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To cite this article: Zijie Li (2021) Kūkai 空海 (774–835) and Saichō's 最澄 (766–822) theories on *gotra* 種姓 (caste), *Studies in Chinese Religions*, 7:2-3, 221-235, DOI: [10.1080/23729988.2021.1941619](https://doi.org/10.1080/23729988.2021.1941619)

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/23729988.2021.1941619>



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Published online: 15 Oct 2021.



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ARTICLE



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

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## ABSTRACT

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

## KEYWORDS

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

## 1. *Gotra* 種性 and the *Pusa dichijing* 菩薩地持經, the *Pusa yingluo benye jing* 瓔珞本業經

In Chinese Buddhism, especially during practice, the theory of the stages of a bodhisattva is significant.<sup>1</sup> The number of stages of a bodhisattva gradually expanded from forty-two to fifty-two. According to recent research, the 12 stages, including *shixin* 十信 (10 kinds of faith) and *dengjue* 等覺 (equal enlightenment), *miaojué* 妙覺 (ultimate enlightenment), were first found in the *Renwang jing* 仁王經 [Sutra of the Benevolent King] and the *Pusa yingluo benye jing* 瓔珞本業經 [Sutra of the Diadem of the Primary Activities of the Bodhisattvas].<sup>2</sup>

Both the *Renwang jing* and the *Pusa yingluo benye jing* were created in China during the fifth century, and asserted the theory of stages of bodhisattvas.<sup>3</sup> It is clear that the *She dasheng lun shi* 攝大乘論釋 [Commentary on the Compendium of the Great Vehicle], translated by Paramārtha 真諦 (499–569), was influenced by the theory of stages of bodhisattvas in the *Pusa yingluo benye jing*. Mizuno Kōgen 水野弘元 (1901–2006) indicates the possibility that Paramārtha adopted the theory of stages of bodhisattvas from the *Pusa yingluo benye jing* after suggestions from his Chinese disciples.<sup>4</sup> In addition, there was no agreement in the Sanskrit materials as to the exact nature of these stages.<sup>5</sup> We can therefore recognise the influence of the *Pusa yingluo benye jing* on Chinese Buddhism.

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

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This article has been corrected with minor changes. These changes do not impact the academic content of the article.

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Bodhisattvas], and states, ‘*xi zhongxing*, *xing zhongxing*, *dao zhongxing* 道種性 (path caste), *sheng zhongxing* 聖種性 (saint caste), *dengjue xing* 等覺性 (equal enlightenment), *miaojue xing* 妙覺性 (ultimate enlightenment).’ For this reason, at least from the perspective of *zhongxing*, we see that the purpose of the *Pusa yingluo benye jing* is to inherit and transform the theory of *zhongxing* in the *Pusa dichu jing*. I will therefore investigate the depiction of *zhongxing* found in the *Pusa yingluo benye jing* first.<sup>6</sup>

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Buddha’s disciples! The beings who usually draw back and go forward awaken the three Enlightened minds (Ch. *puti xin*) before *shizhu*. A great number of beings study and practice Buddhist teaching. They are called *tuifen shan’gen* 退分善根 (good root with withdrawal). Pious men, you can enter *shizhu* if you continue *shixin* practice for *yijie* 一劫 (one *kalpa*), *erjie* 二劫 (two *kalpa*), or *shijie* 十劫 (ten *kalpa*). *Zhengguan* will appear if this person practices *diliu boreboluomi* 第六般若波羅蜜 (the sixth wisdom) at this moment. One will stay in the seventh stage and never draw back again if he meets a Buddha or bodhisattva. It is called *tuifen* 退分 (withdrawal) before the seventh stage. Buddha’s disciples, *butui* 不退 (without withdrawal) is to enter the sixth wisdom, practice and enter *dingwei* 定位 (meditation position) in *kongwuwo* 空無我 (emptiness with selflessness). Buddha’s disciples, one will draw back from Enlightened mind if he does not meet a Buddha or bodhisattva. There are 80,000 people who drew back among the people whom I first met. For instance, although Jingmu Tianzi 淨目天子 (prince of pure eyes), Facai Wang 法才王 (king of dharma treasure), and Shelifu 舍利弗 (Śāriputra) wanted to enter the seventh stage, due to some bad behavior, they drew back from the stage of *xi zhongxing*. 佛子,若退若進者,十住以前一切凡夫法中發三菩提心.有恒河沙衆生,學行佛法,信想心中行者,是退分善根.諸善男子,若一劫二劫乃至十劫修行十信,得入十住.是人爾時從初一住至第六住中,若修第六般若波羅蜜,正觀現前.復值諸佛菩薩善知識所護故,出到第七住,常住不退.自此七住以前,名為退分.佛子,若不退者,入第六般若修行,於空無我人主者,畢竟無生,必入定位.佛子,若不值善知識者,若一劫二劫乃至十劫退菩提心.如我初會衆中有八萬人退,如淨目天子,法才王,舍利弗等,欲入第七住,其中值惡因緣故,退入凡夫不善惡中,不名習種性人,退入外道.<sup>9</sup>

