

*A Record of Seven Generations*  
Fragments of Bodhidharma, Huisi, Prince Shōtoku, and Jōjin

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“*A Record of Seven Generations*” (*Shichidaiki* 七代記) is an early biography of Prince Shōtoku 聖德太子 (574-622), apparently compiled in 771 and written in classical Chinese. It is a key document for the study of Shōtoku, who was not only an important figure in Japanese political and cultural history, but until recent times was also an object of great reverence. Although “Prince Worship” (*Taishi Shinkō* 太子信仰), as the cult came to be known, flourished for centuries, it has received relatively little attention in English-language scholarship, perhaps because it falls outside the familiar sects and their patriarchs that have tended to define the boundaries of research for specialists in Japanese religion.<sup>1</sup> Material relating to Shōtoku in *Nihon Shoki* shows evidence that he was already an object of reverence when it was compiled in 720, and *A Record of Seven Generations* demonstrates that the cult was well developed in the Nara period, since it adds fantastic stories that became important elements of Prince Worship to material from *Nihon Shoki*, most (but not all) of which is either historical or least plausible. Although these stories are not literally believable, they shed light on early Japanese beliefs and relations with China, revealing that in the Nara period Japanese were already interested in aspects of Chinese Buddhism—its Tiantai (Tendai 天台) and Chan (Zen 禪) traditions that are usually associated with later ages in Japanese history. The “seven generations” in the title are a series of seven reincarnations, beginning in China’s Jin 晉 Dynasty (265-420) and ending in Japan with Shōtoku. The sixth generation is the significant one, for it was the Chinese monk Huisi 慧思

(515-577), and *A Record of Seven Generations* tells of his meetings first with Bodhidharma, credited with introducing Zen to China, and then with Zhiyi 智顛 (538-597), founder of the Tiantai sect. In other words, it offers clear evidence that in the Nara period the Japanese had not merely heard of China's Chan and Tiantai patriarchs but recognized them as sufficiently important to weave them into legends concerning Japan's own imperial patron of Buddhism.<sup>2</sup> Its details of Zhiyi's achievements also provide context for a key event in the history of Japanese Buddhism by reminding us that Tiantai teachings were already revered in Japan before the great monk Saichō 最澄 (767-822) formally introduced the sect from China in 805.<sup>3</sup>

Unfortunately, *A Record of Seven Generations* may be an important source, but it is also a highly problematic one. The complete text is lost, so it is known only through fragments. The most complete one is a text formerly owned by Hiroshima University, although one argument suggests it is actually three related but distinct texts copied together in a single manuscript.<sup>4</sup> The pages that follow will key translate most of the Hiroshima University version of *A Record of Seven Generations*. Much of the material in its first section is taken directly from *Nihon Shoki* and so will be summarized [in brackets], but the remaining two sections are translated in full. *A Record of Seven Generations* was clearly intended to impress readers with its miraculous stories of Buddhist heroes in both China and Japan. Although modern readers are unlikely to believe the stories literally, they remain valuable sources to help us understand a once-familiar aspect of Japanese Buddhism and the origins of more familiar sects.

Over the years, Japanese scholars have gathered fragments of *A Record of Seven Generations* from many sources, but they have overlooked references to it in

an unexpected place, *The Record of a Pilgrimage to the Tiantai and Wutai Mountains* (*San Tendai Godai San Ki* 參天台五臺山記), the diary of the Japanese monk Jōjin 成尋 (1011-81) recording his travels in China, 1072-73.<sup>5</sup> It too is in classical Chinese, although of the rather informal variety typically used in the dairies kept by court officials in his day. Like *A Record of Seven Generations*, it is an important source for our understanding of early Sino-Japanese cultural relations and again reveals an unexpected interest in Zen. Jōjin brought with him many Japanese texts, one of them apparently being *A Record of Seven Generations*. In passing, Jōjin reveals that his version of it contained material relating to Bodhidharma that is not found in any of the extant fragments. Translations of the relevant excerpts from that diary follow those of *A Record of Seven Generations*.

Jōjin may not share Shōtoku's fame, but he is nonetheless a noteworthy figure. His background was aristocratic, his father a Fujiwara and his mother a Minamoto, but from childhood his was raised as a monk in the Tendai sect. Although he lived in an age when few Japanese ventured overseas, he made a pilgrimage to China's holy Tiantai and Wutai Mountains accompanied by seven disciples. The key passages referring to *A Record of Seven Generations* appear in the sixth fascicle of his diary, which began by recounting the celebration of the New Year, the sixth year of Xining 熙寧 (1073), in the Song 宋 capital of Kaifeng 開封, where Jōjin was staying after his party had completed its journey to Wutai. Note that Jōjin had started using Chinese era names. Although he was on a pilgrimage, traveling without the formal permission of the Japanese government, the Chinese received him as a guest of state and so, during his stays in Kaifeng before and after his visit to Wutai, he was lodged at the Dharma Transmission Institute (Chuanfayuan 傳法院), headquarters for a government-sponsored sutra translation project. Staffed by monks holding official titles, it was located adjacent

to one of the great monasteries of the capital, Taiping Xingguosi 太平興國寺. Since it housed the Indian or Central Asian monks who helped translate the Sanskrit sutras into Chinese, it was an appropriate place to accommodate visiting Japanese monks too.

While in Kaifeng, Jōjin took the opportunity to ask a learned Chinese monk to clarify a confusing point in a text he had brought from Japan, *A Record of Seven Generations of the Southern Peak* (*Nangaku Shichidai Ki* 南岳七代記),<sup>6</sup> apparently an alternate name for *A Record of Seven Generations*, since China's "Southern Peak" (*Nanyue* 南岳) is the setting for its episodes that take place in China. Jōjin wanted to know when Bodhidharma had arrived in China. Was it during the Wei 魏 (386-534) or the Liang 梁 (502-57) dynasty? The Chinese monk responded with a cryptic poem entitled "Bodhidharma's Prophecy." He added that he had lent someone his copy of a pertinent chronicle and would show it to Jōjin in the future. Two days later, Jōjin received a detailed account explaining that Bodhidharma had arrived in China when the nation was divided, with the Liang in the south and the Wei in the north, and thus he could be said to have come during both dynasties. After checking this against another source, Jōjin concluded that it was a satisfactory explanation. Jōjin had claimed that one of the goals of his pilgrimage was to clarify textual problems in a key esoteric Buddhist sutra, but in fact this is the sole textual difficulty he asked a Chinese monk to resolve, or at least the only one he mentioned in his diary. Our problem is that the issue Jōjin had found perplexing does not exist in any extant fragment of *A Record of Seven Generations*, which date Bodhidharma's arrival to the Wei dynasty and make no mention of the Liang. Apparently Jōjin was looking either at now-lost material from *A Record of Seven Generations*, although we cannot preclude

the possibility he had an alternate work with a similar title, again now lost. In either case, his question sheds light on early Japanese interest in Zen and reminds us that it was somehow associated with Shōtoku. To preserve some of the diary's flavor, the entries are translated in their entirety, including incidental material pertaining to the sutra translation process and other mundane affairs. The entry for the day between Jōjin's question and the arrival of his answer, however, is omitted since it includes nothing pertinent. Readers of the footnotes will discover that Jōjin is also providing information about the history of Zen lore, since he transcribes material not found in familiar sources.

