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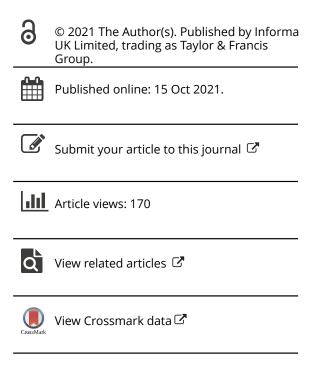
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# Kūkai 空海 (774–835) and Saichō's 最澄 (766–822) theories on *gotra* 種姓 (caste)

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#### **ARTICLE**

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## Kūkai 空海 (774-835) and Saichō's 最澄 (766-822) theories on gotra 種姓 (caste)

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#### **ABSTRACT**

In this article, I argue that although the Pusa yingluo benye jing 瓔珞 本業經 [Sutra of the Diadem of the Primary Activities of the Bodhisattvas] utilised the theory of zhongxing 種姓 (Skt. gotra; Jp. shushō; caste) in the Pusa dichi jing 菩薩地持經 [Sutra of Stages of Bodhisattvas], the Pusa yingluo benye jing changed the explanation of zhongxing with the stages of bodhisattvas. According to Kūkai and Saicho's interpretations of shusho related issues, the Pusa dichi jing and the Pusa yingluo benye jing were still mainstream. The theory of zhongxing in these two texts strongly influenced their thoughts on shusho.

#### **KEYWORDS**

Kūkai; Saichō; gotra (zhongxing; shushō); the stages of bodhisattvas; the Pusa dichi jing; the Pusa yingluo benye jing

## 1. Gotra 種性 and the Pusa dichi jing 菩薩地持経, the Pusa yingluo benye jing 瓔 珞本業経

In Chinese Buddhism, especially during practice, the theory of the stages of a bodhisattva is significant. The number of stages of a bodhisattva gradually expanded from forty-two to fifty-two. According to recent research, the 12 stages, including shixin 十信 (10 kinds of faith) and dengiue 等覺 (equal enlightenment), miaojue 妙覺 (ultimate enlightenment), were first found in the Renwang jing 仁王經 [Sutra of the Benevolent King] and the Pusa yingluo benye jing 瓔珞本業經 [Sutra of the Diadem of the Primary Activities of the Bodhisattvas].<sup>2</sup>

Both the Renwang jing and the Pusa yingluo benye jing were created in China during the fifth century, and asserted the theory of stages of bodhisattvas.<sup>3</sup> It is clear that the She dasheng lun shi 攝大乘論釋 [Commentary on the Compendium of the Great Vehicle], translated by Paramartha 真諦 (499-569), was influenced by the theory of stages of bodhisattvas in the Pusa vingluo benve jing. Mizuno Kōgen 水野弘元 (1901-2006) indicates the possibility that Paramārtha adopted the theory of stages of bodhisattvas from the Pusa yingluo benye jing after suggestions from his Chinese disciples.<sup>4</sup> In addition, there was no agreement in the Sanskrit materials as to the exact nature of these stages. We can therefore recognise the influence of the Pusa yingluo benye jing on Chinese Buddhism.

Let us discuss the interpretations of *zhongxing* 種姓 (Skt. *gotra*; Jp. *shushō*; caste). The Pusa yingluo benye jing utilises xing zhongxing 性種性 (principle caste) and xi zhongxing 習性種 (habit caste), which come from the Pusa dichi jing 菩薩地持經 [Sutra of Stages of

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Bodhisattvas], and states, 'xi zhongxing, xing zhongxing, dao zhongxing 道種性 (path caste), sheng zhongxing 聖種性 (saint caste), dengjue xing 等覺性 (equal enlightenment), miaojue xing 妙覺性 (ultimate enlightenment).' For this reason, at least from the perspective of zhongxing, we see that the purpose of the Pusa yingluo benye jing is to inherit and transform the theory of zhongxing in the Pusa dichi jing. I will therefore

The Pusa yingluo benye jing explains xi zhongxing as a lower stage of practice and meditation as follows:

investigate the depiction of zhongxing found in the Pusa vingluo benye jing first.<sup>6</sup>

It is not right that all Buddhas and bodhisattvas can achieve xiansheng guo 賢聖果 (fruit of wisdom and sage) without shijie famen 十戒法門 (gate of ten precepts). Chuzhu xiang 初住 相 (feature of first development) is the first one in *xi zhongxing*. The following nine beings gradually expand and achieve 'jiuzhu 九往 (nigh types of stableness), shixing 十行 (ten types of transcendence), shi huixiang 十回向 (ten types of reward), shidi 十地 (ten stages of development), wugou di 無垢地 (the pure stage).' The unimaginable practice will also expand. 若一切佛, 一切菩薩, 不由此十戒法門得賢聖果者, 無有是處. 是初住相習種性 中第一人, 如是下九人法行漸漸增廣, 乃至九住, 十行, 十回向, 十地, 無垢地, 亦漸增廣 不可思議行.7

That is to say, xi zhongxing is the first step for the practice of bodhisattvas, followed by 'jiuzhu 九住 (nine types of stableness), shixing 十行 (10 types of transcendence), shi huixiang 十回向 (10 types of reward), shidi 十地 (10 stages of development), wugou di 無 垢地 (the pure stage).' Xi zhongxing is the lowest stage for the practice of beings.

It is important to note that the Pusa yingluo benye jing identifies six kinds of zhongxing:

Buddha's disciples, six kinds of zhongxing are 'xi zhongxing 習種性 (habit caste), xing zhongxing 性種性 (principle caste),' which come from the Pusa dichi jing, and states, 'xi zhongxing 習種性, xing zhongxing 性種性, dao zhongxing 道種性 (path caste), sheng zhongxing 聖種性 (saint caste), dengjue xing 等覺性 (equal enlightenment), miaojue xing 妙覺性 (ultimate enlightenment).' They are also called liujian 六堅 (six types of persistence), namely, 'jian xin 堅信 (faith persistence), jianfa 堅法 (rule persistence), jianxiu 堅修 (practice persistence), jiande 堅徳 (virtue persistence), jianding 堅頂 (worship persistence), jianjue 堅覺 (enlightenment persistence).' Liuren 六忍 (six types of patience) are 'xinren 信 忍 (faith patience), faren 法忍 (rule patience), xiuren 修忍 (practice patience), zhengren 正 忍 (original patience), wugou ren 無垢忍 (pure patience), yiqiezhi ren 一切智忍 (the whole wisdom patience).' They are also called liuhui 六慧 (six types of wisdom). Namely, 'wen hui 聞慧 (hearing wisdom), sihui 思慧 (considering wisdom), xiuhui 修慧 (practice wisdom), wuxiang hui 無相慧 (no feature wisdom), zhaoji hui 照寂慧 (quiet wisdom), jizhao hui 寂 照慧 (lightening wisdom).' Alternatively, liuding 六定 (six types of meditation), namely, 'xixiang ding 習相定 (habit meditation), xingding 性定 (natural meditation), daohui ding 道 慧定 (meditation of the wisdom on path), daozhonghui ding 道種慧定 (meditation of the wisdom on seeds of path), dahui ding 大慧定 (immense wisdom meditation), zhengguan ding 正觀定 (observation meditation).' Alternatively, liuguan 六觀 (six types of observation), namely, 'zhuguan 住觀 (stableness observation), xingguan 行觀 (transcendence observation), xiangguan 向觀 (reward observation), diguan 地觀 (stage observation), wuxiang guan 無相觀 (observation without feature), yiqiezhongzhi guan 一切種智觀 (observation on the wisdom of all seeds).' Buddha's disciples, there is no Buddha or bodhisattva who does not enter these six types of shixiang famen 實相法門 (dharma gate of reality) of ming guanjueding liaoyi 明觀決定了義 (clarifying ultimate meaning). 佛子, 六種性者, 所謂習種 性,性種性,道種性,聖種性,等覺性,妙覺性.復名六堅,亦名堅信,亦名堅法,亦名堅修, 亦名堅徳, 亦名堅頂, 亦名堅覺. 復名六忍, 信忍, 法忍, 修忍, 正忍, 無垢忍, 一切智忍. 復



名六慧, 聞慧, 思慧, 修慧, 無相慧, 照寂慧, 寂照慧. 復名六定, 習相定, 性定, 道慧定, 道種 慧定,大慧定,正觀定. 復名六觀,住觀,行觀,向觀,地觀,無相觀,一切種智觀. 佛子,一切 菩薩及佛無不入此六種明觀,決定了義實相法門.8

The xing zhongxing and xi zhongxing are described in the Pusa dichi jing. They are utilised by the author of the Pusa yingluo benye jing, who uses these in addition to 'dao zhongxing, sheng zhongxing, dengjue xing, and miaojue xing.' In these six types of *zhongxing*, *xi zhongxing* is the lowest *zhongxing*.

Regarding the relationship between xi zhongxing and the stages of bodhisattvas, the Pusa yingluo benye jing states:

Buddha's disciples! The beings who usually draw back and go forward awaken the three Enlightened minds (Ch. puti xin) before shizhu. A great number of beings study and practice Buddhist teaching. They are called tuifen shan'gen 退分善根 (good root with withdrawal). Pious men, you can enter *shizhu* if you continue *shizin* practice for *yijie* 一劫 (one *kalpa*), erjie 二劫 (two kalpa), or shijie 十劫 (ten kalpa). Zhengguan will appear if this person practices diliu boreboluomi 第六般若波羅蜜 (the sixth wisdom) at this moment. One will stay in the seventh stage and never draw back again if he meets a Buddha or bodhisattva. It is called tuifen 退分 (withdrawal) before the seventh stage. Buddha's disciples, butui 不退 (without withdrawal) is to enter the sixth wisdom, practice and enter dingwei 定位 (meditation position) in kongwuwo 空無我 (emptiness with selflessness). Buddha's disciples, one will draw back from Enlightened mind if he does not meet a Buddha or bodhisattva. There are 80,000 people who drew back among the people whom I first met. For instance, although Jingmu Tianzi 淨目天子 (prince of pure eyes), Facai Wang 法才王 (king of dharma treasure), and Shelifu 舍利弗 (Śāriputra) wanted to enter the seventh stage, due to some bad behavior, they drew back from the stage of xi zhongxing. 佛子, 若退若進者, 十住以前 一切凡夫法中發三菩提心. 有恒河沙衆生, 学行佛法, 信想心中行者, 是退分善根. 諸善 男子, 若一劫二劫乃至十劫修行十信, 得入十住. 是人爾時從初一住至第六住中, 若修第 六般若波羅蜜, 正觀現前. 復值諸佛菩薩善知識所護故, 出到第七住, 常住不退. 自此七 住以前, 名為退分. 佛子, 若不退者, 入第六般若修行, 於空無我人主者, 畢竟無生, 必入 定位. 佛子, 若不值善知識者, 若一劫二劫乃至十劫退菩提心. 如我初会衆中有八万人 退, 如浄目天子, 法才王, 舍利弗等, 欲入第七住, 其中值惡因緣故, 退入凡夫不善惡中, 不名習種性人, 退入外道.9

This means 'xi zhongxing is above the seventh stage,' and one can enter shizhu if he continues shixin practice for one kalpa, two kalpa or ten kalpa. Furthermore, one will stay in the seventh stage and never draw back again if he meets the Buddha or a bodhisattva. This explanation means that all beings can enter and surpass the seventh stage, and enter the stage of xi zhongxing if they continue their practice.

Through the investigation above, it is clear that, according to the Pusa yingluo benye jing, all beings can achieve not only xi zhongxing, but also xing zhongxing if they continue their practice. In this way, the xing zhongxing asserted by the Pusa dichi jing is considered to exist in all beings. 10

The theory of the stages of bodhisattvas is significant for Chinese Buddhism. It is very possible that the Pusa yingluo benye jing was the first text to assert the forty-two stages of a bodhisattva. Although the Pusa yingluo benye jing utilised the theory of zhongxing that the Pusa dichi jing presented, the Pusa yingluo benye jing changed the explanation of zhongxing. The reason was that the Pusa yingluo benye jing combined the xing zhongxing and xi zhongxing with the stages of bodhisattvas and minimised the importance of the xing zhongxing to deny the existence of beings who cannot achieve enlightenment.

Regarding the difference in doctrine between the northern and southern paths of the *Dilun* 地論 tradition during the fifth century in Chinese Buddhism, the *Yugaron gi* 瑜伽論記 [Commentary of the Treatise on the Foundation for Yoga Practitioners] states as below:

A mature nature is like endless treasure. It will bring endless merits and virtues if one can attain it. Along with demonstrating the essential nature, however, there have been various explanations asserted by different scholars so far. Utilising the Lenggie jing 楞伽經 [Skt. Lankāvatāra-sūtra; Sutra of Lanka], the scholars of the southern path of the Dilun tradition state that the nature of rulai zang 如來藏 (Skt. tathāgatagarbha; Buddha essence) contains all merits and virtues. Furthermore, they assert that the nature of rulai zang is innate, not acquired. The Lengqie jing states that although sanshier xiang 三十二相 (thirty-two features), bashizhong hao 八十種好 (eighty great features), and jiejia fuzuo 結伽趺坐 (legcrossed) are innumerable, they do not appear. The Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra [Ch. Da boniepan jing 大般涅槃經; Nirvana Sutra] states that the mahāparinirvāna (ultimate nirvana) was shared at first and contains all merits and virtues. The *Da Fangguang fo huayan jing* 大 方廣佛華嚴經 [Skt. Avatamsaka sutra; Flower Garland Sutra] states that all beings have the nature of rulai zang and various merits. The Pusa dichi jing states that xing zhongxing originates from the ultimate beginning and always succeeds. These scriptures have clarified the fact that various merits had been originally obtained. If we obey the interpretation of the northern path of the Dilun tradition, all the principle merits can disappear. The Lengqie jing states that Buddha's response to the question Mahāmate asked about the relationship between the nature of rulai zang and emptiness, was that the merits of the nature of rulai zang persist in beings who dwell in the entirety of emptiness. We can explain all scriptures through this passage. A monk named Tai 泰 pointed out the following. Namely, it is possible to demonstrate that the truth of a mature nature is the basic origin of merit through the passage above, so instead of describing zhenru 真如 (Skt. tathatā; thusness) as a container holding all merits and virtues, we say fuzang 伏藏 (holding merits and virtues). Although Huyue 護月 referred to the pure principle seeds of the three vehicles, they are the bodies of conditional-dharma (youwei fa 有爲法), not zhenru. Thus, this differs from the interpretation of the southern path of the Dilun tradition. In addition, as the pure principle seeds are mentioned, this also differs from the interpretation of the northern path of *Dilun* tradition. 圓成如無尽大伏寶藏. 若證得時, 利益無窮故. 然此寶藏喻實性者, 舊来諸師取解不同. 若南道諸師引《楞伽》等云,如來藏性具足一切恒沙功徳,本自有之,非適今也.又即彼 經云,三十二相八十種好結伽趺坐而為無量無覆,隱而不顯現.又《涅槃經》云,大般涅 槃本自有之, 具足一切恒沙功徳. 又《華嚴經》云, 佛子, 一切衆生皆有佛如來藏性, 具 諸功徳.又《地持論》云,性種姓者,六入殊勝,展轉相續,無始法爾.如是經論皆證本來 具諸功徳. 若如北道説, 無有本來一切功徳者, 便同外道断見過失. 北道諸師云, 立本有 一切功徳不從因生,先來自有者,全同僧伽自体之過.何以得知?無本有功徳者,如《楞 伽經》大慧白佛言,若如來藏性具諸功徳者,何故世尊復説一切諸法皆悉空,無生無 滅? 佛告大慧, 我為断見衆生故説本來具諸功徳. 即將此文通釋一切經意. 今時泰法師 云,依此論證圓成實理,成於万徳之本,故説伏藏.不言真如具足万徳.如護月等,雖立三 乘無漏法爾種子, 而是有為体, 非真如故, 不同南道解. 然本有無漏種故, 不同北道解.11

It is worth noting that the monks and scholars of the southern path of the Dilun tradition utilised the *Lengqie jing* to demonstrate that the nature of *rulai zang* contains all merits and virtues and is innate, not acquired. In addition, they quote the *Pusa dichi jing*, which states that the *xing zhongxing* originates from the ultimate beginning and always succeeds, to clarify that merit has been originally obtained. On the contrary, the monks and scholars of the northern path assert that principle merits are generated by dependent origination. Furthermore, they quote the interpretation that the merit of the nature of



*rulai zang* is only for beings who persist in the entirety of emptiness, which is visible in the *Lengqie jing*, to refute the assertion of the southern path of the Dilun tradition.

However, according to the section of the Yugaron gi above, it is clear that the southern path of the Dilun tradition combines the Pusa dichi jing and the Lengqie jing to demonstrate that the xing zhongxing is equal to the nature of rulai zang (Rulai zang xing 如來藏性).

As is widely known, the classical Chinese terms 'xing zhongxing; xi zhongxing' are from the *Pusa dichi jing*, which was translated by Dharmakṣema (Tanwuchen 曇無讖; 385–433). Concerning these terms, the *Pusa dichi jing* states the following:

What is *gotra*? It can be summarised as two kinds. Namely, the original *gotra* which existed from the ultimate beginning and the acquired *gotra* which is developed after one's birth. Among these two kinds of *gotra*, the original *gotra* that existed from the ultimate beginning contains the six places of bodhisattvas. This *gotra* is obtained through the nature of dharma without initiation.

tatra gotram katamat/samāsato gotram dvividham/prakṛtistham samudānītam ca/tatra prakṛtistham gotram yad bodhisattvānām saḍāyatanaviśeṣah/sa tādṛśah paramparāgato anādikāliko dharmatāpratilabdhah/ (BoBh, 2, 4–7)<sup>12</sup>

What is *zhongxing*? It can be summarised as two kinds. Namely, *xing zhongxing* and *xi zhongxing*. *Xing zhongxing* contains the six places of bodhisattvas and can progress to the next stage without initiation. This is called *xing zhongxing*. 云何為種性, 略説有二. 一者性種性, 二者習種性. 性種性者, 是菩薩六入殊勝, 展轉相續, 無始法爾, 是名性種性. <sup>13</sup>

The *Pusa dichi jing*, which was translated during the first half of the fifth century, is the first classical Chinese Buddhist text which translated *prakṛtistha-gotra* as *xing zhongxing*. This term is composed of *xing* 性 (nature) and *zhongxing* 種性. The former Chinese character *xing* 性 must be the translation of *prakṛti*.

## 2. Kūkai's interpretations on zhongxing (Jp. shushō)

Kūkai had constructed his own doctrinal system based on various doctrines within East Asian Buddhism by the eighth century. Although Kūkai knew about the controversies surrounding the *zhongxing*, especially following the translations of Xuanzang 玄奘 (602–664), it seems that Kūkai did not focus his attention on this topic. At least, the *zhongxing* controversies were not the most significant issue for Kūkai.

However, we cannot conclude that Kūkai entirely ignored theories of *zhongxing* (Jp. *shushō*). It is interesting that although Kūkai certainly knew the new translations provided by Xuanzang, in most of Kūkai's treatises, the texts and terms that existed before Xuanzang's translations, such as the *Pusa dichi jing* and the *Pusa yingluo benye jing*, remained mainstream in Kūkai's discussions of some *shushō*-related issues.

