Kaibao Canon 開寶藏, the first woodblock Chinese Tripitaka, but the Liao alone was not given a set, and it accordingly produced its own Khitan Canon. The volumes of the Khitan Canon discovered in the wooden pagoda in Ying county include, for instance, the *Foshuo dacheng sheng wuliaoshou jue ding guangmingwang rulai tuoluoni jing* 佛說大乘聖無量壽決定光明王如來陀羅尼經 (1 fasc.), and this indicates that texts translated in the early Song reached the Liao and were included in the Khitan Canon. Thus the exchange of Buddhist texts and other articles between the Song and the Liao was by no means insignificant.

What happened to the *Quanming chao* that was given to Jōjin? In the same year (1073), he entrusted his disciple with the many texts (including supplementary volumes of the Kaibao Canon) and other materials that he had acquired during his travels and had them sent back to Japan. It is therefore possible that the *Quanming chao* also reached Japan, although there is no definite proof of this. However, the *Hokke kaiji shō* 法華開示抄 written in 1206 by Jōkei 貞慶 contains numerous quotations from the *Huigu tongjin xinchao* and also mentions that Quanming was a monk of the Minzhong si in Yanjing. It is thus evident that this work was extant in Japan in the late Heian 平安 period and was being utilized in the study of the *Xuanzan*.

In addition, the hand-copied texts discovered at Dunhuang 敦煌 include a fragment from the start of fasc. 2 of the *Miaofa lianhua jing xuanzan kewen* 妙法蓮華經玄贊科文 (P.2159v), and the head title is followed by the words "Yantai Minzhong si shamen Quanming keding" 燕臺憫忠寺沙門詮明科定. This too is from

one of Quanming's works, and it represents a fragment of his 4-fascicle *Ke* listed in the *Yitian lu*, thus attesting to the fact that Quanming's writings had spread as far as Dunhuang. The date when it was copied is not known, but since the *terminus ante quem* for the Dunhuang manuscripts is 1002, it must have been copied by the end of the tenth century at the latest. Judging from Quanming's dates alluded to earlier, this would suggest that this work reached Dunhuang not long after its composition. At the time, Dunhuang was under the rule of the Tsao 曹 military commissioner (*jiedushi* 節度使) of the Guiyijun 歸義軍, and although it used the era-names of the Song dynasty, it was in effect an independent kingdom and also had diplomatic relations with the Liao. Therefore, Quanming's works most probably reached Dunhuang directly from the Liao rather than via the Song.

As we have seen in the above, Quanming's works were conveyed to Koryō, Song China, Dunhuang and Japan, where they were consulted by other scholar-monks, and it would be no exaggeration to describe him as a scholar of international repute known throughout the cultural sphere of East Asian Buddhism from the tenth to twelfth centuries.

Quanming resided in the Minzhong si in Yanjing, corresponding to today's Fayuan si 法源寺 in Beijing. But there were many other monks of the Cì'en school who were active in this region during the same period, a fact that is demonstrated by supplementary notes dating from the Liao found among the Fangshan 房山 stone canon (*shijing* 石經) preserved to the west of Beijing.⁸⁾ For example, fasc. 1 of the *Chishi jing* 持世經 was collated by the following monks: the *śramaṇa* Faming who lectured on the *Baifa lun* (講百法論沙門法明), the *śramaṇa* Fashi who lectured on the *Weishi lun* (講唯識論沙門法式), the *śramaṇa* Quxi who lectured on the *Baifa lun* (講百法論沙門去息), and the *śramaṇa* Keshou who lectured on the *Shangsheng jing* (講上生經沙門可壽). Similar notes are to be found appended to many other texts too. The above-mentioned monk Faming 法明, who lectured on the *Baifa lun* 百法論 at the Yunju si 雲居寺 at Fangshan, is alluded to in a total of twelve texts, and he is known to have been engaged in the collation of the Fangshan stone canon for at least fifteen years from Dakang 大康 4 (1078) to Da'an 大安 8 (1092). His colleagues included Fashi 法式, who lectured on the *Weishi lun* 唯識論, Keshou 可壽, who lectured on the *Shangsheng jing* 上生經, and Quxi 去息, who also lectured on the *Baifa lun*, and there would seem to have been many such monks who lectured on Buddhist *sūtras* and treatises at the Yunju si 雲居寺 at this time.

There are other references apart from these notes in the Fangshan stone scriptures to monks who studied and lectured on *weishi* doctrine. The "Shamen Zhiguo wei wangshi zao tachuang zhi ji" 沙門志果爲亡師造塔幢之記 (erected in Qingning 6 [1060]; *Quan Liaowen* 全遼文 8, p. 176) states that Zhiguo's 志果 deceased teacher Faying 法瑩 "studied the *lǜ* 律 and lectured on the *Weishi lun*," while the "Kexing deng Zunsheng tuoluoni ta ji" 可興等尊勝陀羅尼塔記 (erect-

ed in Dakang 2 [1076]; *ibid.* 9, p. 219) records that “the teacher lectured on the *Yinming lun* 因明論 about fifteen times, lectured a full sixty [times] on the *Shangsheng jing*, chanted the [*Miaofa*] *lian [hua] jing* twenty thousand times, and recited the *Pusa jie jing* 菩薩戒經 several thousand times, and it is difficult to record in detail [how many times he chanted] various *dhāraṇīs*.” The monks referred to in both of these inscriptions were thus engaged in lecturing on Ci'en doctrine.

Around this time temples in the Liao often held lectures on the *Weishi lun* and other texts, and there are many records of these events in stone canon. For instance, the “Jinchuan Yanjiao yuan qianren yi zhi ji” 金川演教院千人邑之記 by Han Wenjiao 韓溫教 (Qiantong 乾統 3 [1013]; *ibid.* 10, p. 281) states that when Hongsheng Zhixia 弘昇志霞 returned to the Yanjiao yuan 演教院 and gave a series of lectures on the *Weishi lun*, “eighty thousand students gathered.” Likewise, according to the “Baosheng si qianjian sidade zhi yixing ji” 寶勝寺前監寺大德之遺行記 by Li Jian 李檢 (Qiantong 10 [1110]; *ibid.* 10, p. 306), the venerable monk (*dade* 大德) Xuanshu 玄樞 “first held large lectures on the *Weishi lun* and *Fanwang jing* 梵網經 in Dakang 2 (1076),” while the “Chongyu dashi fenta ji” 崇足大師墳塔記 of unknown authorship (Tianqing 天慶 10 [1120]; *ibid.* 11, p. 332) records that “at the age of twenty-four [Chongyu] held lectures on the *Weishi lun* and *Yugie lun* 瑜伽論 at the Yongtai si 永泰寺 in Yanjing.” Thus, throughout the Liao dynasty lectures on the *Weishi lun* and related texts were held at temples in and around Yanjing, attracting students from far and wide. The scholar at the pinnacle of this study of *weishi* doctrine was Quanming, and since he was active during the reign of Shengzong (982–1031), it can be readily imagined that notes based on his lectures were used in lectures given by other monks such as those alluded to in the above inscriptions.

