Reinventing the Tripitaka

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Transformation of the Buddhist Canon in Modern East Asia

Edited by
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This book is dedicated to two great scholars who have contributed to the study and promotion of the Chinese books

Tsuen-hsuin (T.H.) Tsien (Qian Cunxun) 錢存訓 *(1910–2015)*
and
Aming Tu (Du Zhengmin) 杜正民 *(1953–2016)*

Conventions

Transliterations: *pinyin* is used for Chinese names and terms; the standard Revised Hepburn Romanization system for Japanese names and terms; the official Revised Romanization of Korean system for Korean names and terms.

Chinese characters and Asian graphs are provided in the first appearance in each chapter.

Diacritics for words that have been incorporated into the English language (such as Tokyo, Kyoto, Mahayana and Hinayana, sutra, etc.) are not provided except in technical discussions.

Full citations of primary sources from collections such as the *Taishō Canon* (T) and other Buddhist collections are given in the following fashion at their first appearance: title, fascicle (*juan* 卷) number (where relevant and abbreviated as "fasc."), serial number, volume number, page number, and register (a, b, or c, if necessary), for example *Guang hongming ji* 廣弘明集, T 2103, 52: 257.

Anonymous works and frequently referred East Asian compilations are cited with their titles only in Notes and Works Cited.

Contents

Acknowledgments

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The editors decided to dedicate this volume to the great Chinese book historian Tsuen-hsuin (T.H.) Tsien 錢存訓 (1910–2015) at University of Chicago, who cared about this project but was unfortunately unable to see the final product in book format. We were informed by his daughter Mary Dunkel about his passing away on April 9, 2015, the first day of the third conference on the Chinese Buddhist canon at Provo, Utah. This book is also dedicated to our beloved and respected friend Prof. Aming Tu 杜正民 (1953–2016) at Dharma Drum Institute of Liberal Arts (Taiwan), who passed away on

November 27, 2016. Prof. Tu joined our first conference at Tucson, Arizona, and published in our previous volume *Spreading Buddha's Word in East Asia* (Columbia, 2016). His contribution to CBETA and the Chinese Tripitaka will be remembered for generations.

Jiang Wu and Greg Wilkinson

Introduction

The Reinvention of the Buddhist Tripitaka and the Rise of "Textual Modernity" in Modern East Asia

Jiang Wu and Greg Wilkinson

Despite the rising interests in research on modern East Asian Buddhism in recent years, studies on how the Buddhist textual tradition copes with modernity and reinvigorates itself as a vital force of religious changes are conspicuously missing. To fill in this lacuna, we present this edited book on the modern fate of the Buddhist canon in East Asia, including China, Japan, and Korea. The book covers a unique time period when East Asia was undergoing significant changes in the face of Western "threats," not only politically and militarily, but also culturally, intellectually, and religiously. Although many researchers have explored the profound transformations of East Asia during this period, religion has very rarely been considered an agent of change to foster a unique mode of Asian modernity. This book attempts to explore the relationship between religion and modernity by focusing on the transformation of East Asia's scriptural tradition, more specifically the common cultural heritage of the Chinese Buddhist canon among East Asian countries. Including eight substantial research papers, organized into three areas of canon research, this book reflects the most recent trends in the study of East Asian Buddhism and aims to inform a wide range of academic fields such as the history of religions, the history of the book, history of modern East Asia, politico-religious history, Digital Humanities, and bibliographical studies.

THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE BUDDHIST CANON IN MODERN EAST ASIA

The particular type of the Buddhist Tripitaka investigated in this book is the Chinese Buddhist canon based on Buddhist texts created in literary Chinese. The history of East Asian Buddhism is concomitant with the translation,

compilation, and circulation of Chinese Buddhist texts. The most important form of such textual creations is the Chinese Buddhist canon.[1] Its scope and nature have been delineated by Chinese scholar Fang Guangchang 方廣錩, who made the following statement to define the Chinese Buddhist canon which is shared by East Asian Buddhist nations:

> Including essentially the translated Buddhist scriptures of past ages as the core of its content, the Chinese Buddhist canon is the collection of the Chinese Buddhist classics and related literature organized according to certain structures and with some external identification markers.[2]

According to Fang's definition, originating from China and spreading in East Asia, the Chinese Tripitaka is a systematic collection of all translated Buddhist scriptures in classical Chinese from India and Central Asia and related literature created in East Asia. Being regarded as one of the "three treasures," it is also the object of veneration and worship in Buddhist communities. Together with numerous textual by-products such as adaptations in excerpts, indexes, encyclopedias, dictionaries, and sectarian compilations, it forms a unique textual tradition with a clear "text lineage" through which an individual text can be identified in an extended "text family." Inspired by the Indian idea of the Tripitaka, the Chinese canon in the hand-copied manuscript form took shape in the fifth and sixth centuries and was widely distributed in monastic libraries. The milestone event was the creation of a standard catalog of the canon in 730 by the monk-scholar Zhisheng 智昇 (699–740), often referred to as the *Kaiyuan Catalog* (*Kaiyuanlu* 開元錄) which served as the blueprint for organizing the content of the canon in all the later editions in the premodern era. More far-reaching is that it fixed the core of the canon as including 5,048 titles and 480 cases. A call number system by using characters included in the *Thousand Character Classic* (*Qianziwen* 千字文) was also adopted to arrange titles, fascicles, and cases.

Since the tenth century, the woodblock printing technology or xylography was adopted to create the canon and more than twenty printed editions were produced during the premodern era. Not only did the Chinese Empire sponsor the projects as displaying "symbolic capitals" (Pierre Bourdieu's term), but local elites and common people also contributed zealously to their production and circulation, even creating privately sponsored canons without state intervention. This Tripitaka culture spread to other parts of East Asia as well, especially in Korea and Japan where the Chinese canon was imported first and the practice of canon-making was imitated. In this sense, the Chinese canon, though written in classical Chinese, was accepted by Buddhists in East Asia as a shared textual tradition. In a previous volume on the Chinese Buddhist canon coedited by Jiang Wu and Lucille Chia, the social, political,

religious, and textual dimensions of this tradition, primarily in the premodern era, have been explored.[3]

However, during the modern period, similar to other forms of traditional religious practice common in East Asia, the Chinese Buddhist canon faced challenges and experienced a great period of transformation, reinventing itself as a modern collection of Buddhist texts which has been translated, edited, condensed, and digitized as well as commercialized, ritualized, and internationalized.

Such a great transformation can be traced to the late nineteenth century when the woodblock printing technology still dominated East Asia. During this time, there were basically three remaining Buddhist canons whose blocks were well preserved, and their prints were circulated regionally.

In China, the *Dragon Canon* of the Qing dynasty (*Longzang* 龍藏) was created in 1733 after the Manchu regime consolidated their political rule. Though its main content was based on the previous *Yongle Northern Canon* (*Yongle beizang* 永樂北藏) and *Jiaxing Canon* (*Jiaxingzang* 嘉興藏), Emperor Yongzheng 雍正 (1678–1735) interfered directly with the editorial process by adding and deleting the texts he favored or held in low regard. During the late nineteenth century, because the blocks of the popular *Jiaxing Canon* were destroyed during the Taiping rebellion (1850–1864), the *Dragon Canon* became the only available edition of the Chinese canon for circulation and distribution. For example, as chapter 3 shows, one of its prints was acquired by Ōtani Kōzui 大谷光瑞 (1876–1948), the head of the Nishi Honganji 西本願寺 branch of the Jōdo Shinshū 淨土真宗 and is now preserved in Ryūkoku University Library 龍谷大學圖書館. In addition, for the purpose of creating a symbolic universal monarchy, the Qing government also created a Tibetan canon in 1683 for the Kanjur and in 1724 for the Tanjur, plus a Mongolian canon was completed between 1718 and 1720 and a Manchu canon around 1794.[4]

In Korea, the second *Goryeo Canon* (*Goryeojang* 高麗藏), nowadays known as *Tripitaka Koreana*, has been intact since its 1251 creation based on the Chinese Song dynasty *Kaibao Canon* (*Kaibaozang* 開寶藏, finished around 983), the Liao dynasty *Khitan Canon* (*Qidanzang* 契丹藏, finished around 1068), and the first *Goryeo Canon* (finished around 1029). After 1398, its blocks were transported and preserved in Haeinsa 海印寺 for printing. Although it did not have substantial impact on canon-making in China, it was a reputable symbolic asset for the Joseon dynasty and was frequently requested for printing by Japan and Ryukyu.[5] During the modern period, the canon was highly regarded by the Japanese colonial government as a "national" treasure but also a colonial "trophy" for display and gift exchange. More importantly, it served as the master copy for compiling the *Taishō Canon* because of its superb textual quality. Nowadays, the canon has been

celebrated as a treasure of world heritage as well as a symbol of national and religious pride of the Korean people, even becoming the source for inventing new rituals as chapter 5 shows.

In Japan, the Tenkai edition (*Tenkaizō* 天海藏, finished around 1648) was first created in the early Tokugawa period by using the movable-type printing technique imported from Korea. Because the canon's movable typesetting was no longer available after the printing project was completed, the active canon during the Edo period was actually the woodblock edition of the *Ōbaku Canon* (*Ōbakuzō* 黃檗藏), also known as the *Tetsugen Canon* (*Tetsugenzō* 鐵眼藏), created in 1681. Its creation had to do with Chinese monk Yinyuan Longqi's 隱元隆琦 (1592–1673, J. Ingen Ryūki) migration to Japan in 1654 and the founding of the Ōbaku sect in Kyoto in 1661. The new canon was largely a reprint of the *Yongle Northern Canon*, which had been included as the main section of the popular privately sponsored *Jiaxing Canon*. Before the creation of Japan's modern editions, the Ōbaku edition was widely distributed in Japan and later in East Asia. In 1875, as chapter 1 reveals, an entire set was sent to the India Office Library by the new Meiji government as a gift to the British government.

At the dawn of the modern era, Japan became the undisputable new center for canon projects. Attempts were made to create new editions of the Chinese canon with strong preference to a Japanese way of organizing and editing. The first attempt was the *Reduced Print Canon* (*Shukusatsuzō* 縮刷藏 or *Gukyōzō* 弘教藏) created in 1885. Then, the main series of the so-called *Manji Canon* (*Manji shōzō* 卍正藏) was created in 1905 and a supplementary canon including materials in later periods was finished in 1912. The highlight of the Japanese canon-making process is the completion of the *Taishō Canon* around 1934 with the most innovative cataloging structure and editorial principles, including not only most of the content of early Buddhist texts translated into classical Chinese in previous canons but also newly discovered Dunhuang texts, archived manuscripts preserved in Japanese monasteries, iconographical materials, and writings by Japanese Buddhists.

In addition to these new compilations of texts originally written in classical Chinese, the Japanese also devoted themselves to creating the canonical compilations in native Japanese through redaction and translation, including the following editions compiled before 1945: *Tripitaka Nipponica* (*Nihon daizōkyō* 日本大藏經, 51 vols., Tokyo, 1914–1922), *Great Buddhist Collectanea* (*Bukkyō taikei* 佛教大系, 63 vols., Tokyo, 1917–1938), *Japanese Translation of the Great Tripitaka* (*Kokuyaku daizokyō* 國譯大藏經, 31 vols., Tokyo, 1917–1928), *Japanese Translation of the Great Tripitaka Newly Compiled during the Shōwa Reign* (*Shōwa shinsan kokuyaku daizōkyō* 昭和新纂國譯大藏經, 48 vols., Tokyo, 1928–1932), *Japanese Translation of Tripitaka: Section of Indian Writings* (*Kokuyaku issaikyō, Indo senjutsubu*

國譯一切經印度撰述部, 156 vols., Tokyo, 1928–1936), *Japanese Translation of Tripitaka: Section of Chinese and Japanese Writings* (*Kokuyaku issaikyō, wakan senjutsubu* 國譯一切經和漢撰述部, 66 vols., Tokyo, 1936–1945), *Great Tripitaka of Southern Buddhism* (*Nanden daizōkyō* 南傳大藏經, 65 sections in 70 vols., Tokyo, 1935–1941), and *Complete Collectanea of Japanese Buddhist Works* (*Dai Nihon Bukkyō zensho* 大日本佛教全書, 150 vols., Tokyo, 1912–1922).[6] In the postwar era, Japanese scholars continued to compile supplementary indexes to the existing canons and reprinted some of the rare editions. One of the results is the publication of the *Newly Compiled Japanese Supplementary Canon* (*Shinsan Dai Nihon zokuzōkyō* 新纂大日本続蔵経) in ninety volumes, which was released between 1975 and 1989. This edition is primarily a reprint of a previous canon supplementary to the *Manji Main Canon* finished in 1912 with a few additions.

During the modern period, not only were efforts made to compile and publish the entire collection of the Tripitaka, but were also numerous selections and excerpts of Buddhist texts, sectarian canons of "privileged" texts, dictionaries, and encyclopedia based on the Tripitaka. For example, Nanjō Bun'yū 南條文雄 (1849–1927), who had introduced the Western study of the Tripitaka to Japan, was interested in creating a single-volume scriptural collection, the so-called *Bukkyō Seiten* 佛教聖典, which parallels the Christian Bible. His effort was continued by Numata Yehan 沼田恵範 (1897–1994), who devoted himself to creating and disseminating the Buddhist Bible as chapter 2 explores. Sectarian compilations such as *Zen Recorded Sayings* (*Zen no goroku* 禅の語録) in twenty volumes were also published in Japan between 1969 and 1987.[7]

The Japanese efforts toward remaking the canon were immediately recognized by the Chinese and became the sources of inspiration and imitation. In 1866, Chinese lay Buddhist Yang Wenhui 楊文會 (1837–1911), who later became acquainted with Nanjō Bun'yū in London, founded the Jinling Sutra Carving Institute (*Jinling kejing chu* 金陵刻經處), a private sutra-publishing press, and intended to compile a complete new canon. Although he did not finish the entire canon, he initiated the project of *Essential Selections of the Great Tripitaka* (*Dazang jiyao* 大藏辑要), which includes about 465 titles and 3,300 fascicles of Buddhist texts. Yang's printing efforts were greatly facilitated through his connections in Japan.[8] Inspired by him, similar sutra carving institutes were founded in Changsha, Beijing, and Tianjin. In 1881, the Chinese diplomat/book collector Yang Shoujing 楊守敬 (1839–1915) purchased a version of the Song dynasty *Sixi Canon* (*Sixizang* 思溪藏, finished around 1138) from Japan and brought it back to China. Around 1909, under the sponsorship of the merchant-bureaucrat Sheng Xuanhuai 盛宣懷 (1864–1916) and the eminent monk Dixian 諦閑 (1858–1932), the *Piling Canon* (*Pilingzang* 毗陵藏) was started in Tianning Monastery 天寧寺

in Yangzhou but was never finished.[9] In the meantime, the *Pinjia Canon* (*Pinjiazang* 頻伽藏), as explored in chapter 4, was undertaken by the monk Zongyang 宗仰 (1865–1921) and finished in 1913 based on the newly created Japanese *Reduced Print Canon*. In 1943, the *Puhui Canon* (*Puhuizang* 普慧藏) was attempted but was never finished.

Similar to Yang Wenhui's *Essential Selections of the Great Tripitaka*, other selected editions of the canon were attempted, including Ouyang Jingwu's 歐陽竟無 *Tripitaka Essential* (*Zangyao* 藏要) in the 1930s, *Thirteen Buddhist Classics* (*Shishi shisanjing* 釋氏十三經) published by Shanghai Buddhist Publishing House, Master Yinguang's 印光 *Five Classics of* the *Pure Land School* (*Jingtu wujing* 淨土五經, 1931), and Ding Fubao's 丁福保 *Buddhist Studies Collectanea* (*Foxue congshu* 佛學叢書).[10]

More exciting are the discoveries of copies of the previously unknown canons in mainland China. In 1930, the *Qisha Canon* (*Qishazang* 磧砂藏, finished around 1322) was discovered in Shaanxi province; in 1934, close to 5,000 scrolls of the Jin-dynasty *Zhaocheng Canon* (*Zhaochengzang* 趙城藏, finished around 1178) was discovered in Shanxi province, and in the same year a near-complete *Hongwu Southern Canon* (*Hongwu nanzang* 洪武南藏, finished around 1402) was discovered in Sichuan; in 1974, twelve scrolls of the *Khitan Canon* were discovered in a pagoda in Yingxian 應縣 in Shanxi; throughout several decades, eleven extant scrolls and remains of the *Kaibao Canon* were discovered. The *Yuan Official Canon* (*Yuanguanzang* 元官藏) was discovered in Yunnan in the 1980s. Facsimiled copies of most of these texts have been published.[11]

In Taiwan, from the 1960s to 1970s, a new effort of canon-making resulted in the publication of four series of the Taibei edition of the *Tripitaka Sinica* (*Zhonghua dazangjing* 中華大藏經) based on the newly discovered *Qisha Canon*, *Zhaocheng Canon*, and the extant *Jiaxing Canon*. In mainland China, there are renewed interests in canon-making as well which led to the completion of the first series (Chinese-language materials) of the Beijing edition of the *Tripitaka Sinica* in 1994. Currently, the project has been revived with the ambition to extend the canon to include Tibetan and Theravada materials.

The Chinese Buddhist canon remains vital in modern East Asia in many ways. Perhaps one of the best examples of its modern relevance is illustrated by the number of Buddhist organizations that have reprinted and recently published their own edition of the Buddhist canon, perceiving it to have various academic and devotional benefits. An equally important purpose for the promotion and publication of the canon is to position the sect as a significant Buddhist organization. The existence of a physical or material canon with the organization's name imprinted may not be affordable for the average Buddhist, but its existence has value to both the organization and its members.

The published canon, for example, provides evidence to the congregants that they worship at a strong and vital Buddhist sect.

Along with the rise of Buddhism in contemporary Taiwan, the printing, distribution, and creation of the Buddhist canon are promoted by various monastic communities. As early as 1955, Ven. Dongchu 東初 (1907–1977) set up the Chinese Buddhist Cultural Institute (Zhonghua Fojiao wenhua guan 中華佛教文化館) which was later inherited by his disciple Ven. Sheng Yen 聖嚴 (1931–2009) and became the core of the later Dharma Drum Buddhist Order. One of the tasks was to reprint and distribute the *Taishō Canon* and later the *Manji Supplementary Canon*.[12] There are also "sectarian" canon compilations such as *Buddhist Tripitaka* 佛教大藏經 initiated by the monk Guangding 廣定 in 1983. Since 1984, the Buddhist Educational Foundation (*Fotuo jiaoyu jijinhui* 佛陀教育基金會) based in Taiwan and founded by Ven. Jingkong (Chin Kung 淨空) reprinted various editions of Buddhist canons and widely distributed them in mainland China and Taiwan. Although the Vietnamese never carved their own woodblock canon, a complete Vietnamese translation of the *Taishō Canon* was initiated by Vietnamese Taiwan monk Jingxing 淨行 (V. Tịnh Hạnh, 1934–2015) and finished in the year 2000 after more than twenty years of hard work.[13]

A striking example of the new edition of the canon based on a new Buddhist order is the forty-volume (20,000-page) publication of the *Foguang Tripitaka* 佛光大藏經 (also available as an e-book) initiated by Master Xingyun 星雲 and completed in 1994. In addition to making Buddhist teachings with a Foguangshan imprint available, the publication of the canon provided a physical connection to the canon as a ritual object and a validation of authenticity for the sect in the eyes of their followers and beyond.[14]

The most significant new development during the second half of the twentieth century was the creation of the digital canons by organizations such as Chinese Buddhist Electronic Tripitaka Association (CBETA) in Taiwan, Saṃganikīkrtaṃ Taiśotripiṭakaṃ (SAT) in Japan, and the Research Institute for the Tripitaka Koreana's (RITK) *Digital Tripitaka Koreana* in South Korea. All these projects, introduced in chapters 7 and 8, were operated independently and at times associated with the pioneering organization Electronic Buddhist Text Initiative (EBTI), which was first started at University of California, Berkeley in 1992 during a meeting at Dr. Lewis Lancaster's residence and later served as a regular meeting place for canon digitizers to discuss and share technology and strategies.[15] Although all these projects started as the digitization of the existing printed editions, with the addition of new technical and digital reference tools, they have been quickly transformed into new kinds of digital compilations, each with its own unique functions and characteristics.