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

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

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

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

A mature nature is like endless treasure. It will bring endless merits and virtues if one can attain it. Along with demonstrating the essential nature, however, there have been various explanations asserted by different scholars so far. Utilising the *Lengqie jing* 楞伽經 [Skt. *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra*; Sutra of Lanka], the scholars of the southern path of the Dilun tradition state that the nature of *rulai zang* 如來藏 (Skt. *tathāgatagarbha*; Buddha essence) contains all merits and virtues. Furthermore, they assert that the nature of *rulai zang* is innate, not acquired. The *Lengqie jing* states that although *sanshier xiang* 三十二相 (thirty-two features), *bashizhong hao* 八十種好 (eighty great features), and *jiejia fuzuo* 結伽趺坐 (leg-crossed) are innumerable, they do not appear. The *Mahāparinirvāna-sūtra* [Ch. *Da boniepan jing* 大般涅槃經; Nirvana Sutra] states that the *mahāparinirvāna* (ultimate nirvana) was shared at first and contains all merits and virtues. The *Da Fangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經 [Skt. *Avatamsaka sutra*; Flower Garland Sutra] states that all beings have the nature of *rulai zang* and various merits. The *Pusa dichu jing* states that *xing zhongxing* originates from the ultimate beginning and always succeeds. These scriptures have clarified the fact that various merits had been originally obtained. If we obey the interpretation of the northern path of the Dilun tradition, all the principle merits can disappear. The *Lengqie jing* states that Buddha's response to the question Mahāmate asked about the relationship between the nature of *rulai zang* and emptiness, was that the merits of the nature of *rulai zang* persist in beings who dwell in the entirety of emptiness. We can explain all scriptures through this passage. A monk named Tai 泰 pointed out the following. Namely, it is possible to demonstrate that the truth of a mature nature is the basic origin of merit through the passage above, so instead of describing *zhenru* 真如 (Skt. *tathatā*; thusness) as a container holding all merits and virtues, we say *fuzang* 伏藏 (holding merits and virtues). Although Huyue 護月 referred to the pure principle seeds of the three vehicles, they are the bodies of conditional-dharma (*youwei fa* 有為法), not *zhenru*. Thus, this differs from the interpretation of the southern path of the Dilun tradition. In addition, as the pure principle seeds are mentioned, this also differs from the interpretation of the northern path of Dilun tradition. 圓成如無尽大伏寶藏。若證得時，利益無窮故。然此寶藏喻實性者，舊來諸師取解不同。若南道諸師引《楞伽》等云，如來藏性具足一切恒沙功德，本自有之，非適今也。又即彼經云，三十二相八十種好結伽趺坐而為無量無覆，隱而不顯現。又《涅槃經》云，大般涅槃本自有之，具足一切恒沙功德。又《華嚴經》云，佛子，一切衆生皆有佛如來藏性，具諸功德。又《地持論》云，性種性者，六入殊勝，展轉相續，無始法爾。如是經論皆證本來具諸功德。若如北道說，無有本來一切功德者，便同外道斷見過失。北道諸師云，立本有一切功德不從因生，先來自有者，全同僧伽自体之過。何以得知？無本有功德者，如《楞伽經》大慧白佛言，若如來藏性具諸功德者，何故世尊復說一切諸法皆悉空，無生無滅？佛告大慧，我為斷見衆生故說本來具諸功德。即將此文通釋一切經意。今時泰法師云，依此論證圓成實理，成於万德之本，故說伏藏。不言真如具足万德。如護月等，雖立三乘無漏法爾種子，而是有為体，非真如故，不同南道解。然本有無漏種故，不同北道解。<sup>11</sup>

