

The Eastward Flow of Buddhism and its Waterspouts, Springs, and Countercurrents: Ordinations and Precepts

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THE IMAGE of Buddhism flowing eastward from India to China, Korea, Japan, and finally to America and Europe is common in many countries. Because Buddhism began in India and then spread east (as well as north to Tibet and south to Sri Lanka), this view might seem to be reasonable at first glance, but a closer examination reveals a number of problems. Why did Buddhism not flow westward? Was the dissemination of Buddhism really so unidirectional? Were there no exchanges of ideas and rituals that went both ways? As we have come to a more thorough understanding of the dissemination of Buddhism, we have realized that the transmission of Buddhism is very complex and not just a simple flow.

Where did the idea of an eastward spread of Buddhism originate? Certainly the history of Buddhism's transmission from India to China played a major role. Terms such as "eastward transmission" (*tōden* 東伝), "eastern flow" (*tōryū* 東流), and "eastward advance" (*tōzen* 東漸) appear frequently in Buddhist texts. In modern studies in the West, the nature of this eastward transmission has been an important theme, as exhibited in the titles of classic books such as Erik Zürcher's *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, Kenneth

THIS PAPER had its origins when I was asked to talk on the "Eastern Transmission of Buddhism" by Waseda University's Center for Research on "Buddhism" as a Civilization of East Asia. When I then was asked to deliver a similar talk at Otani University for *The Eastern Buddhist*, I found the opportunity to range across a broad array of cultures and periods too tempting to resist. I thank the audiences at Waseda and Otani for their comments and criticisms.

Ch'en's *The Chinese Transformation of Buddhism*, and Peter Gregory's *Tsung-mi and the Sinification of Buddhism*. In this paper, I will explore the idea of such an eastward transmission in terms of Buddhist precepts and ordinations. The eastward transmission of Buddhism can be considered in many ways, including the translation of texts, changes in doctrines, or accounts of enlightenment experiences, but the transmission of the *vinaya* and the rituals accompanying it provide particularly useful insights into this process. A person is not a Buddhist monastic without a valid ordination, indicating the importance of these rituals. Ordination had to be conducted by a certain number of properly ordained monastics; thus, the movement of people was involved. The contents of the precepts gave people an ideal of proper Buddhist conduct, but the *vinaya* was not an easy text to understand; even after it had been translated, it had to be explained. If Buddhists did not adhere to the precepts (and frequently ignored many of them), they still needed to have a model to which they might aspire or on which to base reform movements. Being a Buddhist adherent involved certain types of behavior, and the *vinaya* texts and the rituals surrounding them have often served as sources for determining that model as Buddhism spread.

This paper has three parts. In the first, I examine the idea of the eastern transmission or flow of the *vinaya* and ordinations. In the second, I look at a different narrative: the idea that the precepts and ordination are virtually eternal and always available. The imagery in this case would be more like a waterspout (*tatsumaki* 竜巻) or an upwelling (*yūshō* 湧昇). Which image is applicable depends on whether the origin of the precepts is seen as being handed down from above by buddhas and bodhisattvas, or whether it is seen as welling up from one's Buddha-nature. In this section, I focus on Japanese Tendai 天台 ordinations. The third section of the paper focuses on North America and Europe, once again concentrating on ordinations and precepts. Buddhism in the West can be seen as a mixture of the two narratives, sometimes paying close attention to an eastward transmission and sometimes ignoring it. At the same time, Buddhism in the West is sometimes very conservative, representing what might be called a countercurrent (*gyakuryū* 逆流) that goes against prevailing tendencies towards liberalization. Occasionally, European and American developments influence Asian Buddhism.

The Eastern Transmission of Precepts and Ordinations

Let us begin by examining several early accounts of how the Chinese sought texts and transmissions related to the precepts from the west, namely India

and Central Asia. Since several good studies on the early history of the introduction of the precepts to China exist, I will not delve into this topic in much detail, but only demonstrate that early Chinese monks looked back to India and Central Asia for guidance on how to behave as monks.¹ After Buddhism had been in China for several centuries without a good translation of the precepts, Chinese monks began to question their understanding and practice of it. Dao'an 道安 (312–385) was perhaps one of the first Chinese monastics to acutely feel the need for a full *vinaya* in Chinese, probably because he had studied under Fotudeng 仏圖澄 (d. 348), who was from Kucha and had studied in Kashmir. Dao'an composed his own set of rules while waiting for more authoritative instructions that would have been found in the *vinaya*, paying particular attention to the fortnightly assembly. In an introduction to the *prātimokṣa* for monks, he wrote:

In foreign countries, the *vinaya* is valued; in every monastery, there are those who maintain the precepts. They lead in the recitation of the precepts each month. On the day when the precepts are to be recited, from evening to dawn, they earnestly speak of the teaching and practice. If a rule has been violated, they censure [the person], just like hawks and falcons chase off smaller birds. It has not been long since the great teaching was *transmitted to the east*. My teachers began ordinations in the Qin. As for translators of the *prātimokṣa*, there have been few who could collate their works. Although we intended to continue what earlier teachers had transmitted, when Fotudeng came, much had to be corrected. Earlier, when I was in Ye 鄴, I studied some of this but did not reach the stage where I could fully investigate the precepts.²

The *prātimokṣa* was a list of precepts suitable for quick recitation at the fortnightly assembly, but hardly clear enough to offer an analysis of the content and interpretation of the precepts. In a letter, Dao'an wrote:

Five hundred rules are said to exist, but for some reason they have not come to us. This is vital. If the rules for the four groups [monks, nuns, male and female lay devotees] are not complete, serious mistakes in the teaching will ensue. . . . The precepts are

¹ In English, see Funayama 2004 and Heirman 2008. In Japanese, see Ōchō 1993.

² *Chu sanzang jiji* 出三藏記集, T no. 2145, 55: 80a25–b2; Nakajima 1997, p. 340. Italics added for emphasis.

the foundation of practice. . . . I fervently wish for this text *from the west*. Without it, how will Buddhism survive?³

That Fotudeng was calling Dao'an's attention to the inadequacies of Chinese monastic practices at that time is significant because he thereby indicated that simply copying the actions of the foreign monks who had made their way to China did not provide an adequate foundation for Buddhist practice; accurate translations of the *vinaya* were needed. Dao'an's accomplishments in terms of monastic discipline include training Huiyuan 慧遠 (334–416), who would become famous for his pure conduct and for pushing for the invitation of Kumārajīva, who would translate the first full *vinaya* into Chinese, to Chang'an 長安.