## Translations

### *A Record of the Seven Generations*

[The extant manuscript starts in the middle of a sentence from Article Two of Shōtoku's famous Seventeen Article Constitution, which *Nihon Shoki* dates to the third day of the fourth month, 604. It goes on to present material concerning Shōtoku similar to that in *Nihon Shoki* for the years 605 and 606, organized in the form of a conventional chronicle.]<sup>7</sup>

Autumn, the seventh month, (606):

The Empress Suiko 推古 (554-628, r. 592-628) ordered Crown Prince Shōtoku (574-622) to give lectures on the *Śrīmālā Sūtra* (*Shōmangyō* 勝鬘經),<sup>8</sup> which he completed in three days. He also lectured on the *Lotus Sutra* at his Okamoto Palace 岡本宮.<sup>9</sup> The empress was very pleased, and so she granted the crown prince 500 *shiro* 代<sup>10</sup> of paddy land in Sase 佐勢, in the Ibo 揖保 District of Harima 播磨 Province.<sup>11</sup> He then donated the land to the Ikaruga Monastery 斑鳩

寺.<sup>12</sup>

The Seventh Month in the Fifteenth Year (of Suiko's reign; 607):

Ono no Imoko 小野妹子 was dispatched as an envoy to the Great Tang 唐 nation.<sup>13</sup> The crown prince instructed him, "In the Great Tang nation, there is a worthy one devoted to the *Lotus Sutra* who dwells in a hermitage in the Heng 衡 Mountains.<sup>14</sup> Go to him there and ask him for the sutra to bring back to Japan."

Ono obeyed the order, crossed sea, and arrived safely in China. As he had been commanded, he went to the hermitage at the Heng Mountains and made inquiries. An aged master came forth and asked, "Where are you from?" "I am an envoy from Japan," Ono replied. He then approached the Chinese, bowed, and explained, "My nation's sage king instructed me to go to the Great Tang nation and proceed to the hermitage at the Heng Mountains in order to ask for the *Lotus Sutra* to bring back to Japan." "I have long delayed my reincarnation," the aged master said, "ever waiting for an envoy from Japan. Now at last you have come and I need wait no longer. Take this sutra, envoy, and return immediately to your native land!"

Ono took the sutra, and in the fourth month of the following year he returned to Japan accompanied by twelve Tang envoys. The joy of the Empress and Crown Prince knew no limit, and they had the sutra placed in the library at Ikaruga. That sutra consisted of one chapter in a single fascicle. Li Yuanhui 李元惠, a man from the Chang'an 長安 district of Yongzhou 雍州 had copied it at Yangzhou 揚州 on the first day of the sixth month in the third year of Changshou 長壽 (694).<sup>15</sup>

The Seventh Month in the Twenty-first Year (of Suiko's reign; 613):

When the Crown Prince visited Kataoka 片岡,<sup>16</sup> a starving man lay by the

roadside. An attendant asked his name, but he said nothing. Seeing this, the crown prince gave him food and drink. Also, he took off his robe and placed it over the starving man, telling him to rest well. Then he made this song:

<i>Shinateru ya</i>	By the sheer bluffs
<i>Kataokayama ni</i>	of Mount Kataoka,
<i>Ii ni uete</i>	hungering for rice,
<i>Koyaseru tabito</i>	you lay there, wanderer.
<i>Aware oya nashi ni</i>	How sad!
<i>Nare narikeme ya</i>	Have you no parents
<i>Sasudake no</i>	or flourishing lord
<i>Kimi wa ya naki mo</i>	to protect you?
<i>Ii ni uete</i>	Hungering for rice,
<i>Koyaseru</i>	this wonderer laying there,
<i>Sono tabito aware</i>	how sad! <sup>17</sup>

After the starving man accepted the robe and song, he offered a Japanese song:

<i>Ikaruga no</i>	Not until Ikaruga's
<i>Tomi no ogawa no</i>	Flourishing Brook
<i>Taete koso</i>	runs dry,
<i>Waga ōkimi no</i>	could we possibly forget
<i>Mina wasuraeme</i>	the name of our great lord. <sup>18</sup>

Several days later, the crown prince sent a messenger to look after the starving man. When the messenger returned, he reported that the man had already

died. Hearing this, the crown prince was filled with grief and so he had the man buried at that place and sealed the tomb securely. Afterwards, the crown prince summoned a personal attendant and said to him, “That starving man who lay by the road the other day was not an ordinary person. Surely he was an immortal.” Again he had a messenger sent. This time, when the messenger returned, he reported, “The sealed mound is untouched, but when I looked more carefully, I discovered that the corpse had vanished. Only the robe remained, folded up and laid atop the coffin.” Thereupon, the crown prince again dispatched the messenger and had him bring back the robe, which he once again wore as before. At the time, people were startled. “Indeed it is true that a sage recognizes a sage,” they remarked. (Was that starving man not Bodhidharma?)<sup>19</sup>

[Omitted here are an account of Shōtoku’s death; the story of a monk in Korea who, on hearing of Shōtoku’s death, praised him as a sage, predicted the date of his own death the following year, and announced that he expected to meet Shōtoku in the Pure Land; and a list of eight monasteries Shōtoku had founded. A note states that this material comes from *Nihon shoki* and other sources and much of it is indeed similar to what is found in *Nihon Shoki*.]