According to previous research, we presume the date of the establishment of the *Himitsu mandara jūjūshin ron* 祕密漫荼羅十住心論 [Treatise on the Ten Stages of the Development of Mind] as 830. 15 We now consider the *jūjūshin* 十住心 (10 stages of the development) arrangement to have been constructed after 821, when Kūkai was finishing his critique of the Hossō 法相 and Sanron 三論 sects. He intended to reconsider the positions of the Tendai 天台 and Kegon 華厳 sects. In this section, I investigate Kūkai's perspective on the *shushō* through some explanations offered in the *Himitsu mandara* 

jūjūshin ron, which is the most important treatise for researching Kūkai's Buddhist

In the *Himitsu mandara jūjūshin ron*, Kūkai states the following:

Among the sankeni 三賢位 (three wise stages), the first jūjū 十住 (ten stages of the development) belongs to the xi zhongxing, namely hosshu 発趣 (vowing). These are called stable (jū 住) as it is not easy to fall back after these stages. According to the Fodi jing 佛地經 [Sutra of the stages of Buddhahood], during the twenty-seventh day at Daolitian miaosheng dian 忉利天妙勝殿, Buddha stated the Da Fangguang fo huayan jing 大方広仏華厳経 [Skt. Avatamsaka sutra; Flower Garland Sutra]. At that moment, a bodhisattva named Fahui 法慧 inherited strength from Buddha, and obtained the jūjū of bodhisattvas. 三賢位中, 初十住者 習種性,即発趣也. 行成不退, 故立住名. 依『仏地経』, 第二七日在忉利天妙勝殿説 『華厳』云, 爾時法慧菩薩承仏神力, 従菩薩無量方便三昧起説菩薩十住. 16

Kūkai quotes the *Fodi jing* to show that the first *jūjū* belongs to the *xi zhongxing*, which is termed stable ( $j\bar{u}$  住) as it is hard to lose progress after this stage. Apparently, Kūkai uses the term 'xi zhongxing' 習種性 instead of 'zhongxing' 種姓, which was the newly translated term from Xuanzang's translations. Moreover, Kūkai utilises not only the former zhongxing term, but the methodology combining shushō with the theory of the stages of bodhisattvas, such as jūjū (Ch. shizhu). This was, as discussed during the first section of this article, a creation of Chinese Buddhism.

Furthermore, Kūkai explains the kendō i 見道位 (Ch. Jiandao wei; the stage of achieving the path) as stated below:

Tsūtatsu i 通達位 (Ch. tongda wei; the stage of understanding) is also the stage of kendō i of the sage shushō. The treatise states that wisdom cannot be obtained in relation to objects. At this moment, one achieves the boundary of consciousness-only and abandons the appearance of dualism. Bodhisattvas will then obtain the wisdom free from distinguishing between objects. They will not retain any illusory features because *zhenru* is equal to this wisdom. They are equal and far from the features of duality, so it is said that there is neither object nor subject within this wisdom, alternatively, there is anyone of them, alternatively, there are both of them. ... There are two kinds of vision path. The first one is the true vision path, namely the wisdom without distinguishability, which can clarify the truth manifested by two types of emptiness and ends two kinds of illusion. 通達位者, 謂聖種性見道位也. 論云, 若 時於所緣, 智都無所得. 爾時住唯識, 離二取相故. 若時菩薩於所緣境, 無分別智都無所 得, 不取種種戲論相故, 智与真如平等. 平等俱離能取所取相故, 有釈此智相見倶無, 有 釈此智相見倶有...此有二種.一真見道,謂即所説無分別智,実証二空所顕真理,実断 二障分別随眠.17

First, the term 'sheng zhongxing' 聖種性, as discussed in the first section of this article, is apparently from the Pusa yingluo benye jing. Kūkai uses it to explain tsūtatsu i and kendō i. Needless to say, this is another example indicating that Kūkai followed the old tradition of Chinese Buddhism combining *shushō* with the theory of the stages of bodhisattvas.

Second, according to Ishii Kōsei's 石井公成 previous research, the earliest texts where the term 'nikū shoken' 二空所顕 (Ch. erkong suoxian; being manifested through two types of emptiness) is visible are the Foxing lun 佛性論 [Treatise on Buddha Nature] and the Shedasheng lun shi, translated by Paramartha. 18 To the best of my knowledge, among the classical Chinese Buddhist texts, the earliest manuscripts where the term 'nikū shoken' is used to interpret zhenru are the Jiejie jing 解節經, the Shedasheng lun shi, and the Foxing lun. That is to say, Kūkai utilised the classical Chinese interpretations before Xuanzang's translations to explain *shushō*. The difference is that Kūkai used '*nikū* 



shoken shinri' 二空所顕真理 instead of 'nikū shoken shinnyo' 二空所顕真如 in this section. We can likely explain this if we appreciate that the term 'truth' (shinri 真理) is extremely important in Kūkai's doctrinal system, although he also uses 'shinnyo' 真如 (Ch. zhenru) in his treatises.

In the Himitsu mandara jūjūshin ron, Kūkai also mentioned 'pure caste' (muro shushō) 無漏種性 as follows:

That is to say, the former two fruits of tenne 転依 (Skt. parivṛtti) derived from Bodhi and nirvāṇa are controlled by an ultimate pure field. Along with the disappearance of illusions, the essence will become pure. This is called pure status. Dhātu means including, which contains considerable merits and virtues. The essence of the four kinds of wisdom within a pure dharma world is controlled by the extinction and process paths, so it is pure. The merits and virtues of the Buddha and his realm were generated from the pure caste.

無漏種性 (muro shushō). 此謂此前菩提涅槃二転依果, 即是究竟無漏界摂. 諸漏永尽, 非 漏随增. 性浄円明, 故名無漏. 界是蔵義, 此中含容無辺希有大功徳故. 清浄法界四智心 品,滅道諦摂,故唯無漏. 謂仏功徳及身土等皆是無漏種性所生. 19

According to Kūkai's interpretation, pure *dhātu* and wisdom are related to the pure caste. This pure caste leads to *parivrtti* and *nirvāna*, which contain Buddha's merits and virtues. Apparently, Kūkai still used 'muro shushō' 無漏種性, instead of 'muro shushō' 無漏種姓, to explain the possibility of Buddhahood and the boundary of nirvāṇa.

Thus, although Kūkai did not take the topic of shushō seriously, he definitely knew about the controversies surrounding *zhongxing*, so we cannot ignore his interpretations of this issue within his doctrinal context. Kūkai utilised not only the terms, but also the thoughts and methodology of the zhongxing in the Pusa dichi jing and the Pusa yingluo benye jing.

### 3. Saichō's interpretations of zhongxing (Jp. shushō)

Saichō declares that Tendai hokke shū 天台法華宗, which is emphasised by him, is Kyōshū 経宗, in contrast to Sanronshū 三論宗 and Hossōshū 法相宗, which are considered Ronshū 論宗. Needless to say, according to Saishō's explanation, the position of Tendai hokeshū is higher than that of Sanronshū and Hossoshū.<sup>20</sup> This method influenced Kūkai's theory of jūjūshin kyōhan 十住心教判 (classification of Buddha's teaching on 10 stages of the development of mind) more or less, but did not affect Buddhism in Nara 奈良.