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



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

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

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

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

tatra gotraṃ katamat/samāsato gotraṃ dvididham/prakṛtisthaṃ samudānītaṃ ca/tatra prakṛtisthaṃ gotraṃ yad bodhisattvānāṃ ṣaḍāyatanaviśeṣaḥ/sa tādrśaḥ paraṃparāgato anādikāliko dharmatāpratilabdhaḥ/ (BoBh, 2, 4–7)<sup>12</sup>

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

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

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

Kūkai had constructed his own doctrinal system based on various doctrines within East Asian Buddhism by the eighth century.<sup>14</sup> Although Kūkai knew about the controversies surrounding the *zhongxing*, especially following the translations of Xuanzang 玄奘 (602–664), it seems that Kūkai did not focus his attention on this topic. At least, the *zhongxing* controversies were not the most significant issue for Kūkai.

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

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

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

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

Among the *sanken* 三賢位 (three wise stages), the first *jūjū* 十住 (ten stages of the development) belongs to the *xi zhongxing*, namely *hosshu* 発趣 (vowing). These are called stable (*jū* 住) as it is not easy to fall back after these stages. According to the *Fodi jing* 佛地經 [Sutra of the stages of Buddhahood], during the twenty-seventh day at *Daolitian miaosheng dian* 忉利天妙勝殿, Buddha stated the *Da Fangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經 [Skt. *Avatamsaka sutra*; Flower Garland Sutra]. At that moment, a bodhisattva named Fahui 法慧 inherited strength from Buddha, and obtained the *jūjū* of bodhisattvas. 三賢位中, 初十住者習種性, 即發趣也。行成不退, 故立住名。依『佛地經』, 第二七日在忉利天妙勝殿說『華嚴』云, 爾時法慧菩薩承佛神力, 從菩薩無量方便三昧起說菩薩十住。<sup>16</sup>

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

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

*Tsūtatsu i* 通達位 (Ch. *tongda wei*; the stage of understanding) is also the stage of *kendō i* of the sage *shushō*. The treatise states that wisdom cannot be obtained in relation to objects. At this moment, one achieves the boundary of consciousness-only and abandons the appearance of dualism. Bodhisattvas will then obtain the wisdom free from distinguishing between objects. They will not retain any illusory features because *zhenru* is equal to this wisdom. They are equal and far from the features of duality, so it is said that there is neither object nor subject within this wisdom, alternatively, there is anyone of them, alternatively, there are both of them. . . . There are two kinds of vision path. The first one is the true vision path, namely the wisdom without distinguishability, which can clarify the truth manifested by two types of emptiness and ends two kinds of illusion. 通達位者, 謂聖種性見道位也。論云, 若時於所緣, 智都無所得。爾時住唯識, 離二取相故。若時菩薩於所緣境, 無分別智都無所得, 不取種種戲論相故, 智與真如平等。平等俱離能取所取相故, 有積此智相見俱無, 有積此智相見俱有. . . 此有二種。一真見道, 謂即所說無分別智, 實証二空所顯真理, 實斷二障分別隨眠。<sup>17</sup>

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

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

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

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

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

無漏種性 (*muro shushō*). 此謂此前菩提涅槃二轉依果, 即是究竟無漏界攝。諸漏永盡, 非漏隨增。性淨円明, 故名無漏。界是藏義, 此中含容無邊希有大功德故。清淨法界四智心品, 滅道諦攝, 故唯無漏。謂仏功德及身土等皆是無漏種性所生。<sup>19</sup>