Histories of the Chinese Buddhism make no mention of the study of Buddhist doctrine during the Liao dynasty, and therefore one has no choice but to draw inferences on its characteristics from the *Yitian lu* and extant texts. But this involves a large element of chance, and these texts do not of course cover the entire spectrum of Buddhist studies during the Liao. Furthermore, the discovery of new materials necessitates the revision of our earlier understanding. What, then, do the Buddhist texts discovered in the wooden pagoda in Ying prefecture tell us about Liao-dynasty Buddhism? The first thing to be noticed is the preponderance of texts of the Huayan school, which I have discussed in detail elsewhere.⁹⁾ To this should be added the thriving state of the study of *weishi* or Ci'en doctrine. What is more, both of these circumstances were closely inter-related. For instance Xianyan 鮮演, the leading figure in the Huayan school during the Liao dynasty, studied *weishi* doctrine when he was young, and in his writings he sets considerable value on the doctrines of the Faxiang school and adopts some of its views.¹⁰⁾ In addition, the prayer added to one of the hand-copied texts from the wooden pagoda refers to “the senior monk of this temple

and the multitudes of the Weishi and Huayan” (當寺首座，唯識華嚴大衆), indicating that lectures on *weishi* and Huayan doctrine were held at this temple. This too would suggest that during the Liao dynasty *weishi* doctrine enjoyed a position comparable to that of the Huayan school.

II. Shouqian of the Late Northern Song

That the study of *weishi* doctrine during the Liao dynasty represented a continuation of the traditions of Ci'en doctrine preserved in Hebei 河北 during the late Tang and Five Dynasties period is evident from the fact that the *Shangsheng jing chao* 上生經鈔, composed by Zhenbian 貞辯 of the Kaiyuan si 開元寺 in Dingzhou 定州 (Hebei) during the Later Tang, is quoted in Quanming's *Shangsheng jing shu huigu tongjin xinchao*, as has already been pointed out by Tsukamoto Zenryū. Furthermore, monks of the Ci'en school continued to be active in the Five Dynasties period and early Song in those parts of northern China not under the control of the Liao, a fact that can be ascertained on the basis of biographies of monks included in the “Yijie pian” 義解篇 in fasc. 7 of the *Song gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳 by Zanning 贊寧.

Especially in Kaifeng, the capital of the Northern Song, the Ci'en school flourished alongside the Lü 律 (Vinaya) and Huayan schools, and the majority of monks involved in correcting and polishing translations at the institute for translating Buddhist scriptures (Yijing yuan 譯經院, later renamed Chuanfa yuan 傳法院) belonged to the Ci'en school and also lectured on logic (*yinming* 因明) and *weishi* doctrine. However, there do not appear to have been any especially outstanding scholars among them, and during the early Song the only monk to have left any written work was Jilun 繼倫 of the Chongfu si 崇福寺 in Bingzhou 并州 (Shanxi), who wrote the 7-fascicle *Baifa lun yanmi chao* 百法論演密抄 (no longer extant; *Yitian lu* 3) (*Song gaoseng zhuan* 7). But in the late Northern Song there appeared a scholar-monk by the name of Shouqian 守千 (1064–1127) who wrote many commentaries related to *weishi* doctrine.

Shouqian's biography is not found among collected biographies of eminent monks, and instead it appears in works such as Wang Qi's 王圻 *Xu Wenxian tongkao* 續文獻通考 254,¹¹⁾ which draw on the “Longxing si Tongzhao dashi bei” 龍興寺通照大師碑 (erected in Zhizheng 至正 6 [1346]; *Changshan zhenshi zhi* 常山貞石志 22) by Dansi 膽思 of the Yuan. According to this stele, Shouqian's family name was Jia 賈, and his family had for many generations been living at Beiwating 北瓦亭 in Gaocheng 藁城 (Zhengding 正定 county, Hebei). At the age of sixteen, and by order of his parents, he went to the Cishi yuan 慈氏院 to visit Chongchen 崇琛, head monk of the nearby Longxing si 龍興寺 in Zhending 真定 prefecture, and became his disciple. He took the tonsure and was ordained in the same year, receiving the religious name Shouqian. He then studied various treatises on *weishi* and logic under Zhiqian 智千 in Kaifeng, and after his

teacher's death, following the latter's deathbed injunctions, he continued his studies under a certain Lin 琳, an authority on the *Weishi lun* (Lin Weishi 琳唯識). Lin held him in high regard and had him give lectures on *weishi*, logic, etc. Then, at the request of students of *weishi* doctrine, he retired to a room in the Guangyan yuan 廣嚴院 to the north of the capital for three years in order to write an introduction to *weishi* doctrine, producing a number of works including the *Yinming qunyan chao* 因明羣焰鈔. In the ninth month of Yuanyou 元祐 8 (1093), when the empress dowager Xuanren 宣仁 died, he was selected to enter the imperial palace and perform the memorial services, in recognition of which he was granted a purple robe. After the conclusion of these services, many people urged him to remain in the capital, but instead he returned to his home district of Zhending prefecture, where he continued to write works on Ci'en doctrine at the request of others. According to the above inscription, he wrote a total of fifteen works in 150 fascicles, and they are all said to have circulated widely.

In Tianhui 天會 4 (1126) Zong Wang 宗望, the commander of the Jin army, advanced south and, having occupied Zhending prefecture, visited Shouqian, about whom he had heard so much, together with several key officers. Zong Wang questioned Shouqian about the essence of Buddhism and asked him for a copy of one of his recent works, whereupon Shouqian gave him the *Yushou ji* 欲受記, which the visitors joyfully accepted and then left. As a result of this Shouqian's fame spread throughout the Jin kingdom. He subsequently moved from the Longxing si to the Chongfa yuan 崇法院 affiliated to the Kaiyuan si in Zhending prefecture, and even in his old age he would daily recite the *Fanwang jing* ten times and the *Shangsheng jing* five times. In the sixth month of the following year (Tianhui 5), realizing that his time had come, he distributed all his possessions apart from a single paper robe among the temple monks, and on the night of the 20th he changed into the paper robe, recited the *Fanwang jing*, lay down on his right side, clasped his palms together, bade farewell to the assembled monks, and passed away.

I have described Shouqian's life in some detail on the basis of the above-mentioned inscription because no such account has been previously available, and it should be evident that he was a dedicated scholar who devoted his life to the study and dissemination of Ci'en doctrine. While he was writing in seclusion in a room in the Guangyan yuan, a number of monks from the local commandery came to visit him, only to find that the floor inside the room was covered in a layer of dust so thick as to hide their feet, with no footprints whatsoever except for a single path leading in from the doorway. This is a fitting anecdote for someone who immersed himself in writing.

Among the fifteen works written by Shouqian, the following three are extant and are all included in the *Dai Nihon zokuzōkyō* 大日本續藏經. (Numerals in parentheses indicate case numbers.)

1. *Banruo xin jing youzan shu kongtong ji* 般若心經幽贊疏崆峒記, 3 fascs.; *Banruo xin jing youzan tiangai ke* 般若心經幽贊添改科, 1 fasc. (1-41-2)

A commentary on Kuiji's *Youzan* 幽贊. It quotes from a large number of works, such as the *Banruo xin jing shu* 般若心經疏 by Fazang 法藏 of the Tang. But the greatest number of quotations is taken from the *Yuqieshi di lun ji* 瑜伽師地論記 and *Yuqieshi di lun ke* 瑜伽師地論科 by Daolun 道倫, discussed below, and it is evident that it was these two works on which Shouqian relied the most in writing his commentary. In the *Banruo xin jing youzan tiangai ke* Shouqian elaborates on and emends (*tiangai* 添改) the existing views of other monks in Kaifeng and Shandong 山東.

2. *Biao wubiao zhang xiwan ji* 表無表章栖翫記, 1 fasc. (2-3-2)

A detailed commentary on the chapter "Biao wubiao zhang" 表無表章 in Kuiji's *Dacheng fayuan yilin zhang* 大乘法苑義林章. The works most frequently quoted are the *Fayuan yilin jueze ji* 法苑義林決擇記 (3 fascs.) by Zhizhou of the Tang (referred to as "Dharma-master Zhou" 周法師), the *Cheng weishi lun liaoyi deng* 成唯識論了義燈 (7 fascs.) by Huizhao 慧沼 of the Tang (referred to as the *Liaoyi deng* 了義燈), and the *Jixuan* 集玄, which presumably refers to the *Fayuan yilin jixuan chao* 法苑義林集玄鈔 by Wuzhen 悟真 of the Tang, and Shouqian is especially critical of this last-mentioned work.