Precepts and ordinations for nuns presented even more difficult problems for Chinese Buddhists. The reasons for this are similar to those that have made instituting full ordinations for nuns difficult in Theravada and Tibetan areas today. While monks could depend on groups of monks from the west to serve as role models and to guarantee the authenticity of their ordinations, the dearth of nuns who came from the west to China made this difficult, as the following account from an early text to be read on ordination platforms made evident:

In this land, we have no texts concerning full ordinations for nuns, but texts for monks have long existed. [However,] in Wu 吳, the five hundred precepts for nuns were present.⁴ After going around and searching for the precepts, we found that they did not seem like anything produced by a sage. Fatai 法太 [320–387] and Daolin 道林 [also known as Zhi Dun 支遁, 314–366] vociferously corrected them. Fatai in the past had asked a foreigner to translate them, but the result was short and inadequate. Huichang 慧常 [c. fourth century] had managed to obtain a one-fascicle version of the five hundred precepts in Liangzhou 涼州 [in modern Gansu], but the contents were repetitive and shallow, merely something composed by an ordinary person. Finally, Sengchun 僧純 [n.d.] and Tanchong 曇充 [n.d.] came from Juyi 拘夷 [Kucha], where they obtained a nuns' *prātimokṣa* and instructions for nuns' ordinations from Fotushemi 仏囡舌弥 [n.d.] of Yunmulan 雲慕藍 monastery. . . .

³ Nakajima 1997, pp. 175–76; Zürcher (1972, p. 197) considers this letter, which is treated as author unknown in the *Chu sanzang jiji*, to be by Dao'an. Italics added for emphasis.

⁴ The text being referred to is not known (Nakajima 1997, p. 256, n. 3).

We had Fotubei 仏図卑 [n.d.] translate (*yi* 訳) it and Tanmoshi 曇摩侍 [c. fourth century] transmit (*zhuan* 伝) it.⁵ We knew that this certainly had been composed by the Tathāgata. However, the number of precepts did not total five hundred. Moreover, the number of precepts for monks was 260. When we considered it according to reason, we realized that 250 [as the number of precepts for monks] and five hundred [as the number for nuns] must be approximations. As for full ordinations for nuns, we have little literature, so we use the ordinations for monks and have translated the portions that differ. The eight *pārājika* do not differ, so it should be sufficient to rely on the monks' rules and we can also abbreviate the seventeen rules requiring suspension.⁶

Among the noteworthy aspects of this account are the repeated efforts to find suitable precepts for nuns and the rejection of some compilations as being unworthy. Finally, an acceptable set was found by going west to Kucha. The search for a reliable source that could be traced back to the Buddha motivated many of their efforts. At the same time, the lack of knowledge of basic aspects of Buddhist practices—such as whether the 250 and five hundred as the numbers of precepts for monastics should be taken literally or not—indicates how rudimentary their knowledge of Buddhism was. Violation of the *pārājika* results in lifelong expulsion from the order; traditionally there are four for monks and eight for nuns. The confusion over the number of these rules reflects the elementary level of understanding of the *vinaya* at this time. The claim that the differences between the major rules followed by monks and nuns were minor also indicates the rudimentary knowledge within the order at this stage of transmission.

A collection of early biographies of Chinese nuns begins with the biography of Jingjian 淨檢 (c. 292–361), who asks a Buddhist master what *bhikṣus* and *bhikṣunīs* are. He states that the rules for the two groups are similar, but without a text delineating them, the master refuses to ordain her. Moreover, without an established order of nuns, ordination is impossible. Even so, Jingjian managed to be ordained by an order of monks, a ritual that was purportedly accompanied by remarkable fragrances, an auspicious sign of its legitimacy. Such ordinations were said to be based on the example of

⁵ The exact meaning of their responsibilities is not clear (Nakajima 1972, p. 256, n. 10).

⁶ Nakajima 1997, p. 352. Some of the various monks mentioned here are discussed in Zürcher 1972, with Fatai and Daolin receiving considerable attention. What little is known of Huichang is mentioned on p. 392, n. 82.

Mahāprajāpatī, the Buddha's stepmother, who became the first nun even though no order of nuns existed. The situation of female monastics that began with Jingjian's questionable ordination was finally remedied through the intercession of Guṇavarman (367–431) and Saṅghavarman (n.d.) when the requisite number of nuns from Sri Lanka had been assembled. The care with which these events are described and the manner in which the monks and nuns navigate the intricacies of the requirements of the *vinaya* indicate the importance of the correct transmission from the west. At the same time, the supernatural events that accompany Jingjian's ordination suggest a longing for a way to transcend the literal requirements of the *vinaya* and call into question the requirement for an unbroken lineage from the west, a topic that is considered in the next part of this paper.⁷

The eastward transmission of Buddhism is mentioned in the *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 (Biographies of Eminent Monks) in the discussion of monks who explained the *vinaya*:

Since the great teachings of Buddhism were *transmitted to the east*, five schools were brought. First, Puṇyatāra, who could orally recite the Sanskrit text of the *Vinaya in Ten Recitations* [*Shisonglü* 十誦律, T no. 1435], [worked together with] Kumārajīva [344–413] to translate the text into Chinese. But Puṇyatāra died before the translation was finished. Later, Dharmaruci [fl. 405] recited the rest in Sanskrit and Kumārajīva translated it.⁸

Several aspects of this account are noteworthy. First, the reference to the eastward transmission of Buddhism only appears in one other passage in the *Gaoseng zhuan* in relation to the *vinaya* (T 50: 401b13). Further, Kumārajīva was sometimes criticized for being too free in his translations, but the care that he put into this work is striking, particularly his postponing its completion until he could find someone to consult about the last passages. Kumārajīva's careful attitude regarding this text contrasts with the criticisms leveled at him for making light of the *vinaya* by violating restrictions on sexual activity. The mention of his informants reciting the Sanskrit text of the full *vinaya* indicates the importance that some monks placed on the work. The bodhisattva precepts are discussed in more detail below, but here

⁷ *Biqinzhuan* 比丘尼傳, T no. 2063, 50: 934c2–935a5; Tsai 1994, pp. 17–19; Stache-Rosen 1973. The legal background of the ordination is discussed by Heirman 2001.