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

First, someone meets with a bodhisattva and receives his intuition, so this person can practice Mahayana Buddhism and attain the great *xixing*. He is called the decided Mahayana practitioner. Second, someone meets with a lone practitioner and receives his intuition, so this person practices Buddhism by himself and attains the small *xixing*. He is called the decided lone practitioner. Third, someone meets with a *śrāvaka* and receives his intuition, so this person practices *śrāvaka* Buddhism and attains the small *xixing*. He is called the decided *śrāvaka* practitioner. Fourth, someone meets with some teachers who are composed of the three vehicles as above and receives their intuitions, so this person practices these and attains the three kinds of *xixing* belonging to three vehicles. He is called the undecided three vehicles practitioner. Fifth, someone meets with both a bodhisattva and a lone practitioner and receives their intuitions, so this person practices their advice and attains these two kinds of *xixing*. He is called the lone bodhisattva practitioner. Sixth, someone meets with both a bodhisattva and a *śrāvaka* and receives their intuitions, so this person practices their advice and attains these two kinds of *xixing*. He is called a *śrāvaka* bodhisattva practitioner. Seventh, someone meets with both a lone practitioner and *śrāvaka* and receives their intuitions, so this person practices their advice and attains these two kinds of *xixing*. He is called the lone *śrāvaka* practitioner. Eighth, someone meets with teachers belonging to the three vehicles, but he does not receive their intuitions, so this person meets a bad teacher during this life and practices evil deeds. He is called the practitioner without *nirvāna* for a while. Ninth, someone meets with teachers belonging to the three vehicles, but he does not receive their intuitions, so this person meets a bad teacher during this life and does not understand cause so that his great root is lost. He is also called the practitioner without *nirvāna* for a while. Tenth, although someone meets with teachers belonging to the three vehicles, he does not receive their intuitions and undecided *xixing*, so this person has no part in *nirvāna*. He is called the practitioner without *nirvāna* for a while. Eleventh, although someone meets with teachers belonging to three vehicles, he does not receive their intuitions and undecided *xixing*, so this person entertains the path of beings and divines. He is called the *ichchantika* (Ch. *ichanti* 一闍提; beings who cannot achieve the Buddhahood) without *nirvāna* for a while. Twelfth, someone does not meet with any teacher belonging to the three vehicles, so he has no cause of the three vehicles during this life. He is called the *ichchantika* without *nirvāna* forever. 一, 往昔值遇菩薩之化, 但修大乘, 得大習性。今生名為定性大乘。二, 往昔值遇獨覺之化, 但修獨覺乘, 得小習性。今現生名為定性獨覺乘。三, 往昔值遇但聲聞化, 但修聲聞乘, 得小習性。今現生名為定性聲聞乘。四, 往昔值遇具三乘化, 具修三乘行得三乘習性。今現生名為三乘不定性。五, 往昔值遇菩薩獨覺二乘之化, 兼修大小二乘之行, 得大小二乘習性, 未遇聲聞小乘之化。今生名為菩薩獨覺, 闕聲聞種不定種性。六, 往昔值遇菩薩聲聞二乘之化, 兼修大小二乘之行, 得大小二乘習性, 未遇獨覺二乘之化。今生名為菩薩聲聞, 闕獨覺種不定種性。七, 往昔值遇獨覺聲聞小乘之化, 未遇大乘菩薩之化。今生名為獨覺聲聞, 闕菩薩種不定種性。八, 往昔雖遇三乘之化, 然未得三乘及不定習性。是故今生遇惡知識, 一向行惡。是故名為暫時無涅槃, 一向行惡行。九, 往昔雖遇三乘之化, 然未得三乘及不定習性。是故今生遇惡知識, 撥無因果, 普斷善根。是故名為暫時無涅槃, 普斷白法。十, 往昔雖遇三乘之化, 然未得三乘及不定習性。是故今生其根下劣, 無涅槃分。是故名為暫時無涅槃, 無有涅槃分。十一, 往昔雖遇三乘之化, 然未得三乘及不定習性。是故今生其根下劣, 樂人天善。是故名為暫時無涅槃, 斷善少一闍提。十二, 往昔未遇三乘之化, 未修三乘及不定行。是故今生無三乘因。是名為畢竟無涅槃無因一闍提。<sup>22</sup>