3. *Shangsheng jing ruiying chao* 上生經瑞應鈔, 2 fascs.; *Shangsheng jing ruiying ke* 上生經瑞應科, 1 fasc. (1-35-5)

A commentary on Kuiji's *Guan Mile shangsheng jing shu* 觀彌勒上生經疏 (a.k.a. *Ruiying shu* 瑞應疏). Worthy of special note is the reference in fasc. 1 to the contemporary method of conducting *sūtra*-lectures: "One first reads the *sūtra* text, then divides it into sections, then recites the *sūtra* once again, and explains it. This method has its origins in Yantai 燕臺, namely, Yanjing in the Liao." This indicates that although Yanjing and Zhending were separated by a border, there was contact between Buddhists on both sides of the border, and the method of conducting lectures in the Northern Song had been influenced by that of the Liao.

Another of Shouqian's achievements was his editing of the *Yuqieshi di lun ji* by Daolun (a.k.a. Dunlun 遁倫), a Tang-dynasty monk from Silla 新羅. His *Yuqieshi di lun ji* is also known as the *Yuqie lun shu* 瑜伽論疏, *Yuqie lun ji* 瑜伽論記 and *Yuqie Lun ji* 瑜伽倫記, and while it has 24 fascicles according to both the *Yitian lu* and the version contained in the Taishō 大正 Tripiṭaka, the version found in the Jin Canon and reproduced in the *Yingyin Songzang yizhen* has two fascicles. It is the latter that is important in connection with Shouqian, and at

the end of fasc. 1 there is a colophon by Li Ao 李燾 dated the 5th of the first month, Xuanhe 宣和 4 (1122), which reads as follows:

In former times Master [Dao] lun, a *śramaṇa* of the Xinglun si 興輪寺 in Haidong (Haedong) 海東 (=Silla), explained the *Yuqieshi di lun* 瑜伽師地論 (*Yogācārabhūmi*), carrying on the teachings of Dharma-master [Kui] ji of the Ci'en si of the early Tang. Later, there was a copy of this commentary at Jiaoshan 覺山 in Zhending, but because it did not circulate widely, there were few people who had seen it, and it had not been possible to print it. Now, the Koryō Controller of the Clergy (*sengtong* 僧統) (=Yitian), searching for the teachings of the Tathāgata, travelled around China and finally obtained the draft version of this *Yuqieshi di lun ji*. There happened to be a monk by the name of Dharma-master [Shou] qian, a *śramaṇa* of the Lungxing si in Zhending upon whom had been bestowed the purple robe, and he was well-versed in doctrine and had grasped the intent of the World-Honoured One. Accordingly the deacons (*weina* 維那) Tian Tong 田通, Qu Gao 屈臯, and others of Dichuan 泝川 sent him a letter and personally invited him to collate the draft with the original text of the *Yuqie [shi di] lun*. On the first day of the twelfth month, Xuanhe 3, the Dharma-master took up residence in the Guanyin yuan 觀音院 attached to the Zunshan si 遵善寺 of Yaoshan 堯山 in Xindu 信都, and, devoting himself to the task of collation, completed it in less than a month, whereupon woodblocks were immediately engraved and it was printed.

That this *Yuqieshi di lun ji* was also known as the *Lun shu* 倫疏 is evident from the fact that the corresponding woodblocks of the Jin Canon are engraved with this abbreviated title. Furthermore, when quoting from it in his aforementioned *Kongtong ji*, Shouqian refers to it as *Lun* 倫 or *Lun shu*. In his grave inscription it is stated that "he composed the *Lun shu ke* 倫疏科 at the Zunshan si of Yaoshan at the request of a certain Ming 明, a registrar of the clergy (*senglu* 僧錄) in Bianjing 汴京," thus indicating that he also composed a synopsis of the *Lun shu*. In addition, the same inscription also notes that he wrote the *Xia yuqie ru Lun shu lunjiao* 下瑜伽入倫疏論脚 at the Dabei si 大悲寺 at the request of his preceptor Huizhao.

From the above it will be evident that Shouqian, who resided in Kaifeng and Zhending in the late Northern Song and wrote many commentaries, was the leading authority on Ci'en doctrine during the Song period. Not only did his scholarship follow in the traditions of Kaifeng, but it was also not unrelated to the study of Buddhism in the Liao and Koryō. Furthermore, it was passed down through the succeeding Jin and Yuan dynasties.

III. The Ci'en School in Northern China during the Jin and Yuan Dynasties

Next, let us consider the activities of the Ci'en school in northern China during the Jin and Yuan dynasties, focussing on the influence exerted by Shouqian on later generations. However, because the "Longxing si Tongzhao dashi bei" does not give the names of Shouqian's disciples, it is not clear how his lineage was preserved in later times. This inscription was erected in Zhizheng 6 (1346), 220 years after his death. His tombstone had been destroyed in a large flood in Zhida 至大 1 (1308), and although the head monk Chongchen (1275-1335) did his best to restore it, he did not manage to complete the task. This was eventually accomplished by his successor Zhixin 智心, who also had the said stele erected. The summary account of Shouqian's life recorded in this inscription would no doubt have been based on earlier sources, but none of these have survived. There are, however, a large number of stone inscriptions at the Longxing si in Zhending (present-day Longxing si 隆興寺 in Zhengding) where he spent the latter part of his life, and from these it is clear that this temple continued to function as a centre for the study of Ci'en doctrine even after Shouqian's death. (These inscriptions are all included in the *Changshan zhenshi zhi*, compiled by Shen Tao 沈濤 of the Qing 清.)

The temple Longxing si, located in the prefectural capital of Zhending prefecture (present-day Zhengding), was the most famous temple in the region. Founded in Kaihuang 開皇 6 (586) of the Sui, it had originally been named Longzang si 龍藏寺, and because it housed a statue of Avalokiteśvara of Great Compassion (Dabei guanyin 大悲觀音), it was popularly known as the Great Buddha temple (Dafo si 大佛寺). The temple buildings were razed during the southern advance of Khitan during the Later Jin 後晉 of the Five Dynasties period, while the statue of Avalokiteśvara was destroyed in order to mint copper coins during the persecution of Buddhism (955) under Shizong 世宗 of the Later Zhou 後周. A new statue was cast at the start of the Song, and the temple's name was also changed to Longxing si. There survive Song inscriptions for people such as Tian Xi 田錫, Huiyan 惠演, and Ge Fan 葛繁, while inscriptions from the subsequent Jin dynasty include one by Fatong 法通 bearing the title "Tuoluonijing chuang bing Guanghui dashi ming" 陀羅尼經幢并廣惠大師銘 and erected in Dading 大定 20 (1180) (*Changshan zhenshi zhi* 14). According to this inscription, after having been ordained in the Chuanjiao yuan 傳教院 of the Longxing si, Great Master Guanghui 廣惠大師 (Zhihe 智和; 1086-1163) studied at various places in Henan 河南 and Shandong and was especially knowledgeable about *weishi* doctrine. He returned to Zhending during the Tianhui era (1123-37), residing in the Feng'en hermitage 奉恩精舍 and Longxing si. Since this would have coincided with Shouqian's death, it is to be surmised that he succeeded to the latter's position at the Longxing si. Later, Zhihe was appointed assistant chief registrar of the clergy (*du senglu panguan* 都僧錄判官) for the

Hebei Xi lu 河北西路 in Huangtong 皇統 2 (1142) and chief registrar of the clergy (*du senglu* 都僧錄) for the Same lu in Zhenyuan 2 (1154), thus being placed in charge of the Buddhist clergy in the Hebei Xi lu under the Jin dynasty, and he also worked for the dissemination of *weishi* doctrine until his final years.