⁸ *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 403b13–15; Huijiao 2010, vol. 4, p. 161. Italics added for emphasis.

we should note that Kumārajīva is said to have translated the *Fanwang jing* 梵網經 (Brahma's Net Sutra) which includes the phrase “*The pure wind blew east.*”⁹

In 399, before Kumārajīva's translation, Faxian 法顯 (c. 340–420) and three other monks departed from China to travel to India to bring back a *vinaya*. Although the exact date of Faxian's birth is not known, he was approximately sixty years old when he left China. He alone returned to China in 414, bringing back two *vinayas*, and translated the *Mahāsāṅghika-vinaya* (*Mohe sengqi lu* 摩訶僧祇律, T no. 1425) with Buddhahadra (359–429). The other, the *Mahīśāsaka-vinaya*, was translated in 522 and 523 after Faxian's death as the *Wufenlü* 五分律 (T no. 1421). Faxian's heroic journey is related in his travel diary, the *Foguoji* 仏国記 (Record of Buddhist Countries). Faxian's journey served as a model for other journeys, including that of Yijing 義淨 (635–713), who travelled India to obtain the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya*. Yijing's travel diary and discussion of monastic practice was titled *Nanghai jigui neifa zhuan* 南海寄歸內法傳 (Record of Buddhist Practices Sent Home from the Southern Sea). Although the title reads “southern sea,” it includes Southeast Asia and India and thus fits the narrative of an eastern transmission.

Other famous examples of heroic journeys to transmit the *vinaya* could be cited, such as the efforts of Jianzhen 鑑真 (688–763, Jp. Ganjin) to bring orthodox ordinations to Japan. Even the title of his earliest biography, *Tō daiwajō tōsei den* 唐大和上東征傳 (Record of the Chinese Preceptor's Journey to the East), reflects the eastward transmission of Buddhism. When Yōei 榮叡 (n.d.–749?) and Fushō 普照 (fl. 733–753) invited him to Japan, they phrased their request as follows:

*The teachings of the Buddha have flowed east and reached Japan. But although the teachings are there, nobody has [properly] transmitted them. Long ago in Japan, there was Prince Shōtoku 聖德 [574?–622] who said that after two hundred years, the sacred teachings would prosper in Japan. Now that time has arrived. We ask the Great Preceptor to journey east and teach to make them flourish.*¹⁰

The text continues with the claim that Huisi 慧思 (515–577), a patriarch of the Tiantai 天台 tradition, had promised to be reborn in Japan, where he appeared as Prince Shōtoku. Thus the eastward transmission of Buddhism

⁹ *Fanwang jing*, T no. 1484, 24: 997a8, 27; *Chu sanzang jiji*, T 55: 79c1; Nakajima 1997, p. 334. Italics added for emphasis.

¹⁰ *Tō daiwajō tōsei den*, T no. 2089, 51: 988b14–17. Italics added for emphasis.

was accompanied by miraculous predictions, which paved the way for the open acceptance and support that Saichō 最澄 (767–822) and Kūkai 空海 (774–835) received in China.

Ganjin finally arrived in Japan in 750, after five failed attempts and having lost his eyesight in the process. The invitation to Ganjin and the history of his ordination tradition are an important component of the story of the transmission from India to the east. Ganjin's disciple Buan 豐安 (n.d.–840) wrote the *Kairitsu denrai ki* 戒律傳來記 (Record of the Transmission of the Precepts), compiled in 830 by imperial command; it was divided into four parts: the transmission (of the twenty “Hinayana” schools) in India, the transmission of the precepts to China by worldlings and sages, the transmission to Japan from Kudara 百濟 (Korea), and the transmission to Japan from China.¹¹ As was often the case, the lineages were constructed centuries afterwards. Thus Buan lines up several accounts of the rise of Buddhist schools in India to act as *vinaya* lineages. A valid lineage could be used to call other lineages into question. Support of Ganjin's lineage gave the court the tools they needed to control ordinations, at least for a time. Similar arguments could be made for other aspects of Buddhism, such as esoteric Buddhist rituals, that relied on lineages for their authority.

During the Kamakura period, travels to China and the transmission of valid rules eastward to Japan again became important. Eisai 榮西 (1141–1215) strove to revive Buddhism in Japan, traveling to China twice; in addition, he wanted to go to India to visit the eight pilgrimage sites associated with the historical Buddha. A major part of his agenda was re-introducing the combination of *vinaya* and bodhisattva precept ordinations used in China. In an afterword to his *Kōzen gokoku ron* 興禪護國論 (Treatise on the Rise of Zen and the Protection of the State), Eisai noted that the Chan master Fohai 仏海 (1103–1176) predicted that Zen would flourish in the east in Japan twenty years after his death. Eisai writes that he had fulfilled this prediction.¹² Other figures such as Shunjō 俊苜 (1166–1227) and Dōgen 道元 (1200–1253) could be mentioned as part of this movement to bring either the precepts or monastic rules eastward to Japan.¹³

The emphasis on transmission from the west is also reflected in the voluminous writings of Gyōnen 凝然 (1240–1321), a famous historian and scholar of *vinaya* and Kegon 華嚴. His book, the *Sangoku buppō dentsū engi*

¹¹ *Kairitsu denrai ki*, T no. 2347, 74: 1b8–9. Only the first of three fascicles of this work survives.

¹² *Kōzen gokoku ron*, T no. 2543, 80: 17a–b; Ichikawa 1972, pp. 96–97.

¹³ For further analysis, see Ōtsuka 2009.

三国仏法伝通縁起 (An Account of the Transmission of Buddhism through the Three Countries), sometimes called the first comprehensive history of Buddhism,¹⁴ puts the emphasis on the eastward transmission through India, China, and Japan. Gyōnen carefully traces such issues as improper ordination procedures, the translation of *prātimokṣa* and complete *vinayas*, and the ascendancy of the interpretation of the *Sifenlü* 四分律 (Four-part Vinaya) set forth by Daoxuan 道宣 (596–667). The combination of interest in the transmission of the *vinaya* and ordinations is also found in Daoxuan, the author of such works as the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧伝 (Continuation of the Biographies of Eminent Monks). Gyōnen’s careful work reveals a number of issues concerning the eastward transmission of Buddhism. The role of Korea, which was well known to the Japanese, is ignored, as is the role of Central Asia in Buddhism’s expansion into China. Gyōnen is critical of Saichō and his view of the precepts, a historical development that calls many aspects of the paradigm of eastward transmission into question, as we shall see below.