According to previous research on Saicho's Buddhist doctrine, from the standpoint of Buddhist studies, Tamura Kōyu 田村晃祐 conducted excellent research. In particular, his Saichō kyōgaku no kenkyū 最澄教学の研究 [Study on Saichō's doctrine] is still one of the most useful research studies on Saichō's Buddhist thought to date.<sup>21</sup>

Compared to Kūkai, Saichō paid more attention to the shushō as, in my opinion, he took the controversies about Buddha nature and the shushō seriously. For this reason, we can find more discussions of the shushō in Saichō's treatises than in those of Kūkai. In this section, I intend to investigate Saicho's perspective on the shusho through the Chū Muryōgi kyō 注無量義経 [Innumerable meanings Sutra] and the Shugo kokkai shō 守護 国界章 [Protection of the sovereign of the Nation Chapter], both of which were representatives of Saichō's treatises.

In the Chū Muryōgi kyō, Saichō discusses various types of shushō as stated below:

First, someone meets with a bodhisattva and receives his intuition, so this person can practice Mahayana Buddhism and attain the great xixing. He is called the decided Mahayana practitioner. Second, someone meets with a lone practitioner and receives his intuition, so this person practices Buddhism by himself and attains the small xixing. He is called the decided lone practitioner. Third, someone meets with a śrāvaka and receives his intuition, so this person practices śrāvaka Buddhism and attains the small xixing. He is called the decided śrāvaka practitioner. Fourth, someone meets with some teachers who are composed of the three vehicles as above and receives their intuitions, so this person practices these and attains the three kinds of xixing belonging to three vehicles. He is called the undecided three vehicles practitioner. Fifth, someone meets with both a bodhisattva and a lone practitioner and receives their intuitions, so this person practices their advice and attains these two kinds of xixing. He is called the lone bodhisattva practitioner. Sixth, someone meets with both a bodhisattva and a śrāvaka and receives their intuitions, so this person practices their advice and attains these two kinds of xixing. He is called a śrāvaka bodhisattva practitioner. Seventh, someone meets with both a lone practitioner and śrāvaka and receives their intuitions, so this person practices their advice and attains these two kinds of xixing. He is called the lone śrāvaka practitioner. Eighth, someone meets with teachers belonging to the three vehicles, but he does not receive their intuitions, so this person meets a bad teacher during this life and practices evil deeds. He is called the practitioner without nirvāņa for a while. Ninth, someone meets with teachers belonging to the three vehicles, but he does not receive their intuitions, so this person meets a bad teacher during this life and does not understand cause so that his great root is lost. He is also called the practitioner without nirvāṇa for a while. Tenth, although someone meets with teachers belonging to the three vehicles, he does not receive their intuitions and undecided xixing, so this person has no part in nirvāna. He is called the practitioner without nirvāna for a while. Eleventh, although someone meets with teachers belonging to three vehicles, he does not receive their intuitions and undecided xixing, so this person entertains the path of beings and divines. He is called the icchantika (Ch. ichanti 一闡提; beings who cannot achieve the Buddhahood) without nirvāṇa for a while. Twelfth, someone does not meet with any teacher belonging to the three vehicles, so he has no cause of the three vehicles during this life. He is called the icchantika without nirvāṇa forever. 一, 往昔值遇菩薩之化, 但修大乗, 得大習性. 今生名 為定性大乗.二,往昔值遇独覚之化,但修独覚乗,得小習性.今現生名為定性独覚乗. 三, 往昔值遇但声聞化, 但修声聞乗, 得小習性. 今現生名為定性声聞乗. 四, 往昔值遇 具三乗化,具修三乗行得三乗習性.今現生名為三乗不定性.五,往昔值遇菩薩独覚二乗 之化, 兼修大小二乗之行, 得大小二乗習性, 未遇声聞小乗之化. 今生名為菩薩独覚, 闕 声聞種不定種性. 六, 往昔值遇菩薩声聞二乗之化, 兼修大小二乗之行, 得大小二乗習 性,未遇独覚二乗之化. 今生名為菩薩声聞, 闕独覚種不定種性. 七,往昔值遇独覚声聞 小乗之化, 未遇大乗菩薩之化. 今生名為独覚声聞, 闕菩薩種不定種性. 八, 往昔雖遇三 乗之化, 然未得三乗及不定習性. 是故今生遇悪知識, 一向行惡. 是故名為暫時無涅槃, 一向行悪行. 九, 往昔雖遇三乗之化, 然未得三乗及不定習性. 是故今生遇悪知識, 撥無 因果, 普断善根. 是故名為暫時無涅槃, 普断白法. 十, 往昔雖遇三乗之化, 然未得三乗及 不定習性. 是故今生其根下劣, 無涅槃分. 是故名為暫時無涅槃, 無有涅槃分. 十一, 往昔 雖遇三乗之化,然未得三乗及不定習性.是故今生其根下劣,楽人天善.是故名為暫時無 涅槃, 断善少一闡提. 十二, 往昔未遇三乗之化, 未修三乗及不定行. 是故今生無三乗因. 是名為畢竟無涅槃無因一闡提. 22

First, the term 'xixing' 習性 – used by Saichō several times in this section – is very important. It can be, if only from a linguistic standpoint, understood as either 'xi zhongxing 習種性' or 'xi zhongxing 習種性 + xing zhongxing 性種性'. In my view, it means 'xi zhongxing 習種性 + xing zhongxing 性種性' because according to Saichō's interpretation, almost all beings, except icchantika, can attain this 'xixing 習性' through

intuition and practice. Needless to say, this term is also from the *Pusa dichi jing* and the Pusa yingluo benye jing. Second, as above, attaining 'xixing' 習性 through intuition and practice is possible for almost all beings. The differences between beings with various kinds of *zhongxing* (Jp. *shushō*) are related to the type of *zhongxing*, respectively. The only exception is the icchantika. However, even in the case of the icchantika, there are also different types. The icchantika without nirvāna for a while has no undecided xi zhongxing but will also attain Buddhahood in the end. Only the icchantika without nirvāna forever probably cannot attain Buddhahood, but Saichō does not clarify this in this section. It is clear that the *xing zhongxing* has been integrated with a *xi zhongxing* into a whole *xixing* by Saichō. In addition, almost all beings have some kind of shushō. This theory of shushō is Saichō's interpretation, which surpassed the framework of the *Pusa dichi jing* and the Pusa yingluo benye jing.