THE RISE OF "TEXTUAL MODERNITY" IN EAST ASIAN BUDDHISM

In the previous section, we have listed the major modern compilation and digitization efforts, not to mention the numerous spin-off textual by-products derived from the canon such as various catalogs, indexes, abbreviations and selections, sectarian canons, and supplements. It is no doubt that there are renewed efforts in modern East Asia to rejuvenate the Buddhist canon tradition. During this process, the essential issue is how the East Asian textual tradition, such as the Buddhist canon, evolves in the era of modernity and transforms itself in its negotiation with its past, present, and future.

The issue of modernity in East Asia is a hotly debated topic involving temporal and spatial restructuring of East Asian society based on a profound intellectual transformation of the East Asian consciousness of its historical past. As Prasenjit Duara defines it:

> The East Asian modern occupies this labile interface between novelty and the past in the region. As such, it addresses problems of identity, change, and authenticity that politically powerful forces seek to appropriate for their particular projects. The term East Asian modern represents both an analytical category, where the past is repeatedly re-signified and mobilized to serve future projects, and a substantive category, referring to the circulation of practices and signifiers evoking historical authenticity in the region.[16]

Here, it is clear that the underlying trajectory of modern East Asia is not a one-dimensional vector toward the West and the future. Rather, it is a constant revisit to and negotiation with its past in search of authenticity and the meaning of identity.

In this complex process of constructing the East Asian modern, what is the role of religion? Some scholars approach modernity through the process of secularization and study how the state modernization projects marginalized religion. Some contest that a re-enchantment process occurs and religion remains essential in the daily life of East Asian people. In this process, the issues of colonialism and imperialism, from both the West and Japan, state building, and the rise of nativism and nationalism have to be considered as well.

The relation between Buddhism and modernity in Asia has been explored by many scholars who have observed a vibrant "Buddhist revival" and the rise of "Protestant Buddhism" or "Buddhist Modernism," clearly influenced by Western values and religious practice.[17] Anne Blackburn, in her recent book, *Locations of Buddhism*, summarizes a few characteristic orientations in this kind of new Buddhism in the modern era:

1. The rise of lay activism and authority with the concomitant decline in monastic power and prestige
2. An increasing emphasis on the "rationalist" and scientific character of Buddhism
3. Buddhist efforts to counter "Western" and Christian influence while adopting Christian or Euro-American forms of religious association (such as lay committees and associations) and "Western" or "modern" technologies (such as print)
4. A deepening focus and attachment to "scriptural" or "canonical" textual authority, and a diminished attachment to a larger corpus of Buddhist narratives, by individual Buddhists whose textual practice is understood to be increasingly unmediated by monastic authority[18]

Although Blackburn's above statements largely draw from studies of Buddhism in modern Southeast Asia, most of the conclusions can be applied to the situation in East Asia as well. In the burgeoning field of modern East Asian Buddhism, much has been done to explore the first three aspects of the above statements, especially the reformation of the Buddhist institutions, the Western and Christian influence, the formation of modern ideologies, the interaction with modern state/government, and the rise of modernized ritual practice.[19] However, little has been done to explore the last point Blackburn made about the return to the textual authority of scriptures and canons, which has been facilitated by the large-scale dissemination of Buddhist texts. We therefore hope this book will address these issues.

Throughout this book, we argue that a new look at the modern editions of the Buddhist canon and the devotional culture associated with them will not only generate a new narrative of the history of modern East Asian Buddhism but also sharpen our views of bigger issues such as the formation of East Asian modernities in general. Our investigation of the evolution of the Buddhist canonical tradition in modern East Asia suggests the emergence of a type of "textual modernity" which seeks to transform Asian culture through manipulating its textual past.

By "textual modernity" we mean a systematic reinvention of a preexisting textual tradition under the modern circumstance by reformulating a body of texts through a series of new textual practices such as cataloging, indexing, annotating, and textual criticizing and by adopting new technologies such as printing and digitizing to disseminate these new textual products within and beyond faith communities. Among various Buddhist enterprises of publishing and printing, this reinvention of the canonical tradition became one of the important components of the rise of "textual modernity" in East Asian Buddhism.

However, this concept is full of tension, contradiction, and uncertainty because an ancient textual tradition is subject to the forces alien to its established conventions and practices. In our research, we find that the transformation of the Buddhist canon in modern East Asia displays the following characteristics which illustrate the complexity of the formation of "textual modernity."

Influence of Western Imagination

It has to be noted that the process of modern canon-making started in the West when the discovery of Sanskrit and Tibetan Buddhist texts greatly advanced European scholars' knowledge of Buddhism. However, as shown in chapter 1 in this book, such a knowledge was often largely imaginatively based on textual manipulation of the Buddhist past by European scholars. The European thirst for new Buddhist texts thus prompted the translations of various Chinese travelogs to India and eventually secured the arrival of a complete set of the Chinese Buddhist canon from Japan in 1875, resulting in the creation of two modern catalogs of the canon by Samuel Beal and Nanjō Bun'yū, respectively. The Orientalistic imagination, in the way Edward Said defines it, was in turn brought back to East Asia by Japanese scholars studying abroad and greatly influenced the process of canon-making in modern East Asia.[20] Meanwhile, the presence of Christianity in East Asia and its use of the Bible also greatly inspired the creation of a single-volume compilation of the canon as chapter 2 illustrates.

Coexistence of Old and New Textual Criticism

In the premodern era, canon formation involves traditional practices of textual criticism such as catalog making, classification of teaching, use of the *Thousand Character Classic*, etc. The structure of the traditional canons was largely controlled by the *Kaiyuan Catalog* created in 730. Traditional Buddhist and Confucian textual criticism still influenced the canon-making process in the early stage of modernity, and its collation process continued to follow traditional procedures. When the *Reduced Print Canon* (often referred to as the Kyoto edition) project was undertaken, the Japanese compilers had attempted to break the constraint of the *Kaiyuan Catalog* by adopting an alternative classifying system developed by the Chinese scholar-monk Ouyi Zhixu 藕益智旭 (1599–1655) in the seventeenth century. The collation process of the *Reduced Print Canon* was also traditional and ritualistic, following five steps: (1) use the *Goryeo Canon* as the working copy; (2) add punctuation marks to all texts; (3) check all texts against editions from the Chinese canons produced in the Song, Yuan, and Ming dynasties; (4) repeat

the collation process one more time; (5) proofread the galley copies from the movable printer.[21] Results of these rigorous collation processes have been assimilated into the later canons. Textual criticism among scholars and clergymen was greatly facilitated by the establishment of the Tripitaka Association (Daizōe 大藏會) in Tokyo in 1914 and later in Kyoto and Nagoya. The Association held regular exhibitions of rare and newly discovered Buddhist scriptures from various institutions and helped preserve the Tripitaka tradition in Japan.[22] In modern China, conventions of traditional textual practice also have a strong hold. The Buddhist publisher, editor, and author Ding Fubao 丁福保 (1874–1952) largely relied on the techniques of textual criticism developed from the Confucian evidential scholarship in his commentaries of Buddhist scriptures.[23] Even at the end of the twentieth century, the compilers of the Beijing edition of the *Tripitaka Sinica* still insist on using the method of the *Thousand Character Classic* (*Qianziwen*) to arrange the texts.

The modern canon, however, by adopting the convention of Western scholarship, dramatically changed the structure and textual conventions of canon-making. The well-known accomplishment of this modern transformation is the compilation of the *Taishō Canon* during the 1920s and 1930s. Not only did the editors completely abolish the *Thousand Character Classic* retrieval system and Zhisheng's *Kaiyuan Catalog* classification principles, but also added punctuation, collations notes, and division of registers and supplemented the canon with extensive indexes, critical catalogs, and cross-references with Sanskrit and other Buddhist languages. These new textual arrangements made the *Taishō Canon* the standard edition for scholarly reference and citation.

The Search for Authenticity

In addition to the influence of European scholarship, the urge to compile new editions of the Buddhist canon also comes from within the Buddhist communities as a way of reinventing themselves in search of authenticity, which serves as "the foundation of a tradition and the source for forming a coherent and consistent value system."[24] Such a quest prompts efforts to justify the Buddhist religion as "being rational, authentic, and pure" in modern times through intensive study and reformulation of its textual past. For example, Japan, as the center of the Buddhist modernism movement in East Asia, saw the rise of "Indianism," which looked for the "authentic" form of Buddhism through seeking its origin beyond Japan, especially in India and Tibet. Meanwhile, Buddhism was portrayed as a pan-Asian, universal world religion.[25] In this movement, the Jōdo Shinshū sect in Japan is one of the leading modernizing forces within Japanese Buddhism and also an engine for searching "authentic Buddhist texts" from China, Tibet, and Central Asia. Among the

early Meiji Buddhist leaders, Ōtani Kōzui was perhaps most influential in setting the tones for the New Buddhism in modern Japan and meddling with international politics in East Asia. He traveled widely in Asia and Europe, exposing himself to the most recent Buddhist expeditions and discoveries. During his tenure as abbot from 1903–1914, he oriented the Nishi Honganji branch of Jōdo Shinshū toward three modernizing endeavors: publishing Buddhist texts, dispatching missions to foreign countries, especially to China and Korea, and providing modern education as social service. After his disgraceful step-down due to a financial scandal in 1914, he lived mostly in Shanghai and continued to exert his influence in East Asia (in particular China) through writing.[26] In early twentieth century, he initiated at least three expeditions to search for ancient Buddhist manuscripts in Central Asia and Tibet.[27] However, as chapter 3 in this book shows, his quest for "authentic" texts started from his visit to Qing China and his acquisition of the Chinese *Dragon Canon* in 1899, though it has to be pointed out that his initial intention might be finding a Tibetan canon.

Colonialism, Nationalism, and International Diplomacy

The formation of the modern canons was also deeply enmeshed in the web of international relations, colonialism, and nationalism, especially in Japan. The Ōbaku edition preserved in India Office Library, as seen from chapter 1 in this book, was requested and facilitated through the Japanese Iwakura Mission to Britain in 1872. Ōtani Kōzui's request of the *Qing Dragon Canon* in 1899 was also clearly framed in a series of diplomatic protocols as gift exchanges between the Qing government and the Ōtani delegation. Not only did the Qing government send the canon to Japan, but also bestowed the canon in 1904 to an overseas Chinese Buddhist Temple in Penang, Malaysia, the Kek Lok Si 極樂寺 founded by Chinese master Miaolian 妙蓮 in 1893, as a symbolic support of overseas Chinese communities.[28] In Korea, the "discovery" of the printing blocks of the second *Goryeo Canon* in Haeinsa was largely part of Japan's colonial exploration in Korea and was actively incorporated into Japan's colonial ideology. In 1915, a complete set of the *Goryeo Canon*, manufactured by Korean workers and using "genuine" Korean paper and printing materials, was presented to the Japanese imperial court by Japan's first governor for annexed Korea Terauchi Masatake 寺内正毅 (1852–1919), as a tribute to the past emperor Meiji. The irony of this event is that a canon which had been long regarded as a talisman for "nation protection" in the Goryeo and Joseon dynasties was then incorporated into Japan's colonial agenda and became the treasure of a colonial empire. In 1937, a complete set of the same canon was printed

and delivered to the new "Manchukuo" 滿洲國 as a gift from the Japanese empire to its puppet regime in China.[29]

The creation of the *Taishō Canon*, according to Greg Wilkinson's study, is also a product of the rising nationalism in prewar Japan: upon its completion, a solemn ceremony was convened to dedicate the prints to Prince Shōtoku 聖德太子 in a religious setting. Immediately after printing the first volume of the *Taishō Canon* in 1924, a ceremony was convened at a lecture hall of Tokyo University of the Art to dedicate the prints to Prince Shōtoku and was attended by the royal family member Kuni no Miya Kuniyoshi 久邇宮邦彦 (1873–1929), who claimed in the prayer announced during the ceremony on behalf of the learned scholars that they "would like to present the canon in front of the spirit tablet of the Dharma King Shōtoku to be held as the Dharma Treasure in Hōryūji forever."[30]

Adoption of Printing/Digital Technologies and Commercial Press

The Buddhist religion is always quick to respond to and even lead the technological advances, and the development of mass print dissemination was no different. The invention of printing in East Asia, for example, was closely related to the dissemination of Mahayana Buddhist scriptures.[31] The *Goryeo Canon* is perhaps the most sophisticated in utilizing the xylographic printing technology in East Asia, involving the entire process from wood processing, block carving, paper making, ink impression, and conservation.[32] In the modern era, with the advent of Western printing technology, first introduced by Western missionaries, Buddhists quickly adopted the tools of printing and commercial press for their literary expressions. Numerous Buddhist journals and publications appeared in East Asia,[33] and the creation of the printed editions of the canon was one of the accomplishments of commercial printing, as chapter 4 shows. In the late twentieth century, a pioneering group of scholars under the leadership of Dr. Lewis Lancaster experimented on the adoption of digital tools in creating new forms of the Buddhist canon and text collection. After the hard work of twenty years, the impact of these projects began to appear, as chapters 6 and 7 illustrate. The significance of these projects is that the content of the canons has now been transformed into "data" which open up a wide range of new possibilities for reconfiguring, retrieval, data mining, and deep learning through the application of data science technology and artificial intelligence. Nowadays, these projects become some of the best examples of Digital Humanities and data scholarship. The UCLA information scientist Christine Borgman, after analyzing the impact of CBETA in Buddhist studies as representative of humanities data processing, considers the digital Tripitaka as both microscope and telescope for the philological studies of Buddhist texts.[34]

Persistence of Devotionalism

The rise of Buddhist "textual modernity" led to an interesting situation of alienation and estrangement from faith communities. While the canon is textualized and recreated as a textual product for wider dissemination, its textual authority also shifts to the hands of a small group of scholars who can adopt the new textual techniques and those who have better access to modern technologies. The textualization and digitalization of scriptures and the canons also create a dilemma that texts can be accessed and interpreted without the mediation of the monastic authority. Moreover, the traditional type of devotionalism to the canon, such as the "Cult of the Canon," rapidly diminished in the modern era.[35] However, attempts have been made to reincorporate the canon in faith communities.

The compilation and collation of the *Reduced Print Canon* was mostly conducted by ordained Japanese clergymen who followed ritualist procedures for their handling of the sacred canonical texts. Working from eight in the morning until four in the afternoon, all participants in collation were required to wear clergy's robes except laymen. After washing hands before entering the working space, they paid homage to the Śākyamuni statue. No talking, smoking, and mishandling of the scriptures were allowed. After a day's work, they bowed to the statue again before leaving. In addition to a day off on Sunday, no secular holiday was observed, and only Buddhist holidays such as the Nirvana Assembly (fifteenth day of the second month), Buddha's Birthday (eighth day of the fourth month), and Obon Festival (fifteenth day of the seventh month) were celebrated.[36]

As an example of the "Cult of the Canon," the revolving sutra repository/book case or carousal cabinet (C. *Zhuanlunzang* 轉輪藏, J. *rinzō* 輪藏) was invented as a substitute for reading the entire canon and used to be popular in premodern China. This device stores an entire set of the canon inside a wooden structure, which revolves around a central axle if the devotee pushes the attached handle. In Japan, the traditional ritual of revolving sutra repositories is still in use.[37] In Korea, as a national treasure, the *Goryeo Canon* and its blocks have been long regarded as a powerful talisman[38] and were reinvented as ritual objects in the ceremony of "Bearing the Canon on the Crown of the Head" (*jeongdae bulsa* 頂戴佛事) by walking Uisang's 義湘 (625–702) *Seal-diagram Symbolizing the Dharma Realm of the One Vehicle* (*Ilseung beopgye-do* 一乘法界圖), as described in chapter 5.

In contemporary China, sutra-reading rituals and the "Cult of the Canon" have also been revived. In 2007, a gigantic revolving sutra repository (13.6 m), claimed to be the tallest in the world, was erected in Goryeo Monastery 高麗寺 in Hangzhou, which was traditionally a Korean temple in China after the Goryeo prince-monk Uicheon 義天 (1055–1101) stayed

there in 1085. A recent event is the modern design and building of a gigantic carousal cabinet in Shaolin Monastery 少林寺. In order to fill the repository, a massive sutra copying campaign was organized by Ven. Yongxin 永信 in 2015 to create a hand-copied canon based on the *Dragon Canon*. It seems that in addition to the numerous reprints of various editions of the canon, the most popular was the *Dragon Canon* whose blocks remain for printing. The request of the canon rests on the premises that the native canon printed from the actual blocks acquired magical power as talisman and merit field for the benefit of believers. At the end of 2015, a massive devotional sutra-reading movement was jointly initiated online by several Buddhist and cultural institutions. Based on a selection of 375 titles from Ouyi Zhixu's *Tripitaka Reading Guide* (*Yuezang zhijin* 閱藏知津), registered participants can read individually, online, or in group during summer retreat at monastic centers by following a gradual curriculum.[39]

It becomes obvious that in recent years, a new momentum has been gathering in monastic communities to create new canons and organize Tripitaka-centered devotional activities. Several Chinese monastic orders in mainland China decided to initiate such endeavors, including Jingshan Monastery 徑山寺 in Hangzhou led by Ven. Jiexing 戒興, where the famous *Jiaxing Canon* was carved and Longquan Monastery 龍泉寺 in Beijing headed by Ven. Xuecheng 學誠. It can be expected that when Buddhism returns to full public life in mainland China, the need for scriptural authority and authenticity will prompt more efforts to revive the Buddhist canon tradition.[40]

OVERVIEW OF CHAPTERS

Despite its undisputed importance in the history of Buddhism, research on the huge collection of the Chinese Buddhist canon has remained largely the province of Buddhologists and exegetes focusing on textual and bibliographical studies. We present this book with the aim of altering this research landscape by initiating methodological innovations to study the transformation of the canon and by situating it in its modern context, characterized by intricate interactions between East and West as well as among countries in East Asia. This book explores the most significant and interesting developments regarding the Chinese Buddhist canon in modern East Asia, including textual studies, historical analyses, religious studies, and information on digital research tools and methods. From a sociopolitical view, this book presents papers on how the Buddhist canon in modern times has acted as a means for social progress, legitimization of a regional regime, value as an economic commodity, and examples of technological advance. In the realm of foreign policy, the Buddhist canon was used as a diplomatic tool to foster

cooperative international relations. Through these diplomatic channels, we see the arrival of the first Chinese canon in Europe thanks to diplomatic efforts between Japan and Britain during the latter part of the nineteenth century. These explorations of the Buddhist canon commence discussions on the Buddhist canon that go beyond words that are simply written down and printed. Moreover, the proliferation of new "Buddhist Bibles" and Korean woodblock canon rituals evidenced the canon's reinvention to suit the needs of a modern world while maintaining a connection to premodern texts. From these modern editions and continued ritual traditions, the Buddhist canon no longer becomes a set of antiquated texts, but a living textual tradition that needs to be investigated to discover the canon's connection to human society as well as a source of comparison with other canonical traditions.