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

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

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

In the *Shugo kokkai shō*, regarding the stages of bodhisattvas in the *Pusa yīngluo benye jīng*, Saichō criticised Tokuitsu as follows:

The person persisting in the wrong course violates the assertions made in the *Pusa yīngluo benye jīng* and the *Yuqieshi di lun* 瑜伽師地論 (Skt. *Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra*) [Treatise on the Foundation for Yoga Practitioners]. Concerning the initial cause of the awakening heart, the first half of the *Pusa yīngluo benye jīng* states that one can enter the path to the ten kinds of stability if he persists in practice over considerable time. If this person dwells between the first to the sixth stage of stability, he will attain the right vision if he practices the sixth *prajñāpāramitā*. This person can enter the seventh stage of stability and will not fall back if he meets with some great teachers and is helped by their support. One can return to previous stages before the seventh stage, if he does not meet with any great teacher. For instance, there were 80,000 disciples who fell back eventually, such as pure eye prince (Ch. Jingmu Tianzi 淨目天子), dharma treasure prince (Ch. Facai Wangzi 法才王子), and Śāriputra (Ch. Shelifu 舍利弗). They encountered a bad relationship when they intended to enter the seventh stage of stability, so they returned back to ordinary beings and could not be called *xi zhongxing* beings anymore. What is more, it is also possible to return back to other sects and take part in evil deeds. We can therefore understand that we should not consider the path to the ten kinds of stability to be without return. Concerning this problem, I (Saichō) resist the assertions above. I must point out that the theory of stages mentioned in the *Pusa yīngluo benye jīng* differs from that in Fazang’s 法藏 (643-712) doctrinal system. In addition, it is also different from that found in the *Da fangguang fo huayan jīng* (Skt. *Avataṃsakasūtra*). The person who asserted the above did not understand this, because they judged these problems through nominal similarity. 龐食者又云, 又違『瓔珞經』·『瑜伽論』等。『瓔珞經』上卷說初發心住云, 若一劫二劫乃至十劫修行十信, 得入十住。是人爾時從初一住至第六住中, 若修第六般若波羅蜜, 正觀現在前。復值諸佛菩薩善知識所護, 故出到第七住, 常住不退。自此七住以前, 名為退分。若不值善知識者, 一劫乃至十劫退菩提心。如我初會, 衆中有八萬人退, 如淨目天子·法才王子·舍利弗等。欲入第七住, 其中值惡因緣, 故退入凡夫不善惡中, 不名習種性人。退入外道, 若一劫乃至千劫, 作大邪見及五逆, 無惡不造, 是為退相。由此故知, 十住位不得名為不退。何以初發心住, 配經十

三句耶。愍喻曰，此亦不爾。『瓔珞』所說次第行位故，不同賢首信位故，不同『華嚴』初住故，行相永別故，不同信力入印初歡喜地故。麤食者何迷位名同，輒判退不退耶。<sup>24</sup>

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

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

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

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

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

beings mentioned in the *Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra* are only described in terms of their dualistic nature. On the contrary, the principle nature mentioned in the *Pusa shanjie jing*, the *xing zhongxing* mentioned in the *Pusa dichi jing* and the *benxingzhu zhongxing* are equal. All of them are carried by all beings. 鹿食者曰，有執一切有情皆悉成仏，無一不成。何以故。一切有情以皆有真如理性及阿頼耶識故。又『涅槃』云一切衆生悉有仏性。凡有心者，悉皆當得阿耨菩提故。又云，非仏性者，所謂牆壁瓦礫非情之物。故依此教理，一切悉皆有仏種性，皆當成仏。已上似宝公詞。今破云，汝執不然。所以者何。違教理故。教者，『善戒經』云，住無種性補特伽羅無種性故，雖設有発心及行加行，終不能得阿耨菩提。此証有無性有情，不成仏文也。彈曰，此說非理。何者。未得『善戒經』上下文意故。其『善戒經』文意者，謂假名菩薩摩訶薩雖設有発心及行加行，無円実菩薩縁因仏性，終不能得阿耨菩提。又未開權故，不説顯了円実縁因故。若『法華』已開文云，若有聞法者，無一不成仏。其『善戒經』文無菩薩性，『地持論』非種性，『瑜伽論』住無種性者，是指客性。其本性者，即『善戒經』中本性，『地持論』性種性，『瑜伽論』本性住種性。此本性者，在諸衆生陰入界中。<sup>27</sup>