Tamura Kōyu provided previous research on the context and editorial course of the Shugo kokkai shō. Tamura points out that the critical object of the Shugo kokkai shō, which was written by Saichō, is Tokuitsu's 徳一 (d.u.) treatise of the Chūhen gikyō 中辺 義鏡 [Mirror on the Meaning of the Middle and the Extreme]. 23 Thus, we can recognise that the controversy on zhongxing based on the Pusa yingluo benye jing is just one controversial point between Saichō and Tokuitsu, which extended beyond a Chinese Buddhist context.

In the Shugo kokkai shō, regarding the stages of bodhisattvas in the Pusa yingluo benye jing, Saichō criticised Tokuitsu as follows:

The person persisting in the wrong course violates the assertions made in the Pusa yingluo benye jing and the Yuqieshi di lun 瑜伽師地論 (Skt. Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra) [Treatise on the Foundation for Yoga Practitioners]. Concerning the initial cause of the awakening heart, the first half of the Pusa yingluo benye jing states that one can enter the path to the ten kinds of stability if he persists in practice over considerable time. If this person dwells between the first to the sixth stage of stability, he will attain the right vision if he practices the sixth prajñāpāramitā. This person can enter the seventh stage of stability and will not fall back if he meets with some great teachers and is helped by their support. One can return to previous stages before the seventh stage, if he does not meet with any great teacher. For instance, there were 80,000 disciples who fell back eventually, such as pure eye prince (Ch. Jingmu Tianzi 浄目天子), dharma treasure prince (Ch. Facai Wangzi 法才王子), and Śāriputra (Ch. Shelifu 舍利弗). They encountered a bad relationship when they intended to enter the seventh stage of stability, so they returned back to ordinary beings and could not be called xi zhongxing beings anymore. What is more, it is also possible to return back to other sects and take part in evil deeds. We can therefore understand that we should not consider the path to the ten kinds of stability to be without return. Concerning this problem, I (Saichō) resist the assertions above. I must point out that the theory of stages mentioned in the Pusa yingluo benye jing differs from that in Fazang's 法蔵 (643-712) doctrinal system. In addition, it is also different from that found in the Da fangguang fo huayan jing (Skt. Avatamsakasūtra). The person who asserted the above did not understand this, because they judged these problems through nominal similarity. 麁食者又云,又違『瓔珞経』· 「瑜伽論』等. 『瓔珞経』上巻説初発心住云, 若一劫二劫乃至十劫修行十信, 得入十住. 是人爾時従 初一住至第六住中,若修第六般若波羅蜜,正観現在前.復值諸仏菩薩善知識所護,故出 到第七住, 常住不退. 自此七住以前, 名為退分. 若不值善知識者, 一劫乃至十劫退菩提 心. 如我初会, 衆中有八万人退, 如浄目天子・ 法才王子・ 舍利弗等. 欲入第七住, 其 中值恶因縁, 故退入凡夫不善恶中, 不名習種性人. 退入外道, 若一劫乃至千劫, 作大邪 見及五逆, 無悪不造, 是為退相. 由此故知, 十住位不得名為不退. 何以初発心住, 配経十

三句耶. 愍喻曰, 此亦不爾. 『瓔珞』所説次第行位故, 不同賢首信位故, 不同『華厳』 初住故, 行相永別故, 不同信力入印初歓喜地故. 麁食者何迷位名同, 輒判退不退耶. 24

This passage contains extremely important information. Namely, Tokuitsu criticises some points of the theory of stages of bodhisattvas, especially the relationship between jūjū 十住 (10 stabilities) and xi zhongxing. He states that jūjū does not mean xi zhongxing without return. To contradict Tokuitsu's assertion, Saichō argues that the theory of stages mentioned in the Pusa yingluo benye jing differs from that in Fazang's doctrinal system, and is also different from that in the *Da fangguang fo huayan jing* (Skt. *Avatamsakasūtra*).

It is clear that Saichō intends to dispute Tokuitsu's assertions on the shushō and the stages of bodhisattvas, but he does not provide any definite evidence based on Indian Buddhism. Saichō just states that the theory of stages mentioned in the Pusa yingluo benye jing differs from that in Fazang's doctrinal system. However, as is widely known, the Pusa yingluo benye jing is one classical Chinese text which was created or edited in China during the fifth century.<sup>25</sup> Saichō takes a classical Chinese text edited in China during the fifth century as his evidence of the difference between this and the Da fangguang fo huayan jing (Skt. Avatamsakasūtra), a part of a former Mahāyāna-sūtra Sanskrit text, to demonstrate the shushō without return through the stages of bodhisattvas mentioned in the *Pusa yingluo jing*. Evidently, this is further evidence that the theory of shushō in the Pusa yingluo benye jing and the Pusa dichi jing strongly influenced Saichō's thought about shushō.

According to the research of Funayama Tōru 船山徹, the precepts of bodhisattvas described in the Pusa yingluo benye jing are relatively independent from the precepts of a śrāvaka. Namely, one can receive the bodhisattva precepts without those of a śrāvaka. Furthermore, it is highly possible that this interpretation in the *Pusa yingluo benye jing* is the basis and source of the precepts of enton 円頓戒 in Japanese Buddhism. 26 As is well known, this is related to the assertions of Saichō and his disciples.

Regarding the relationship between the Buddhahood and various types of shushō, the Shugo kokkai shō states:

The person persisting in a wrong course stated that all beings can attain Buddhahood because all beings have zhenru lixing 真如理性 (principle thusness) and ālayavijñāna (foundational consciousness). Furthermore, as the Mahāparinirvāna-mahāsūtra states, all beings have Buddha nature, those realms of existence which have no Buddha nature are not beings, such as wall and stone. According to this, all beings have Buddha nature and can attain Buddhahood. This interpretation is like the explanation asserted by Fabao 法宝. However, a person persisting on the wrong course denied this view and stated that the interpretation, stated in the Pusa shanjie jing 菩薩善戒経, shows the beings without shushō cannot attain Buddhahood even though [they had] practiced. They took this mention in the Pusa shanjie jing as significant evidence for their assertion, that the existence of the beings without shushō has been confirmed. Concerning this, I (Saichō) must show its fault because this person persisting on the wrong course did not notice the whole meaning in the context of all content in the Pusa shanjie jing. The Pusa shanjie jing states that although fake bodhisattvas go through much practice, they cannot attain Buddhahood because they have no causal Buddha nature unlike real bodhisattvas. Furthermore, the mature cause is not mentioned here as convenience is not taken. We can describe this meaning with reference to some explanations mentioned in several scriptures as described below. The Saddharma Puṇḍarīka Sūtra [Ch. Fahua jing 法華經; Lotus Sūtra] states that all listeners will attain Buddhahood. The beings without bodhisattva nature mentioned in the Pusa shanjie jing, the anti-shushō beings mentioned in the Pusa dichi jing, and the non-shushō