Two articles in Part I deal with the origin of modernization under Western influence and Japanese leadership in reinventing the Buddhist canon. Chapter 1 by Jiang Wu traces this origin to renewed interests in Buddhism in Europe, which prompted the search for the Chinese Buddhist canon through the 1872 Japanese Iwakura Mission in Britain. Chapter 2 by Greg Wilkinson and Nicholas J. Frederick demonstrates how a new generation of Japanese scholars and devotees such as Nanjō Bun'yū and Numata Yehan emulated Christian missionaries by compiling modern "Buddhist Bibles." They argue that there are significant similarities in the product and process of Buddhist and Christian Bible editions in the twentieth century and much can be learned about modern canonization by comparing how Buddhists and Christians see single-volume collections of scriptures.

Three chapters in Part II shift the focus to China, which followed Japan's lead by reinventing the canon as a diplomatic tool and a commodity. Chapter 3 by Kida Tomoo 木田知生 explores the creation of the *Qing Dragon Canon* and how a leader of Japanese Jōdo Shinshū, Ōtani Kōzui, acquired a copy through diplomatic channels from the Chinese court in the 1890s. By tracing not just one edition of the canon but the provenance of a single copy of the canon, the author provides in-depth analysis of the circumstances surrounding the production and transmission of a Buddhist canon. However, as chapter 4 by Gregory Adam Scott shows, at the end of the imperial rule in China, the Buddhist canon, the *Pinjia Canon* initiated by the Shanghai Jewish merchant Silas Aaron Hardoon (1851–1931) and his wife, was created on the basis of a modern Japanese edition primarily as a commercial product. The author adeptly explains the economic and market forces which motivated the production of the Buddhist canon in modern China. Focusing on the ritual use of the canon in modern and contemporary times, chapter 5 by Richard McBride examines the development and perpetuation of a procession ceremony of worshipping the *Goryeo Canon* and its blocks based on an ancient philosophical treatise in South Korea.

This book concludes with two chapters in Part III, which discuss the efforts of creating digital canons. Chapter 6 by Christian Wittern, a veteran of humanities informatics, introduces and evaluates the three major digitization projects in East Asia. In chapter 7, Charles Muller, Shimoda Masahiro 下田正弘, and Nagasaki Kiyonori永崎研宣, with Shimoda as leader and Muller and Nagasaki as main collaborators of the SAT Daizōkyō Text Database, recounts the process of creating the SAT Buddhist canon based on the full text of *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經, which is now available online. In addition to describing the design, functions, and digital tools of this project, they also contemplate on the issues of digitization of the Buddhist canon in the modern age. In the end, a translation of Fang Guangchang's seminal paper on the definition, periodization, and digitization of the Chinese canon is included as appendix. Readers should obtain more comprehensive knowledge of the canon through his work.

The selected chapters in this book represent the new transformation of the Buddhist canonical tradition. However, many questions remain for further exploration. For example, studies in Theravada traditions seem to suggest that the modern transformation of the Tripitaka tradition has significant root in the centuries immediately before the dawn of modernity. In a similar vein, while the creation of the new canons initiates changes, what are their connections with their premodern predecessors? Also, since the new textual criticism originating from the West was adopted, how were these practices localized in different regions, which helped to create new textual authorities in Buddhist communities? More importantly, while the canon was created, mass produced, and disseminated by means of modern printing and digital technology, how did Buddhist communities respond to the proliferation of Buddhist texts and how did individuals and the communities actually use the canon in their reading and devotional activities? These questions will await further studies as this book serves as a starting point.

NOTES

1. In a recent publication, we have covered the history of the Chinese Buddhist canon in East Asia, mostly in the premodern period. See Wu and Chia, *Spreading Buddha's Word in East Asia*. For a survey of the translation of Buddhist texts in China, see Funayama Tōru, *Butten wa dō kan'yakusareta no ka*.

2. Fang Guangchang, "Defining the Chinese Buddhist Canon," 8–9, included as appendix in this book.

3. For comprehensive reviews of the Chinese Buddhist canon, see Wu and Chia, *Spreading Buddha's Word in East Asia*, Fang Guangchang, *Zhongguo xieben dazangjing yanjiu*, and also Li and He, *Hanwen fojiao dazangjing yanjiu*.

4. Commonly known as the "Red Ink Edition," this Beijing edition of Kanjur was sought after during Ōtani Kōzui's visit to Beijing, as mentioned in chapter 3 of this book. Unfortunately, the blocks of the Tibetan canon were burned during the Boxer Rebellion in 1900. However, an entire set of its prints was secured from Zifu Monastery 資福院 in Beijing by the Shinshū monk-scholar and military agent Teramoto Enga 寺本婉雅 (1872–1940) and sent to Japan amid the Eight-Nation Alliance's invasion of Beijing in 1900. It was later transferred to Otani University Library. A catalog was prepared based on this copy. See *Chibetto Daizōkyō Kanjūru Kandō Mokuroku*. For a general overview, see Ch'en, "The Tibetan Tripitaka;" Eimer, "The Tibetan Kanjur Printed in China." For the creation of the Mongolian canon and Manchu canon, see Kollmar–Paulenz, "The Transmission of the Mongolian Kanjur," Helman-Ważny, *The Archaeology of Tibetan Books*, 158–162, and Bingenheimer, "History of the Manchu Buddhist Canon."

5. For its transmission to Japan and Ryukyu, see Cho, "The Goryeo Canon as a Multiple-valued Commodity." Robinson, "Treated as Treasures."

6. For a brief summary of these new compilations, see Hirakawa and Ceadel, "Japanese Research on Buddhism Since the Meiji Period," especially 226–227.

7. Welter, "The Zen Buddhist 'Canon' in Modern Japan."

8. For Yang Wenhui and his publishing institute, see Luo, *Jinling kejingchu yanjiu*. Goldfuss, *Vers Un Bouddhisme Du Xxe Siècle: Yang Wenhui*. Chen Jidong, *Shinmatsu Bukkyō no Kenkyū.*

9. See Fang Guangchang, "Pilingzang chutan."

10. Unfortunately, due to the limit of space, we cannot include studies on these topics. For a few studies, see He Jianmin, "Jinbainian fozang xuanji chuban huigu." Zu, "The Poor Men's Philanthropy against the White Men's Burden." Scott, "Navigating the Sea of Scriptures."

11. Li Jining, "Jin sanshinian xin faxian de Fojiao dazangjing jiqi jiazhi."

12. See Ven. Sheng Yen's chronological biography. Lin, *Shengyan fashi nianpu*, vol. 1, 100. We want to thank the Dharma Drum Educational Foundation for sending us this book as a gift.

13. Tịnh Hạnh (Jingxing), *Linh Sơn Pháp Bảo Đại Tạng Kinh*. During the Buddhist revival in 1930s Vietnam, efforts had been made to study and translate the Chinese canon into Romanized Vietnamese. See McHale, *Print and Power*, 159.

14. See Yi Kung, "The Unique Philosophy and Innovative System of Classification in the Compilation of Foguang Buddhist Canon."

15. For a short history of the founding of EBTI, see http://www.buddhism-dict.net/ebti/. For the founding and achievement of CBETA, see Tu, "The Creation of the CBETA Chinese Electronic Tripitaka Collection in Taiwan." For the creation of the digital Korean canon, see Kim Jongmyung, "The Digitized Tripitaka Koreana 2004" and "The Tripiṭaka Koreana." For the history of SAT, see chapter 7 in this book.

16. Duara, *Sovereignty and Authenticity*, 3.

17. Heinz Bechert's and Homles Welch's works on modern Buddhist revival in Lankan Buddhism and Chinese Buddhism remain foundational. Gananath Obeyesekere coined the term "Protestant Buddhism" in 1970s, which became popular to categorize this period of modern transformation. See Bechert and el., *Buddhismus,*

Staat Und Gesellschaft. Welch, *The Buddhist Revival in China*. Obeyesekere, "Religious Symbolism and Political Changes in Ceylon." For Buddhist modernism in East Asia, see Sharf, "Buddhist Modernism and the Rhetoric of Meditative Experience." McMahan, *The Making of Buddhist Modernism*.

18. Blackburn, *Locations of Buddhism*, 199.

19. For a literature review of the current research on Buddhism in modern China, see Kiely and Jessup, "Introduction," *Recovering Buddhism in Modern China*, 1–33.

20. Said, *Orientalism*.

21. "Gukyō Shoin kōjō kisoku" 弘教書院校場規則, Matsunaga, *Kindai no daizōkyō to jōdoshū*, 61.

22. Baba Hisayuki, "Nihon kindai Bukkyō to Daizōe."

23. See Scott, "Navigating the Sea of Scriptures."

24. Wu, *Leaving for the Rising Sun*, 6.

25. Jaffe, "Buddhist Material Culture" and "Seeking Sakyamuni."

26. There are several recent publications about Ōtani Kōzui in Japan, which situated him in the complicated international politics. For his English biography, see Anderson, "Nishihonganji and Japanese Buddhist Nationalism."

27. Ōtani has visited or organized visits to many places such as China, India, Manchuria, Siberia, Sakhalin, Southeast Asia, Hawaii, Europe, and the United States. See Galambos, "The third Otani Expedition at Dunhuang," "Japanese 'Spies' Along the Silk Road," "Buddhist Relics from the Western Regions."

28. For sources on the request for the canon, see *Jilesi zhi*, 307–308.

29. For these two events, see Kim, "The Politics of the Tripitaka Koreana (Goryeo Canon) in Colonial Korea (1905–1945)."

30. Wilkinson, "*Taishō Canon*," 301.

31. Barrett, *The Woman Who Discovered Printing*.

32. Park, *Under the Microscope*.

33. For Buddhist publishing in modern China, see Scott, "Chinese Buddhist Publishing and Print Culture;" and Katz, *Religion in China & Its Modern Fate*, 69–108.

34. See Borgman, *Big Data, Little Data, No Data*, especially 186–200. See also her recent presentation at the 2016 PNC conference, "Rethinking Scholarship."

35. For the practice of the "Cult of the Canon," see Wu, "From the 'Cult of the Book' to the 'Cult of the Canon.'" For a recent study of the Japanese scriptural tradition, see Lowe, *Ritualized Writing*.

36. "Gukyō Shoin kōjō kisoku" 弘教書院校場規則, Matsunaga, *Kindai no daizōkyō to jōdoshū*, 60.

37. For this practice in premodern China and contemporary Japan, see Wu, "From the 'Cult of the Book' to the 'Cult of the Canon'"; and Wilkinson, "Turning the Dharma."

38. For the use of the canon as talisman in premodern Korea, see Wu and Dziwenka, "Better than the Original."

39. For these sutra-reading activities in China, see http://www.yuezang.org/.

40. Jiang Wu visited most of these sites and was introduced to these new inventions in recent years. He would like to thank Ven. Yongxin, Jiexing, Xianqing 賢清, and Xianchao 賢超 for their guidance and introduction.

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Part I

THE BUDDHIST CANON ENCOUNTERS THE WEST

Chapter 1

Finding the First Chinese Tripitaka in the West

Early European Buddhology, the 1872 Iwakura Mission in Britain, and the Mystery of the Ōbaku Canon *in the India Office Library*

Jiang Wu

INTRODUCTION

Although the creation of the Chinese Buddhist canon is an important event in the East Asian cultural sphere, little is known about when and how Westerners became first interested in this great textual tradition. More importantly, what was the Western conception of the Chinese Buddhist canon and how did the early Buddhologists get access to the canon and study it systematically? These questions initiated my search for the first Chinese Tripitaka in the West, and in this chapter I will offer an answer by presenting my preliminary research.

The significant discovery made is that the Japanese *Ōbaku Canon* 黃檗藏 or *Tetsugen Canon* 鐵眼藏 might be the first Chinese Tripitaka which was brought to the West and exerted significant impact on European scholarship of Chinese Buddhism. The Ōbaku edition was carved by the Japanese Ōbaku Zen monk Tetsugen Dōkō 鉄眼道光 (1630–1682) based on the main section of the *Jiaxing Canon* 嘉興藏, which is actually a reprint of the *Northern Ming Canon* 明北藏, or commonly known as the *Yongle Northern Canon* 永樂北藏, created in China. Tetsugen received this Jiaxing edition from his teacher Chinese monk Yinyuan Longqi 隱元隆琦 (1592–1673, J. Ingen Ryūki), who migrated to Japan in 1654 and became the founder of the Japanese Ōbaku Zen tradition. After completion of the canon in 1681, this edition became the most popular during the Edo period. In the mid-nineteenth

century, because of the discovery of Sanskrit and Tibetan Buddhist texts, European scholarship on Buddhism was greatly advanced. Therefore, there was a need to find the Chinese Tripitaka to collate with Sanskrit and Tibetan texts. In 1872, the Iwakura Mission, composed of a large group of Japanese diplomats, scholars, and students dispatched by the newly founded Meiji government, arrived in Britain. Samuel Beal (1825–1889), a navy chaplain and later a professor of Chinese at University College London, through his personal connection and the joint efforts of a group of British scholar-diplomats in East Asia, made a request to the chief ambassador Iwakura Tomomi 岩倉具視 (1825–1883) about sending a Chinese canon to England. Iwakura kept his word after returning to Japan, and the whole set of the canon arrived at the India Office Library in 1875. (Currently, the canon is housed in British Library and bound in Western booklet style, as shown in Figure 1.1) Samuel Beal created a shelf catalog of the received books in 1876, and Max Müller's (1823–1900) Japanese student Nanjō Bun'yū 南條文雄 (1849–1927) translated its original Chinese catalog into English in 1883. However, Nanjō didn't mark in the title page that this canon was actually the Ōbaku edition carved in Japan. It still reads as the *Catalog of the Sacred Teaching of the Great Ming Tripitaka* (*Da Ming sanzang shengjiao mulu* 大明三藏聖教目錄) and thus became the source of confusion. Upon returning to Japan, Nanjō Bun'yū brought a new vision of compiling a modern canon back to East Asia and eventually nurtured the creation of the *Taishō Canon*.

It is clear that this first Chinese Buddhist Tripitaka in Europe was enmeshed in the complicated political, diplomatic, and religious context in nineteenth-century East Asia and Europe. Though neglected, it was indeed a milestone event in the reinvention of the canonical tradition in East Asia. In this chapter, I will follow a chronological order to introduce the series of events which led to the introduction of the first Chinese Buddhist canon to Europe. Starting from the creation of the *Ōbaku Canon* in the seventeenth century and its spread in East Asia in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, I will then focus on how the breakthrough of Buddhist studies in mid-nineteenth-century Europe kindled a deep interest in hunting Buddhist books and manuscripts in Asia and how Samuel Beal pioneered in the study of Chinese Buddhism by searching Chinese texts and canons. Then I turn focus to the famous Iwakura Mission and explore the subtle attitude of Japanese intellectuals and politicians toward religion after the Meiji Restoration. More importantly, I shall reveal how Samuel Beal's request for a complete set of Tripitaka was sent to the mission through a small but dedicated group of British scholar-diplomats. Among them, Sir Harry Parkes (Ba Xiali 巴夏禮, 1828–1885), the British minister to China, Japan, and Korea, played an essential role.

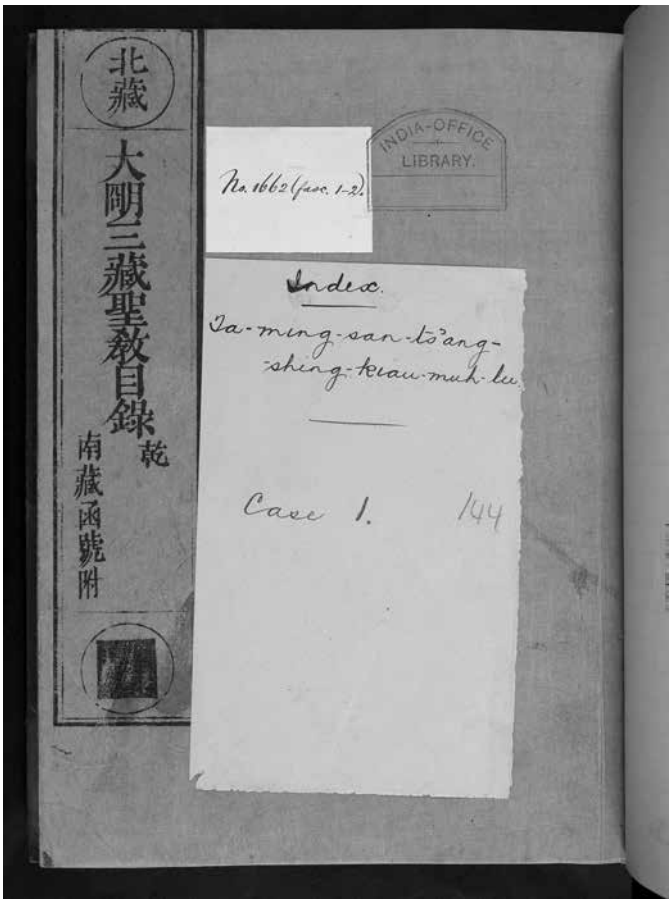

Figure 1.1 ***Catalog of the Sacred Teaching of the Great Ming Tripitaka*, front cover page of fascicle 1, British Library, CHIN.F.1 folio 1.** Reproduced with permission of British Library.

THE *ŌBAKU CANON* AND ITS SPREAD IN THE LATE EDO AND EARLY MEIJI PERIODS

In 1654, Chinese Zen master Yinyuan Longqi departed from China and landed in Nagasaki. Six years later, a new Chinese-style monastery Manpukuji 萬福寺 emerged in Kyoto with the blessing from the Tokugawa shoguns and the imperial household. In the subsequent century, this newly founded de facto Zen sect, which often claimed to be the "Authentic Transmission of the Linji School" (*Rinzai Shōshū* 臨濟正宗), greatly influenced the political, intellectual, and cultural life in Edo Japan.[1]

One of the enduring legacies is the creation of the *Ōbaku Canon*, which was the most popular printed edition of the Chinese Tripitaka in Japan prior to the compilation of modern canons in the late nineteenth century. For example, the famous Japanese traveler Kawaguchi Ekai 河口慧海 (1866–1945), an Ōbaku monk himself, was familiar with this edition of the Chinese canon and aspired to search for Sanskrit and Tibetan Buddhist scriptures in Tibet and Nepal. The *Ōbaku Canon* played an important role in bridging Chinese and Japanese Buddhism and spread Chinese Buddhist literature in Asia and beyond. Even after the modern canons were created, the *Ōbaku Canon* continued to be requested for purchase and reprint by Buddhist monasteries and book dealers. It was widely distributed as will be explained below.