About a hundred years later, after the Mongol conquest of Zhending, the Longxing si came to enjoy the veneration and patronage of first Möngke Qan (Xianzong 憲宗) and then Arikbüge, the latter of whom had been granted the Zhending district as a fief, and as a result the temple buildings were repaired and it became a major temple.¹²⁾ But even during this period it continued to function as a temple of the Ci'en school. As will be discussed in greater detail below, when the Jianghuai 江淮 lecture centres (*yujiangsuo* 御講所) were established in Jiangnan in Zhiyuan 25 (1288) and monks of the Ci'en school from northern China were sent to serve there, the first monk to be selected was Zhide 志德 (1235–1322) of Dongchang 東昌, who betook himself to Jiankang 建康 (Nanjing 南京) and resided in the Tianxi si 天禧寺 and Jingzhong si 旌忠寺, and he had originally “received the Dharma from Fazhao Xigong 法照禧公 of the Longxing si in Zhending” (*Pushi ji* 蒲室集 12). In view of the fact that he was the first monk to be selected, it may be assumed that the Longxing si was at this time the main temple of the Ci'en school. Nothing is known about Fazhao Xigong.

The Yuan dynasty continued to hold the Longxing si in high regard, and in Yanyou 延祐 3 (1316) it changed the traditional system of succession, whereby one of the head monk's disciples succeeded him upon his death (*Jiayi tudi zhi* 甲乙徒弟制), to one in which the head monk was appointed by imperial decree (*Chi chai zhuchi zhi* 敕差住持制). The first head monk to be appointed in this fashion was the aforementioned Chongchen, whose epitaph was written by Dansi and erected by Zhixin at the same time as Shouqian's (*Changshan zhenshi zhi* 22). According to this inscription, he took the tonsure under Great Master Biancai 辨才大師 of the Longxing si and received his training at the Fazhao yuan 法照院, which is thought to have been the former residence of Zhide's teacher, Fazhao Xigong. This means that Chongchen would have also studied Ci'en doctrine. After his ordination, he went to the Kaiyuan si in Runing 汝寧 (Henan), where he “heard the treatises of the *weishi*, etc.,” from Commentator Deliang 德量論主. Thus, he too was a monk of the Ci'en school, and in Shouqian's grave inscription it is mentioned that “Chongchen was a distant disciple [of Shouqian].”

Another temple other than the Longxing si which taught *weishi* doctrine in Zhending prefecture was the Kaihua si 開化寺 in Yuanshi 元氏 county. According to the “Tuoluoni zhenyan chuang bing ji” 陀羅尼真言幢并記 erected in Mingchang 明昌 2 (1191) (*ibid.* 14), a person by the name of Wenhui 文慧 arrived at the Weishi yuan 唯識院 of the Kaihua si in Dading 3 (1163) of the Jin, where he was ordained and studied various *sūtras* and the *Weishi lun* under

Weijing 唯淨. The *mantra-pillar* (*zhenyan chuang* 真言幢) for which the above inscription was written was erected by Wenhui himself.

In addition, the “Kaihua si Luohan yuan chongxiu qiandian ji” 開化寺羅漢院重修前殿記 erected in Da’an 3 (1211) (*ibid.* 15) records that Daoxuan 道宣, who took up residence in the Luohan yuan 羅漢院 in Mingchang 4 (1193), was a scholar-monk whose family name had been Liang 梁 and who “lectured on the *weishi* treatises.” He was also known as Liang Weishi 梁唯識, and he referred to himself as “a *śramaṇa* who lectures on the *weishi* treatises and transmits the Mahāyāna precepts.”

The Kaihua si was also an old temple which had existed since the late Northern Dynasties period, and during the Yuan dynasty there were ten sub-temples within its precincts, several of which had names suggestive of links with the Ci’en school, such as the Baifa yuan 百法院, Weishi yuan 唯識院, and Shangsheng yuan 上生院. What is more, it would seem that, as can be seen in the case of Wenhui, these links were not in name only, and lectures on texts such as the *Baifa lun*, *Weishi lun* and *Shangsheng jing* were actually conducted here. Therefore, the Kaihua si was, at least during the Jin and Yuan periods, an important centre for the study of *weishi* doctrine.

It goes without saying that the seeds of the flourishing state of the Ci’en school in Zhending prefecture during the Jin and Yuan periods had been sown by Shouqian, and his writings were probably used as lecture texts, even though no records to corroborate this have yet been found. There is, however, a single example of the use of one of his works during the Yuan dynasty. This occurs in the 2-fascicle *Weishi kaimeng wenda* 唯識開蒙問答 by Yunfeng 雲峰, which is the only extant work from the Yuan dynasty on *weishi* doctrine.¹³⁾ It was written as an introductory work for beginners and covers the main elements and terms of *weishi* doctrine in a question-and-answer format. Nothing is known about the author Yunfeng, but according to his title (*Xuanshou Huaiyi lu Yitai si zhuchi Zongfa yuanming tongji dashi* 宣授懷益路義臺寺住持宗法圓明通濟大師) he was head monk of the Yitai si 義臺寺 in Huaiyi lu 懷益路. This Huaiyi lu is an error for Huaimeng lu 懷孟路, and since it was renamed Huaiqing lu 懷慶路 in the third month of Yanyou 6 (1319),¹⁴⁾ this work must have been written prior to this. What is especially interesting about it is the works from which it quotes. Song-dynasty works cited include Zanning’s *Song gaoseng zhuan* and Zhang Shangying’s 張商英 *Hufa lun* 護法論, and in the section entitled “Timu zhi yi” 題目之義 in fasc. 1 there is a quotation from the *Qunyan chao* 羣焰鈔. This corresponds to the *Yinming qunyan chao* referred to in the “Longxing si Tongzhao dashi bei,” and it was one of the introductory works written by Shouqian when he confined himself to a room in the Guangyan yuan. Although this is a solitary example, it could be said to hint at Shouqian’s influence on *weishi* studies during the Yuan dynasty.

The Huaimeng lu where Yunfeng lived corresponds to present-day Biyang

泌陽 county in Henan province, and it lies between Luoyang 洛陽 and Kaifeng. The Ci'en school continued to flourish in the Henan region, centred on Kaifeng, even during the Yuan dynasty. For instance, Xiyan Yi 栖巖益 (1243–1315), who studied *weishi* doctrine under Xiaoyan Wengong 孝嚴溫公 of Daliang 大梁 (Kaifeng), subsequently taught *weishi* doctrine for more than forty years at the Dahongji si 大洪濟寺 in Xuzhou 許州 (Henan) and is said to have won the universal respect and devotion of the populace, ranging from princes and nobles to woodcutters and cowherds. He is also said to have purchased more than 1,300 copies of more than thirty commentaries on *weishi* doctrine. His biography can be found in Cheng Jufu's 程鉅夫 *Xuelou ji* 雪樓集 21. In addition, a section entitled "Zalu wennan" 雜錄問難 in the aforementioned *Weishi kaimeng wenda* 2 records a series of questions and answers (*wennan* 問難) conducted by Elder Xiu 秀長老 of Huaizhou 懷州 at the residence of Lecturer He 和講主 in Bianliang 汴梁 (Kaifeng). It has, moreover, already been noted that Chongchen studied the *Weishi lun* under Commentator Deliang of Runing. It was because of these circumstances that Shouqian's works would have been circulating in the Henan region.