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

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

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

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

The Dilun tradition 地論師	Saichō 最澄
然此宝藏喻実性者，旧来諸師取解不同。若南道諸師引『楞伽』等云，如来藏性具是一切恒沙功德，本自有之，非適今也。又即彼經云，三十二相八十種好結伽趺坐而為無量無覆，隱而不顯現。又『涅槃經』云，大般涅槃本自有之，具足一切恒沙功德。又『華嚴經』云，仏子，一切衆生皆有仏如来藏性，具諸功德。又『地持論』云，性種性者，六入殊勝，展轉相統，無始法爾。如是經論皆証本来具諸功德。若如北道說，無有本来一切功德者，便同外道斷見過失。(Yugaron gi 瑜伽論記, T 42, 764ab)	若『法華』已開文云，若有聞法者，無一不成仏。其『善戒經』文無菩薩性，『地持論』非種性，『瑜伽論』住無種性者，是指客性。其本性者，即『善戒經』中本性，『地持論』性種性，『瑜伽論』本性住種性。此本性者，在諸衆生陰入界中。(Shugo kokkai shō 守護國界章, T 74, 210 c-211a)

to each other, such as ‘*rulaizang xing*’ 如来藏性, ‘*foxing*’ 仏性, ‘*da banniepan*’ 大般涅槃, ‘*xing zhongxing*’ 性種性, ‘*benxing*’ 本性, and ‘*benxingzhu zhongxing*’ 本性住種性. That is to say, these terms are the same; therefore, all beings have this principle nature and can attain Buddhahood. This is Saichō’s basic perspective on the *shushō*.

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

The *Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra* states that there are five kinds of beings, namely, the *bodhisattva shushō*, the *pratyeka-buddha shushō*, the *śrāvaka shushō*, the undecided *shushō* and non-*shushō* beings. It is possible to explain this as follows. Namely, the first three types of the five beings have their own *shushō*, which can be described as a decided *shushō*. Those with an undecided *shushō* are beings who have more than one possible *shushō*. The *bodhisattva shushō* and undecided *shushō* beings can both attain Buddhahood. In contrast, decided *shushō* beings cannot attain this Bodhi. There are four types of the fourth undecided *shushō* beings. First, someone has both *bodhisattva shushō* and *pratyeka-buddha shushō*. Second, someone has *bodhisattva shushō*, *pratyeka-buddha shushō* and *śrāvaka shushō*. Third, someone has both *bodhisattva shushō* and *śrāvaka shushō*. Fourth, someone has both *pratyeka-buddha shushō* and *śrāvaka shushō*. The former three kinds of beings can attain Buddhahood, but the last one cannot. We can understand this through the following scriptures. The eighty folds of the *Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra* states that the reason not all arhats attain the highest Bodhi is that there are some differences between their *shushō*. It is the fourth kind of *shushō*, namely, an undecided *shushō*. The *Saddharma Puṇḍarīka Sūtra* states that there is only one dharma vehicle within various Buddha realms, not two nor three vehicles, except according to Buddha’s convenient sayings. This assertion is based on the cases of the three kinds of undecided *shushō* beings. They have three kinds of *shushō* at the same time. Buddha nature is stronger than the others. Saying that there are neither two nor three vehicles is not to say that there are no decided *shushō* like the *pratyeka-buddha* and *śrāvaka shushō*. 『瑜伽』云，一切有情總有五種性。一者菩薩種性，二者獨覺種性，三者聲聞種性，四者不定種性，五者無種性。解云，此五種中初三乘人各有一性，名為定性。有二三性，名不定性。菩薩種性，不定種性，當得成仏。決定二乘不得菩提。第四不定種性有四類別。或有菩薩種性，獨覺種性。或有菩薩種性，獨覺種性，聲聞種性。或有菩薩種性，聲聞種性。或有獨覺種性，聲聞種性。前三成仏，後一不成。何以得知。『瑜伽』八十云，何因緣故，一切阿羅漢不皆回向無上菩提。答，由彼種性有差別故。此是第四類不定種性。『法華經』云，十方仏土中，唯一乘法。無二亦無三，除仏方便說。此拋前三不定類說，且如舍利弗等不定種性。一人身中具有三性，隱劣二性，顯勝仏性。云無二亦無三，非謂全無決定種性聲聞獨覺。<sup>28</sup>