The *Ōbaku Canon* was made in Japan but modeled on a Chinese prototype, the newly created *Jiaxing Canon*. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, China witnessed a robust Buddhist revival which resulted in the creation of this privately carved canon named after its site of production, a Buddhist chapel in Jiaxing County. The canon was also called the *Jingshan Canon* 徑山藏 because the blocks were stored in Jingshan Monastery, neighboring Jiaxing. The carving project started in the late sixteenth century and its main section was completed in the late seventeenth century. However, new supplements were added continuously until mid-nineteenth century when the blocks were destroyed during the Taiping rebellion (1850–1864). The canon is basically composed of three series: first, the reprint of the *Northern Ming Canon* as the core; second, a continuation of materials created in later times after the Tang dynasty; third, a supplemented section of Buddhist texts mostly created in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, especially Chan texts. At the time when Yinyuan arrived in Japan, the main section had been completed.[2]

The printing project of this Japanese edition was undertaken in 1669 by Yinyuan Longqi's Japanese disciple Tetsugen Dōkō. Previously, the Tokugawa government had completed a new carving project, the so-called Tenkai edition 天海藏, in 1648. However, because the advanced movable-type printing technique was adopted and the movable typesets had to be disassembled after a certain number of prints were produced, its circulation was limited. Tetsugen lamented about the lack of the Buddhist canon in Japan and vowed to carve a new one. Yinyuan therefore bestowed him a set of the *Jiaxing Canon* which was presented by merchants trading with China. It should be noted that there was a royal edition of the *Northern Ming Canon* in the Chinese Huangbo Monastery where Yinyuan had been abbot for many years.[3] However, Yinyuan did not bring that precious set to Japan. Rather, during the seventeenth century, because of the frequent Sino-Japanese trade through Nagasaki, importing Chinese books, including Buddhist books, became a lucrative business. In this case, a Japanese merchant Katsu Shōin

勝性印 (1598–1671) purchased a set from China and presented it to Yinyuan. It might be this copy that Yinyuan gave to Tetsugen to reproduce in 1668.[4] The complete edition, finished in 1681, contains 2,094 booklets and 6,950 fascicles in 274 cases, as often cited.[5]

A clear text lineage can be traced from the *Northern Ming Canon* and the *Jiaxing Canon* to the *Ōbaku Canon* because all three catalogs bear the same title *Catalog of the Sacred Teaching of the Great Ming Tripitaka*, though each edition has its own modifications. For example, the *Jiaxing Canon*, following completely the structure of the *Northern Ming Canon*, added a new section at the end of the canon, called "titles extant in the *Southern Ming Canon* but absent in the *Northern Ming Canon*" 北藏缺南藏號附, which supplements a few titles from the more popular southern edition. (This southern edition was carved in Nanjing and was available for commercial printing.) In addition, a collection of essays explaining the origin of this carving project, *Kezang yuanqi* 刻藏緣起, was added in the beginning of the canon.[6] We can recognize that the *Ōbaku Canon* was following the *Jiaxing Canon* exactly because it kept these new additions created in the *Jiaxing Canon* and followed its sequential order by adopting its numbering system derived from the *Thousand Character Classic* (*Qianziwen* 千字文). Moreover, its printing format and binding style followed closely those of the *Jiaxing Canon*, which means that the new Japanese canon adopted a stitched binding style with a page layout of ten column and twenty characters per column in each half-page. Other typographical characteristics such as fonts, cover pages, frontispiece are faithfully preserved as well.

However, there are still a few characteristics which allow us to identify it as a Japanese edition despite its clear modeling on the Chinese original. First, the new catalog, though still entitled *Catalog of the Sacred Teaching of the Great Ming Tripitaka*, was prefaced with two memorials Tetsugen presented to the Japanese emperor and the shogun.[7] (In the *Ōbaku Canon*, this catalog was put in the last case marked as *sai* 塞.) Second, Tetsugen's own recorded sayings plus his disciple Hōshū's (*Hōshū zenji goroku* 寶洲禪師語錄) were appended at the end. Third, Japanese reading marks were added to the text occasionally. Fourth, the original colophons with dedicatory information at the end of each text in the *Jiaxing Canon* were replaced with those of Japanese donors who sponsored the printing of that particular text. Finally, because the original master copy which Tetsugen worked on was not complete, the missing titles were borrowed from the Korean *Goryeo Canon* 高麗藏 and other existing prints in Japan to supplement. According to Matsunaga Chikai 松永知海, these supplements were gradually replaced with newly carved titles based on the recently imported and more complete *Jiaxing Canon*. According to him, Testugen also carved the supplementary section of the *Jiaxing Canon* and some titles in the *Goryeo Canon*.[8]

The history of the *Ōbaku Canon* deserves more thorough research. However, our focus here is its spread during the end of the Edo bakufu and early Meiji period because apparently one set of the canon is now in British Library and its provenance is not entirely clear. Luckily, a glimpse of its distribution in this period is available through an account book preserved in Manpukuji, where the blocks of the canon are currently stored, as Figure 1.2 shows.

Entitled the *Red Dotted Account Book for Requesting the Complete Canon Arranged according to the Thousand Character Classic* (*Zenzō zensei senjimon shutenbo* 全藏漸請千字文朱點簿) in twenty-three fascicles, this interesting source contains 2,343 records of "requests" (literally paid printings) from the eighteenth to the early twentieth century. It shows that the *Ōbaku Canon* was in popular demand during this timeframe. Although Buddhist temples constitute the majority of "buyers," we see a clear rise of purchases by bookstores in the early Meiji period as well. During the late nineteenth century, the canon was even spread to mainland China and Taiwan.

For example, the *Account Book* kept four records for purchasing the complete set by two Japanese Jōdo Shinshū 淨土真宗 monks, Itō Gentō 伊藤賢道 and Mizuno Baigyō 水野梅曉 (1877–1949), who were active in China at that time.[9] The printing requests were made between 1904 and 1917

Figure 1.2 Mr. Yano Toshiyuki 矢野俊行 **holding a wooden block of the *Ōbaku Canon*.** Manupukuji, Uji. Photo by Jiang Wu, July 2013.

and were sent to monasteries in mainland China and Taiwan.[10] However, there is no record showing that the Japanese government requested a set and sent it to foreign countries. Of course, the *Account Book* is not a complete record and it does not exclude the possibility that the canon was resold by one of the buyers listed in the account book or presented to third parties as gifts. For example, the account book does not have any record of the *Ōbaku Canon* which Kawaguchi Ekai presented to the prime minister of Nepal Chandra Shamsher (1863–1929) in 1905. (This canon is now preserved in Nepal National Archives according to Takayama Ryūzō 高山龍三.[11]) As later analysis will illustrate, it was very likely that the canon was purchased by the Japanese Foreign Office from a book dealer and then transported to Britain. Since only paltry information can be found in the East, we should turn to the West to look for more clues.

THE EUROPEAN "RE-DISCOVERY" OF BUDDHISM AND THE BEGINNING OF AN INTERNATIONAL BOOK HUNT

In the chaotic period of the Meiji Restoration, the Chinese Buddhist canon was hardly a point of concern for Japanese political leaders and intellectuals. The dearth of records about the canon during this period indicates that instead of focusing on Japan, our effort to trace the first Chinese Tripitaka has to start from Europe, where the need for the canon arose amid an intensified international book hunt for Buddhist texts as the result of the European "re-discovery" of Buddhism in the early and mid-nineteenth century.[12] In Europe, the fascination with Buddhism began with the European encounter of the Orient through the Jesuit reports from China and Japan during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. However, their reports, often containing information about Buddhism, were largely based on their observations and hearsays without carefully studying Buddhist scriptures. This situation changed during the nineteenth century. Around the1820s, Pali sources were studied by Eugène Burnouf (1801–1852) and Christian Lassen (1800–1876) in France. In addition, Jean-Pierre Abel Rémusat (1788–1832) studied Chinese Buddhist texts. Down to the 1830s, British scholar Brian Houghton Hodgson (1800–1894) discovered Sanskrit texts in Nepal, and Hungarian scholar Alexander Csoma de Körös (1784–1842) worked on Tibetan sources such as the Kanjur from 1836 to 1839.[13] Increasingly, Europeans realized that India was actually the origin of all Buddhist traditions in Asia and thus the Sanskrit sources had absolute primacy over Buddhist sources in other languages based on preferences for originality and antiquity.

In this process of "re-discovery," the contributions of Hodgson and Burnouf are the most significant for Buddhist studies because for the first time

the modern knowledge of Buddhism was based on systematic research of Buddhist scriptures and established India as the origin of this previously misunderstood tradition. Burnouf's 1844 *Introduction to the History of Indian Buddhism*, based on Hodgson's new discovery, established credible information about the Buddhist teaching in the scholarly world. This work also promoted Buddhism as a "world religion" suitable for modern consumption, as Donald Lopez has pointed out.[14] Inspired by the discovery of new texts, an international community composed of Buddhist scholars working primarily on Buddhist texts started to take form. These new "Buddhologists" became what Lopez called "curators of the Buddha" who relied on reading newly discovered texts to recover an imagined past.[15] It is clear that the Buddhism which the Europeans encountered was first of all a textual one as Philip Almond points out aptly:

> Buddhism, by 1860, had come to exist, not in the Orient, but in the Oriental libraries and institutes of the West, in its texts and manuscripts, at the desks of the Western savants who interpreted it. It has become a textual object, defined, classified, and interpreted through its own textuality. By the middle of the century, the Buddhism that existed "out there" was beginning to be judged by a West that *alone* knew what Buddhism was, is, and ought to be. The essence of Buddhism came to be seen as expressed not "out there" in the Orient, but in the West through the control of Buddhism's own textual past.[16]

Therefore, as Donald Lopez stresses, "[s]ince the time of Burnouf, the primary task of the scholar of Buddhism has been the acquisition, editing, translations, and interpretation of texts."[17] This text-centered craze thus initiated what I call "an international book hunt" which lasted more than a century. After Hodgson's and Csoma de Körös's discoveries of the Sanskrit and Tibetan sources, in the 1870s, scholar's attention shifted to the Pali sources, and attempts have been made to preserve and translate the entire Pali Canon which was regarded more rational, concise, well organized, and older, representing perhaps the unaltered real words of the Buddha. The Pali Text Society was thus founded by Thomas William Rhys Davids (1843–1922) in 1881. In the early twentieth century, new discoveries in Central Asia such as in Dunhuang became news headlines. However, in this international book hunt for Buddhist texts, it seems Chinese Buddhist canons only played a marginal role with the exception of the translations of Chinese pilgrims' travelogs to India. Overall, it is not clear how the Chinese Buddhist canon, the major collection of translated Buddhist texts, contributed to the European understanding of Buddhism in the late nineteenth century.

THE ROLE OF CHINESE BUDDHIST LITERATURE IN THE EUROPEAN CONCEPTION OF BUDDHISM

In point of fact, Chinese Buddhist literature was very important in the European understanding of Buddhism. In the beginning age of the European contact with Asia, the Europeans understood Buddhism primarily through the Chinese sources because early Jesuit missionaries had extensive exposure to Chinese culture.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, there had been already partial translations of Buddhist scriptures from various sources. For example, Jesuit missionaries Gnecchi-Soldo Organtino (1530–1609) and Luís Fróis (1532–1597) studied the Chinese version of the *Lotus Sutra* in Japan in 1574, and a partial translation of a Buddhist text was made from Pali by the French diplomat-writer Simon de la Loubère (1642–1729) in 1691.[18] In early eighteenth century, though not widely known in Europe, Ippolito Desideri (1680–1745) studied and translated Tibetan Buddhist texts as well.[19] However, according to Urs App, the first published translation of a full Buddhist scripture is actually the Chinese version of *Sutra of Forty-two Sections* 四十二章經 from Chinese by French scholar Joseph de Guignes (1721–1800) in 1750s.

Why did this sutra become the first translated Buddhist scripture? This is simply because through Chinese historical works the scripture and its association with the legend of Emperor Ming's dream of the Buddha became known to European scholars as the beginning of the introduction of Buddhism to China. For the Europeans, this legend was first spread to the West due to research on a Chinese encyclopedia *Wenxian Tongkao* 文獻通考 (Comprehensive Examination of Literature) compiled by Ma Duanlin 馬端臨 (1245–1322). In fascicles 226 and 227, Ma Duanlin described systematically the history of Buddhism in China down to his time, and his account became the source information for de Guignes. Legend says that the *Sutra of Forty-two Sections* is not only the first translated Buddhist scripture but also the first scripture related by the Buddha. If this were true, de Guignes must have surmised, he could use this translation to reconstruct the original teaching of the Buddha. The European curiosity for the origin of Buddhism prompted him to translate the text. However, the edition for translation is an odd selection from a Chan collection *Baolin zhuan* 寶林傳 (Record of Precious Grove) of 801 rather than the standard version in the Korean *Goryeo Canon*.[20]

De Guignes also created one of the earliest narratives of Chinese Buddhist history based on Ma Duanlin's account before Abel Rémusat's work *Foe Koue Ki* 佛國記 (1836) and Burnouf's *Introduction à l'histoire du Bouddhisme indien* (1844). But de Guignes had some ridiculous ideas about

Buddhism. He thought that Śākyamuni was the same as the purported redactor of the Vedas, Vyāsa. Moreover, he believed that Buddhism and Vedic traditions were basically the same. In his comparative eyes, the Prajñāpāramitā scripture is simply the Chinese translation of Veda and the lost fourth Veda is actually translated into Chinese as the *Laṅkāvatāra Sutra*. He was convinced that Chinese Buddhism was still a faithful representation of the Indian religion. Only when Bodhidharma came to China, bringing with him his "Dharma Shastra" of vulgar religion, the religion was led to the Latter Day Dharma. Through Ma Duanlin's account, de Guignes had a vague knowledge about the creation of a Buddhist canon as illustrated in the following passage, which is perhaps the earliest European account of the existence of a Buddhist canon:

> Buddha has written nothing; but after his death five hundred of his disciples, of which the principals were *Ta-ka-ye* 大迦葉 or the great *Kia ye* and *Onan* 阿難, collected everything that he had taught, transcribed it, and formed a body of scriptures of it that they divided into twelve *Pou* 部 or classes. The Japanese call these personages *Kasja-sonsja* 迦葉尊者 *& Annan-sonsja* 阿難尊者; this last word seems to correspond to the Indian *Sanjassi*.[21]

De Guignes's theory was widely spread around the time. For example, German scholar Julius Klaproth (1783–1835) translated de Guignes's 1756 paper and published it in the first volume of *Asiatisches Magazin* as "Fo-Religion of China" in 1802. It is this German translation that greatly influenced the German philosopher Arthur Schopenhauer (1788–1860).[22]

The next important person who introduced Chinese Buddhist literature to Europe is the English missionary Robert Morrison, who was perhaps the first to translate Buddha's biography from a Chinese source. Titled *Account of Foe: The Deified Founder of a Chinese Sect*, Morrison translated Buddha's biography from a Chinese text called "San-kiao-yuen-lieu" (*Sanjiao yuanliu* 三教源流), which he translated as "Rise and Progress of the Three Sects," a printed text popular in late imperial China.[23] This translation, published in 1812, gave Europeans a direct sense of the biography of Buddha from a Chinese perspective. However, conspicuously missing was the identification of Indian proper names such as person names and place names, which were given in Romanization only without providing any Sanskrit equivalents. There is no indication that the translator was aware of the Indian origin of Chinese Buddhism.

As the varieties of Robert Morrison's collection of Chinese books indicate, the early European collection of Chinese Buddhist literature was spontaneous and circumstantial to the restrictions placed by the Chinese government at the time. As a missionary, Morrison's interest focused on translating the

Bible into Chinese and as preparation he collected as many Chinese books as he could. The current Morrison collection holds about 893 records of Chinese books with 120 records of Buddhist prints.[24] A close examination of the Buddhist titles shows that most prints were produced by the printing house affiliated with Haichuang Monastery 海幢寺 in Guangzhou, the only trading port before the First Opium War (1839–1842). Nothing suggests that Morrison's collection was part of an existing Chinese canon. Rather, most of his collection of Buddhist prints originated from the printing house in Haichuang Monastery as marked in their colophons. The reason for this is that the Qing government restricted foreigners to travel outside and only Haichuang Monastery was allowed for visiting because it was adjacent to the foreign residence designated by the government.[25]

The value of Chinese Buddhist literature was widely acknowledged when the travelogs of Chinese pilgrims were discovered and translated. Suddenly multiple European translations of these travelogs appeared in the mid-nineteenth century. An early translation of Faxian's travelog has been done by Abel Rémusat and published in Paris posthumously in 1836 as *Foe-koue-ki*.[26] According to Lopez, this is the best study of Buddhism before 1844.[27] Heavily aided by the Buddhist encyclopedia *Sanzang fashu* 三藏法數 (*San tsang fa sou* in Morrison's work, number of the law of the three receptacles), Rémusat's translation, dotted with his learned notes supplemented by Julius von Klaproth and Clerc de Landresse, was basically a comprehensive introduction of the Buddhist religion plus Central Asian and Indian geography based on the Chinese sources. Regarding the canon, he had a much clearer idea than his predecessor de Guignes. He remarks:

> The body of the theological works is in general called *Sang Tsang*, the three collections, or rather the *three receptacles* (in Sanscrit *the three Pitaka*); and this expression applies equally to the doctrine set forth in them. The three parts of this triple collection are the *King*, or sacred books, the *Precepts*, and the *Discourses* (*Lun*); in Sanscrit [*sic*] *Sutra, Vinaya, Abhidharma.*[28]

Abel Rémusat might have also been availed by the partial translation of a Buddhist encyclopedia based on a Song-dynasty work *The Great Tripitaka at a Glance* (*Dazang yilan* 大藏一覽), composed by the lay Buddhist scholar Chen Shi 陳實 in 1157. Translated by French Sinologist Michel-Ange-André le Roux Deshauterayes (1724–95) in the 1770s and 1780s, it was published posthumously by Abel Rémusat and others in *Journal Asiatique* in 1825. This publication also influenced the philosopher Arthur Schopenhauer, who was eager to assimilate Oriental thoughts into his philosophical thinking.[29]

Although Abel Rémusat gained much more understanding of the structure of the canon based on the Chinese sources, there was little information of the

compilation of an actual Chinese canon and how it was used in the Buddhist community. After Abel Rémusat, Samuel Beal translated Faxian's work again into English, and Abel Rémusat's successor Stanislas Julien (1797–1873) translated Xuanzang's travelog into French as well. These translations became literally the guide for the British to survey India. For example, the founding of the Archaeological Survey of India in 1861 by Sir Alexander Cunningham was made possible by using Abel Rémusat's and later Julien's translations.[30] This led to an interesting hypothesis among European scholars that there must be more about Indian Buddhism in Chinese sources. However, European scholars still did not have a complete Chinese Buddhist canon.