beings mentioned in the  $Yog\bar{a}c\bar{a}rabh\bar{u}mi$ -śāstra are only described in terms of their dualistic nature. On the contrary, the principle nature mentioned in the Pusa shanjie jing, the xing zhongxing mentioned in the Pusa dichi jing and the benxingzhu zhongxing are equal. All of them are carried by all beings.  $\mathbb{A}$  食者曰,有執一切有情皆悉成仏,無一不成. 何以故. 一切有情以皆有真如理性及阿賴耶識故. 又『涅槃』云一切衆生悉有仏性. 凡有心者,悉皆当得阿耨菩提故. 又云,非仏性者,所謂牆壁瓦礫非情之物. 故依此教理,一切悉皆有仏種性,皆当成仏. 已上似宝公詞. 今破云,汝執不然. 所以者何. 違教理故. 教者,『善戒経』云,住無種性補特伽羅無種性故,雖設有発心及行加行,終不能得阿耨菩提. 此証有無性有情,不成仏文也. 彈曰,此説非理. 何者. 未得『善戒経』上下文意故. 其『善戒経』文意者,謂假名菩薩摩訶薩雖設有発心及行加行,無円実菩薩緣因仏性,終不能得阿耨菩提. 又未開権故,不説顕了円実緣因故. 若『法華』已開文云,若有聞法者,無一不成仏. 其『善戒経』文無菩薩性,『地持論』非種性,『瑜伽論』住無種性者,是指客性. 其本性者,即『善戒経』中本性,『地持論』性種性,『瑜伽論』本性住種性. 此本性者,在諸衆生陰入界中.  $^{27}$ 

Tokuitsu quotes Fabao's assertion that all beings can attain Buddhahood as the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-mahāsūtra* states that all beings have Buddha nature, and then denied this. It is noticeable that Tokuitsu's evidence is the *Pusa shanjie jing*, which is a similar classical Chinese translation to the *Pusa dichi jing*. As is well known, both the *Pusa dichi jing* and the *Pusa shanjie jing* are the classical Chinese translations of the same portion of the *Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra*. As another similar text of classical Chinese translation, the *Pusa shanjie jing* was translated by Guṇavarman 求那跋摩 (367–431) and prevailed at Jiankang 建康 in 431. That is to say, Tokuitsu utilised the *Pusa dichi jing* and the *Pusa shanjie jing* to demonstrate that there are some *icchantikas* who cannot attain Buddhahood.

To refute Tokuitsu's conclusion above, Saichō asserts that the *Saddharma Puṇḍarīka Sūtra* states that all listeners will attain Buddhahood. In addition, the principle nature mentioned in the *Pusa shanjie jing*, the *xing zhongxing* mentioned in the *Pusa dichi jing*, and the *benxingzhu zhongxing* are all equal. All of them have been innate to all beings from the beginning. According to Saichō's assertion, all of these are synonymous terms, and are identical with the principle nature in some other texts.

It is interesting that Saichō's assertion above is similar to that of the southern path of the Dilun tradition mentioned in the first section of this article. This can be summarised as in the illustration below:

Evidently, according to either the southern path of the Dilun tradition or Saichō's interpretation, the different types of principle nature in various texts are in fact identical

The Dilun tradition 地論師

Saichō 最澄

然此宝蔵喻実性者, 旧来諸師取解不同. 若南道諸師引『楞伽』等云, 如来蔵性具足一切恒沙功徳, 本自有之, 非適今也. 又即彼経云, 三十二相八十種好結伽趺坐而為無量無覆。隱而不顕現. 又『涅槃経』云, 大般涅槃本自有之, 具足一切恒沙功徳. 又『華厳経』云, 仏子, 一切衆生皆有仏如来蔵性, 具諸功徳. 又『地持論』云, 性種姓者, 六入殊勝, 展転相統, 無始法爾, 如是経論皆証本来具諸功徳. 若如北道說, 無有本来一切功徳者, 便同外道断見過失. (Yugaron gi 瑜伽論記, T 42, 764ab)

若『法華』已開文云,若有聞法者,無一不成仏.其 『善戒経』文無菩薩性,『地持論』非種性,『瑜伽論』住無種性者,是指客性.其本性者,即『善戒経』中本性,『地持論』性種性,『瑜伽論』本性住種性.此本性者,在諸衆生陰入界中.(Shugo kokkai shō 守護国界章, 7 74, 210 c-211a) to each other, such as 'rulaizang xing' 如来蔵性, 'foxing' 仏性, 'da banniepan' 大般涅槃, 'xing zhongxing' 性種性, 'benxing' 本性, and 'benxingzhu zhongxing' 本性住種性. That is to say, these terms are the same; therefore, all beings have this principle nature and can attain Buddhahood. This is Saichō's basic perspective on the shushō.

In addition, regarding the types of *shushō*, Saichō states the following:

The Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra states that there are five kinds of beings, namely, the bodhisattva shushō, the pratyeka-buddha shushō, the śrāvaka shushō, the undecided shushō and nonshushō beings. It is possible to explain this as follows. Namely, the first three types of the five beings have their own shushō, which can be described as a decided shushō. Those with an undecided shushō are beings who have more than one possible shushō. The bodhisattva shushō and undecided shushō beings can both attain Buddhahood. In contrast, decided shushō beings cannot attain this Bodhi. There are four types of the fourth undecided shushō beings. First, someone has both bodhisattva shushō and pratyeka-buddha shushō. Second, someone has bodhisattva shushō, pratyeka-buddha shushō and śrāvaka shushō. Third, someone has both bodhisattva shushō and śrāvaka shushō. Fourth, someone has both pratyekabuddha shushō and śrāvaka shushō. The former three kinds of beings can attain Buddhahood, but the last one cannot. We can understand this through the following scriptures. The eighty folds of the Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra states that the reason not all arhats attain the highest Bodhi is that there are some differences between their shushō. It is the fourth kind of shushō, namely, an undecided shushō. The Saddharma Puṇḍarīka Sūtra states that there is only one dharma vehicle within various Buddha realms, not two nor three vehicles, except according to Buddha's convenient sayings. This assertion is based on the cases of the three kinds of undecided shushō beings. They have three kinds of shushō at the same time. Buddha nature is stronger than the others. Saying that there are neither two nor three vehicles is not to say that there are no decided shushō like the pratyeka-buddha and śrāvaka shushō. 『瑜伽』云, 一切有情総有五種性. 一者菩薩種性, 二者独覚種性, 三者 声聞種性, 四者不定種性, 五者無種性. 解云, 此五種中初三乗人各有一性, 名為定性. 有 二三性, 名不定性. 菩薩種性, 不定種性, 当得成仏. 決定二乗不得菩提. 第四不定種性有 四類別. 或有菩薩種性, 独覚種性. 或有菩薩種性, 独覚種性, 声聞種性. 或有菩薩種性, 声聞種性. 或有独覚種性, 声聞種性. 前三成仏, 後一不成. 何以得知. 『瑜伽』八十云, 何因緣故, 一切阿羅漢不皆回向無上菩提. 答, 由彼種性有差別故. 此是第四類不定種 性. 『法華経』云, 十方仏土中, 唯有一乗法. 無二亦無三, 除仏方便説. 此拠前三不定 類説, 且如舍利弗等不定種性. 一人身中具有三性, 隠劣二性, 顕勝仏性. 云無二亦無三, 非謂全無決定種性声聞独覚.28