*A Record of the Seven Generations of the Meditation Master,*<sup>20</sup> *the Monk Huisi of the Hermitage in the Heng Mountains, Heng Province, in the Great Tang Nation* 大唐国 衡州 衡山道場积思禅師七代記 states:<sup>21</sup>

In years past, there was a Brahmin monk in the eastern lands, his name Bodhidharma, an enlightened person who manifested himself in this world to save its sentient beings. He came to the land of the Han 漢 in the tenth month of the eighth year of Dahe 大和, *dingwei* 丁未 in sexagenary cycle, during the reign of



Emperor Wen 文 of the Wei 魏 dynasty,<sup>22</sup>. He wandered about the Heng Mountains and chanted in his grass hut. Thus, in his hermitage Bodhidharma practiced the way at the six hours. He asked the Meditation Master Huisi, “For how many years have you practiced the Way at this retreat?” Huisi replied, “For over twenty years.” Bodhidharma then asked, “What magical signs have you seen? What mysterious powers have you received?” “I have not seen any magical signs, nor have I received mysterious powers.” With a long sigh, Bodhidharma then said “Meditation is easily despised; the defiled world is difficult to abandon. I chance to meet an old companion and forever extinguish an eternity of grave sins. For a moment, I enjoy pure friendship and securely plant superior karma for the next life. Ah, master master, strive strive, persist persist! Why do you remain on this mountain where you were reborn? The teachings will not be propagated and their effect will perish. You will be born to the east of the sea in a land lacking opportunity to receive the dharma. Its people’s feelings are rude and their actions are based on avarice. They kill to eat. You must propagate the true dharma and remonstrate against killing.” The Meditation Master asked, “Bodhidharma, who are you?” He replied, “I am emptiness.” He ceased talking, faced the east, and then departed. His sagely visage did not remain; his precious visit was like a mirage. Morning and night the Meditation Master longed for him and wept, while at the six hours he practiced the way. As he approached his fiftieth year, he passed away in the first year of the Later Wei Emperor Toba 拓跋, *gengshen* 庚申 in sexagenary cycle.<sup>23</sup>

We do not know how the Meditation Master Huisi came to this mountain, nor have we heard his ancestry, and so forth. ...<sup>24</sup>

The first generation was born in the Jin 晉 Dynasty (256-419) to the Xu 許 family.

He was reborn in this world and at the six hours practiced the Way at the hermitage in the Heng Mountains, just as in the Wei dynasty.

The second generation was born in the Song 宋 dynasty (420-79) to the Cui 崔 family. He was reborn and practiced in the hermitage in the Heng Mountains as noted above.

The third generation was born in the Qi 齊 dynasty (479-502) to the Li 李 family. His meditation was as noted above.

The fourth generation was born in the Liang 梁 (503-557) dynasty to the Han 韓 family. His sutra chanting was as noted above.

The fifth generation was born in the Chen 陳 (557-89) dynasty to the Luo 駱 family. His repentance was as noted above.<sup>25</sup>

The sixth generation was born in the Zhou 周 dynasty (557-81) to the Yao 姚 family.<sup>26</sup>

His various mysterious achievements were as noted above. He remained in this sixth rebirth carefully waiting for the time of the seventh generation. In the great void of birth and death, the unenlightened mortal passes through the sea of suffering. In the pure realm of highest wisdom, those who possess consciousness traverse the path of enlightenment. Accordingly, Huisi did not forget the words of the enlightened one, Bodhidharma, and did not err when he passed on to his next life. Thus he came to be born to the royal family in the land of Wa 倭,<sup>27</sup> where he showed compassion for the common people and valued the three treasures. The lower inscription of a stele states, “In the Province of Wa the emperor will sagely

transform the land. From the time the sage Huisi passed away, through the Sui dynasty and afterwards, his personal possessions, an image in gold and silver, a relic of the Buddha's flesh, a bejeweled text of the profound words, a censer and sutra stand, a water vessel and staff, a stone bowl and straw sleeping mat, have all been kept at his hermitage in the Heng Mountains. Its pine chamber and cassia hall have never sagged, never rotted. In the present dynasty, monks and laymen look up to and venerate them." (Copied at the Qiantang 錢唐 office in Hang Prefecture 杭州<sup>28</sup> during the reign of the emperor Li San-lang 李三郎<sup>29</sup> on the fifteenth day of the second month in the sixth year of Kaiyuan 開元 [718])

*The Great Tang Transmitter of the Precepts Master Monks' Name Record Biography* 大唐傳戒師僧名記傳<sup>30</sup> states:

One day, the meditation master Huisi instructed the three administrator monks of the mountain monastery to sweep the path, open the hall, and put out seats to prepare for receiving a guest because a great bodhisattva would come that day. Everyone went to greet him but said that they saw not a bodhisattva but only a young acolyte, and so they returned and reported to the reverend master, "There was no bodhisattva, although we did see a young acolyte." At this point, the Meditation Master said, "That is the bodhisattva." All lined up and bowed to receive him as he entered the monastery. The meditation master took his hand and asked, "How have you been? Quite a while has passed from the time we parted at Vulture Peak<sup>31</sup> until now. Tomorrow, would you please ascend the pulpit and lecture on the *Lotus Sutra*?" Zhiyi, the visitor, was mystified and could make no sense of this. Huisi then said, "In the past, when the Buddha was in this world with his disciples, we listened together on Vulture Peak. Do you not remember?" Instantly, Zhiyi experienced a great enlightenment, and when he lectured his words

flowed smoothly, as the waves on a river. This was indeed sudden enlightenment to the Wondrous Law of the Single Vehicle.<sup>32</sup>

Thus we know that Huisi always chanted the *Lotus Sutra*, profoundly tasted meditation, and was enlightened to Lotus *samadhi*.<sup>33</sup> In addition, the Great Master Zhizhe of Tiantai was the Sui emperor's chaplain. For over 30 years, he wore only a single robe. He ordained over 10,000 monks, established 83 monasteries, made 19 copies of the *tripitaka*, recited it 15 times, and composed altogether 700 fascicles of sutra commentaries, including *The Mysterious Significance of the Lotus* (*Fahuaxuan* 法華玄), text and commentary, each in ten fascicles,<sup>34</sup> *The Greater Tranquility and Contemplation* (*Da Zhiguan* 大止觀) in 10 fascicles,<sup>35</sup> *The Four Teachings* (*Sijiao* 四教) in 12 fascicles,<sup>36</sup> *The Lesser Tranquility and Contemplation* (*Xiao Zhiguan* 小止觀) in one fascicle,<sup>37</sup> and *The Gate to Meditation* (*Chanmen* 禪門) in 10 fascicles.<sup>38</sup> Thus we know that these two sages met, transmitted the teachings, propagated Buddhist practices, and benefited the four varieties of life.