Since Hodgson's and Csoma de Körös's discovery became well known in Europe, many wrong ideas about Buddhism such as those de Guignes had held were dispelled. Burnouf's *Introduction* clearly established the fact that a Buddhist canon exists and was called Tripitaka, which was divided into three sections. However, because of the lack of information on the Chinese Tripitaka, he can only assume that the Chinese sources are mostly translations of the Sanskrit scriptures.[31]

The European knowledge of the Chinese Buddhist canon continued to build up with more translations and scholarship. In 1853, Stanislas Julien translated Xuanzang's biography (*Daciensi sanzang fashi zhuan* 大慈恩寺三藏法師傳) composed by Huili 慧立 and Yanzong 彥悰. In 1857–1858, Xuanzang's travelog to India (*Da Tang xiyu ji* 大唐西域記) was translated as well.[32] These texts were full of references to the legends about Buddhist councils and the origin of the Tripitaka. Moreover, in 1864, he published his translation of the *Thousand Character Classic* (*Qianziwen*) into French, without mentioning that it was used as a call number system for the Chinese canon.[33]

Although the first Chinese canon arrived late, European scholars might have acquired the catalogs of the Chinese canon and studied it intensively as early as 1840s. It seems in 1848 Stanislas Julien acquired from Russians a multilingual Yuan-dynasty catalog of 1306, entitled *Collated General Catalog of the Buddhist Tripitaka during the Zhiyuan Reign* (*Zhiyuan fabao kantong zonglu* 至元法寶勘同總錄, shorthanded as the *Zhiyuan Catalog* 至元錄) and translated it partially into French.[34] In his introduction, Julien said he got this copy from Russians and also suggested that Russians possessed a lot of Chinese texts. It is no doubt that Russia may have the Tibetan canon and the Mongolian canon in a very early period through Buddhist regions in Buryatia or her contact with Mongols and the Orthodox Mission in Beijing since the early eighteenth century. But it is not sure if St. Petersburg, especially the Paul Ludwig Schilling von Cannstatt collection at Russian Academy of Sciences, has a complete Chinese canon already.[35] Julien mentioned M. Sénia-vine (Lev Grigor'evii Senjavin, 1805–1861), director of Asiatic Department, and M. P. Habacuc (Dmitrii Semenovič Čestnoi, 1801–1866, director of the

Pekin Church Mission) as his helpers for securing the text. This note suggests that he had extensive connections with Russian diplomats and scholars. His translation of Xuanzang's biography, for example, was dedicated to M. J. de Daschkow, who was the former director of the Asian Department in St. Petersburg. In a footnote to the *Zhiyuan Catalog*, Julien mentioned that his copy belonged to the Asian Department at St. Petersburg. He also mentioned that a thousand Chinese characters—presumably the *Thousand Character Classic*—have been used for the classification of the "Great Buddhist Collection" (la grande collection bouddhique). In particular, he thanked members of the Russian Orthodox Mission in Beijing who had helped to obtain this valuable text and passed to European Sinologists.[36]

Julien introduced the content of the catalogs systematically. Among the four parts he introduced, in the third part, he gave a short list of the ancient catalogs starting with the *Kaiyuan Catalog* which shaped the content and structure of the Chinese canon.[37] Because his attention was on finding equivalent Sanskrit Buddhist literature in the Chinese sources, he did not explore the importance of the existence of the Tripitaka as seen from these catalogs. Rather, he regarded all these catalogs as simply created for collections of Buddhist books.[38] Although these texts and catalogs are essential for us to understand the creation of the Chinese canon, very little effort has been applied by European scholars to investigate the formation of the Chinese canon. In 1861, Julien made another essential contribution for the future studies of the Chinese Buddhist canon by publishing a manual on transcribing Chinese terms into Sanskrit, anticipating the arrival of the first Chinese Tripitaka. His manual has been used by later scholars to transcribe Chinese titles from the Tripitaka into Sanskrit.[39]

The lack of the Chinese canon in Europe continued until the 1870s and has been noted by Samuel Beal, who wrote the following words in his *A Catena of Buddhist Scriptures from the Chinese* published in 1871: "And yet, so far as is generally known, no effort has been made, either in this country or elsewhere, to secure for our national libraries copies of these invaluable works (in the canon)."[40] Probably because of this urgent realization of the missing Chinese canon, Samuel Beal became the initiator for acquiring the first Chinese Tripitaka to Europe.

SAMUEL BEAL AND THE EARLY EUROPEAN STUDY OF CHINESE BUDDHISM

Early Buddhist studies in Europe had been led by French scholars, as has been early Sinology.[41] For outstanding Buddhist scholars, we often mention French scholars such as Sylvain Lévi (1863–1935), Louis de la Vallée

Poussin (1863–1935), Paul Demiéville (1894–1979), and Belgian Étienne Lamotte (1903–1983); Austrian Erich Frauwallner (1898–1974), German Edward Conze (1904–1979), Russian Fyodor Stcherbatsky (1866–1942), and Italian Giuspeppe Tucci (1894–1984). The British study, however, was not very prominent despite many accomplishments.[42] The names of British Buddhist scholars are not often mentioned except T. W. and Caroline Rhys Davids, founders of the Pali Text Society in London. In de Jong's popular summary of Western studies of Chinese Buddhism, only the French docents such as Rémusat and Julien deserve honorary mention.[43]

British Sinology did flourish after James Legge (1815–1897) took the prestigious chair in Oxford University and started the so-called "Leggian epoch in Western sinology" (1873–1897). Samuel Beal's name was rarely mentioned in the pantheon of eminent Buddhist scholars, even among Sinologists, despite the fact that his translations of Chinese Buddhist texts are still widely distributed even today through numerous reprints. Rather, British Sinology was dominated by James Legge, who was the "first professional British scholar in Chinese studies to win an international reputation."[44]

Because of this negligence, we know little about his full biography. Through some public sources, however, we can reconstruct his life as a priest, naval serviceman, and a scholar of Chinese Buddhism.[45]

Samuel Beal was born on November 27, 1825, in Davenport, Manchester, and died on August 20, 1889 in Greens Norton in south Northampton. He graduated from Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1847 and was ordained as priest in 1852. He chose to serve in the office of naval chaplain and was appointed to HMS. *Sybille*, which was assigned minor duties in the notorious Arrow War (Second Opium War) in 1856–1860. During his short service, he traveled in south China, participated in the Guangzhou siege, and visited Japan as well. Beal must have been to Guangzhou in 1858 with the British army to attack the city. In his *Buddhism in China*, he related his experience in the capture of Guangzhou during the war. (We return to his war experience later and his connections with British military commanders and diplomats.) He probably learned Chinese during his travel and served as interpreter. His interest in Chinese Buddhism must have been kindled during his service. After returning to Britain, he was assigned the position of chaplain in the Marine Artillery, and later to the Pembroke and Devonport dockyards. Since 1873, he lived in his hometown of Devonport. After his retirement from the navy in 1877, he was appointed professor of Chinese at University College London until 1889. He was the third and last professor in this position. Before him, Samuel Kidd (1799–1843, tenure between 1837 and 1843) and H. F. Holt (tenure between 1871 and 1874) were appointed.[46] In 1885, he was awarded the Doctor of Civil Law from the University of Durham in recognition of his scholarly accomplishment in the study of Chinese Buddhism.

Compared with French scholars, Beal was not as well established in academia and did not hold a permanent university position until 1877. Unlike his many contemporaries who studied Sinology but only occasionally excursed into the field of Chinese Buddhism, he was perhaps one of the few who focused solely on the narrow subject of Chinese Buddhism. He emphasized the importance of learning through studying Buddhist literature and provided numerous translations of the scriptures available to him. In 1869, he published his translation of *Travels of Fah-hian* 法顯 *and Sung-yun* 宋雲*: Buddhist Pilgrims, from China to India (AD 400 and AD 518)*. Before his intensive study of the Chinese canon, his knowledge of Chinese Buddhism was largely based on his close reading of individual Buddhist texts he could find in Britain, mostly given by his friends. (After his appointment as professor of Chinese in 1877, he must have had full access to the Morrison collection, which was housed at University College since 1836. The collection was transferred to SOAS libraries in 1922.) In 1871, he published *A Catena of Buddhist Scriptures from the Chinese*, which represented the best of his understanding of Chinese Buddhism based on a limited number of Buddhist texts. This book collects his translations of Chinese works prior to the arrival of the Chinese canon and reflected the best knowledge of British scholars could glean on the canon and Chinese Buddhist literature. Here, though limited, Beal had a vague impression of the canon. He noted in the preface of his *Catena*, "[t]he Buddhist Canon in that country [China], as it was arranged between AD 67 and 1285, includes 1,440 distinct works, comprising 5,586 books." Beal did not specify his sources. Yet he realized that even this collection only represents a fraction of the entire corpse of Buddhist literature in China.

He knew that the Chinese began to translate the imported Indian texts since the middle portion of the first century AD. According to him, there are only three editions of the canon. Below is a summary of his descriptions:

> The first complete edition was in the seventh century under Tang Taizong 太宗 (Tae Tsung) and published by his successor Kaozong 高宗 (Kaou-Tsung).
>
> The second edition was published by Emperor Ming Yongle (Yung-loh 永樂) who wrote an imperial preface in 1410. This much enlarged edition is called the Southern edition.
>
> The third by Emperor Wanli (Wan-leih 萬曆) was published in 1590, called Northern Collection (peh ts'ang), renewed and enlarged in 1723 by Qianlong (Keen-lung) "under the auspices of a former governor of Cheh-kiang," who wrote a preface to the catalog of the works.[47]

Of course, the above information is full of mistakes and inaccuracies. However, despite the lack of the actual canon as a systematic source of Chinese Buddhism, Beal's *Catena* was an important work and represents the

early Western attempt to organize Chinese materials by providing a thematic framework.

Here, we don't have space to discuss Samuel Beal's scholarship in detail. But there are a few notable characteristics in his organization of the content in his *Catena* which represents his vision of the Buddhist religion and historiography. First, he did not emphasize the importance of sectarian divisions. The entire collection was based on texts which expounded the fundamental Buddhists beliefs popular in China. Second, he had no preference to philosophical or doctrinal matters but highlighted the role of cosmology in shaping a religious tradition. Third, he emphasized Buddhism as a religion as it had been practiced on the ground. Unlike the majority of his contemporary scholars who mainly viewed Buddhism as a system of ethics and a way of life, he was perhaps one of the earliest scholars who asserted that "on no ground we accept the assertion that Buddhism is not a Religion, but a school of philosophy."[48] Fourth, he created a narrative of decline to describe Chinese Buddhism and viewed Tantric practice and excessive devotional practice as degenerated. Finally, throughout his collection, he emphasized the importance of primary sources as the only legitimate way to understand Chinese Buddhism. Among his list of primary sources, we have a variety of texts which represents the doctrinal tradition, monastic practice, vinaya texts, and esoteric spells.

Samuel Beal was perhaps the first Western scholar who devoted his scholarly energy solely to Chinese Buddhism. Other scholars such as Jean-Pierre Abel Rémusat, Stanislas Julien, and James Legge were professors of Sinology whose scholarship only intersected with the field of Chinese Buddhism. More importantly, through his study, Samuel Beal developed a sense of urgency for having a complete Chinese Buddhist canon, which other China scholars lacked. At this juncture of desperation, a group of Japanese guests led by Iwakura Tomomi arrived and changed the course of the study of Chinese Buddhism in the West.

THE ARRIVAL OF THE IWAKURA MISSION AND SAMUEL BEAL'S REQUEST FOR A CHINESE BUDDHIST CANON

The visit of the Iwakura Mission to the West has been well documented, and its symbolic significance in the modernization of the Japanese empire cannot be underestimated. Appointed by the court, five high officials, headed by nobleman Iwakura Tomomi and accompanied by a huge entourage of more than hundred officials and students, embarked on a journey of two years, arriving first in the United States in 1871, then in Britain in 1872 and Europe later in the year, before returning in 1873. The official purpose of the mission was to reevaluate and revise the unequal treaties signed previously by the Edo bakufu. However, the extensive exposure to Western civilization, especially

industrial and military advances, had great impact on the members of the mission. Through the pens of one of the members, Kume Kunitake 久米邦武 (1839–1931), their travelog, *Tokumei Zenken Taishi Bei-Ō Kairan Jikki* 特命全権大使米歐回覧実記, five volumes in total, became part of a propaganda campaign for Japan's modernizing ambitions.[49] It not only documented the tours of the mission in these Western countries which most Japanese had no access to but also expressed a sense of inferiority and competition through civilizational comparison. This travelog was quickly published in 1878 in Japan after the mission returned and became a best seller, influencing the entire generation of intelligentsia.

During this trip of "enlightenment," it may seem that religion only should have played a marginal role. However, on the contrary, it is quite essential to the mission and to the Western attitude toward Japan because the ban of Christianity which lasted for about 200 years in Edo Japan was still in place in the beginning of the mission. The travelog and meeting records document clearly that the issue of *kirishitan* 切利支丹 (Christianity) had been frequently raised by Western politicians. Because of this religious concern, the members of the mission often observed the religious practices in the countries they visited with curiosity and great interest. It is no wonder that due to the feedback from the mission brought to Japan, the ban was lifted during the travel of the Iwakura Mission.[50]

However, as John Breen points out, the members of the mission represented by Iwakura himself only reluctantly sanctioned the lift of the ban with reservation about Christianity as the future of a Japanese religion. Rather, they had been convinced that Japan needed her own spiritual support. This position, interestingly and ironically, aided the promotion of Buddhism, especially Jōdo Shinshū.[51]

It should be noted that at the time when the mission arrived in Britain, a Japanese Shinshū monk was already waiting for them in London. Shimaji Mokurai 島地默雷 (1838–1911), who was persuaded by one of the vice-ambassadors of the mission Kido Takayoshi 木戸孝允 (1833–1877), had left Japan in 1872. After a few months in France, he arrived in London in August and joined Kido there. As a Buddhist monk, Shimaji seemed to have great impact on the mission members' thoughts about religion. Shimaji wrote *Ōshū seikyō kenbun* 歐洲政教見聞 (Observations on Religion and Politics in Western Society) to defend Buddhism and presented it to Kido and Iwakura. According to John Breen's study, three themes appear frequently in his writing: "a) that a modern state is sustained by religion although politics and religion must occupy distinct realms, playing mutually supportive roles; b) that the religion needed by the modern Japanese state is Shimaji's own Honganji Buddhism; and c) that Christianity, in both its Catholic and Protestant forms, is extremely dangerous and should be banned."[52]

Shimaji's opinion must have tremendous influence among the ambassadors of the mission. Although Christianity could not be banned forever, a consensus seemed to have been reached for these "enlightened" Japanese intellectuals. That is, Christianity would be allowed but Japan could not be converted to Christianity. Rather, for some, Buddhism should be the true religion for Japanese people. If this is true, it makes sense that the Japanese government sent a Buddhist canon to Britain as a token of the expression of Japan's spiritual superiority.

From all the written records, we have confirmed that the canon was indeed presented officially by the Japanese government to the India Office Library. For example, in the beginning of Samuel Beal's report of the received canon, the following has been recorded, making a clear statement that the request for this canon was sent to the Iwakura Mission and the canon was delivered from Japan.

> The Buddhist Tripitaka, Printed in Chinese Characters, with Japanese Notations in the Katagana Characters, lately presented by the Japanese government to the Library of the India Office. The Books were presented, as it would seem, at the instigation of His Excellency Iwakura Tomomi, who had learned, when in this country, that such a gift would be highly appreciated, and had promised to bring the matter to the notice of His Government on his return home.[53]

Beal also hinted that the request had been made jointly by himself and Reinhold Rost (1822–1896), then librarian of the India Office Library and a Sanskrit scholar. This is perhaps why the India Office received the canon and Reinhold Rost immediately commissioned Samuel Beal to write a catalog. At the end of Beal's report to Dr. Rost, he thanked the Japanese government for sending the canon, especially Iwakura, "who, when in this country, had undertaken, at your own [Rost] and my solicitation, to procure them for the advantage of those interested in their contents."[54]

This is confirmed by Beal's following words in his other writings:

> It is this copy of the Sacred Books that I request His Excellency Iwakura Tomomi to procure for the India Office Library, and which he so generously promised to do, in 1874 . . . and in 1875 the entire Tripitaka was received at the India Office, in fulfilment of the promise made by the Japanese ambassador.[55]

But questions remain about in what capacity and in what way a humble chaplain from Her Majesty's royal navy had the opportunity to make such a "trivial" or even "inappropriate" request to the distinguished Japanese guests who eventually fulfilled such a promise. Samuel Beal never told the detailed story. His name did not appear in the mission records either. It seems that

during the mission's stay in Britain he was working as chaplain in the military dockyards in Pembroke and Devonport, where the mission might have visited. Even if this is a possible scenario, it is still unthinkable that Beal's request caught the attention of the members of the mission without further assistance from more eminent British officials of higher rank. My hypothesis is that his request must have been facilitated by a group of British scholar-diplomats serving in East Asia who had overlaps with him during his service in East Asia and Britain.

BRITISH SCHOLAR-DIPLOMATS AND THEIR EFFORTS IN SEARCH OF BUDDHIST LITERATURE IN EAST ASIA

Before the establishment of Oriental studies in European universities, the study of Far East was mostly carried out by Christian missionaries and diplomats who had the duty of intelligence research on the countries they resided. In Britain, many of them, after their retirement, became professors in universities and research facilities. Meanwhile, many of them were also collectors of Asian texts and their collections often became the earliest Asian book collections in university libraries. Robert Morrison's collection, for example, was one of the earliest Chinese collections in Britain. When the need for Buddhist books arose, it was very common for such requests to be forwarded to European diplomats and missionaries in Asia.

For example, French scholar Stanislas Julien's research on Chinese monks' travel in India relied heavily on the assistance of British and Russian scholar-diplomats.[56] The British consul in Ningbo Robert Thom (1807–1846), an old friend of Julien, collected more than 230 volumes of Chinese texts and commentaries for him. Russian scholars from Asian Department M. M. L. Sénianvine and J. de Daschkow, as mentioned before, also made Chinese texts available for him to study. Shortly after his translation of Xuanzang's travelog to India (*Xiyuji*) was published, the book hunt was launched in China by the Sanskrit scholar Horace Hayman Wilson (1786–1860) through Sir John Bowring (1792–1872), a former British member of Parliament, the consul in Canton (Guangzhou) (1849), and the fourth Hong Kong governor (1854) in the 1850s.[57] Horace Wilson served in India for many years and was the first Sanskrit professor at Oxford University. He was interested in finding more Buddhist texts in China, especially the Sanskrit books brought back to China by Chinese pilgrim-monks, to help him reconstruct Indian history. He believed that these lost books and their Chinese translations could supplement Burnouf's study. He naturally found assistance from Sir John, a politician, businessman, and a scholar, who was serving in China at that time.

On February 15, 1854, Dr. Wilson sent a letter with a list of titles to John Bowring. He explained that he was looking for books brought back by Xuanzang from India to China: estimated 657 works, 740 works of his translation, totaling 1,335 books. He gave a list of thirty-two most important titles with Chinese and Sanskrit names. John Bowing replied, with the help of the then young missionary Joseph Edkins (1823–1905), who later became a prolific and famous writer of Chinese religions. Joseph Edkins offered a detailed explanation of his discovery in a letter dated July 11, 1854. To Wilson's disappointment, Edkins sent him a packet of four volumes of three Pure Land sutras, a copy of the abridged *Lotus Sutra* in three volumes, and Emperor Liang Wudi's "The Tantra of Mercy" (Edkins's translation, originally *Cibei zan* 慈悲贊) in three volumes and the "Daily Chanting book for [the followers of] the Jaina School" (*Chanmen risong* 禪門日誦) in one volume. More books were mailed to him two days later. Because of the Taiping rebellion (1850–1864), the book hunt became urgent and dangerous as Sir John complained:

> My dear Dr. Wilson, I again forward you a few Buddhist books, translated from the Sanskrit into Chinese. I am now getting catalogs from the Buddhist libraries, and from the cities where we may expect to find Buddhist compositions. I am the more anxious to collect what I can, as the Tae ping wang [Taipingwang 太平王—my addition] people destroy all libraries from Nanking, my two commissioners (one whom was my son, who is in the Bengal Civil Service, and knows something of Sanskrit) found the libraries everywhere destroyed by these rude imposters, whose own compositions are of the most vulgar character, showing that literary gifts are quite wanting among them.[58]

The son he referred to must be his fifth son Lewin Bentham Bowring, who was the secretary for Earl of Elgin, the chief commander of allied army in the Second Opium War. The other commissioner Bowering mentioned in the letter must be no other than Joseph Edkins, who wrote another letter on August 9, 1854. Among this batch of books, we find the *Śūraṅgama Sutra* (*Lengyanjing* 楞嚴經) of which Edkins translated the introduction to show its profoundness and popularity among educated Chinese elite. In addition, we have the *Peacock Sutra*, possibly *Sutra of the Peacock King* (*Kongque Mingwang jing* 孔雀明王經, the *Mahāmayūrī Vidyārāja Sutra*). With detailed annotation, Edkins gave a list of sixteen "Buddhist works translated from Sanskrit," a list of eight works translated from Sanskrit by Hwen Tsang (Xuanzang) and others, and thirty works written by native Chinese Buddhists. Among these lists, the second one is the *Kaiyuan Catalog* (*Kaiyuan shijiaolu*), which is the standard catalog of the Chinese Buddhist canon.