The extant version of the *Weishi kaimeng wenda* has a postscript by Bhikṣu Dazhen 比丘大眞 dated Chongzhen 崇禎 3 (1630), and he lavishes high praise on this work, writing that "*weishi* studies were transmitted to China by Xuanzang, but subsequently the old commentaries were lost with the passing of time, and it was because of the 2-fascicle *Kaimeng* that *weishi* studies have only just managed to survive." In addition, the layman Wang Kentang 王肯堂, who himself wrote a work called *Cheng weishi lun zhengyi* 成唯識論證義, contributed a foreword (Wanli 萬曆 40 [1612]) to the *Cheng weishi lun zuquan* 成唯識論俗詮 (10 fascs.) by Mingyu 明昱 (*Dai Nihon zokuzōkyō* 1–8–1, 2), in which he writes as follows:

Since the time of Dharma-master [Kui] ji there have existed commentaries on the *Cheng weishi lun*, and in addition to commentaries there have also been works like the *Zhangzhong shuyao* 掌中樞要, but for some reason they were not included in the Buddhist Canon. After the southward shift of the Song, the Chan school became extremely popular, and because it rejected scholastic Buddhism and despised the Xiang (Ci'en) school, the above works were gradually lost. However, a work called the *Kaimeng* was composed by a person of the Yuan dynasty, and it would seem that commentaries of the Ci'en school still existed at this time.

I first heard the gist of the *weishi* teachings from Great Master Zibo 紫柏大師 (Zhenke 真可). The Great Master gave me a copy of this *Cheng weishi lun* and told me to study it carefully, but it left me completely at sea with no leads whatsoever, and although I searched for old commentaries, none were to be had. Later, I perused the *Kaimeng* and also checked references to this treatise in the *Zongjing lu* 宗鏡錄 and *Huayan shu chao* 華嚴疏鈔, noting each at the start of the

text.

The above quotations give an indication of the extent to which *weishi* scholars of the late Ming relied on the *Weishi kaimeng wenda*, and it would appear that it was found to be so useful because it utilized Tang-dynasty commentaries which were no longer available.

The *Weishi kaimeng wenda* thus had a great influence on *weishi* studies in the late Ming. Its author, meanwhile, had consulted the writings of Shouqian, whose ideas in turn owed much to the commentary by Daolun of Silla, and it is to be surmised that he had also read the *Quanming chao* by Quanming of the Liao while in Bianjing (Kaifeng). When considered in this fashion, it becomes possible to trace the lineage, albeit extremely tenuous, of the Ci'en school in early modern China. It constituted a current of doctrinal thought extending from the Tang through Silla and the Liao, Northern Song, Jin, and Yuan down to the late Ming, transcending dynasties and borders. What is more, from the late Tang to the Yuan it was mainly confined to northern China.

IV. The Advance of the Ci'en School into Jiangnan during the Song and Yuan Periods

In the above we have seen how the Ci'en school in northern China was transmitted in a continuous line from the late Tang down to the Yuan dynasty. What, then, was the situation in the Jiangnan region? Buddhism enjoyed wider support in Jiangnan than in the north, and during this period various schools such as Chan, Tiantai, Huayan and Lü were all active. But during the Northern Song, the Ci'en school alone shows no evidence of having been active in this region. As the result of political changes, however, the Ci'en school in northern China advanced into Jiangnan. These political changes were the shift of the Song imperial court to the south and the conquest of Jiangnan by the Mongols (Yuan). In the following I wish to consider the state of the Ci'en school during these two periods.

1. Fadao

As was pointed out in the foregoing section, Ci'en doctrine flourished in Kaifeng, the capital of the Northern Song, and there appeared scholars such as Shouqian. Slightly younger than him was a monk called Fadao 法道 (former name: Yongdao 永道), who also studied *weishi* doctrine in Kaifeng and later followed the Song court south to Jiangnan, and he is the first monk known to have transmitted the Ci'en school of northern China to Jiangnan. His biography is to be found in the *Shimen zhengtong* 8, *Fozu lidai tongzai* 佛祖歷代通載 19, and *Shishi jigu lue* 釋氏稽古略 4, and it also appears in two parts in the "Fayun tongsai zhi" 法運通塞志, a history of Buddhism included in the *Fozu tongji* (fasc. 46, 47).

The following outline of his life is based on these sources.

Fadao (1086-1147) was born into the Mao 毛 family of Shenqiu 沈丘 in Henan and took the tonsure at an early age, receiving the Buddhist name of Yongdao and studying under Great Master Zhenji 真濟大師 (Angong 安恭). After having been fully ordained, he went to Bianjing (Kaifeng), where he studied and mastered the *Weishi lun* and *Baifa lun*. In Zhenghe 政和 3 (1113) he was appointed head monk of the Xiangji si 香積寺, and in Zhenghe 5 (1115) he was granted the title "Great Master Baojiao" 寶覺大師. In Xuanhe 1 (1119), as a result of the machinations of the Daoist Lin Lingsu 林靈素, the emperor Huizong 徽宗 issued an anti-Buddhist decree demanding that all Buddhist names and titles be changed to Daoist ones. Fadao submitted a memorial strongly critical of this measure, thereby incurring the emperor's wrath, and he was banished to Daozhou 道州 in Hunan 湖南. The following year Lin Lingsu fell from grace and the anti-Buddhist decree was repealed, whereupon Fadao's sentence was reduced and he was moved to a commandery near the capital. In Xuanhe 7 (1125) he was pardoned and returned to the capital, becoming head monk of the Chengqing chonghua chansi 承慶崇化禪寺 by imperial decree, and he was also granted the name Fadao in recognition of the manner in which he had defended the position of Buddhism.

After the fall of the Northern Song, he followed the emperor Gaozong 高宗 and fled to the south. In Shaoxing 紹興 2 (1132) he became head monk of the Lushan Taipingxingguo chansi 廬山太平興國禪寺 at the request of a minister of the governor of Jiangzhou 江州. In the third month of the following year he visited Lin'an 臨安 (Hangzhou 杭州) and, together with a number of people including Fan'an 梵安, the head of the Buddhist clergy (*sengzheng* 僧正) in Lin'an, submitted a memorial to the throne protesting against the seating order of Buddhist monks and Daoist priests in the imperial court. Since the founding of the Song, Buddhist monks had taken precedence over Daoists, but Lin Lingsu had reversed the seating order, and this still remained in effect. Fadao and his associates therefore called for a return to the former order of seating. In the ninth month Fan'an and others submitted a second memorial, and as a result the seating order was restored to one in which Buddhist monks took precedence over Daoists. In Shaoxing 15 (1145), when the court decided to levy a service-exemption tax on Buddhist monks and Daoist priests (*Qingxian qian* 清閑錢), Fadao again submitted a memorial in which he argued that this was unwarranted. That he was in this fashion able to make frequent representations regarding the court's religious policies was of course due to the fact that he was well-known to the court and enjoyed the emperor's trust. He died on the 21st of the seventh month, Shaoxing 17 (1147), at the age of sixty-two at the Qianfoge xinsi 千佛閣新寺 in Lin'an.

Fadao is known to posterity chiefly as a monk who upheld the position of Buddhism, but in Kaifeng he had been a scholar of Ci'en doctrine well-versed

in the *Weishi lun* and *Baifa lun*. Furthermore, he bore the title “Transmitter of the Dharma of the Tripiṭaka from India” (*Chuan Xitian sanzang fa* 傳西天三藏法), while the temple in which his tombstone stands is called Sanzangta yuan 三藏塔院 (Cloister of the Tripiṭaka’s Stūpa), and his biographies also refer to him as the Tripiṭaka Dharma-master (*Sanzang fashi* 三藏法師). In other words, during the Song dynasty the title “Tripiṭaka Dharma-master” referred to Fadao. It is not known whether he himself was strongly conscious of Xuanzang, founder of the Ci’en school and also known as Tripiṭaka (Sanzang 三藏), and he did not specifically refer to himself as a follower of the Ci’en school, but judging from his above title it may be inferred that he considered himself a student of the *weishi* teachings originating in India.