Waterspouts and Springs: Japanese Tendai

In contrast to the emphasis on unbroken transmissions from India and the manner in which teachings were tied to specific places from which specific teachers would transmit them, the advent of Mahayana brought claims that at least some teachings were virtually eternal and independent of any person or place. The forerunners of such claims can be found in the “Hinayana” schools; the Mahāsāṅghikas were said to argue that the Buddha spoke with a single sound, but that sentient beings heard it in ways that depended on their faculties.¹⁵ In Mahayana, for example, the *Lotus Sutra*’s claim that Śākyamuni preached on Vulture Peak for eons as portrayed in chapter 15, “The Emergence from the Earth,” points to a transmission that transcends time and place. In terms of the precepts, the *Fanwang jing* was said to be a part of a much larger work that had not yet been completely translated. Thus texts that existed in a noumenal sense might be available to those with the spiritual facilities to access them, perhaps through meditation.¹⁶ Along with several other works discussed below, the *Fanwang jing* was actually an apocryphal or indigenous text, that is, one written in China, but said to have been composed in India on the basis of teachings by Vairocana Buddha.

¹⁴ Matsumoto 2001, p. 109.

¹⁵ *Yibu zonglun lun* 異部宗輪論, T no. 2031, 49: 15b28; Mochizuki 1958–63, vol. 1, p. 28a.

¹⁶ Stevenson, forthcoming.

Thus the model of an eastward transmission still applied, but in fact, many of the teachings originated in China. At times, an “eastward transmission” no longer seemed to apply, as some argued that transcendental texts could be directly accessed through inspiration or meditation.

The bodhisattva precepts were sometimes said to be transcendent, quite different from the origins of the more specific precepts of the *vinaya*, which were said to have been based on specific incidents during the Buddha’s life. For example, the Mahayana category of the three collections of pure precepts (*sanju jōkai* 三聚淨戒)—precepts preventing evil, encompassing good, and benefiting sentient beings—were associated with the three bodies of the Buddha and the four bodhisattva vows. Each of the collections was said to embody the other two.¹⁷ When the bodhisattva precepts were said to be eternal, they could be identified with such concepts as Buddha-nature. According to the *Fanwang jing*,

Then from the celestial sovereign’s palace (Tennōgū 天王宮), he descended to beneath the Bodhi tree in Jambudvīpa. For all the sentient beings on earth, including the worldlings and ignorant, our primordial Vairocana of the mind-ground, from the very first arousal of the mind of enlightenment, has always preached the singular precepts (*ikkai* 一戒), the bright and adamant precepts. These are the origins of the buddhas and bodhisattvas, the seeds of Buddha-nature. All sentient beings have Buddha-nature. In all the consciousnesses, forms, minds, and feelings, the Buddha-nature precepts enter. Each [being] always has the cause [of Buddhahood] and thus each is the eternally abiding body of the Dharma. In this way, the ten [precept] *prātimokṣa* appears in the world. These precepts should be received and maintained by all beings in the three time periods. . . . They are the basis of the precepts of all sentient beings and are inherently pure.¹⁸

The *Fanwang* precepts had an essence that was omnipresent, that could be accessed by Buddhist devotees anywhere and anytime. One might recover from the violations of major bodhisattva precepts through confession and the receipt of a sign from the Buddha. But even if one did not receive a sign, one might go before a properly ordained teacher and be reordained.¹⁹ This was

¹⁷ Ishida 1953, pp. 392–93.

¹⁸ T 24: 1003c19–28.

¹⁹ T 24: 1008c18–19.

strengthened by provisions in the closely related *Yingluo jing* 瓔珞經 that claimed that the precepts might be violated, but could never be lost.²⁰

The *Fanwang jing* ordinations favored by Japanese Tendai monasteries were usually based on a manual by Zhanran 湛然 (711–782), the sixth patriarch of Chinese Tiantai, that had been edited and augmented by Saichō. This manual reflects the tension between transmissions that had come from the historical Śākyamuni and those that transcended time and space. The manual itself included sections that were based on the traditional ordinations from the *vinaya*, such as questions about issues that would prevent someone from joining the order and an explanation of the major precepts after they had been granted. At the same time, it included elements from Mahayana texts that reflected the idea that ordination transcended space and time. Śākyamuni, Mañjuśrī, and Maitreya were invited to serve as preceptor, master of ceremonies, and teacher respectively. All the Tathāgatas were to serve as witnesses and all bodhisattvas to serve as one's fellow practitioners.²¹ This formula was based on the closing sutra (*kekkyō* 結經) for the *Lotus Sutra*, the *Guan Puxian jing* 觀普賢經 (Visualization of Samantabhadra Sutra), which described an ordination that was based on confession.²² Finally, a section of the manual was concerned with the supernatural signs associated with self-ordinations.

The lineage for these ordinations was said to have originated from Huisi and Zhiyi 智顛 (538–597) having listened to Śākyamuni's eternal preaching of the *Lotus Sutra* on Vulture Peak long ago.²³ When Huisi mentioned this event to Zhiyi, he probably intended it to mean that karmic connections had brought Zhiyi to meet him. However, Saichō's reading of the passage in Zhiyi's biography was more literal and indicated that many Tendai lineages had transhistorical origins. The connection with the precepts might have originated from the next sentence in which Huisi told Zhiyi about the "practices of ease and bliss" (*anrakugyō* 安樂行), a section of the *Lotus Sutra* that was the subject of a treatise by Huisi. Saichō interpreted the passage more literally and claimed that his bodhisattva precept ordination lineage came directly from Śākyamuni to Huisi and Zhiyi and then through a short lineage of Chi-

²⁰ T no. 1485, 24: 1021b2–8. For a discussion of Tendai debates on this issue, see Groner 2007.

²¹ *Shou pusajie yi* 授菩薩戒儀, X no. 1086, 59: 354c15–21.

²² T no. 277, 9: 393c22–25.

²³ *Eizan daishiden* 叡山大師伝, *Dengyō daishi zenshū* 伝教大師全集 (hereafter, DZ) additional volume 5: 33; *Naishō buppō sōjō kechimyakufu* 内証仏法相承血脉譜, DZ 1: 233–34; *Sui Tiantai Zhizhe dashi biezhuān* 隋天台智者大師別伝, T no. 2050, 50: 191c21–23.

nese masters. Tendai lineages were thus often a mix of teachings received directly from the Buddha that were then passed on through a historical lineage of monks.