The Southern Peak of the Heng Mountains is in Heng Province and is one of the five peaks of the Heng Mountains. The five peaks are, first, Prajñā (“Wisdom,” Panruo 般若) Peak, second, Zhugua 徂栝 Peak, third, Buddha's Wisdom (Huiji 慧日) Peak, fourth, Zhurong 囑融 Peak, and fifth, Purple Canopy (Zigai 紫蓋) Peak.<sup>39</sup> Each peak has a Meditation Chamber. Through six reincarnations, Huisi practiced the way on this mountain and in each life he either set up either a stupa or placed a stele. The three stelae are before the Buddha Hall on Prajñā Peak; the three stupas are 200 paces south of Prajñā Peak. The mountain is a mysterious realm where grow unfamiliar fruits such as the water-pear. When a thousand years pass and someone has obtained the fruit of sagehood, the tree

produces pears. Huisi personally tasted this pear. Its sweetness was beyond compare in this world; its size, about that of a begging bowl. Since then, it has born no more fruit.

In his stone chamber on the north of Prajñā Peak, as Huisi was about to confront the transitoriness of life, he lifted up a copy of the *Lotus Sutra*, his bowl and his staff, and said to his disciples, “After I have passed away, I will go to a place without Buddhism and be reborn to instruct the people.” Even today, at Bianyue 便岳 Monastery<sup>40</sup> one can see an unadorned image of him. Images of his two senior disciples were placed there at the same time. Both these disciples were sages. One of the two disciples was named Zhiyi. He served as abbot of the monasteries at the Tiantai Mountains and Yuquan 玉泉 in Jingzhou 京州.<sup>41</sup> The other disciple, named Zhiyong 智勇,<sup>42</sup> practiced the way at the Southern Peak in the Heng Mountains.

*The Account of the Remote Anniversaries the Meditation Master Huisi* 釈思禪師遠忌伝<sup>43</sup> states that there was a monastery on the Southern Peak of the Heng Mountains. That monastery included Prajñā Terrace, Twin-Peak Terrace (Shuangfengtai 雙峯臺), Purple Canopy Terrace, Buddha’s Wisdom Terrace, Zhugua Terrace, Garland (Huayan 華嚴) Terrace, Four Meditations (Sichan 四禪) Terrace, Zhurong 祝融 Terrace, Southern Terrace,<sup>44</sup> The Prajñā Pavilion, and so forth, altogether over twenty sites, each with monks practicing the way at the six hours. Huisi, however, lived in the mountain monastery, where his disciples abandoned their fine brocades and wore plain robes. When the meditation master was about to die, someone encouraged him to remain longer in this world to save all sentient beings. The meditation master replied, “There are eighteen men who have abandoned their brocades and through them I will remain in this world.”

Now 10,000 meditation monks all wear simple mugwort robes. They are Meditation Master Huisi's disciples. Since the Meditation Master's death, none of the remote anniversary memorials has been neglected. Each time, from over twenty hermitages on the peaks of the Heng Mountains monks and laymen assemble, as they do from the capital of Heng Province, and so on the mountain over there are over 15,000 people. On the memorial day, they hold a great vegetarian banquet and religious service. This practice has continued without interruption.

### *The Record of a Pilgrimage to the Tiantai and Wutai Mountains*

Twenty-second Day (of the second month, 1073):

Clear skies. The sutra translators gathered at the Lecture Hall. Monks from this monastery and other monasteries held a vegetarian banquet, and afterwards the fourth fascicle of *Father and Son Meet Sutra* (*Fuzi Heji Jing* 父子合集經)<sup>45</sup> was read and then all departed. Present were the Chief Minister (*Daqing* 大卿),<sup>46</sup> Vice Minister (*Shaoqing* 少卿),<sup>47</sup> Sancang 三藏,<sup>48</sup> Fanyi 梵義 (Tianjixiang 天吉祥),<sup>49</sup> two editors, two drafters, and eight verifiers.<sup>50</sup> The reader was the verifier Wenzheng 文正.<sup>51</sup>

I went to the cell of Great Master Wenhui 文惠<sup>52</sup> to ask about *A Record of Seven Generations of the Southern Peak*. I wanted to look at *The Chronicle* (*Niandaiji* 年代記)<sup>53</sup> to find out whether Bodhidharma came during the Wei dynasty or the Liang, but the great master simply wrote me a poem saying:

The Prophecy to Bodhidharma

Coming from the West, you will cross the waters and meet the sheep.

(After crossing the sea, he arrived in the year of the sheep)

In the middle of the night, full of sorrow, you will cross the river in the darkness.

(From the Liang, he went to the Wei.)

Beneath the sun, you will also admire Two-Elephant Horse.

(“Beneath the sun” refers to the capital; “Two elephant horse” is the

Bodhisattva Fu 傅)

Two branches of fresh cassia, will eternally flourish.

(“fresh” here means a grove of young cassia trees)<sup>54</sup>

He said that someone had borrowed *The Chronicle*, but he would show it to me tomorrow. He prepared hot tea. Sancang came and sat. At the seven hours I performed the rites, and I recited fascicle eight of the sutra.<sup>55</sup>

Twenty-third Day:

[No relevant material]

Twenty-fourth Day:

Clear skies. At the time of the vegetarian banquet, Great Master Dingzhao 定照<sup>56</sup> sent a bowl of soup and a bowl of vegetables. Then he sent tea. Using the interpreter<sup>57</sup> as his messenger, Dingzhao indicated that he wished to borrow my Korean satchel and presented me a bolt of silk to keep as payment. I replied that there was no need for payment and immediately presented the satchel to him. He then came and expressed his appreciation.

Great Master Wenhui sent me a report of his investigation, “Great Master Bodhidharma’s Arrival from India,” which is as follows:

Great Master Bodhidharma passed on to the second patriarch Huike 惠可 the treasury of the true dharma eye<sup>58</sup> and his robe, saying, “Listen to me recite this verse:

I originally came to this land  
To convey the Law and rescue the deluded.  
One flower blooms with five petals.  
The result naturally occurs.”<sup>59</sup>

The Great Master arrived at this land on the twenty-first day of the ninth month in the eighth year of Putong 普通 (527), *dingwei* 丁未 in sexagenary cycle, during the reign of Emperor Wu 武 502-549 of the Liang.<sup>60</sup> The emperor of Liang did not get along with him, and so on the nineteenth day of the tenth month of that year, he crossed over to the north of the river.<sup>61</sup> In the tenth year of Taihe (486)<sup>62</sup> during the reign of the eighth ruler of Wei, Emperor Xiaoming 孝明 (r. 515-528) he reached the Shaolin 少林 monastery, where he was able to convey the Law to the second patriarch. On the fifth day of the tenth month in the nineteenth year of Taihe (495), *bingchen* 丙辰 in the sexagenary cycle,<sup>63</sup> he attained nirvana and was buried at Mount Xionger 熊耳. Three years later, when the envoy of the Wei, Song Yun 宋雲, was going around the Cong 葱 Mountains on his return from the western lands, he met the Great Master Bodhidharma, who carried a single sandal in his hand. He said, “I am returning to India.” Afterwards, Song Yun returned to his native land during the reign of the ninth ruler of Wei, Emperor Zhuang 莊 (r. 528-530),



and reported what had happened. Thereupon, they opened the stupa where Bodhidharma had been buried and discovered that not a trace of his body was to be seen. All that was left was a single sandal.<sup>64</sup> It has been 539 years from the Great Master Bodhidharma's attaining nirvana to the present sixth year of Xining (1073).<sup>65</sup>