2. The Xianlin si and Kaihua si

As a result of the Song court’s flight to the south, not only the manner of government organization, but also the customs of everyday life were transferred in their entirety from Kaifeng to Lin’an. Religion was no exception, and it said that “at the time of the southward shift of the Song everything enshrined in Bianjing came to be worshipped in Hang[zhou].”¹⁵⁾ The largest Buddhist temple in Kaifeng had been the Daxiangguo si 大相國寺, the venue of official Buddhist services for the court, and following the transfer of the capital to Lin’an, a correspondingly large temple became necessary. The temple Mingqing si 明慶寺, located in the northwest of the city, was accordingly chosen for this purpose. There were other cases like this in which existing temples were utilized, but many new temples were also established by monks who had come south, and the names of temples in the north were sometimes given to existing temples in Lin’an. Among these temples, there emerged two which clearly championed the Ci’en school, namely, the Xianlin si 仙林寺 and Kaihua si 開化寺.

The full name of the Xianlin si is Xianlin Ci’en Puji jiaosi 仙林慈恩普濟教寺, and it was the second-most important temple in Lin’an, coming immediately after the Mingqing si in the section on temples within the city (“Chengnei siyuan” 城內寺院) in the *Xianchun Lin’an zhi* 咸淳臨安志 7. In local gazetteers of the Ming dynasty it heads the list of temples in Lin’an, and it was a well-known temple which survived until modern times. According to the *Xianchun Lin’an zhi*, the Xianlin si lay to the north of Yanqiao 鹽橋 and was founded by Great Master Hongji 洪濟大師 (Zhiqing 智卿). It received the patronage of successive emperors until the end of the Southern Song, starting with a name tablet in Shaoxing 32 (1162) and another tablet for an ordination platform (*jietan* 戒壇) in Longxing 隆興 1 (1163). The founder Zhiqing hailed from Zhongshan 中山 in Hebei, having become a monk under Deguo 德果 of a local temple also called Xianlin si. He took the tonsure at the age of sixteen and studied the *Lotus Sūtra*.

Later he crossed the Changjiang 長江 (Yangzi River 揚子江) and arrived in Lin'an, only to find that many temples had been burnt down during the war with the Jin and there was nowhere for monks from the north to stay. Furthermore, according to the "Xianlin si ji" 仙林寺記, he also found that "among the four teachings, three teachings (i.e., Tiantai, Huayan, and Lü) were thriving while Ci'en alone was in decline and not widespread," whereupon he made efforts to disseminate the Ci'en school and published commentaries on its teachings. Zhongshan prefecture where Zhiqing had been born was an area where the traditions of the Ci'en school were still alive, and during the Later Tang of the Five Dynasties period there had appeared, for instance, the monk Zhenbian 貞辯.¹⁶ It is worth noting that Zhiqing named the temple that he founded in Lin'an after the temple where he had first trained as a monk, and this would seem to reflect his strong desire to spread the Ci'en school of northern China in Jiangnan. In addition, seeing that the monks and nuns of Jiangnan were receiving only the standard ordination and not the bodhisattva precepts, he submitted a request to the throne for permission to establish an ordination platform and bestow the Mahāyāna precepts on monks and nuns on the emperor's birthday (Shengjie 聖節). Permission was granted, and in Longxing 1 he was granted a name tablet by imperial decree reading "*Longxing wanshou dacheng jietan*" 隆興萬壽大乘戒壇. But according to the "Xianlin si ji," Zhiqing died before work began on the construction of the ordination platform, and this would suggest that he died in Longxing 1 (1163).

After Zhiqing's death the Xianlin si continued to be known for its Mahāyāna ordination platform. In the second half of the Southern Song the court's veneration of this temple became progressively stronger, and it was also given grants of land. Moreover, even though it was a new temple founded at the start of the Southern Song, by the middle of the period it had become a major temple producing the most senior Buddhist official in charge of all the Buddhist clergy throughout the empire (*youjie senglu* 右街僧錄).

The other temple of the Ci'en school in Lin'an was Ci'en Kaihua jiaosi 慈恩開化教寺, renowned as the site of the Liuhe Pagoda 六和塔. It had originally been known as the Shouning yuan 壽寧院 and had been built by the Qian 錢 family from Wuyue 吳越 in Kaibao 開寶 3 (970) in their gardens to the south of Hangzhou. At the same time the Liuhe Pagoda was erected on Mount Yuelun 月輪山 in order to quell flooding of the Qiantang River 錢塘江. Its founder is said to have been the Chan monk Yanshou 延壽 (904-975), known as the author of the *Zongjing lu*. It was renamed Kaihua si in Taipingxingguo 太平興國 5 (980) to commemorate the restoration of Hangzhou to Song control, but it still continued to be known as the Liuhe si 六和寺 throughout the Song. During the uprising led by Fang La 方臘 in Xuanhe 3 (1121) towards the end of the Northern Song the temple and pagoda were both razed, and as a result damage by flooding worsened year by year. This troubled the emperor Gaozong of the

Southern Song, and in Shaoxing 22 (1152) he decided to rebuild the pagoda at public expense. Four years later the municipal authorities appointed Zhitan 智曇 head monk of the Kaihua si and charged him with the rebuilding of the pagoda. Instead of applying for public funding, he relied entirely on his own funds and donations from temple patrons, and the pagoda was finally completed in late Longxing 1 (1163). The court praised his efforts and granted the temple various privileges, including tax remittances. In contemporary inscriptions Zhitan is given titles such as “head monk of Yuelun shan Liuhe ta Kaihua si, who lectured on the treatises of *weishi*, logic, and so on” (*Yuelun shan Liuhe ta Kaihua si zhuchi, jiang weishi yinming deng lun* 月輪山六和塔開化寺住持, 講唯識因明等論) and “head monk, who transmitted the teachings of the Ci'en school” (*zhuchi, chuan Ci'en zong jiao* 住持, 傳慈恩宗教), and it is thus evident that he was a monk of the Ci'en school who lectured on texts such as the *Weishi lun* and *Yinming lun*. In addition, the “Liuhe ta ji” 六和塔記 mentions that “[Zhi] tan was a person from the east,” and elsewhere we find the expression “the northern monk Zhitan,” thus indicating that he too, like Zhiqing of the Xianlin si, was a monk from northern China who transmitted the Ci'en school of the north to Lin'an.

In this fashion temples of the Ci'en school, which had not existed in Hangzhou during the Northern Song, were built in Lin'an following the southward flight of the Song court, with the Xianlin si receiving the patronage of the court and becoming widely known as an important temple with a Mahāyāna ordination platform and the Kaihua si flourishing on account of the Liuhe Pagoda, which attracted the devotion of wealthy merchants. This means that elements of Buddhism from northern China were transplanted in Jiangnan as a result of the southward shift of the Song dynasty. But although Zhiqing and others made efforts to spread Ci'en doctrine in Jiangnan, it is not known how successful they were, and Ci'en doctrine does not appear to have taken root in Jiangnan. Indeed, both the Xianlin si and Kaihua si developed links with society in spheres unrelated to religious doctrine, with the former being best-known for its ordination platform and the latter as a lighthouse on the Qiantang River.