The possibility of receipt of precepts directly from the buddhas and bodhisattvas was potentially dangerous because it might undermine institutional control by allowing people to establish new orders and define the precepts in whatever way they wished. In fact, some texts hinted at this; note for example the following passage from a text on the Kurodani 黒谷 lineage's "consecrated ordination" (*kai kanjō* 戒灌頂), a Tendai ordination given to advanced practitioners that recognized them as buddhas:

You should follow this. If you can purify your mind, then all good will be uncreated (*musa* 無作). How much more so evil? One is freed without depending on others. Thus it is called "natural." There are no phenomena that are defiled, thus it is called "pure." . . . You have appeared in the world only for the great purpose [of saving sentient beings]. Various paths are preached for the one Buddha vehicle. Teachings are established in accord with people's religious faculties. When one knows the illness, one can administer the medicine. *If a precept that has not been formulated by a previous Buddha is needed, then one should formulate it. If a practice [is needed] that has not been used by previous buddhas, then one should enact it.*²⁴

The potential danger in such ordinations was dealt with by combining them with unbroken historical transmissions. The standard ordination used in Tendai made a distinction that helped maintain the authority of institutions by noting that although the Buddha and bodhisattvas conferred (*ju* 授) the precepts, the teacher (*denkaishi* 伝戒師) who conducted the ordination and transmitted them was an actual, visible (*genzen* 現前) person.²⁵ Because worldlings could not perceive Mañjuśrī's recitations for the ordination and the conferral of the precepts, in Mañjuśrī's stead, the teacher who was visible recited the passages for ordination. In early Jōdoshū manuals (and medieval Tendai manuals), sentient beings are said to be unable to see

²⁴ *Kaikan denju shidai* 戒灌伝授次第, Tendai Shūten Hensanjo 1989, p. 24a. Italics added for emphasis.

²⁵ Terms similar to this, such as "people who transmit the precepts" (*denkaijin* 伝戒人), were used to describe the Chinese monks invited to come to Japan to perform orthodox ordinations by Yōei and Fushō. The term "teacher transmitting the precepts" (*denkaishi*) appears in the *Xindi guan jing* 心地觀經 (T no. 159, 3: 304b15) but does not seem to have been widely used in China. Uses of the term increased once Saichō introduced it.

buddhas and bodhisattvas who are called on, but those figures are said to be present through their superhuman powers.²⁶ The scholar and administrator Ninkū 仁空 (1309–1388) takes a nuanced view of the materiality of the buddhas and bodhisattvas involved in the ceremony, emphasizing the difference between “conferring” the precepts by the Buddha and bodhisattvas and “transmitting” them by the visible teacher. Although the buddhas and bodhisattvas do not appear, they are clearly present for him.²⁷ In some manuals, an image of Mañjuśrī is placed on the ordination platform while the “visible” teacher was on the side of the platform and spoke the words in place of Mañjuśrī. Thus, Tendai leaders preferred using a lineage that was based on teachers over resorting to a self-ordination in which one received a sign from the Buddha that he had received the precepts. In fact, purely self-ordinations were only for use when a qualified teacher could not be found within a thousand *ri* 里.²⁸ The role of the teacher transmitting the precepts was often filled by the head of the Tendai School, indicating the importance of controlling the order even though the precepts were conferred by the buddhas and bodhisattvas.

Annen 安然 (841–n.d.), author of the *Futsū ju bosatsukai kōshaku* 普通授菩薩戒広釈 (Extensive Commentary on the Universal Bodhisattva Precept Ordination), helps clarify the difference between the interpretations of the precepts with the following categorization:

There are three types of precepts: (1) precepts that are transmitted, namely those that are received from a teacher . . . ; (2) precepts that are called forth (*hottokukai* 発得戒) through the ceremony of announcing the proposal and voting on it three times; (3) precepts obtained because they inherently exist (*shōtokukai* 性得戒), the inherent precepts based on Suchness. Both worldlings and sages have these. These are the four indestructible objects of faith (*shifueshin* 四不壞信) [that is, the three refuges and the precepts].²⁹

This allowed for both ordinations based on unbroken lineages and those based on precepts that were present in the very nature of reality.

²⁶ *Ju bosatsukai gisoku* 授菩薩戒儀則 (*Kurodani kohon* 黒谷古本), *Jōdoshū zensho zoku* 浄土宗全書続 (Kyoto: Sankibō Busshorin, 1972), vol. 12, p. 2.

²⁷ *Endonkaigi hi kikigaki* 円頓戒儀秘聞書, Seizan Zenshū Kankōkai 1975, pp. 609–10.

²⁸ *Sange gakushō shiki* 山家学生式, DZ 1: 18. The *Yingluo jing* places self-ordinations in a position below that of ordinations from qualified teachers (T 24: 1020c4–13).

²⁹ T no. 2381, 74: 767a16–19.

The precepts conferred in Tendai ordinations were usually said to be the three collections of pure precepts. This vague set of rubrics could be matched with other sets of precepts. The differences in the definition of the precepts preventing evil were particularly important. According to texts in the *Yogācārabhūmi* lineage, these were matched up with the precepts in the *vinaya*. Thus a person might uphold the two hundred fifty precepts for a fully ordained monk as the precepts preventing evil and sets of bodhisattva precepts for those encompassing good.³⁰ The precepts benefiting sentient beings were matched up with various acts of social welfare, such as building bridges.

A different interpretation of the three collections of pure precepts was found in the *Yingluo jing*, an apocryphal text closely associated with the *Fanwang jing*, which excluded the precepts from the *vinaya*.³¹ Instead, the precepts preventing evil were identified with ten *pārājika*, a vague formula that Tendai monks usually identified with the ten major precepts of the *Fanwang jing*. The precepts encompassing good were identified with the eighty four thousand teachings, though specific contents were not mentioned. The precepts benefiting sentient beings were equated with the four unlimited minds (friendliness, compassion, joy, and equanimity).³² In addition, the *Yingluo jing* included statements that the precepts could be conferred by virtually anyone, including husbands and wives. A person who received the precepts and then broke them was said to be superior to one who had not received them but abided by them anyway; a person who received the precepts was at the very least a Buddhist. The bodhisattva precepts did not cease upon death, but lasted from lifetime to lifetime. One could receive them, but could not discard them (*shakai* 捨戒). One might violate them, but could never lose them.³³ Such statements served as the focus of medieval Tendai debates over the nature of bodhisattva precepts and the ordinations conferring them. Although such formulations could easily be interpreted as obviating an emphasis on transmissions to the east, claims of such transmissions did not necessarily disappear. In a debate text, Ninkū argues for an unbroken transmission of the bodhisattva precepts from the Buddha to bodhisattvas and to monks from Kumārajīva to the present. This differed from traditional Tendai views that suggested that the lineage had been broken in India with the death of Śiṃha.³⁴

³⁰ T no. 1579, 30: 710c29–31.