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

#### 4. Conclusion

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



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

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

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

## Notes

1. See Bokenkamp, 'Stages of Transcendence.'
2. Mizuno, 'Gojūnii no bosatsu kaiisetsu.'
3. Funayama, 'Jironshū to nanchō kyōgaku,' 137.
4. Mizuno, 'Gojūnii no bosatsu kaiisetsu.'
5. Dayal, *The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature*, 270–291.
6. As is widely known, 'gotra' was translated as both 'zhongxing' 種姓 and 'zhongxing' 種性 before Xuanzang's translations. The *Pusa yingluo benye jing* utilizes 'zhongxing' 種性 mainly.
7. *Pusa yingluo benye jing*, T no. 1485, 24: 1.1012b10–1012b14.
8. *Pusa yingluo benye jing*, T no. 1485, 24: 1012b25–1012c5.
9. *Pusa yingluo benye jing*, T no. 1485, 24: 1014b27–1014c12.
10. As is widely known, 'xing zhongxing' 性種性 in the *Pusa dichi jing* ('benxing zhu zhongxing' 本性住種姓) in the *Yuqieshi di lun* translated by Xuanzang) is considered to be the possibility of becoming Buddha. Namely, this kind of gotra exists only in some beings, not all beings.
11. *Yugaron gi*, T no. 1828, 42: 20.764a25–764b18.
12. Dutt, ed., *Bodhisattvabhūmi*.
13. *Pusa dichi jing*, T no. 1581, 30: 888b2–888b7.
14. Regarding Kūkai's works, see Hakeda, *Kūkai: Major Works*.
15. See the first chapter of the third part in Fujii, *Kūkai no shisōteki tenkai no kenkyū*.
16. *Himitsu mandara jūjūshin ron*, T no. 2425, 77: 6.337c8–337c12.
17. *Himitsu mandara jūjūshin ron*, T no. 2425, 77: 6.339c9–339c19.
18. Ishii, 'Shindai kanyo bunken no yōgo to gohō,' 87–120.
19. *Himitsu mandara jūjūshin ron*, T no. 2425, 77: 6.344b3–344b8.
20. This narrative can be found in the *Eizan daishi den* 叡山大師伝 [Biography of the monk of Hiei mountain], which was completed by Saichō's disciple Ichijō Chū 一乘忠. Regarding the *Eizan daishi den*, see Takagi, *Kūkai shisō no shoshiteki kenkyū*.

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

## Acknowledgments

This article received a research award from Robert H. N. Ho Family Foundation. It is one part of a research achievement at SOAS University of London as a postdoctoral fellow of Robert H. N. Ho Family Foundation.

## Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

## Funding

This work was supported by the Robert H. N. Ho Family Foundation [1].

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### Abbreviations

BBh= *Bodhisattvabhūmi: Being the XV<sup>th</sup> Section of Asaṅgapaḍa’s Yogācārabhūmi*. See Bibliography, Modern Studies, Dutt, ed.  
*T*=*Taishō shinshū daizōkyō*. See Bibliography, Modern Studies, Takakusu and Watanabe, eds.

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