3. The Ci'en School in Jiangnan during the Yuan Dynasty

In the first month of Zhiyuan 13 (1276) the Mongol army under Bayan (Boyan 伯顏) entered Lin'an, and the Sung dynasty, which had continued for three hundred years, effectively came to an end. After its conquest of Jiangnan, the Yuan dynasty devoted considerable attention to religious policy, and in the following year it quickly established in Hangzhou an office for the supervision of Buddhism in the Jianghuai lus (*Jianghuai zhulu shijiao du zongshesuo* 江淮諸路釋教都總攝所) and dispatched three monks —Xingyu 行育, Yang Lianzhenjia 楊璉真加, and Jiawaba 加瓦八¹⁷⁾— to take charge of the Buddhist clergy in

Jiangnan. Among these three monks, it was Yang Lianzhenjia who took an especially active role, and he is notorious for his part in the desecration of the Southern Song imperial tombs. He implemented extremely pro-Buddhist policies, restoring many Buddhist temples that had been destroyed during the Southern Song, as well as recovering the lands and fields that had formerly belonged to destroyed temples now occupied by government officials, the proceeds of which were then used for repairing the temples, and more than 500,000 peasants were made temple tenant farmers. In Hangzhou in particular he had built on the sites of former Southern Song palaces five temples and one pagoda, to which were then granted 150 *qing* 頃 of dry and irrigated lands. One of these temples was the Xiaoxianlin si 小僊林寺, which Dharma-master Youyan 祐巖法師 (Ronggong 榮公) of the Xianlin si had built after ingratiating himself with Yang Lianzhenjia, and it was a temple of the Ci'en school.

In accordance with Qubilai's policy of "revering doctrine and suppressing Chan" (*chongjiao yichan* 崇教抑禪), Yang Lianzhenjia organized a debate between representatives of the doctrinal schools and Chan (*jiaochan tingbian* 教禪廷辯) in the presence of Qubilai in the spring of Zhiyuan 25 (1288).¹⁸ The representatives of the doctrinal schools included Xianlin 仙林, a monk of the Ci'en school. While the *Fozu tongji* 48 states that the doctrinal schools won the debate and were granted precedence over the Chan school, the *Fozu lidai tongzai* 22 records that Yunfeng Miaogao 雲峰妙高 defeated Xianlin, much to the delight of the emperor, and the position of the Chan school was thereby guaranteed. It would seem, however, that the former account is closer to the truth.

In the same year as this debate was held, Qubilai, seeing that the Ci'en school was virtually nonexistent in Jiangnan, established thirty-six "lecture centres" (*yujiangsuo* 御講所) in the Jianghuai lus, and thirty monks of the Ci'en school from the north was sent to give lectures on Ci'en doctrine at these centres. The first monk to be chosen was Zhide, from Dongchang in Shandong, and following Qubilai's orders, he went to Jiankang (Nanjing), where he became head monk of the two temples Tianxi si and Jingzhong si and lectured on the *Lotus Sūtra*, *Śraṅgama-sūtra*, and so on (*Pushi ji* 12). Puxi 普喜, another monk from Shandong, was also well-versed in Ci'en doctrine, and at Qubilai's command he became head monk of the Puzhao si 普照寺 in Zhenjiang 鎮江 in Jiangsu 江蘇 (*Shijian jigu lue xuji* 釋鑑稽古略續集 1). As has already been noted, Shandong was a region in which the Ci'en school had flourished since the late Tang, and so it was no coincidence that Zhide and Puxi were both from Shandong. The establishment of these lecture centres and the dispatch of monks from the north represented an attempt on the part of Qubilai to forcefully disseminate by imperial command the doctrinal Buddhism of northern China in Jiangnan, where the Chan and Tiantai schools were popular. Members of the Buddhist clergy in Jiangnan would have felt humiliated by these measures, but since they were implemented at the supreme command of

the conquerors, they could do nothing but view the lectures by northern monks with bitter displeasure. It was hardly likely, though, that teachings disseminated in this fashion with the backing of state power would take root in Jiangnan society. The lectures appear to have had no lasting effect, and the Ci'en school failed to develop in Jiangnan.

During the Yuan dynasty the Xianlin si, which had been the chief temple of the Ci'en school in Hangzhou, became the site of an "ordination platform for all good" (*wanshan jietan* 萬善戒壇), and it became known as a place where the "three pure precepts" were conferred on all members of the clergy and laity. In Zhizheng 3 (1343) the temple buildings, including the ordination platform, were lost in a fire, but they were rebuilt soon afterwards. However, when this region fell into the hands of Zhang Shicheng 張士誠 in the late Yuan, the Xianlin si was requisitioned for an arsenal. In Hongwu 洪武 4 (1371) in the early Ming it was rebuilt, and the regional Buddhist registry (*senggangsuo* 僧綱所) was established here. It thus became the chief temple in the city of Hangzhou, but it is not clear whether or not Ci'en doctrine was still taught. The Kaihua si with its Liuhe Pagoda, on the other hand, was repeatedly ravaged by fire and rebuilt each time, and today it is thronged with tourists.

Concluding Remarks

Introductions to the history of Chinese Buddhism all state that the Ci'en (or Faxiang) school went into rapid decline from about the mid-eighth century, and they make no mention of any subsequent transmission of its teachings. But as has become clear in the above, this school continued to exist in northern China even after the late Tang, and there appeared scholar-monks such as Quanming of the Liao and Shouqian of the late Northern Song whose writings circulated widely throughout the lands of East Asia. Furthermore, this current of Buddhist doctrine survived at least until the Yuan, while its influence extended as far as the late Ming. This lineage of the Ci'en school in northern China represented a northern current of Buddhism during the Song and Yuan periods. A similar current was that of the Huayan school, the other school of scholastic Buddhism.¹⁹⁾

In Jiangnan, on the other hand, the Ci'en school had no presence whatsoever during the Northern Song. But as a result of political changes in the form of the southward shift of the Song court and the Mongol conquest of Jiangnan during the Yuan, the Ci'en school made advances from the north into the south. It failed, however, to take root in Jiangnan. By way of contrast, the Tiantai school flourished throughout the Northern and Southern Song in Jiangnan, chiefly around Hangzhou and Mingzhou 明州, but it never advanced into northern China. The Huayan school, meanwhile, flourished in Jiangnan too and was centred in Yanjing in the north and Hangzhou in the south.

During the Song and Yuan periods there were thus two currents of Buddhism, one in the north and the other in Jiangnan, and each was transmitted separately and differed in character. Hitherto, partly because of the abundance of available sources, researchers have concentrated on the Buddhism of Jiangnan and have seldom paid much attention to the northern current of Buddhism. But needless to say, it is also necessary to shed light on the northern current in order to gain a grasp of the overall history of Buddhism during this period, and the present article represents an attempt to do so.

It should be noted, however, that the northern current of Song and Yuan Buddhism also includes the Buddhism of the Liao and Jin. Generally speaking, the term 'Song period' encompasses only the Northern Song and Southern Song, and scholars of Chinese history do not often delve deeply into the history of the contemporaneous Liao and Jin, regarding them as alien dynasties belonging to the field of history dealing with the northern tribes beyond China proper. This is in part due to the fact that official histories are divided into separate histories for the Song, Liao and Jin. But, as is well-known, the Liao kingdom founded by the Khitan included the so-called "sixteen prefectures of Yan-Yun" (Yan-Yun *shiliu zhou* 燕雲十六州) south of the Great Wall, which had originally been inhabited by Han-Chinese. Although it did not cover a wide area, it included large cities such as Yanjing (Beijing) and Yunzhou 雲州 (Datong 大同), and it was a region where Han-Chinese culture had been present since the Tang dynasty and Buddhism in particular was popular. That its culture was no less advanced than that of the Northern Song is evident from the relics discovered in recent years in the wooden pagoda in Ying county. The Liao dynasty was succeeded by the Jin, founded by Jurchens, who gained control over a wider area of northern China and held their own against the Southern Song, thereby bringing about a period in which China was once again divided between a northern and a southern dynasty. Therefore, in order to clarify the current of north Chinese culture from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries, it is also necessary to take into account the Han-Chinese culture of the Liao and Jin. Already twenty-five years ago I pointed out that during the Song and Yuan periods there were two cultural currents, namely, a northern current (Northern Song→Jin→Yuan) and a southern current (Northern Song→Southern Song→Yuan).²⁰⁾ Since then, encouraged by the discovery of new material such as that recovered from the wooden pagoda in Ying county, I have endeavoured to explore the northern current of Song and Yuan culture, focussing in particular on Buddhist culture, and as a result I have succeeded in clarifying the lineages of first the Ci'en school, dealt with in this article, and then the Huayan school. But these two schools constituted no more than a small part of the northern current, and it is, I believe, vital to add further depth to this research by continuing to approach the subject from a variety of directions.