³¹ T 24: 1020b–c.

³² T 24: 1020b29–c2.

³³ T 24: 1021b.

³⁴ *Kaijushō* 戒珠抄, Tendai Shūten Hensanjo 2006, p. 283b.

The allure of transhistorical transmissions of the precepts was not limited to the Tendai School, as is illustrated in the account of the self-ordination of Eison 叡尊 (1201–1290), Kakujō 覺盛 (1194–1249), and two other monks. These monks went to Tōdaiji in 1236 to perform a self-ordination in which they received the three collections of pure precepts, which in accordance with their reading of Yogācāra texts included the precepts of the *vinaya*. Their efforts to reestablish a valid ordination lineage were supported by their reading of a number of texts, including the apocryphal *Zhancha jing* 占察經 (Scripture of Divining [the Requital of Good and Evil Actions]). In 1245, Kakujō and Eison returned to the practice of separate ordinations (*betsuju* 別受), in which distinct rituals were used for each stage of a Buddhist's practice. This marked the reappearance of the traditional emphasis on a lineage of properly ordained masters. Even so, because their lineage originated with a self-ordination, they would continue to defend it against criticisms.³⁵

Other examples could be cited. Shunjō, who advocated the Tendai use of *Sifenlü* ordinations in accordance with Chinese practices, returned with an insufficient number of monks to perform orthodox ordinations. As a result, he relied on the authority of the *Zhancha jing*, but then reverted to an emphasis on the historical lineage of monks.³⁶

Although these monks used self-ordinations to bolster a conservative view of the precepts that revived the emphasis on lineages, the attraction of a direct transmission from the buddhas and bodhisattvas was so great that it was virtually impossible to resist. Recent research on the history of the Risshū by Ōtani Yuka has traced changes from Risshū monks belonging to Kōfukuji 興福寺 to that of monks from Tōdaiji 東大寺 following Gyōnen. Gyōnen's interpretation stressed Kegon connections to Risshū by arguing that the Huayan patriarch Fazang 法藏 (643–712) was one of Ganjin's teachers. Although this claim may be based on an early biography by Ganjin's disciple Situo 思託 (n.d.) that is no longer extant, little evidence that the monk Fazang mentioned in that early source referred to the Huayan patriarch has emerged.³⁷ Gyōnen then argued that the essence of the precepts (*kaitai* 戒体) is based on Buddha-nature and Suchness. This was a significant departure from the

³⁵ Groner 2005, pp. 218–20.

³⁶ A discussion of the lineages of both Eison and Shunjō and their dependence on the *Zhancha jing* is found in the *Tetteishō* 徹底章 (Suzuki Gakujutsu Zaidan 1973–78, 69: 245–51). The discussion notes that some considered the *Zhancha jing* to be apocryphal, but defends its authenticity.

³⁷ Chen 2007, pp. 159–62; Tokuda 1969, p. 549.

Kōfukuji Risshū discussions over whether the essence of the precepts might lie in unmanifested matter (*muhyōshiki* 無表色), volition (*shi* 思), or seeds (*shūji* 種子). Ordinations thus became a way of calling forth Buddha-nature, a position close to Tendai claims. Two generations later, Seisan 清算 (1288–1362), a Risshū monk, would go further, using the *Lotus Sutra* to discuss the precepts and identifying ordinations with the realization of Buddhahood in this very body (*sokushin jōbutsu* 即身成佛), positions that are also very close to those within Tendai.

Transmissions in North America

How would the models of an unbroken eastward transmission and a transhistorical narrative of Buddhism apply to Buddhists in the West? Modern transportation has made the rapid propagation of Buddhism possible, meaning that a transmission from the west to the east has lost much of its meaning; transmissions come from various directions as they mingle in ways that have never occurred before. For example, Western women have been active in advocating that women in Theravada and Tibetan communities be fully ordained as nuns. In a sense, one might call this a “countercurrent” to the eastern transmission of Buddhism, a transmission of values and interpretations from the west to the east.

Even so, the attractiveness of following traditional Buddhist practices is still strong. Several cases of emphasizing unbroken transmissions from Asia that result in conservative movements can be cited. The City of Ten Thousand Buddhas in California (part of the Dharma Realm Buddhist Association) is a Chinese order founded by Xuanhua 宣化 (1918–1995), who conducted a number of full ordinations of both Asian and Western practitioners. Classes in the *vinaya* and bodhisattva precepts were a routine part of his training program, which exemplifies a conservative attitude towards ordination and the precepts, including celibacy, eating only one meal each day, always wearing the robe, and not going out to perform rituals for the laity.

Thanissaro’s (also known as Ajaan Geoff) Dhamma Metta Forest Monastery in San Diego County serves as an example of a group that both closely adheres to Asian models, but makes an attempt to explain precepts and ordinations in a manner that modern Westerners will understand. Thanissaro was born as Geoffrey DeGraff in the United States in 1949; he practiced in the Dhammayut Order in Thailand and was eventually offered the opportunity to be an abbot there, but returned to the United States to take over a monastery. His disciples, mostly Westerners, go out for begging rounds in

the morning and live an austere life. Among his contributions is a detailed explanation of the *vinaya* so that Westerners can gain a better understanding of the precepts and the rationale behind them.³⁸ No set period before ordination is required to determine whether a candidate is sincere; monks are permitted to disrobe if they no longer wish to be a monastic. No provision is made for the ordination of nuns in his order because much of the Theravada tradition does not have a valid ordination lineage; in fact, he criticized a recent attempt to revive the Theravada order of nuns.³⁹