A eulogy says:

Avalokiteśvara's manifestation:  
In the royal palace was born a deity.  
He understood the bright pearl,  
And left the jeweled throne.  
Prajñātāra recognized his true disciple.  
The double-trees met the spring.  
Take refuge our patriarch.  
The moon in the water; the clouds in the sky.<sup>66</sup>

Transcribed from *The Personal Transmission of the Patriarch's Teachings Collection* (*Zumen xinyin jilu* 祖門心印集錄)<sup>67</sup> and humbly presented.

Consulting *Comprehensive Genealogical Charts of the Past and Present* (*Gujin tongxitu* 古今通系圖)<sup>68</sup> confirms that in the nineteenth year of Tianjian 天監 (520), Emperor Wu of the Liang changed the era name, so it became the first year of Putong. The eighth year of that era, *dingwei* in sexagenary cycle, corresponds to the tenth year of Taihe of Emperor Xiaoming of the Wei.<sup>69</sup> This was the year that the reverend monk Bodhidharma came to China. It corresponds to the thirteenth year after birth of the Huisi, Great Master of the Southern Peak.<sup>70</sup>

The nineteenth year of Taihe when the reverend monk Bodhidharma attained nirvana was twenty-two years after the birth of the Great Master of the Southern Peak.<sup>71</sup> Emperor Wu of the Liang and Emperor Xiaoming of the Wei were emperors at the same time.

Rector Yuanze 円則 from the Vinaya Cloister of the Eastern Sutra Repository of the Great Xiangguo Monastery<sup>72</sup> came because Great Master Dingzhao had repeatedly asked me to transmit the Lotus Rite<sup>73</sup> to him. Great Master Dingzhao explained, “Yuanze is a man who has devoted himself exclusively to contemplating the swiftness with which life can reveal its uncertainties. Fervently, he desires to recite the sutra as his form of religious practice. For several years already, he has lectured on the Lotus Sutra and chanted it.” I promised to pass on the secrets on the twenty-sixth day.<sup>74</sup> He prostrated himself making obeisance, expressed his joy, and departed. Great Master Dingzhao presented me with three pages of Central Asian writing and four pages of the Diamond Sutra in the handwriting of the Tang dynasty academician Xu Hao 徐結.<sup>75</sup> He asked that they be sent to Japan. At the seven hours I performed the rites, and I recited fascicle two of the sutra.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Willam E. Deal’s “Hagiography and History: The Image of Prince Shōtoku,” *Religions of Japan in Practice*, George J. Tanabe, Jr. ed., (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999) pp. 316-33, translates key documents and cites relevant scholarship in English. One study he misses is Sey Nishimura, “The Prince and the Pauper: The Dynamics of the Shōtoku Legend,” *Monumenta Nipponica* 40.3 (Autumn, 1985) pp. 299-310, which is relevant to the material presented here.

<sup>2</sup> For Zen, see my “Court Culture, Conventional Wisdom, and the Sources of Japanese

Zen,” in *Selected Essays on Court Culture in Cross-Cultural Perspective*, Lin Yaofu ed. (Taipei, Taiwan: National Taiwan University Press, 1999) pp. 233-253; for the reincarnation legend, see Wang Yong 王勇, *Shōtoku Taishi Jikū Chōetsu: Rekishi wo Ugokasita Eshi Kōshin Setsu* 聖徳太子時空超越：歴史を動かした慧思後身説 (Taishūkan Shoten, 1994).

<sup>3</sup> For a discussion of the sect in Japan before Saichō, see Paul Groner, *Saichō: The Establishment of the Japanese Tendai School* (Berkeley: Berkeley Buddhist Studies, 1984) pp. 6-7, 30.

<sup>4</sup> Oguchi Masashi 小口雅史 reviewed the various theories in his “*Shichidaiki (Kōi, Shūi, Sankō, Oboegaki)*” 七代記 (校異・拾遺・参考・覚書) *Kokusho Itsubun Kenkyū* 国書逸文研究 3 (August, 1979) pp. 28-29. The Hiroshima University manuscript is found most conveniently in *Nara Ibun* 寧楽遺文, Takeuchi Rizō 竹内理三 ed. (Tōkyōdō Shuppan, 1962) vol. 3, pp. 890-95, and, along with all other fragments, in *Shintei Zōho Kokusho Itsubun* 新訂増補国書逸文 *Kokusho Itsubun Kenkyūkai* 国書逸文研究会 ed. (Kokusho Kankōkai, 1995) pp. 24, 407-8, 502-509.

<sup>5</sup> For a general introduction to the diary, see my “Jōjin’s Travels from Center to Center (With some Periphery in between),” in *Heian Japan: Centers and Peripheries*, Mikael Adolphson et al. ed. (University of Hawaii Press, forthcoming). The original is available in several editions, the most accessible remaining that edited by Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎 in *Dai Nihon Bukkyō Zensho* 大日本仏教全書, first published in 1917 and reprinted many times thereafter. Citations of the diary are in the form of “fascicle number/month/day.”

<sup>6</sup> The first passing reference to this text is found in I/5/25 when Jōjin lent his copy to a Chinese monk at Tiantai; the incident cited here is found in VI/2/22,24. All printed editions of Jōjin’s diary but the earliest have “Southern Liang” 梁 instead of “Southern Mountain.” Most manuscripts, however, have “Southern Peak,” the exception being the oldest surviving manuscript (dated 1220), in which the character is unclear (Hirabayashi Fumio 平林文雄, *San Tendai Godai San Ki: Kōhon narabi ni kenkyū* 参天台五臺山記：校本並に研究 [Kazama Shobō, 1978], p. 214).

<sup>7</sup> *Nihon Shoki*’s entries pertaining to Shōtoku are all translated in Deal, “Hagiography and History,” pp. 322-29.

<sup>8</sup> This text probably was selected because it is narrated by a woman, Śrīmālā. Shōtoku wrote a commentary on it, *Shōmangyō Gisho* 勝鬘經義疏 either based on or alternatively the basis for these lectures.

<sup>9</sup> A residence of Shōtoku, located near the famous monastery Hōryūji 法隆寺. After his death, it became the monastery Hokkiji 法起寺.