Notes

- 1) Originally published in *Tōhō Gakuhō* 東方學報 (Kyōto) 6 (1936); reprinted in *Tsukamoto Zenryū chosakushū* 塚本善隆著作集 (Collected works of Tsukamoto Zenryū), Vol. 5 (Daitō Shuppansha 大東出版社, 1975).
- 2) The present article summarizes the content of the first two chapters of Chikusa Masaaki 竺沙雅章, *Sō-Gen Bukkyō bunka shi kenkyū* 宋元佛教文化史研究 (Studies in the cultural history of Buddhism during the Song and Yuan; Kyūko Shoin 汲古書院, 2000), viz. Part 1, Chap. 1: "Sō-Gen jidai no Jionshū" 宋元時代の慈恩宗 (The Ci'en school during the Song and Yuan periods; originally published in *Nanto Bukkyō* 南都佛教 50 [1983]), and Chap. 2: "Sō-Gen jidai no Kōshū jiin to Jionshū" 宋元時代の杭州寺院と慈恩宗 (Temples in Hangzhou during the Song and Yuan periods and the Ci'en school; originally published in *Chūgoku kinsei no toshi to bunka* 中國近世の都市と文化 [Cities and culture in early modern China; Kyōto Daigaku Jinbun Kagaku Kenkyūjo 京都大學人文科學研究所, 1984]).
- 3) For further details see *ibid.*, Part 1, Chap. 4: "Shinshutsu shiryō yori mita Ryōdai Bukkyō" 新出資料よりみた遼代佛教 (Buddhism during the Liao dynasty as seen from newly discovered material), and Chap. 5: "Ryōdai Kegonshū no ichi kōsatsu" 遼代華嚴宗の一考察 (A study of the Huayan school during the Liao dynasty).
- 4) *Zhongguo Lishi Bowuguan Guankan* 中國歷史博物館館刊 9 (1986), pp. 69-89, 96.
- 5) On name taboos during the Liao dynasty, see Chikusa, *op. cit.*, Part 1, Chap. 8: "Ryōdai no hiki ni tsuite" 遼代の避諱について (On name taboos during the Liao dynasty).
- 6) In the preface to Jioyuan's *Dai jing yishi yanmi chao* 大日經義釋演密鈔 (Dai Nihon zokuzōkyō 大日本續藏經 1-37-1~2), it is stated that the emperor Xingzong issued a decree for the publishing of the Buddhist canon and that Jioyuan participated in its editing.
- 7) Shen Kuo 沈括, *Mengxi bitan* 夢溪筆談 15.
- 8) These are reproduced in Zhongguo Fojiao Xiehui 中國佛教協會, ed., *Fangshan shijing tiji huibian* 房山石經題記彙編 (Collected inscriptions of the Fangshan stone sūtras; Zhongguo Fojiao Tushu Wenwuguan 中國佛教圖書文物館, 1986) and also in Chen Shu 陳述, ed., *Quan Liaowen* 全遼文 (Complete Liao writings; Zhonghua Shuju 中華書局, 1981).
- 9) Chikusa, *op. cit.*, Part 1, Chap. 5 (see n. 3).
- 10) Kimura Kiyotaka 木村清孝, "Sen'en no shisōteki ichi" 鮮演の思想的位置 (The philosophical position of Xianyan), in *Bukkyō no rekishi to bunka* 佛教の歴史と文化 (The history and culture of Buddhism; Dōhōsha 同朋舎, 1980), pp. 306-320.
- 11) His biography also appears in the *Zhengding fu zhi* 正定府志 39 of the Qianlong 乾隆 era and in the *Zhengding xian zhi* 正定縣志 43 of the Guangxu 光緒 era.
- 12) "Chongxiu Da longxing si gongde ji" 重修大龍興寺功德記 (9th year of reign of Xianzong 憲宗 of the Yuan), in *Changshan zhenshi zhi* 15.
- 13) *Dai Nihon zokuzōkyō* 1-2-3-3.
- 14) In the entry for the 3rd month of Yanyou 6 in the *Yuanshi* 元史 26 it is stated that "on [the cyclic day] *bingyin* 丙寅 the Huaimeng lu was changed to the Huaqing lu."
- 15) Entry on "Qiansheng Jiangjun miao" 千勝將軍廟 in Tian Rucheng 田汝成 (Ming dynasty), *Xihu youlan zhi* 西湖遊覽志 16.
- 16) According to his biography in the *Seng gaoseng zhuan* 7, Zhenbian was from Zhongshan, where he returned in later life and gave lectures. He wrote the *Shangsheng jing chao* 上生經鈔, which was held in high regard by scholars and referred to as the *Bianchao* 辯鈔.
- 17) In the *Yuanshi* 9, "Shizu benji" 世祖本紀 6, in the entry for the cyclic day *dinghai* 丁亥 in the 2nd month, Zhiyuan 14, we read as follows:
詔以僧允吉祥, 怜真加, 加瓦, 並爲江南總攝, 掌釋教。(The monks Kangjixiang, Lingzhenjia and Jiawa were by imperial decree all made supervisors in charge of the Buddhist teachings in Jiangnan.)
Hitherto this sentence has been read as if it referred to two monks named Kangjixiang 允吉祥 and Lingzhenjiawawa 怜真加加瓦, but at the suggestion of Nakamura Jun 中村惇, a member

of a study group to which I belong, I have read it as referring to three monks. Kangjixiang corresponds to Xingyu, Lingzhenjia to Yang Lianzhenjia, and Jiawa to Jiawaba. For further details, see Chikusa, *op. cit.*, Part 1, Chap. 6: "Gendai Kahoku no Kegonshū" 元代華北の華嚴宗 (The Huayan school in northern China during the Yuan dynasty), esp. pp. 183-184.

- 18) On the debate between the doctrinal schools and Chan and on the establishment of lecture centres, see Chikusa Masaaki, *Chūgoku Bukkyō shakai shi kenkyū* 中國佛教社會史研究 (Studies in the social history of Chinese Buddhism; Dōhōsha, 1982), Part 1, Chap. 8: "Genchō no Kōnan shihai to Byakuunshū" 元朝の江南支配と白雲宗 (The Yuan dynasty's rule over Jiangnan and the Baiyun school), pp. 298-301.
- 19) See Chikusa, *Sō-Gen Bukkyō bunka shi kenkyū*, Part 1, Chap. 5 (see n. 3), Chap. 6 (see n. 17), and Chap. 7: "Enkei, Daito no Kegonshū" 燕京・大都の華嚴宗 (The Huayan school in Yanjing and Dadu).
- 20) See Chikusa Masaaki, *Seifuku ōchō no jidai* 征服王朝の時代 (The period of dynasties of conquest [Shinsho Tōyōshi 新書東洋史 3: Chūgoku no rekishi 中國の歴史 3]; Kōdansha 講談社, 1977).