One of the most interesting adaptations to Buddhism in the West, a change that might have been difficult to carry out in a traditional Buddhist country, is the Vietnamese monk Thích Nhất Hạnh's reformulation of the *vinaya* and *prātimokṣa* for monks and nuns. In order to maintain continuity with the traditional practices, he requires monastics to be familiar with both the traditional and reform documents. The number of precepts for monks and nuns were the same—250 for monks and 348 for nuns. The *pārājika* offenses that entailed expulsion did not change much, but the lesser ones did. Although celibacy was still maintained, masturbation was no longer an offense entailing suspension, but one simply entailing confession.⁴⁰ Offenses entailing confession and forfeiture include possession of marijuana and other intoxicants, DVDs, video games, and worldly novels; unauthorized possession of e-mail accounts and bank accounts; and investment in stocks and playing the lottery.⁴¹

In Thích Nhất Hạnh's tradition, becoming a monk or nun is considered to be a life-long decision, and the candidate must go through a period of postulancy and apply to become a monk or nun directly to the order before being accepted for full ordination.⁴² These aspects seem to reflect Western attitudes about adopting a religious vocation. To some extent, the application procedure may be a response to the manner in which Westerners “shop around” for their religion, but it may also be a way to update traditional patterns in which a person might try out monastic life by receiving the eight lay precepts for a period of time or be initiated as a novice. These attitudes towards preparing to be a monastic and the

³⁸ Thanissaro 2013a, 2013b.

³⁹ Thanissaro 2009. Other Buddhist masters have criticized his position.

⁴⁰ Nhất Hạnh 2004, p. 48.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 42–43.

⁴² “Becoming a Monastic.” Plum Village Mindfulness Practice Center. Accessed 1 September 2014. <http://plumvillage.org/about/becoming-a-monastic/>.

possibility of rejecting the precepts are strikingly different from those found in Thanissaro's order, which adhere more closely to traditional Theravada attitudes. In Thích Nhất Hạnh's group, as in Vietnam, both men and women may receive full ordination.

In short, the *vinaya* has been modernized in response to contemporary problems and views of issues such as sexuality, resulting in a robust guide for monastic life that augments the traditional *vinaya*. When asked to defend the editing of the *vinaya*, Thích Nhất Hạnh's group replied:

There have been people who have asked us: Who are you to change the monastic codes made by the Buddha? The answer remains: We are children of the Buddha. We are his continuation, and we are practicing to carry out his wishes. . . . The purpose of the revised Pratimoksha is to protect the integrity of the monastics' practice and their freedom, so that the authentic path of liberation can continue the career of the Buddha and his Original Sangha of monks, nuns, laymen, and laywomen. . . . Without a deep root in the practice and teachings of the Buddha, embodied in the monastic Sangha, a cultural revolution or movement may sweep it away without leaving any trace behind. For Buddhism to remain a living tradition, the teaching and practice should remain relevant. The Pratimoksha should not be merely for academia or intellectual study. . . . We are certain that the Buddha counts on the insight, intelligence, and courage of his descendants to continue making the path of liberation accessible and open to our current generation. Therefore, revising the teaching and the practice is truly necessary.⁴³

Other examples of seemingly conservative traditions that stress the importance of transmissions from Asia can be seen in the Nichirenshū and Jōdo Shinshū traditions, though in these cases the emphasis is on a transmission from Japan, not India. In these traditions, the need to carefully control what ministers do and teach is important. The Shinshū training for *kyōshi* 教師—a term that literally means teacher, but which has come to be used for ministers in the Buddhist Churches of America—requires approximately three years, much of which can be completed in the United States, and is done in parallel with requirements at Nishi Honganji 西本願寺 in Japan. The training concludes with an intensive ten-day training period in Kyoto.⁴⁴

⁴³ Nhất Hạnh 2004, p. x.

⁴⁴ "Kyoshi Certificate Requirements." Institute of Buddhist Studies. Accessed 28 June 2013. <http://www.shin-ibs.edu/degrees/certificates/minister/requirements.php>; Thompson 2013, p. 5.

Nichirenshū has also been conservative in ordaining foreign ministers. Several years of training concludes with a forty-day training session, which sometimes includes *aragyō* 荒行 (rigorous ascetic practices, including dowsing oneself with cold water while chanting). The intensity with which both of these traditions corrected doctrinal deviations makes such training necessary.

These movements can be contrasted with a liberal tradition that recognizes the availability of Buddhism for anyone at any time, as exemplified by an initiation conducted by the Tree Leaf Sangha in 2012 over the internet in Japan, North America, and elsewhere. The community describes itself as follows: “Treeleaf Zendo is an online practice place for Zen practitioners who cannot easily commute to a Zen Center due to health concerns, living in remote areas, or childcare, work and family needs, and seeks to provide Zazen sittings, retreats, discussion, interaction with a teacher, and all other activities of a Soto Zen Buddhist Sangha.”⁴⁵ The sangha thus becomes universal for anyone who has access to the internet. Although the intentions of the founders are praiseworthy, it can be argued that the organization has gone far beyond traditional Buddhist patterns.

Most Western traditions are not so obvious about how they deal with the tension between the two basic narratives presented in this paper. The fullest historical account of Buddhism in America is Rick Field’s *How the Swans Came to the Lake*, a title that refers to a Tibetan legend about the transmission of Buddhism to other lands.⁴⁶ Terms such as “precepts,” “ordination,” and “*vinaya*” do not appear in the table of contents or index of the volume, probably because the transmission of orthodox ordinations and strict interpretations of the *vinaya* played a minor role in the early transmission of Buddhism to North America. This is clearly different from the transmission of Buddhism to China and Japan.

Much of Buddhism in the West has been focused on lay people and thus not subject to the strict guidelines of the *vinaya*, partly because most Western practitioners were reluctant to take on celibacy. At the same time, they could be assiduous about being vegetarian and engaging in Buddhist practices, particularly meditation. The rituals that were used by Asian orders were often rejected as cultural ephemera that did not deserve much attention, a stance that reflected the Protestant rejection of Catholic ritual. Although a number of Westerners have been ordained and lived as Buddhist monks and

⁴⁵ “Treeleaf Zendo, A Soto Zen Buddhist Sangha.” Treeleaf Zendo. Accessed 18 November 2013. <http://www.treeleaf.org/>. Videos of their ordinations are available on YouTube.