In this round of the book hunt, about thirty-six titles were collected, each with multiple volumes. It is not known, however, how these books were utilized for further research on Indian or Chinese Buddhism. Joseph Edkins of course continued to study in China and eventually completed his introduction to Chinese Buddhism. Although the *Kaiyuan Catalog* was among the book list, there is no evidence that it has been thoroughly studied or any effort has been made to acquire the entire set of the canon according to the catalog.

This early case shows clearly how British officers and diplomats were involved in the search of Buddhist texts in China. However, there is no evidence that Samuel Beal was aware of the collection of Chinese books sent by Joseph Edkins in the 1850s. In the process of securing the entire set of the Chinese canon, Samuel Beal might have had the right connection to gain access to the Iwakura Mission through his friends who were both scholars and diplomats. It is important to note that he confessed about his connection with government officials and military commanders at the end of the preface for his translation of Faxian's and Songyun's travelogs in 1869. In particular, he thanked Vice Admiral Charles Elliot, who was the commander of the ship *Sybille* when Beal served as chaplain in China and Japan. Admiral Elliot helped to secure books for him. Beal's copies of Faxian's travel and the book on Loyang monasteries (probably *Luoyang jialanji* 洛陽伽藍記 by Yang Xuanzhi 楊炫之) from which he translated Songyun's account were provided by Major General George Gardiner Alexander, C. B. (1821–1897), who himself was able to speak Chinese and helped Beal's translation project. He was also a literary man and a scholar of Chinese philosophers Confucius and Laozi.[59]

Beal's references about his friends are crucial here to solve the puzzle about his access to the Iwakura Mission because Major General George Alexander was later appointed as the official host for the Iwakura Mission.[60] Given their close connection, it is plausible that George Alexander himself gave Samuel Beal access to Iwakura.

SIR HARRY PARKES AND HIS ASSOCIATES

In addition to General George Alexander, Beal might have another channel of access to the Iwakura Mission, through the then British minister in Japan, the "notorious" Sir Harry Smith Parkes, who used to be a Chinese interpreter and British consul in Guangzhou. When the mission arrived in London, Sir Harry was on leave from Japan and on family vacation in Britain. Because Iwakura was his friend and he was a supporter of the new government, he was obliged to accompany the mission in many official visits.

Sir Harry was an important but often neglected political and diplomatic figure in modern East Asian history. He arrived in China at the age of 14

and witnessed the signing of the first unequal treaty with China in Nanjing in 1842. His diplomatic career started as an interpreter and gradually rose as consuls in Fuzhou, Guangzhou, and Shanghai, and then as ministers in Japan (1865–1883) and Korea (1883–1884). He eventually died in his post as British minister in China in 1885, devoting his entire life to the British imperial enterprise in East Asia. He was an imposing figure and a real "bully" in the eyes of the Chinese, probably less for the Japanese. In his junior colleague Sir Ernest Satow's eyes, "Sir Harry's life was entirely occupied by his duties as British representative. There was hardly any other side to it. He lived in and for his work, and contributed more than any other foreigner to making the history of Japan during that period."[61] However, his temperament was somewhat unpredictable as he was "gushing, secretive and friendly by turns" as his colleagues witnessed.[62]

Because of his hard-line policy and rough dealing with Chinese officials, he was to some extent responsible for igniting the Second Opium War (Arrow War) in China and leading the troops to occupy Guangzhou. After that, he followed Earl of Elgin's allied army to Tianjin as the major negotiator to deal with the Qing government. Because he was detained during the negotiation, even though he was later released by the Qing government under military pressure, Lord Elgin ordered the burning of the imperial Yuanming Garden 圓明園 (commonly known as Old Summer Palace) in 1860 as retaliation and punishment. After the war, Sir Harry became famous for his bravery and loyalty and was thus knighted. But because of his hard-line policy toward China and his role in the burning of the Old Summer Palace, he was remembered as one of the heinous "foreign devils" in the Chinese historical memory. His image in Japan was more glorious as he sided with the anti-bakufu campaign and supported the Meiji Restoration.

Sir Harry's career overlapped with Beal's during the siege of Guangzhou. He led the British troop to occupy Guangzhou and broke into Guangdong governor Ye Mingchen's 葉名琛 (1807–1859) official residence on October 29, 1856. Ye was captured in a later campaign on January 5, 1858, by Sir Harry and died in India.[63] This is the exact time period when Samuel Beal also served in Guangzhou. Considering Samuel Beal was serving the navy during the war, it is likely that Beal was connected to Sir Harry as well.

This all shows clearly that Samuel Beal was not an ordinary chaplain and scholar. Rather, because of his service in the British navy as a translator, he had broad connections with high officials and diplomats in East Asian affairs. Many of them were early China and Japan experts who may be referred to as scholar-diplomats. One of them, Sir Harry was located at the center of a network of British diplomats who worked in East Asia. For example, his colleague and the first British minister in China, Thomas Francis Wade (Wei Suima 威妥瑪, 1818–1895), who served from 1871 to 1883, was also a

scholar of Chinese language and the inventor of the Wade-Giles Romanization system.[64] (Herbert Giles, who perfected the system, was also a diplomat in China in a later generation. Wade was the first professor of Sinology in Cambridge University and Giles the second.) Among his junior colleagues in Japan, two were considered pioneers of Japanese studies in Europe: Williams George Aston (Asuton 阿須頓), the translator of *Nihongi* 日本紀 and official translator for the Iwakura Mission in Britain; Ernest Mason Satow (Satō Kon 薩道懇), who wrote extensively about Japanese history.[65]

Although Sir Harry's busy duties prevented him from any serious research, he often wrote long letters of his observations about China and Japan back to England which were highly valuable as research materials, as his biographers attested. His enthusiasm in supporting Oriental scholarship can be demonstrated in his founding of Association of Asiatic Society of Japan. Not only did he serve as its first president, he also encouraged his colleagues such as Aston and Satow to contribute to its official journal.[66]

It is clear that as a friend of George Alexander, with whom he shared interest in Chinese classics, and Sir Harry Parkes, who had overlaps with him in the Arrow War, Samuel Beal must have been introduced to the mission and may have met Iwakura in person because of his interests in Oriental religions. I assume that during one such meeting, Samuel Beal, who was obsessed with the Chinese Tripitaka, therefore made to Iwakura the request about sending an entire Chinese canon to Britain.

On the side of Japan, so far no document has been discovered about why and how the canon has been handled with diplomatic significance. Even Nanjō Bun'yū, a Japanese citizen, had no idea why the Japanese government would present a copy of the canon to England. As he said, "[it] is curious that, about two centuries after the time of Tetsu-gen, a copy of his Edition (produced A. D. 1681) was sent over to England from Japan (1875), by the Japanese ambassador, now one of the three highest ministers of the Mikado, for the use of scholars in Europe."[67] Iwakura Tomomi's own collected writings does not say anything. More research has to be done to search Japanese diplomatic documents and Sir Harry Parkes's private archive in Oxford University Library. However, it is certain that the acquisition of this canon must have been assisted by Sir Harry and his associates in Japan. In his letter to Aston dated February 7, 1874, when Ernest Satow was on vacation back in Britain, he alluded to the Buddhist canon in the following passage:

> I think I forgot to leave behind me a memo about the Buddhist canon which is wanted for the India Office Library. Mr. Wade's letter about it to the chief has been mislaid, but might be answered nevertheless. He wanted to be informed whether we could obtain a copy and for how much. Idzumiya Busuke, the dealer in old books in Kita-daimon chō can find a copy for $250 to $300. But I

> heard or read in a newspaper just before I left, that a copy had been bought by the Gaimushō [Foreign Office] to send to Germany, by which statement may be meant the copy with the Gaimushō intended to buy and present to the India Office. Anyhow, Tanabe Taichi of the Gaimushō will be able to tell you, for he assured me some months ago that they harboured the intention, but had not yet found a copy.[68]

Satow's reference is important for the further study of the actual handling of the canon from Japan to Britain. First, Satow mentioned that they had been informed by the India Office Library for searching a Chinese canon. Apparently, the correspondence was sent to the then British minister to China, Thomas Wade, who relayed it to Satow's and Aston's chief, who was Sir Harry Parkes. This piece of information corroborates with Samuel Beal's following account in which he indicated a request was first sent to the British minister in China. Beal alluded to such a previous attempt to acquire the canon through diplomats in Beijing: "A similar request had been already made at Pekin, but the Chinese government, jealously conservative, had declined to accede to it. We were fortunately able to look elsewhere."[69] This passage reveals an astonishing fact that the India Office made the first request to the Chinese government rather than to Japan. Furthermore, in a note in his *Buddhism in China*, Beal said:

> Accordingly, application was made through the India Office to our minister at Peking to urge the Chinese Government to allow either the purchase of the Tripitaka, as it is known in that country, or to procure the books as a free gift. But these attempts were unsuccessful, owing to the strained relationship existing at that time between the Chinese government and the Western powers. On the occasion of the Japanese ambassador, Iwakura Tomomi, visiting this country, the same request was made to him. The Japanese, it was known, had adopted Buddhism from China, through Korea, and the books they possessed had all come to them from this direction. The ambassador at once acceded to the request, and on his return to Tokio [*sic*] ordered the whole collection of the books, known as the Sacred Teaching of the Three Treasures, printed during the great Ming dynasty in China, to be forwarded to this country.[70]

Second, Satow mentioned that a book dealer, possibly Izumiya Busuke 和泉屋武助 or Bunsuke 文助,[71] located in the North Gate area of Kyoto (Kita-daimon chō 北大門町), could help to locate a complete set at the cost of £250 to 300. This confirms our hypothesis that the purchase of the canon was most likely handled by a private book dealer, although we have no information about this book dealer or its exact location. The account book for the printing of the *Ōbaku Canon* we mentioned in the beginning of this chapter does not contain any information about purchases made through a book

dealer around the year 1874, although a few book dealers have been recorded during the mid- and late Meiji period.

Finally, Satow learned through other sources that the Japanese foreign ministry had already purchased a set of the canon upon German requests. So far, little has been known about the details of this canon which the Germans had acquired. However, it was revealed that the request of the canon has been handled by Japanese foreign officers as a diplomatic matter. Satow suggested to Aston that they pursue the same route through their contact in the foreign ministry, whose name was Tanabe Taichi 田辺太一(1831–1915) and who was a Meiji diplomat who had served as the first secretary for the Iwakura Mission and was vice director of foreign affairs around the year 1874.[72]

Satow's letter suggests that the request of the Buddhist canon had been handled as a diplomatic affair by the Meiji government. The reception of the canon by the India Office Library was featured prominently in the news headline of the January 24, 1877 issue of *Yomiuri Newspaper* 讀賣新聞 (no. 601). It briefly stated that the entire canon which Iwakura sent to Britain previously had been happily received by the British government. In return, the India Office Library sent a gift of fourteen new books and also maps and globes. Without further information, it is safe to hypothesize that this *Ōbaku Canon* was purchased through a book dealer at the request of Japanese government, while Sir Harry Parkes and his staff arranged the shipping to the India Office Library. Although the mystery of its shipping from Japan has not yet been solved, it is clear that the process had been facilitated by a network of scholar-diplomats in the late nineteenth century.

CONCLUSION

This chapter presents my preliminary study of India Office Library's Ōbaku Tetsugen edition delivered by the Japanese government in 1875. The purpose of this study is to reveal the complicated religious, social, and diplomatic relationship which enabled the Chinese Tripitaka to be imported to Europe. Although there might be individual copies of various editions of the canon which had been disseminated to Europe through various channels, there was no complete collection of a Chinese Tripitaka in any European libraries or institution previously as far as my extensive search has revealed to date. According to Li Silong, the French library first acquired the Chinese canon in 1879, a few years after the Ōbaku edition arrived in Britain.[73] In Germany, a version of the *Northern Ming Canon* was acquired by Eugen Pander (1842–1895), and part of it is now preserved in the Jagiellonian Library, Kraków, Poland, since the collection was relocated from Berlin during the World War II. It was likely purchased by Pander when he acquired the more

well-known Tibetan canon in 1889.[74] Leiden University also acquired the Japanese *Reduced Print Canon* through J. J. M. de Groot (1854–1921) around 1902, but the canon was rarely consulted, only collecting dust on archive book shelves.[75] Even if earlier canons are eventually discovered in Europe, most likely in Russia and Germany, as some sources in this study hint, they could not be more important than the one in India Office Library for which two scholars wrote catalogs in English and had significant impact on early Chinese Buddhist scholarship in the West.

It is still unclear why Iwakura, despite his busy political agenda in Britain, paid attention to Samuel Beal's request and presented the canon through diplomatic efforts. Considering the issue of religion surrounding the Iwakura Mission, the exportation of a Buddhist Tripitaka might be interpreted as Japan's effort to assert her spiritual independence and counterbalance of the overwhelming Christian influence.

After the acquisition of the Buddhist canon, much older manuscripts were discovered in Central Asia and drew scholars to new adventures. However, through the importation of the *Ōbaku Canon*, the impact of the Chinese Tripitaka on the Western study of Chinese Buddhism has to be recognized and reevaluated. For Buddhist studies as a scholarly discipline, this event is one of the important chapters of an international book hunt for Buddhist literature. Through Samuel Beal's and Nanjō Bun'yū's cataloging efforts, the following innovations have been made and had long-lasting effects in the modern canon formation. First, both of them abolished the use of the *Thousand Character Classic* (*Qianziwen*) which had been created out of the premodern Chinese culture and lost its context outside China; second, both used sequential Arabic numbers to mark each entry; third, modern scholarly apparatus such as equivalent Sanskrit titles, detailed annotation with European scholarship, and cross references have been provided. I should emphasize here that Beal's and Nanjō's discussion of the method of classification is tremendously important for the modern evolution of the canon because we know that the most authoritative modern canon, the *Taishō Canon*, completely gave up the *Thousand Character Classic* method and assigned a sequential numbers of natural order to each individual title. By embracing the Western cataloging methods, Beal and Nanjō set new standards for compiling East Asian Buddhist literature. Here, in Beal's and Nanjō's catalogs, we have seen the precursors of the methods *Taishō* compilers have adopted. Started by Samuel Beal and followed by Nanjō Bun'yū, through Nanjō's Japanese students, these new methods greatly influenced the creation of modern canons in East Asia.

Having obtained the experience of cataloging the canon, Nanjō returned to Japan and influenced a generation of Buddhist scholars who devoted themselves to new efforts of canon-making. Two of them, Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎 and Watanabe Kaigyoku 渡邊海旭, became the editors of the

Taishō Canon.[76] Some common practices adopted by Beal and Nanjō in the catalogs of the Ōbaku edition, such as the abolishing of *Thousand Character Classic* and the use of modern scholarly apparatus, were adopted by the Taishō compilers. Therefore, the origin of modern Buddhist canons in East Asia has to be traced back to the year 1875 when the first Chinese Tripitaka arrived in Britain.

NOTES

1. For a detailed study of Yinyuan and his impact in Edo Japan, see Wu, *Leaving for the Rising Sun*.

2. There are numerous studies of this canon in Chinese and Japanese languages. For the study of the *Jiaxing Canon* in English, see Dai, "The Economics of the Jiaxing Edition of the Buddhist Tripitaka."

3. For the bestowal of the canon to Huangbo Monastery, see Zhang, "Where the Two Worlds Met."

4. See this event in Wu, *Leaving for the Rising Sun*, 147.

5. Chinese scholar He Mei 何梅 did a recount based on a complete set preserved in Beijing National Library, which I have consulted as well. According to her result, the whole set actually consists of 1,659 titles, 7,674 or 7,826 fascicles. For a brief note, see Wu and Chia (ed.), *Spreading Buddha's Word*, appendix 1, 316.

6. For a short introduction to this text, see Long, "Managing the Dharma Treasure," in Wu and Chia (ed.), *Spreading Buddha's Word*, 219–247.

7. These memorials have been translated by Helen Baroni in her *Iron Eyes*, 153–154 and 157–158. For the account of the creation of the canon, see Baroni, *Iron Eyes*, 52–54.

8. Matsunaga Chikai, "Ōbakuban daizōkyō no saihyōka."

9. For a brief mention of these two monks and their activities in China, see Xue Yu, *Buddhism, War, and Nationalism,* 25.

10. For these records, see Matsunaga Chikai (ed.), *Zenzō zensei senjimon shutenbo*, entries no. 2287, 2288, 2301, 2302. In addition, there is one set of the canon ordered by Mizuno Baigyō which did not have the place of ordering, most likely also sent to China. Matsunaga Chikai, *Zenzō zensei senjimon shutenbo*, no. 2292, 362. I want to thank Prof. Matsunaga for calling my attention to this book. Currently, I have examined the extant copies of the canon preserved in Beijing National Library and Taiwan Fu Sinian Library in Academia Sinica, in addition to its printing blocks preserved in Manpukuji, Kyoto.

11. Takayama Ryūzō, "Kawaguchi Ekai no omoi."

12. For the European encounter with Buddhism, see Allen, *The Buddha and the Sahibs*. Harris, *Theravāda Buddhism and the British Encounter*. Franklin, *The Lotus and the Lion*. Almond, *The British Discovery of Buddhism*. Lussier, *Romantic Dharma*. Droit, *The Cult of Nothingness*. Welbon, *The Buddhist Nirvāṇa and its Western Interpreters*.

13. It is still a mystery as to when the first Tibetan canon was brought to Europe. But the knowledge about the existence of a Tibetan canon had been introduced in Europe very early. Csoma de Körös had access to the Tibetan canon in Bengal and Tibet. He also introduced its vinaya section to European scholars. According to him, the edition held at the Asiatic Society in Bengal was printed in 1731, apparently the Narthang edition in 100 volumes. See Körös, "Analysis of the Dulva." An abstract of his work was first published by H. H. Wilson in *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, January 1832, 1–8; Sept. 1932, 375–392. Later, in 1845, a version of a catalog of the Kanjur, without transcription, was published in St. Petersburg by Issac Jacob Schmidt who was a member of the Russian Academy of Sciences. See Schmidt, *Título Bka' 'gyur gyi dkar chag oder der Index des Kandjur*. In a detailed letter sent to me on April 19, 2017, Prof. Helmut Eimer explained that it is still unclear when the first complete copy of the Tibetan Kanjur was imported to Europe, and there is no survey of the current holdings in European libraries. However, according to him, we do have a record pointing to the collection of Baron Paul L. Schilling von. Canstatt (1786–1837), including a complete Tibetan Kanjur in 100 volumes, which was inherited by the Russian Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg.

14. Lopez, "Introduction to the Translation," Burnouf, *Introduction to the History of Indian Buddhism*, 1–27. See also Lopez, "The Ambivalent Exegete."