<sup>10</sup> One *shiro* was just under 23 square meters.

<sup>11</sup> In the modern Hyōgo Prefecture.

<sup>12</sup> Hōryūji. Up to this point, the text is very similar to material found in *Nihon shoki* for the same date (Suiko 14/7).

<sup>13</sup> The mission of Ono no Imoko (dates unknown) is reported in *Nihon shoki* and *Suishu* 隋書, making it the first Japanese diplomatic mission to China mentioned in the histories of both nations. The anecdote that follows, however, is not found in conventional histories, and Imoko visited Sui 隋, not Tang, China.

<sup>14</sup> The Heng Mountains are a small range in Hunan. From ancient times, they have been numbered as one of China's five holy mountains, and subsequently they became an important religious center for both the Tiantai and Chan sects.

<sup>15</sup> Ono did return with twelve Chinese envoys in 608 (*Nihon shoki*, Suiko 16/4), although obviously he did not bring back a sutra copied in 694. However, a single fascicle of the *Lotus Sutra* that once belonged to Hōryūji survives with precisely this information in its colophon. Presumably, the story was invented to explain the existence of a fragment from a Chinese copy of the sutra that was old, albeit no quite old enough. See Wang, *Shōtoku Taishi*, pp. 216-32.

<sup>16</sup> A hill about 5 kilometers west of Hōryūji. It is a familiar poetic place name (*utamakura* 歌枕) and nearby is a monastery named for Bodhidharma, Darumaji 達磨寺 that commemorates the incident described here.

<sup>17</sup> This anecdote, and a slightly different version of the poem, also appear in *Nihon shoki* (Suiko 21/12; note that the date too has been changed). The poem's meter is quite irregular.

<sup>18</sup> This poem is not found in *Nihon shoki* but does appear in other retellings of the legend. By the early Heian period, however, the last line had been changed to eliminate an already archaic verb ending (see, for example, *Nihon ryōiki* 日本靈異記, NKBT 70, pp. 78-9, 457-8). This poem puns on the word “*tomi*,” which means “to flourish” and is also the name of a brook that runs by Hōryūji at Ikaruga. Thus, the name suggests that the brook will never run dry. This poem correctly follows the meter of a 31-syllable *waka* 和歌 or, literally, “Japanese song.”

<sup>19</sup> This comment, not found in the *Nihon Shoki* version of the story, appears as an intralinear note. In the translation, such notes appear in parentheses. The episode

resembles a familiar story about Bodhidharma's "death" in China that Jōjin would later copy into his diary.

<sup>20</sup> The term *zenji* (Chn. *chanshi* 禪師) is translated as "meditation master" instead of the more usual "Zen master" both to avoid the problem of choosing between the Chinese and Japanese pronunciations and more importantly because the sectarian implications of either would be anachronistic.

<sup>21</sup> If one follows the theory that the Hiroshima University manuscript is a compilation of three different works, then this would mark the beginning of *A Record of the Seven Generations*. The problem with this theory is that later sources cite passages from the first part of the manuscript, the text before this statement, and identify them as being from *A Record of the Seven Generations*.

<sup>22</sup> Presumably, this should be the eighth year of Taihe 太和, i.e. 484, which is actually *jiazi* 甲子 in the sexagenary cycle during the reign of Emperor Xiaowen 孝文 (467-99, r. 471-99) of the Later or Northern Wei dynasty (386-534). Similar problems in dating recur in the account of Bodhidharma's life found in Jōjin's diary, translated below. Years cited in both texts translated here typically do include their position in the sexagenary cycle, but they have been omitted, except in cases like this where they are problematic.

<sup>23</sup> Neither this emperor nor this date exist, although the actual date of Huisi's death, 577, was a *gengshen* year. Toba was not the name of an individual emperor but rather of the non-Chinese family that established the Wei dynasty. It ended in 534, although a successor dynasty, the Eastern Wei did survive until 556.

<sup>24</sup> This sentence ends with "*unnun*" 云々 in small script, which indicates the end of a quotation and suggests that something following it has been abbreviated.

<sup>25</sup> None of these individuals appear in standard reference works.

<sup>26</sup> Huisi was actually born to the Li family during the Liang dynasty.

<sup>27</sup> The ancient Chinese name for Japan.

<sup>28</sup> During the Tang, Qiantang was the name of the district (*xian* 縣) in Hang Prefecture where modern city of Hangzhou is located. Since the second character in the name "Qiantang" was the same as that for the name of the dynasty, during the Tang it was written with the "earth radical" added: 塘 and thus the character used here in the text is anachronistic.

<sup>29</sup> "San-lang" was a childhood name of the emperor better known as Xuanzong 玄宗 (685-762, r. 712-56). Although Chinese did occasionally refer to him by that name,

they would not have used it as it appears here in conjunction with Tang imperial family's surname Li.

<sup>30</sup> An otherwise unknown text with a pretentiously awkward name, presumably—like the one “quoted” above—made up in Japan. If the Hiroshima University manuscript indeed consists of three different works, this would be the third.

<sup>31</sup> Where the Buddha is said to have preached the *Lotus Sutra*.

<sup>32</sup> Both the “Wondrous Law” 妙法 and the “Single Vehicle” 一乘 can refer to the *Lotus Sutra*.

<sup>33</sup> The practice of meditating on the *Lotus Sutra*.

<sup>34</sup> This refers to a pair of works, their full names being *Miaofa Lianhuaqing Xuanyi* 妙法蓮華經玄義 and *Miaofa Lianhuaqing Wenju* 妙法蓮華經文句. They are key texts in the Tiantai tradition, both explicating the *Lotus Sutra*.

<sup>35</sup> Again, a contracted title, the full name being *Mohe Zhiguan* 摩訶止觀, a guide to meditation in the Tiantai tradition. It and the two previously mentioned works constitute the three key texts of Tiantai Buddhism.

<sup>36</sup> The full title being *Sijiaoyi* 四教義, this work divides Buddhist teachings into four categories, Theravāda, “common,” Mahāyāna, and “perfect,” the last being the teachings found in the *Lotus* and other sutras central to Tiantai thought.

<sup>37</sup> An introductory work to the topic treated in the previously mentioned “Greater” equivalent.

<sup>38</sup> Its full title being “*A Commentary on the Meditation Method of Achieving Enlightenment through the Gradual Gate*” (*Shi Chan Boluomi Cidi Famen* 釈禪波羅蜜次第法門), this work explains the gradual method of meditation.