⁴⁶ Fields 1992.

nuns, much of this has been done in Asian countries. Even monastic orders such as the City of Ten Thousand Buddhas and the group led by Thanissaro mentioned above have attracted only small numbers of Westerners. Western interest in monastic Buddhism has been frequently directed at the establishment of orthodox ordinations for Tibetan and Southeast Asian nuns more than towards the establishment of monastic Buddhism in the West.

The structures of Western Zen groups reflect the ambiguities of their attitudes towards Asian monasticism, as well as their ambivalence about Asian traditions. In a sense, this can be seen as a reflection of the mixture of seeking Buddhist truths as transcendent and valuing unbroken lineages. Western Zen teachers frequently wear robes and sometimes shave their heads, but are usually married. A variety of terms have been used to refer to advanced practitioners. For example, the Sravasti Abbey website, a Tibetan organization, mentions a number of people receiving the eight *anāgārika* (lay) precepts, some of them after waiting ten years to receive their teacher's permission.⁴⁷ In this case, the eight precepts are followed for a lengthy period of time. The Upaya Institute, a Zen institution in Santa Fe, New Mexico, uses a number of terms to designate its senior leaders: priest, rōshi, abbot, head teacher, Head Monk and Temple Coordinator, chaplain, and so forth. Similar lists can be found at various Zen centers. One of the best-documented sites is the San Francisco Zen Center, founded by Suzuki Shunryū 鈴木俊隆 (1904–1971). An early ordination of a practitioner as a monk, done because he was about to go to Japan to practice, was conducted in a bizarre fashion with Suzuki going into a room away from the candidate, chanting and ringing bells, then returning to the room and making a scissors motion with his fingers to symbolically cut the hair of the candidate. The candidate was confused by the ceremony, which was criticized in Japan. Later ceremonies conducted by Suzuki were more formal and public.⁴⁸ Suzuki was finding his way through his own questions about what ordination meant and what it might mean for Americans. In terms of the typology of emphasizing lineage or the immanent quality of Buddhism, Suzuki began with a freewheeling attitude and gradually moved towards more emphasis on tradition and lineage. This has been a pattern with many, but not all, Zen centers.

⁴⁷ “Ken Takes Anagarika Precepts.” Sravasti Abbey. Accessed 18 November 2013. <http://www.sravastiabbey.org/gallery/2011/sept11kensangarika.html>.

⁴⁸ Chadwick 1999, pp. 246, 270, 282.

Mount Baldy Zen Center in California takes ordination very seriously, requiring a person to be celibate for a year, but then permitting them to marry, an odd combination of rules.⁴⁹ Shasta Abbey in California, a Sōtō Zen institution, ordains both men and women as celibate “monks.” They must be free of any romantic or sexual relations, not have underage children, and try living as a lay practitioner at the Abbey before applying to be a postulant. Full ordination is conferred after a suitable period of time. The use of the term “postulant,” more frequently found in Christian contexts, is typical of the way in which Shasta Abbey has relied on a mix of both Buddhist and Christian sources. Other examples could be given, but they seem to have several themes in common. The role of the abbot or Zen master is paramount. In other words, ordination seems to depend on the spiritual leader more than on the order of practitioners. American Zen Buddhist practice conflates Dharma transmission with admission into an order,⁵⁰ an influence that may come from Japanese practices. It also reflects the complex connection between the historical and the transhistorical aspects of ordination.

In recent years, the requirements for entry have become stricter, a move that I have referred to as a countercurrent moving against the tendency to liberalize practice. The efforts of Thích Nhất Hạnh and Thanissaro to breathe new life into traditional monasticism might also be included in this description. Factors that have influenced this conservative move include reactions against the significant numbers of sexual transgressions that have occurred in Buddhist orders in the West. In addition, as members of orders have aged, they have become more interested in how rituals—both lay and monastic—should be conducted. Griffith Foulk’s recent translation of the Sōtō school’s liturgy and instructions for ritual performance (*Sōtōshū gyōji kihan* 曹洞宗行持軌範) into English may give American Zen practitioners more unity and help them understand their history, but its effect remains to be seen.⁵¹ So far, the Sōtō school headquarters in Tokyo has been reluctant to distribute Foulk’s translation widely.

How does the tension between the eastward transmission of Buddhism and the immanence of Buddhism in everything shed light on American Buddhism? For the most part, Western practitioners have not understood much about Buddhist history, have not been able to read the voluminous literature

⁴⁹ Bailey et al. 1996.

⁵⁰ Ford 2006.

⁵¹ Foulk 2010.

connected with their tradition, and have not known much about the institutions in Asia. As a result, they have relied on charismatic or spiritual leaders for instruction. Thus the idea of an unbroken lineage has not always been important in terms of practice, but it has been emphasized when dharma transmissions have been discussed and has given the leaders of these groups their authority. The lack of emphasis on an unbroken lineage in defining monastic discipline has led to a variety of interpretations of what it means to lead or enter a Buddhist order, with occasional influences going from the West back to Asia.

Conclusion

By focusing on a number of traditions concerning ordinations and precepts in various contexts, I have tried to describe some of the ways in which the ideals of unbroken lineages moving eastward have combined with ideals of the universality of Buddhist teachings that do not depend on an unbroken lineage. Much more could be written about these issues. The topic becomes important when the issue of reviving orders of nuns in Tibetan and Theravada societies is considered. Moreover, it is also vital when changes in monastic discipline are seriously discussed, a conversation that does not occur often enough. The development of groups in both medieval societies sheds light on the complex of transmission narratives found in contemporary Buddhism. Some will be pleased with these developments, seeing them as evidence of the ongoing vitality of Buddhism. Others will lament the decline of traditional forms of Buddhism. The tension between a conservative emphasis on an unbroken transmission from Asia and a more liberal view that Buddhist truths are omnipresent and can be changed to fit new societal demands is centuries old and will continue to influence the development of Buddhism.

ABBREVIATIONS

- DZ *Dengyō Daishi zenshū* 傳教大師全集. 5 vols. Ed. Hieizan Senshūin Fuzoku Eizan Gakuin 比叡山專修院附屬叡山学院. Tokyo: Sekai Seiten Kankō Kyōkai. 1975.
- T *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經. 85 vols. Ed. Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎 and Watanabe Kaigyoku 渡邊海旭. Tokyo: Taishō Issaikyō Kankōkai. 1924–34.
- X *Wanxuzangjing* 卍續藏經. Ed. Xinwenfeng Bianjibu 新文豐編審部. 150vols. Taipei: Xinwenfeng Chuban. 1983.

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