15. Lopez (ed.), *Curators of the Buddha*, especially page 20.

16. Almond, *The British Discovery of Buddhism*, 13, also quoted in Lopez (ed.), *The Curator of the Buddha*, 290.

17. Lopez, "Introduction," *The Curator of the Buddha*, 2.

18. According to de Jong, in 1691, Simon de la Loubère, French envoy to Siam, already translated the life of Devadatta and an abstract of Pātimokkha in his book *Description du royaume de Siam*. Later, the Pali text Kammavācā was translated in Italian in 1776. See de Jong, *A Brief History of Buddhist Studies in Europe and America*, 20–21.

19. Desideri's account of Tibet, however, was not published until 1904 by Carlo Puini and translated into English partially by Filippo de Fillippi in 1931 as *An Account of Tibet: The Travels of Ippolito Desideri of Pistoia, S. J., 1712–1727*. See also Pomplun, *Jesuit on the Roof of the World*.

20. See App's chart of textual genealogy of the text. App, *The Birth of Orientalism*, 226. Samuel Beal later translated this text into English from the *Ōbaku Canon* in India Office Library.

21. Quoted from App's translation in *The Birth of Orientalism*, 242. Chinese characters were added by me. See also Abel Rémusat's review of de Guignes's work, "Observations sur trois Mémoires de M. Deguignes." Paul Demieville mentioned that de Guignes's contemporary scholar Le Roux Deshauterayes (1724–1795) was also interested in Chinese Buddhism. Both of them were students of French scholar Étienne Fourmont (1683–1745). See Demiéville, "Aperçu historique de études sinologiques en France," 77. For discussions about his scholarship, see also App, *The Birth of Orientalism*, 411–414.

22. App, "Arthur Schopenhauer and China," 6–10.

23. Morrison, *Horæ Sinicæ*, 41–52. For his biography, see Daily, *Robert Morrison and the Protestant Plan for China*. Ride, *Robert Morrison*. Morrison knew about the *Lotus Sutra* but dismissed it as "unintelligible mysticism." See Barrett, "A Bicentenary in Robert Morrison's Scholarship on China," 7.

24. West, *Catalogue of the Morrison Collection of Chinese Books*, xvi.

25. This temple was featured prominently in many early European books about China because of its accessibility. It was revived by the Caodong 曹洞 masters in the early Qing and remained a large and significant Buddhist establishment in the late Qing. Patricia Sieber is conducting research on the Buddhist printing in this temple and its connection to the European import of Buddhism. For part of her research, see Sieber, "Universal Brotherhood Revisited." I visited the rebuilt Haichuang Monastery in 2015.

26. For the translation of Chinese Buddhist travelogs and their impact on Buddhist studies, see Deeg, "The Historical Turn."

27. Lopez, *From Stone to Flesh*, 180.

28. *Pilgrimage of Fa Hian from the French Edition of the Foe Koue Ki of MM. Remusat*, 2, note 3 (French original, page 3). See also his long explanation in page 121, note 19.

29. App, "Arthur Schopenhauer and China," 6–10.

30. See Allen, "Alexander Cunningham and the Chinese Pilgrims," in Allen, *The Search for the Buddha*, 200–217.

31. Burnouf, *Introduction*, 61.

32. Julien, *Histoire de la vie de Hiouen-Thsang*.

33. Julien, *Thsien-tseu-wen*.

34. The *Zhiyuan Catalog* was compiled between 1285–1287 during the Yuan dynasty. It claims to have recorded 1440 titles and 5586 fascicles collated with Chinese, Tibetan, Tangut Tripitaka. See He, *Lidai Hanwen dazangjing mulu xinkao*, 25–28.

35. For Russia's discovery of Buddhism, see Hundley, "Defending the Periphery"; van der Oye, *Russian Orientalism*. I want to thank Tanya Storch for answering questions regarding the study of the Buddhist canon in Russia.

36. Julien, *Histoire de la vie de Hiouen-thsang*, xxviii, note 1.

37. For an introduction to the content and structure of the Chinese Buddhist canon and the role of catalogs, see Wu, "The Chinese Buddhist Canon Through the Ages."

38. He gave a sample list of 881 valuable titles of translation for this purpose in pp. 379–446. Julien, "Concordance Sinico-Samskrite," 362. See also Herbert, "Multilinguisme dans la Chine des Yüan." Herbert introduced the background of the composition of this catalog and the introduction to major clergy and officials who had been involved in this project.

39. Julien, *Méthode pour déchiffrer et transcrire les noms sanscrits*.

40. Beal, *A Catena of Buddhist Scriptures from the Chinese*, 1.

41. For reviews of French Buddhist and Sinological scholarship in the early century, see Yamakuchi, *Faguo fojiaoxue wushinian*. Demiéville, "Aperçu historique de études sinologiques en France."

42. Barrett, *Singular Listlessnes*. For Norman Girardot's refutation of this view, see his *The Victorian Translation of China,* 144–146.

43. de Jong, *A Short History*, 26

44. Barrett, *Singular Listlessness*, 75–76.

45. The following account is partially based on "Beal, Samuel (BL843S)." *A Cambridge Alumni Database*. University of Cambridge. *Dictionary of National Biography*, 1901 supplement, by Robert Kennaway Douglas. It seems that Beal had a prolonged illness as noted by Girardot, *The Victorian Translation of China*, 684, note 23. For his academic achievement, see Hu Youjing, *Yingguo 19 shiji de hanxue shi yanjiu*, 60–63. Tim Barrett suggested to me through an email (April 3, 2017) that his financial situation was not clear and it seems he had multiple appointments to support his academic career. See also Twitchett, *Land Tenure and the Social Order*, 3, 8. Beal was consulted by the Colonial Office for teaching Cantonese at King's College London but apparently he was not proficient. See Kwan, "Da Ying diguo, Hanxue ji fanyi," 92.

46. University College London was the first institution in the United Kingdom to establish a professorship in Chinese studies in 1837. For a brief history and its first professor Samuel Kidd, See Kwan, "Hanzi yuanzi Aiji shuo." According to Dr. Uganda Kwan who checked his ordination certificates, his commonly known birth year of 1804 is wrong.

47. See Beal, *Catena*, 2. It is likely that his account is based on his second-hand knowledge of the *Qing Dragon Canon*, the last block-printed Tripitaka in China. Other scholars of Chinese Buddhism did not process more information. See Edkins, *Chinese Buddhism*, chapter XVII, *Buddhist Literature*, 273–288. For example, German missionary-scholar Ernst Johann Eitel in his 1871 lectures about Chinese Buddhism stated that the canon which was imported to China was based on the one created in the fourth council in Kashmir during Kanichka's (Kaniṣka) reign (15 BC–AD 45). Although Chinese rulers strived to get one copy, the Chinese did not get one until 1410. Based on this complete edition, the Chinese created the modern edition between 1573 and 1619, which was known as the Northern collection. See Eitel, *Three Lectures*, 3. He also said: "Unlike our Bible, the Buddhist canon has undergone wholesale textual alterations; it has been edited and re-edited a great many times, and every editor introduced into the text the favourite ideas of his time and his school." Eitel, *Three Lectures*, 14.

48. Beal, *Catena*, 147.

49. This has been translated in full as *Iwakura Embassy*. See volume II for Britain.

50. Minako Yamazaki, *Iwakura Shisetsudan*. See also Maxey, *The "Greatest Problem,"* 72–81.

51. Breen, "Earnest desires."

52. Quoted from Breen, "Earnest Desires," 158. See also Krämer, *Shimaji Mokurai*, 60–61, 89–90.

53. Beal, *The Buddhist Tripiṭaka*, 1.

54. In the beginning of the report, part of the order he received from Dr. R. Rost, librarian of the India Office, from Devonport, on June 19, 1876, is printed as follows: "Extract from an order of the Secretary of State in Council, India Office, December 14, 1875 . . . .'That Mr. Beal be requested to prepare a compendious Report of the

Buddhist Tripitaka—to be ready in six months.'" Beal, *The Buddhist Tripitaka*, 1. Reinhold Rost was an oriental scholar as well and served as secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society from 1863 to 1869. After this, he was appointed as librarian at the India Office, London, from 1869 to 1893. He was the editor of H. H. Wilson's *Essays on the Religions of the Hindus* and Hodgson's *Essays on Indian Subjects.* It is clear that he understood the urgent need of the Chinese Buddhist canon as well.

55. Beal, *Buddhist Literature in China*, vii.

56. Julien, *Histoire*, iii.

57. Wilson, "Notes of a Correspondence with Sir John Bowring on Buddhist Literature in China."

58. Ibid., 320.

59. Beal, *Catena*, xiii. Tim Barrett told me through an email (April 3, 2017) that Admiral Charles Elliot was well connected with the British aristocracy.

60. For his involvement with the Iwakura Mission, see Ian Nish, *The Iwakura Mission to American and Europe*, 28 and 37. One of his works on Chinese philosophy is *Confucius, the Great Teacher* published in 1890.

61. Satow's letter to Frederick Victor Dickins, dated July 24, 1893, in *Sir Ernest Satow's Private Letters*, 196. For full accounts of Sir Harry's life, see Daniels, *Sir Harry Parkes*. Lane-Poole and Dickins, *The Life of Sir Harry Parkes*.

62. Satow's letter to Aston, dated January 31, 1882, in *Sir Ernest Satow's Private Letters*, 4.

63. Beal's own account indicates that he was present at the seizure of Governor Ye's residence. Beal recalls: "At the capture of Canton, in 1858, a large golden image of Kwan-yin (Avalokiteśvara) was found in a shrine in an inner room of the Yamen of Yeh Ming-shin (Ye Mingchen), the governor of the province." Beal, *Buddhism in China*, 28. He also mentioned a memorial Yeh submitted to the emperor about Kwan-yin's help in fighting. For a study of Ye, see Wong, *Yeh Ming-ch'en*.

64. For Thomas Wade's diplomatic career, see Cooley, *T.F. Wade in China*.

65. His Japanese name was also given as 薩道義. I am following the reading of his personal seal in Hayashi, Nozomu & Peter Kornicki, *Early Japanese Books*, 23.

66. See Lane-Poole and Dickins, *The Life of Sir Harry Parkes*, vol. 3, 355. Aston himself was deeply interested in religion. For Aston's life, see Kornicki, "William George Aston." Satow, though not doing extensive research on religion, might have been influenced by Buddhist thought. See his letter to Frederick Victor Dickins's wife, dated November 8, 1889, *Sir Ernest Satow's Private Letters*, 169.

67. Nanjio, *Catalog of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripitaka*, xxvi.

68. *Sir Ernest Satow's Private Letters*, 4. Ernest M. Satow returned to England on leave in early 1875. See Ruxton, *The Diaries and Letters of Sir Ernest Mason Satow*, 109.

69. Beal, *Buddhist Literature in China*, vii.

70. Beal, *Buddhism in China*, 41.

71. Satow mentioned in his diary on October 16, 1882, that his friend, the book dealer Bunsuke died in August 23. This figure was also mentioned in the entry of February 19, 1882. See Ruxton, *The Diaries of Sir Ernest Mason Satow*, 125. Bunsuke was indeed a publisher active in early Meiji period. I want to thank Will Fleming

and Matt Treyvaud for answering my query through the Premodern Japanese Studies (PMJS) listserv.

72. Tanabe Taichi was born into a family of bakufu scholars. He had been trained in the Confucian school Shōheizaka Gakumonjo 昌平坂學問所 and later the navy school Nagasaki Kaigun Denshūjo 長崎海軍傳習所. He was deeply involved in many foreign affairs and treaty negotiations for the bakufu and Meiji governments. He was appointed as minister of foreign affairs (*Gaikoku bugyō* 外國奉行) in 1867, secretary for the Iwakura Mission in 1871, and ambassador to Qing China from 1877 to 1882. For details of his life, see Noriko Otsuji, *Bakumatsu gaikoku bugyō Tanabe Taichi*.

73. Li Silong, *Ou Mei fojiao xueshu shi*, 219. Details are not known in the French collection. There seems no complete canon before 1879. See Feer, "Introduction au Catalogue spécial des ouvrages bouddhiques." Rémusat, *Mémoire sur les livres chinois de la Bibliothèque du roi*.

74. Helmut Eimer summarized the history of this collection in a letter sent to Jiang Wu (April 19, 2017): "The Tibetan books collected between 1881 and 1888 by EUGEN PANDER in Beijing came in 1889 to Berlin, where they were housed up to the year 1943 in the Royal Library (now called Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin). The collection comprised besides other books a complete manuscript of the Tibetan Kanjur prepared in the year 1680 at the Imperial Court in Beijing. This set was cataloged by Hermann Beckh (Verzeichnis der Tibetischen Handschriften. 1. Abteilung: Kanjur. Berlin: Behrendt, 1914. Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin; 24). This manuscript is still preserved in Berlin. A number of books from the Pander collection were evacuated from Berlin to Silesia (at that time part of Germany) during World War II in 1943. Under these books there are 38 (out of 105) volumes of the Wanli block-print edition of the Kanjur, now kept in the Jagiellonian Library, Krakow." Both James Robson and Darui Long examined the Chinese portion of this collection personally, and I want to thank them for providing information about its current condition. For a brief history of the condition of the Tibetan material in the Pander collection, see Helman-Wazny, "Recovering a Lost Literary Heritage."

75. See Werblowsky, *The Beaten Track of Science*, 102. This canon was only consulted twice, in 1947 and 1997, respectively, both by the late Erik Zürcher. See also Barend ter Haar's review of the book, *T'oung Pao* LXXXXII (2006) 540–560, especially 554. Prof. ter Haar informed me about the existence of this canon and shared with me his book review. As he suggested, de Groot is perhaps the first serious researcher who had done ethnographic study of Chinese religion in Southeast China and his contribution should not be ignored.

76. See Wilkinson, "*Taishō Canon*."

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Chapter 2

Inventing Buddhist Bibles in Japan

From Nanjō Bun'yū to Numata Yehan

Greg Wilkinson and Nicholas J. Frederick

INTRODUCTION

In 2013, the Buddhadasa Indapanno Archives (BIA) in Thailand published Ajahn Jayasaro's *Without and Within: Questions and Answers on the Teachings of Theravada Buddhism*. The book was distributed for free online and in print. BIA ordered a massive first printing of 84,000 copies. Thousands of copies of *Without and Within* were placed in many of Thailand's hotel rooms.[1] Ajahn's book can be seen as a response to one of the most widely distributed books on Buddhism, *The Teaching of Buddha* (*Bukkyō Seiten* 仏教聖典), published and distributed by the Society for the Promotion of Buddhism or Bukkyō Dendō Kyōkai 仏教伝道協会 (BDK). This book has been translated into forty-two languages and is also currently available in several bilingual editions.[2] *Without and Within* shares many characteristics with *The Teaching of Buddha*. Both books draw heavily on the Buddhist scriptures or *tripitaka*. Both have a similar organization with sections on the Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha. They are available in English and other vernaculars, distributed freely, and placed in hotel rooms.

These works also share common characteristics of process as priests, devoted laity, and academics come together to create a new single-volume text, which represents, for the authors and their intended audience, an effective and accessible canon of Buddhist scriptures. These works were written and distributed in a similar way to the production and distribution of several editions of the Christian Bible by different organizations and missions, following most notably the efforts of The Gideons International which declares a central mission to provide Bibles in "the traffic lanes of life", including hotels where their bibles can be read by many people.[3] In Japan, these

single-volume collections of Buddhist scriptures were commonly entitled *Bukkyō Seiten* 仏教聖典 and were intended to promote Buddhism generally and even globally but they did have specific national and sectarian attributes.

Despite these similarities in content and methods of distribution with *The Teaching of Buddha*, BIA published *Without and Within* to provide a single-volume compilation of Buddhist teachings that more distinctively reflected the Theravada Buddhism of South Asia. *The Teaching of Buddha* is not only a general introduction to Buddhism but also a primer on Japanese Pure Land Buddhist practices and beliefs. Today, in the nightstands of some Thailand Marriott hotels, you can find a Gideons's Bible, *The Book of Mormon*, *The Teaching of Buddha*, and *Without and Within*. It is not clear whether this development is ecumenical or eristic. Editions of Buddhist or Christian scriptures are often illustrations of religious, political, and cultural identities. Not only what is published, but how and why it is published are important issues for understanding how the canon of any religious tradition is maintained or evolves. In the modern period, with advancements in communication, transportation, and the advent of global evangelism (both Buddhist and Christian), the canonical traditions of any single religious tradition (or sects within that tradition) are influenced by the canons or scriptures of all other traditions within pluralistic societies.

This chapter analyzes and explores several editions of Buddhist Bibles or *Bukkyō Seiten* in early twentieth-century Japan within the modern context of Christian evangelism and how the Christian Bible was perceived by Japanese Buddhists during this time. These single-volume collections of Buddhist texts were attempts by scholars and clergy to balance effectiveness and accessibility in order to promote the Buddhist scriptures. In the face of rising Christian evangelism in Japan, the single-volume canon represented by the Christian Bible presented logical and obvious evangelical, educational, and ecclesiastical benefits in comparison to the Buddhist canon often comprising of hundreds of volumes or boxes, thousands of sutras and tens of thousands of pages. In 1889, in his writings on the future of Japanese religion, Tendai priest Ashitsu Jitsunen 足津実年 (1850–1921) declared, "if, in order to understand Buddhism, one would have to read each and every sutra, there would not be one Buddhist in the world today."[4] This chapter argues that perspectives similar to Ashitsu's in early-twentieth-century Japan were based on assumptions about the Christian Bible and led to the proliferation of Buddhist Bibles in the early twentieth century. As James Ketelaar has stated, these Buddhist Bibles were more than simply accessible and educationally practical compilations of Buddhist teachings "but an attempt to give form to the chimera of Buddhist textual unity," meaning that the compilation is made with thematic purpose and comes from one large network, the parts of which do not interfere with other parts or with the whole.[5]

To give narrative and context to the argument that Buddhist Bibles were a direct response to the Christian Bible and the tactics of protestant missionaries, we will first describe the efforts of two of the most important individuals in publishing and promoting these projects, Nanjō Bun'yū 南條文雄 (1849–1927) and Numata Yehan 沼田惠範 (1897–1994). We will analyze the differences and similarities between Nanjō and Numata in order to understand the unique characteristics of the *Bukkyō Seiten* they produced as well as to show how Nanjō was fundamental to the Buddhist Bible movement, providing with contemporaries like Maeda Eun 前田慧雲 (1857–1930) a guiding light for subsequent Buddhist Bible publications by Numata and others.[6] We will then try to understand these Buddhist Bibles by providing necessary contextualization, including the context of Japan's modernization and nationalism; the context of Christian Evangelism and the Christian Bible in Japan; the context of Asian Religious Studies in the West; and the context of Shin-Buddhism and the Pure Land temple system along with its teachings. We will then consider how Nanjō's and Numata's *Bukkyō Seiten* illustrate and exemplify these contextual factors but also how they contributed to the evolution of this contextual milieu both by their own accomplishments. Finally, we will consider several issues of canonization by comparing the coming forth of these Buddhist Bibles with canon traditions in general and explain why these new compilations should be regarded as canons.