<sup>39</sup> A Chinese gazetteer cited in the *Mochizuki Bukkyō Daijiten* 望月仏教大辞典 lists 72 peaks in the Heng Mountains, of which only two, Buddha's Wisdom and Purple Canopy also appear here (vol. 2, p. 1044). Some of these proper nouns are translated rather than romanized because of their names are meaningful in this context.

<sup>40</sup> Bianyue Monastery does not appear in standard reference works.

<sup>41</sup> Yuquansi is monastery in Hubei, said to have been founded by Zhiyi; Jingzhou does not appear in standard reference works.

<sup>42</sup> Zhiyong does not appear in standard reference works.

<sup>43</sup> As with other sources “cited” here, this text is otherwise unknown. A “remote anniversary” is a memorial service for distinguished monk, typically held every fifty years after his death.

<sup>44</sup> Although the terminology is slightly different, these would appear to be the same as the “peaks” mentioned earlier, plus a few others.

<sup>45</sup> A sutra that the Dharma Transmission Institute was then working on. A few days later, Jōjin was shown the first two chapters of it. He notes that chapters three through twenty-five had been translated but were still in draft form, and the remaining chapters were only available in their original Sanskrit written on palm leaves. As he explains, the sutra describes how the Buddha converted his own father, King Śuddhodana, who went to meet him, hence the sutra’s name (VI/2/27).

<sup>46</sup> Since the Dharma Transmission Institute was a government agency, the monks in charge were given regular government titles. The chief minister was Richeng 日称. According to Jōjin, he was an Indian monk who had arrived in Kaifeng in 1048, and was 56 years old when Jōjin met him 24 years later (IV/10/13).

<sup>47</sup> Huixian, 慧賢 one of Richeng’s collaborators (IV/10/14).

<sup>48</sup> Literally meaning “*tripitaka*,” all three sections of the complete Buddhist scriptures, “*sancang*” became an honorary title for translators of Buddhist texts. Jōjin lists a total of eighteen *sancang*: the chief minister, vice minister, seven other monks at the Dharma Transmission Institute, and nine monks from other monasteries in the capital (IV/10/14). Jōjin became particularly close to one of them, Huixun 惠詢, the third-ranking monk at the Institute, and often referred to him only by his title, “Sancang.”

<sup>49</sup> Another title given to sutra translators, “Fanyi” is a contraction for *zhengfan’i* 証梵義, literally meaning “verifier of Sanskrit meaning.” This was a title given to those responsible for confirming the accuracy of the interpretation of the Sanskrit original and the draft translation (for a description of the nine-stage Song sutra translation process, see Kōgen Mizuno, *Buddhist Sutras: Origin, Development, Transmission* [Tokyo: Kōsei Publishing Company, 1982] pp. 101-2). Jōjin used this title too as if it were a name, in this case providing an intralineal note giving the monk’s actual name. Elsewhere, Tianjixiang is identified as a monk from the famous Nālanda monastery in Magadha, central India, who had come to China 23 years earlier (V/12/28).

<sup>50</sup> In the translation process, editors (*zhuiwen* 綴文) were responsible for stylistic review of the Chinese rendition; drafters (*bishou* 筆受), for producing the first Chinese version; and verifiers for making final corrections (Mizuno, *Buddhist Sutras*, pp. 101-2).

<sup>51</sup> A translator from Baoensi 報恩寺 who does not figure prominently in Jōjin’s diary

(IV/10/14).

<sup>52</sup> A title of Zhipu 智普, the fourth-ranking monk at the Dharma Transmission Institute. Sancang described him as “a man who has mastered both religious and secular learning,” and he promptly lent Jōjin a copy of *Essay Supporting the Religion* (*Fujiaobian* 補教編), an important defense of Buddhism against Neo-Confucian attacks by the recently-deceased monk Qisong 契嵩 (1007-72; see Kenneth K.S. Ch’en, *The Chinese Transformation of Buddhism* [Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1973], pp. 48-50). Jōjin revealed no particular interest in the work. When Jōjin commissioned a portrait of himself to be sent back to Japan, he had Wenhui compose the inscription (IV/10/14, 17, 21; VIII/4/19).

<sup>53</sup> An unidentified text; possibly a common noun.

<sup>54</sup> This is a variation on a familiar Zen poem that first appeared in *Zutangji* 祖堂集 (*Anthology of the Patriarchal Hall*, comp. 952; Yanagida Seizan 柳田聖山, ed., *Zengaku sōsho* 禪學叢書 vol. 4 [Kyoto: Chūbun Shuppansha, 1984] p. 32b). There, it is attributed to the 27th India patriarch, Prajñātāra, who predicts Bodhidharma’s journey to China saying:

Traveling the road, you will cross the waters and meet the sheep.  
All alone, full of sorrow, you will cross the river in the darkness.  
Beneath the sun, you will indeed admire Two-Elephant Horse.  
Two saplings of fresh cassia, will eternally flourish.

*Zutangji* gives intralineal notes, more detailed than those in Jōjin’s diary, to explain the cryptic allusions in the poem. Line by line, they are as follows:

(1) Most texts have Bodhidharma arriving in China in 527, the year of the sheep according to the Chinese calendar.

(2) He is supposed to have arrived in south China, then controlled by the Liang dynasty, and then fled to the north, controlled by the Wei.

(3) For “capital,” (“beneath the sun”) the word “chang’an” 長安 is used, but since Bodhidharma is not credited with having visited the city of Chang’an, presumably the word is used here in its general sense of “imperial capital. “Bodhisattva Fu” (Fu Dashi 傅大士) is a popular honorific applied to Fu Xi 傅翁 (497-567), an important lay Buddhist who is credited with, among other things, inventing the revolving *tripitaka* repository. According to legend, he turned to religion after meeting an Indian monk, who, in the *Jingde Chuandeng Lu* 景德伝灯録 version, is identified as Bodhidharma (T.51, 430a). Although this meeting is not found in familiar versions



of the Bodhidharma legend, elements of that legend are clearly borrowed from earlier anecdotes concerning Bodhisattva Fu (see Sekiguchi Shindai 関口真大, *Daruma no Kenkyū* 達磨の研究 [Iwanami Shoten, 1967] pp. 332-34).

(4) The “grove of young cassia trees” is Shaolin (“Young grove”), the famous monastery associated with Bodhidharma.

<sup>55</sup> Daily, Jōjin performed a cycle of rites at seven specified hours, and often he also read sections of the *Lotus Sutra*.

<sup>56</sup> A translator at the Dharma Transmission Institute. He befriended Jōjin and appears often in the diary, usually with his name abbreviated to “Great Master Zhao,” which is how it appears here. Jōjin describes him as being an outstanding calligrapher and a kind man. He often sent Jōjin food as on this day. His name, minus any honorary titles, appears last on the list of translators at the Institute, suggesting low status, modesty (since Dingzhao himself drafted the list) or a combination of those qualities (IV/10/14,16).