It is notable that Saichō mentions five types of *shushō* which are integrated in the *Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra* but uses the classical Chinese term 'wu zhongxing' 五種性 (five types of caste) instead of 'wu zhongxing' 五種姓, which is the original term in Xuanzang's classical Chinese translations. To the best of my knowledge, the term 'wu zhongxing 五種姓' is mentioned three times in Saichō's treatises. In this passage, Saichō utilises the *Saddharma Puṇḍarīka Sūtra* to explain the five kinds of gotra in the *Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra*. Needless to say, in Saichō's opinion, the theory of gotra in the *Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra* cannot change and transform into the theory of one vehicle in the *Saddharma Puṇḍarīka Sūtra*.

#### 4. Conclusion

The theory of the stages of a bodhisattva is extremely significant for Chinese Buddhism. The number of stages of a bodhisattva gradually expanded from 42 to 52. The 12 stages, such as *shixin* and *dengjue/miaojue*, were first found in the *Renwang jing* and the *Pusa yingluo benye jing*. From the perspective of *zhongxing*, it is clear that the

purpose of the Pusa yingluo benye jing is to inherit and transform the theory of zhongxing in the Pusa dichi jing. According to the Pusa yingluo benye jing, all beings can achieve xi zhongxing as well as xing zhongxing if they continue their practice. In this way, the xing zhongxing asserted by the Pusa dichi jing is considered to exist in all beings.

Although Kūkai was familiar with the new translations provided by Xuanzang, in most of Kūkai's treatises, the texts and terms before Xuanzang's translations, such as the Pusa dichi jing and the Pusa yingluo benye jing, remained mainstream interpretations when he discussed zhongxing related issues. Kūkai utilised not only the terms, but also the thoughts and methodology of zhongxing in the Pusa dichi jing and the Pusa yingluo benye jing.

However, Saichō paid more attention to zhongxing than Kūkai. We can find more discussions of the shushō (Ch. zhongxing) in Saichō's treatises than in Kūkai's. Saichō used the Pusa yingluo benye jing as evidence of the difference between this and the Avatamsakasūtra, and to demonstrate the shushō without return through the stages of bodhisattvas mentioned in the *Pusa yingluo jing*. That is to say, the theory of *zhongxing* in the Pusa yingluo benye jing and the Pusa dichi jing strongly influenced Saicho's thought on shushō. Furthermore, according to either the southern path of the Dilun tradition or Saichō's interpretation, the different kinds of principle nature described in various texts are identical to each other, including the Pusa dichi jing, the Pusa yingluo benye jing, the Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra, and the Saddharma Pundarīka Sūtra.

#### **Notes**

- 1. See Bokenkamp, 'Stages of Transcendence.'
- 2. Mizuno, 'Gojūnii no bosatsu kaiisetsu.'
- 3. Funayama, 'Jironshū to nanchō kyōgaku,' 137.
- 4. Mizuno, 'Gojūnii no bosatsu kaiisetsu.'
- 5. Dayal, The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature, 270-291.
- 6. As is widely known, 'gotra' was translated as both 'zhongxing' 種姓 and 'zhongxing' 種性 before Xuanzang's translations. The Pusa yingluo benye jing utilizes 'zhongxing' 種性 mainly.
- 7. Pusa yingluo benye jing, T no. 1485, 24: 1.1012b10-1012b14.
- 8. Pusa yingluo benye jing, T no. 1485, 24: 1012b25-1012c5.
- 9. Pusa yingluo benye jing, T no. 1485, 24: 1014b27-1014c12.
- 10. As is widely known, 'xing zhongxing' 性種性 in the Pusa dichi jing ('benxing zhu zhongxing' 本性住種姓'in the Yuqieshi di lun translated by Xuanzang) is considered to be the possibility of becoming Buddha. Namely, this kind of gotra exists only in some beings, not all beings.
- 11. Yugaron gi, T no. 1828, 42: 20.764a25-764b18.
- 12. Dutt, ed., Bodhisattvabhūmi.
- 13. Pusa dichi jing, T no. 1581, 30: 888b2-888b7.
- 14. Regarding Kūkai's works, see Hakeda, Kūkai: Major Works.
- 15. See the first chapter of the third part in Fujii, Kūkai no shisōteki tenkai no kenkyū.
- 16. Himitsu mandara jūjūshin ron, T no. 2425, 77: 6.337c8-337c12.
- 17. Himitsu mandara jūjūshin ron, T no. 2425, 77: 6.339c9-339c19.
- 18. Ishii, 'Shindai kanyo bunken no yōgo to gohō,' 87-120.
- 19. Himitsu mandara jūjūshin ron, T no. 2425, 77: 6.344b3-344b8.
- 20. This narrative can be found in the Eizan daishi den 叡山大師伝 [Biography of the monk of Hiei mountain], which was completed by Saichō's disciple Ichijō Chū 一乗忠. Regarding the Eizan daishi den, see Takagi, Kūkai shisō no shoshiteki kenkyū.

- 21. Tamura, Saichō kyōgaku no kenkyū.
- 22. Chū Muryōgi kyō, T no. 2425, 56: 2.215c22-216a21.
- 23. Tamura, Saichō kyōgaku no kenkyū, 20-48.
- 24. Shugo kokkai shō, T no. 2362, 74: 2.196a16-196b4.
- 25. Funayama, 'Jironshū to Nanchō kyōgaku.'
- 26. Funayama, Rikuchō Zuitō bukkyō tenkai shi, 235-236.
- 27. Shugo kokkai shō, T no. 2362, 74: 3.210c25-211a15.
- 28. Shugo kokkai shō, T no. 2362, 74: 3.229a12-229a28.

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#### **Abbreviations**

BBh= Bodhisattvabhūmi: Being the XV<sup>th</sup> Section of Asangapada's Yogācārabhūmi. See Bibliography, Modern Studies, Dutt, ed.

T=Taishō shinshū daizōkyō. See Bibliography, Modern Studies, Takakusu and Watanabe, eds.

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