<sup>57</sup> Shortly after his arrival in Hangzhou, Jōjin found a Chinese merchant who had been to Japan five times and mastered the language (I/4/19). As his interpreter, the merchant accompanied Jōjin on his travels, eventually becoming a monk himself and returning to Japan with Jōjin’s disciples as a representative of the Song court (for his diplomatic activities, see my “Monkish Diplomacy: A Case Study in Eleventh-Century Sino-Japanese Relations,” *Contacts between Cultures: Eastern Asia: History and Social Sciences*, Bernard Hung-Kay Luk, ed. (Queenston, Ontario: Edwin Mellen Press, 1992) pp. 1-3.

<sup>58</sup> A term used in the Zen sect meaning the correct view of the world, and hence true enlightenment.

<sup>59</sup> This is Bodhidharma’s “transmission verse” (*chuanfa ji* 伝法偈), symbolizing the proper transmission of Zen teachings. Sekiguchi’s *Daruma no Kenkyū* compares key texts concerning the Bodhidharma legend, this verse appearing on pp. 182-83. The significance of the verse—and the robe also mentioned in the text—are discussed in Whalen Lai, “The Transmission Verses of the Ch’an Patriarchs: An Analysis of the Genre’s Evolution,” in *Chinese Studies*, 1.2 (Dec., 1983) pp. 593-623.

<sup>60</sup> Although found in many sources, this date did not actually exist, since in the third month of the year given, the era name had been changed to Datong 大通, although 527 is indeed *dingwei* in the sexagenary cycle (Sekiguchi, *Daruma no Kenkyū*, pp. 108-12).

<sup>61</sup> Bodhidharma’s meeting with Emperor Wu and subsequent decision to settle north of

the Yangzi River is another familiar story. The date given here for his crossing the river is found in two other texts, *Baolin Zhuan* 法林伝 and *Zutang ji*, although other dates appear elsewhere (Sekiguchi, *Daruma no Kenkyū*, pp. 119, 124-25). The phrase used here to indicate the emperor's displeasure, however, appears in only one of the texts analyzed by Sekiguchi, *The Blue Cliff Record* (*Biyan lu* 碧巖錄), a late work dating from 1300.

<sup>62</sup> Although this year is obviously incorrect, it appears in at least two other sources: *Baolin zhuan* (in *Zengaku Sōsho*, vol. 5, 1983), p. 133a (a passage not in Sekiguchi, *Daruma no Kenkyū*) and *Jingde Chuandeng Lu* (Sekiguchi, *Daruma no Kenkyū*, p. 133). According to the Wei calendar, 527 would have been the third year of Xiaochang 孝昌. In 486, the actual emperor was Xiaowen 孝文.

<sup>63</sup> This date presents problems beyond the impossibility of placing Bodhidharma's death before his arrival in China. In addition, *bingchen* corresponds to the year 536, not 495. Some sources give that as the year of his death, but incongruously use the era name of the Liang dynasty in the south, even though he died in the north. Of the sources analyzed by Sekiguchi, only *Jingde Chuandeng Lu* gives precisely the date appearing here, although others have the same anachronistic year.

<sup>64</sup> This familiar anecdote is found in many sources. The wording in some of the versions compiled by Sekiguchi is similar, but not quite identical, to that found here (*Daruma no Kenkyū*, pp. 205-8). This story presumably is the source of the one about Shōtoku and the beggar.

<sup>65</sup> This would put Bodhidharma's death in the year 534. If the figure 539 was calculated as ages traditionally were, i.e. starting from one rather than zero, the year of his death would be one year later, still a year short of 536, one of the traditional dates.

<sup>66</sup> This poem outlines Bodhidharma's life. He was said to have been a reincarnation of Avalokiteśvara (Kannon 觀音, Sekiguchi, *Daruma no Kenkyū*, pp. 113, 124), born the third son of a king (*ibid.* p. 59). The twenty-seventh Indian patriarch, Prajñātāra, showed the king's sons a brilliant pearl and asked if anything surpassed it. Only the third son understood that the dharma is superior, and so the patriarch recognized him as his dharma heir (*ibid.* 61-63). "Double-trees" may again indicate Shaolin Monastery (see note 54) and so the sixth line probably alludes to Prajñātāra's prophecy that appeared earlier in the text and suggests that Bodhidharma will come to China and plant the seeds of enlightenment at Shaolin. This poem does not appear in standard biographies.

<sup>67</sup> This text does not appear in standard references.

<sup>68</sup> This text does not appear in standard references.

<sup>69</sup> In fact, as noted above, these years correspond not with each other but with dates found in traditional sources.

<sup>70</sup> By Asian count, Huisi was thirteen in 527, the eight year of Putong, although obviously not he had not yet been born in 486, the tenth year of Taihe.

<sup>71</sup> Huisi had still not yet been born in the nineteenth year of Taihe, 495. If we accept the alternate date of 536 for Bodhidharma's death, Huisi would indeed have been twenty-two, again by Asian count.

<sup>72</sup> Yuanze makes a few appearances in Jōjin's diary after this but was not a major figure; Xiangguo Monastery was a principal imperially-sponsored monastery in Kaifeng (for a detailed study of it, including a translation of a relevant passage from Jōjin's diary, see Alexander Soper, "Hsiang-kuo-ssu: An Imperial Temple of Northern Sung," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 68.1 [Jan.-March, 1948] 19-45).

<sup>73</sup> An esoteric rite, properly known as "Lotus Sutra Rite," that was particularly important in Tendai esotericism. It was a key element in Jōjin's own religious practice. One of the goals of his pilgrimage was to perform it at Tiantai, among the first things he did upon his arrival at Kaifeng was set up an altar to perform it there, and he performed it at the imperial palace when summoned to help pray for rain (I/6/2, IV/10/17, VII/3/2). Since Tiantai teachings were not well established in north China, presumably this rite would have unfamiliar to monks in Kaifeng, and hence the request that Jōjin teach it to one of them. Jōjin's enthusiasm for the rite may be related to the fact that it seems to have been a recent addition to Japanese Buddhist practice. According to standard reference works, it was first performed there in 1091, nineteen years after Jōjin departed on his pilgrimage; Jōjin's diary proves that date to be incorrect. For a full description, see *Mochizuki Bukkyō Daijiten*, vol. 5, pp. 4574-75.

<sup>74</sup> Jōjin kept this promise (VI/2/26).

<sup>75</sup> A literatus famed for his calligraphy (703-82).