NANJŌ BUN'YŪ AND THE REMAKING OF THE BUDDHIST CANON IN JAPAN

Nanjō Bun'yū was the third son of the Seiunji 青雲寺 temple abbot, which was a branch temple of the Jōdo Shinshū 浄土真宗 (The True Essence of Pure Land Teaching or Pure Land Buddhism), Ōtani sect of the Higashi Honganji 東本願寺 just outside of Nagoya in Gifu prefecture. Nanjō was an exceptional student of Chinese Buddhist texts. While his only Japanese higher education experience was one year at Takakura Gakuryo, his academic potential attracted several eager benefactors. At age twenty-two, Nanjō was adopted by the abbot of Okunenji 憶念寺 temple. Adoption gave Nanjō access to a great catalog of Confucian and Buddhist texts and eventually led to study at Shinshū headquarters in Kyoto for several years. Nanjō studied several academic subjects including Western philosophy and comparative religions but his main academic and devotional interest centered in Buddhism. He was especially gifted in reading Chinese Buddhist texts. One of his favorite texts was a Chinese biography of Śākyamuni. A phrase from that book, *wei fa bu wei shen* 爲法不爲身, or "for the sake of the (Buddhist) Law and not of self," became a personal mantra and constant reminder for

the importance of religious devotion and service to others.[7] It is important to remember that during this time (1871–1876) Nanjō experiences a great time of transition and even strife for Buddhism as the Tokugawa Shogunate falls and with it, Buddhism's preferential political status. This seems to motivate Nanjō to be of service to the ecclesiastical structures of Jōdo Shinshū and to promote Buddhism through numerous lectures and writings. Nanjō expressed his disgust for the actions of some Buddhist priests in trying to ingratiate themselves to state officials and militant Shintōists going as far as to participate in Shintō rites within one of the chief Shinshū temples of the Tokugawa period, Zōjōji.[8]

In 1876, Nanjō was sent to Europe to study Sanskrit and Indian philosophy. He arrived in England at age twenty-seven, a well-known master of Chinese classics in Japan but little experience with Sanskrit texts and no European-language abilities. He stayed for eight years studying mostly under Max Müller. Müller saw Buddhism as a universal evangelical religion on par with Christianity and Islam, and his Japanese students remained committed to the academic and evangelical expansion of Buddhism both domestically and globally. While studying in London, Nanjō completed a catalog of the Chinese Buddhist canon, which took him almost three years of consistent effort. This catalog is known simply as the "Nanjō catalog" by many. Nanjō also participated in the production of Müller's fifty-volume work *Sacred Books of the East*.[9] These publications and his work in compiling Sanskrit texts made him a widely respected scholar in Europe. Nanjō met and worked closely with Chinese Buddhist scholar Yang Wenhui 楊文會 (1835–1911), who has been called the "father of Buddhist Renaissance" in China. After both men returned to their home countries, they continued their mutually beneficial friendship, with Yang providing Nanjō with several texts from Chinese and Tibetan collections and Nanjō sending Yang several Chinese Buddhist texts that were only extant in Japan. Surrounded by positive academic and devotional influences, Nanjō made a significant contribution to Buddhist studies in Europe, built important international relationships, and improved his reputation in Japan among Buddhist elites.

Nanjō's studies in England were stopped short due to the ill health of his biological and adopted parents. Upon his return to Japan, by way of America, he met with government officials and Higashi Honganji head priests. Japanese political and religious officials were worried that Nanjō would lead a movement of radical reforms as he rose up leadership positions. Nanjō quickly negated all concerns explaining that he intended to pursue research interests, which would assist the modern advancement of Buddhism. He held several academic positions but focused more on the propagation of Buddhism than on his Sanskrit research. He made just two additional foreign trips during the next forty-six years after his return from England. He spent a month

in India following the steps of the Buddha's, life and travelled to China spending time visiting its most historically significant Buddhist temples.[10] He used his extensive connections and academic acumen to contribute to many publications and support the emergence of modern Buddhist studies in Japan. He was instrumental in leading several Buddhist canon projects in China and Japan including editions of the complete Buddhist canon.[11]

In 1905, Nanjō published a single-volume collection of Buddhist scriptures titled *Bukkyō Seiten* with Buddhist canon scholar and coeditor of the *Manji Main Canon* (1902–1905), Maeda Eun. Nanjō and Maeda translated a collection of Buddhist sutras from classical Chinese into easy-to-understand Japanese. The five-hundred-page text is divided into four main sections: introduction (*jo-hen* 序篇), faith (*shinkō-hen* 信仰篇), acts (*kōi-hen* 行為篇), and doctrines (*kyōri-hen* 教理篇). Each of these sections has several chapters, again arranged by topic and divided into several verses. Examples of chapters include belief (*shinjin* 信心), invocation of Amida *(nembutsu* 念佛), and repentance (*zange* 懺悔) in the faith section; piety (*jiko ni taisuru tokugi* 自己に對する徳義) and compassion (*tanin ni taisuru tokugi* 他人に對する徳義) in the acts section; and cosmos (*uchū banyu* 宇宙萬有), life (*shujō* 衆生), and Buddha (*butsuda* 仏陀) in the doctrine section. Each verse ends with a citation of its Buddhist sutra or canonical source. The end matter contains a history of Buddhism, a map, and brief notes. The volume was well received and went through four printings in 1905.[12] Nanjō and Maeda's Buddhist Bible provided a template and standard for subsequent editions just as their early editions of the Buddhist canon provided a pattern for other editions of the complete Chinese canon during the Taishō period. Nanjō and Maeda delivered a great advancement for the understanding of Buddhism by lay Japanese. However, their bible was more evangelical than it was educational, and a significant Pure Land focus can be seen in their Buddhist Bible starting the volume with Pure Land central doctrines such as faith and repentance and practices such as the *nembutsu* 念仏 or invocation of Amida.

NUMATA YEHAN AND SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF BUDDHISM (BDK)

Numata, like Nanjō, was also the third son of an extremely devout Jōdo Shinshū family. His father, Numata Esho 沼田惠生, was the sixteenth Numata family member to serve as head priest of the Jōrenji 浄蓮寺, a temple outside Hiroshima. Even though Numata was not the first son, he was expected to become a Pure Land priest. Numata's family was poor and could not afford a high school education for all their children.

After attending a Nishi Honganji affiliated junior high school, the temple selected Numata to continue his education overseas and he moved to America to attend high school and work for Americans in Hollywood, California. After two years of school accompanied by hard work, he was diagnosed with consumption (tuberculosis). He credited chanting the name of Amida Buddha or the Nembutsu and maintaining an image of Amida and Shinran, the founder of Jōdo Shinshū, in his mind with his recovery from this disease.[13]

In 1925, Numata graduated with Bachelor's and Master's Degrees from the University of California in economics and business and started his first Buddhist evangelical efforts. With students from Berkeley and Stanford, he started *Pacific World*, a bimonthly periodical that covered Asian topics including Buddhism. *Pacific World* was published for two years with 4,000 free copies of each issue being sent to colleges and libraries around the country. During a short return to Japan, Numata formed important partnerships with the father of Japan's banking system, Shibusawa Eiichi 渋沢栄一 (1840–1931) and the lead editor of the *Taishō Canon*, Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎 (1866–1945). Numata returned to California with the necessary financial and philosophical backing to continue publishing *Pacific World* for two more years. He also published another periodical along with *Pacific World* called *The Young East*. Eventually, Numata realized his relationships with Takakusu and Shibusawa were insufficient to produce the necessary backing to accomplish his vision of promoting Pure Land Buddhism globally, and ended the run of both publications, closed his office in California, and returned to Japan. In 1930, at the age of thirty-three, Numata fully realized that he alone would need to provide the financial backing for his evangelical goals. In 1934, he founded Mitutoyo ミツトヨ, which has grown to be a global manufacturing company of measuring equipment. Numata chose two missions on which to base the company: first, contribute to the happiness of people through the promotion of Buddhism; and second, aim to become a leader in the precision measuring field. Numata firmly believed that the success of Mitutoyo was realized in order to provide the necessary financial backing for his evangelical vision. In pursuit of his first mission, he started the Society for the Promotion of Buddhism (*Bukkyō Dendō Kyōkai*, or BDK) in 1965. The society was fully funded from the profits of Mitutoyo. The society's main activity was free distribution of the Buddha's teachings. This was accomplished most notably through *The Teaching of Buddha*. Numata's BDK also published several other books and tracts on Buddhism. Some books were very trans-sectarian, covering the life of the historical Buddha or general Buddhist history but most books focused on Pure Land Buddhist texts and ideas. Other BDK activities included the establishment of endowed chairs of Buddhist studies at twelve universities in North America and a project

to translate the entire *Taishō Canon* (100 volumes) into English. In 1991, Numata explained this ongoing project to translate the entire Buddhist canon:

> The Buddhist canon is said to contain eighty-four thousand different teachings. I believe that this is because the Buddha's basic approach was to prescribe a different treatment for every spiritual ailment, much as a doctor prescribes a different medicine for every medical ailment. Thus his teachings were always appropriate for the particular suffering individual and for the time at which the teaching was given, and over the ages not one of his prescriptions has failed to relieve the suffering to which it was addressed.
>
> Ever since the Buddha's Great Demise over twenty-five hundred years ago, his message of wisdom and compassion has spread throughout the world. Yet no one has ever attempted to translate the entire Buddhist canon into English throughout the history of Japan. It is my greatest wish to see this done and to make the translations available to the many English-speaking people who have never had the opportunity to learn about the Buddha's teachings.
>
> Of course, it would be impossible to translate all of the Buddha's eighty-four thousand teachings in a few years. I have, therefore, had one hundred thirty-nine of the scriptural texts in the prodigious Taishō edition of the Chinese Buddhist canon selected for inclusion in the first series of this translation project.
>
> It is in the nature of this undertaking that the results are bound to be criticized. Nonetheless, I am convinced that unless someone takes it upon himself or herself to initiate this project, it will never be done. At the same time, I hope that an improved, revised edition will appear in the future.
>
> It is most gratifying that, thanks to the efforts of more than a hundred Buddhist scholars from the East and the West, this monumental project has finally gotten off the ground. May the rays of the Wisdom of the Compassionate One reach each and every person in the world.[14]

A year after starting the BDK, Numata published the society's first edition of *The Teaching of Buddha* or *Bukkyō Seiten*. These first Japanese editions were very closely based on a *Bukkyō Seiten* published in 1932 as *Shin'yaku Bukkyō Seiten: Kokuminban* 新訳仏教聖典国民版.[15] The Shin-Buddhist-backed *Shin'yaku Bukkyyō Seiten Fukyūkai* 新訳佛教聖典普及会 in Nagoya had published several *Bukkyō Seiten* starting in 1925; their 1932 edition was actually marked as their 'popular edition' (*kokuminban*). Kizu Muan 木津無庵, (1867–1942) ,with the assistance of Takakusu Junjirō, edited this single-volume collection taken directly from the transcriptions and facsimiles of the *Taishō Canon*. This Buddhist Bible was almost twice the length of Nanjō and Maeda's projects but maintained many similar characteristics in para-text and content. It has sections on the Buddha (*hotoke* 仏), Dharma (*oshie* 教え), Practice (*hagemi* 励み), and Community (*Nakama* 仲間). The volume's end matter includes information on the history and transmission of Buddhism as well as maps, a glossary, index, and a list of source materials. These texts

were designed to be widely readable. Buddhist texts were translated into a clear and common Japanese vernacular with writing in *furigana* in which the Japanese phonetics are provided next to each Chinese character in the text as Figure 2.1 illustrates.

This made the Buddhist sutras much more approachable and readable than they had ever been in full-length editions of the Buddhist canon published around the same time in Japan. The first English editions of *The Teaching of Buddha* were not translations of the BDK's Japanese-language *Bukkyō Seiten* but rather borrowed texts from available translations of Buddhist sutras, most notably Dwight Goddard's *A Buddhist Bible*. Goddard was a student of the Zen tradition and more interested in the monastic and meditative practices found in that tradition than the devotionalism found in Pure Land Buddhism, and his text (unlike BDK's Japanese Buddhist Bible) did not reflect the Pure Land point of view. However, Numata was anxious to promote Buddhist teachings more generally in the West, and so for a short term Goddard's texts served a common purpose. To date, over eight million copies of the various editions of *The Teaching of Buddha* or *Bukkyō Seiten* have been distributed, free of charge, in forty-two languages and to over fifty countries. More than one million copies have been placed in over 90,000 hotels.[16]

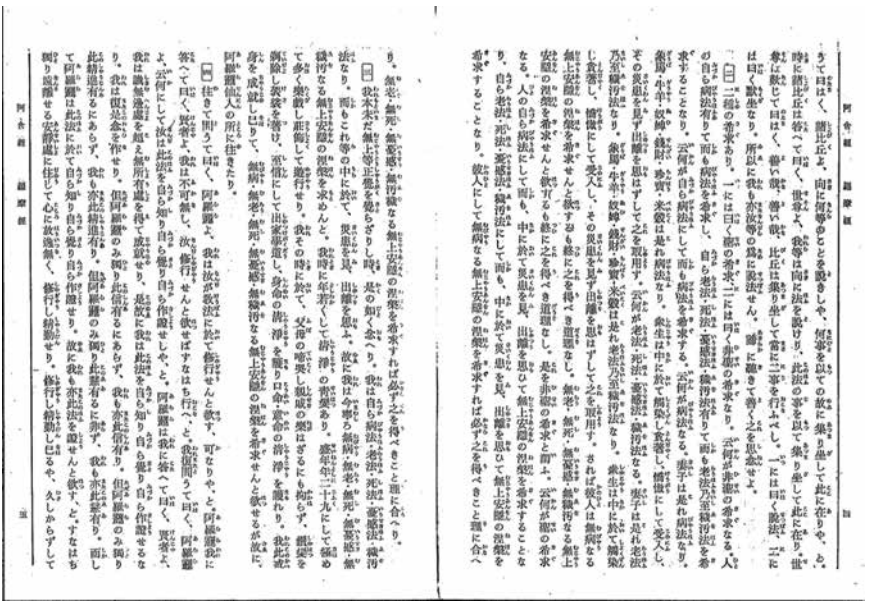


Figure 2.1 Sample page of *Bukkyō Seiten* showing Japanese translation with phonetics (*furigana*) printed next to Chinese characters.

Nanjō and Numata share important characteristics. Both were motivated by a core devotion to Pure Land Buddhism. Integral to their development and life course were fathers and mentors who were active Shin-Buddhist clergy. Both had academic training in the West. Nanjō's education was gained in the academies of Europe, most notably under the tutelage of Max Müller, and Numata's education was in America where he focused on secular disciplines such as economics. These educational experiences shaped them and placed their understanding of Buddhism into a global context. It also allowed them to view Buddhism outside of the domestic sectarian divisions in Japan and made them aware of evangelical opportunity available in the West with an audience that was more interested in Buddhism generally and culturally than in specific sectarian doctrines. They both saw the need for trans-sectarian cooperative efforts to internationalize the Buddhist message while staying true to their Pure Land roots and lineages. These Western perspectives also influenced their understanding of religion, scripture, and authority.

Both Nanjō and Numata were committed to the authenticity and accessibility of Buddhist texts but for different contexts and audiences. The focus of Nanjō's service was the development of Buddhism domestically, with Jōdo Shinshū, or Pure Land Buddhists, in Japan. Nanjō wanted to make the Buddhist scriptures more accessible to Japanese adherents by providing readable texts in accessible formats. Numata shared this vision of a more devoted and informed Buddhist laity in Japan but was also focused on Buddhism's global influence, with evangelizing Buddhism to the world at large. Both promulgated Japanese Buddhism by balancing authenticity and accessibility in publishing their various compilations of texts. Authenticity was achieved through careful selection of texts and modeling after the Christian Bible in para-textual considerations to aid interpretation and practical application, as well as publication parameters including organization of the text. Accessibility was achieved with the one-book compilations of most critical teachings achieved through a process of reflection and assessment of the teaching's modern utility. While Nanjō's promotion focused on domestic vitality, Numata's primary attention was internationalization, especially expansion and promotion in America. Both had a significant influence on the modern evolution of the Buddhist canon and we shall continue to analyze these similarities as we consider several contextual factors.

THE CONTEXT OF JAPANESE MODERNISM AND NATIONALISM

The Meiji imperial restoration was a movement of modernism and nationalism. Most things associated with the previous Tokugawa regime were

rejected, and not many things were more entrenched in shogunal feudalism than the Buddhist temple system. Meiji restorationists were quick to note that Buddhism, because it was originally from India and with sectarian developments in China, was a foreign religion making it a hindrance to both modernism and nationalism. In order to advance the new political regime and new modern ideologies, Shinto and Buddhism were separated (*shinbutsu bunri* 神仏分離), the former was elevated in the Meiji Restoration and the later denounced. A period of Buddhist persecution ensued in which the state called for the abolishment of Buddhism and the destruction of Śākyamuni (*haibutsu kishaku* 廃仏毀釈). Between 1868 and 1872, land was seized, priests were defrocked, and thousands of temples were damaged or destroyed.[17]

Buddhist priests like Nanjō Bun'yū and Ashitsu Jitsunen as well as organizations in the Ōtani sect of Pure Land Buddhism quickly realized that they could no longer rely upon ecclesiastical authority supported or even recognized by the government and they needed to justify the religious and social contributions of their theology and institutions. The Buddhist canon could no longer simply be the textual authority that underpinned liturgical legitimacy, nor could it simply be a ritual object. The Buddhist scriptures needed to provide doctrines and teachings that motivated morality in righteous Buddhist devotees and in commendable Japanese citizens. The canon needed to maintain its authority while increasing its accessibility with proven moral teachings that were seen as consistent with the common good and societal order. Authority was also maintained through publications of the complete Buddhist canon. These projects were popular and did make the Buddhist scriptures more accessible. However, these complete editions of the Buddhist canon remained in classical Chinese that was hard to read for most lay Buddhists in Japan. Editions of the single-volume *Bukkyō Seiten* were much more effective in providing individual access to the Buddhist scriptures. These books were published not only to provide information about Buddhist history or principles but also to argue for a natural consistency between Buddhist teachings and national ideologies. Some argued that Buddhism could uniquely benefit Japan and that Japan could uniquely benefit Buddhism at home as well as Buddhists around the world. Editors of Buddhist canon and Buddhist Bible projects consistently argued that Japan had essential and unique attributes and advantages that could benefit all Buddhist believers in promoting Buddhism in the West and developing Buddhist studies in Asia.[18] There is probably no better example of this sentiment than Takakusu Junjirō and Watanabe Kaikyoku's 渡辺海旭 declaration in the preface of the *Taishō Canon*:

> The completion of the way of benevolence and love, the ultimate principle of perfectly endowed truth, permeates the ten directions and pervades the three existences, encompassing all things and unfolding in all phenomena. How vast

> and great is the true teaching of the sage Śākyamuni. Moreover, this complete and wondrous teaching, which he left behind, is transmitted and set forth in our tripitaka. In this immense work with its more than eight thousand fascicles, its hundred millions of words, the true reality of the universe is thoroughly expounded and the conclusion of life made clear . . . . Yet apart from us, the Buddhist scholars of Japan, who can clarify and spread its teachings? The responsibility of propagation rests on our shoulders. All the more so, after the great world war, when the need to seek the truth presses most urgently upon us, when the study of Buddhism is now on the rise in Europe and America, and when we see so few scholars versed in the Chinese scriptures. The Buddhist scholars of our nation must realize how vast and grave our task has become.[19]

Both Nanjō and Numata lived through times of turmoil and modernization in which the nature and necessity of nationalism and patriotism was emphasized and even enforced. Nanjō was eighteen when Emperor Meiji, supported by southern provincial clans, overthrew the Tokugawa Shogunate. Nanjō along with a regiment of 120 young Pure Land priests were conscripted to fight in the war of imperial restoration. Nanjō never saw battle but served in the military for about a year.[20] His early military and educational experiences would shape Nanjō's view of Buddhism and its place within Japan's modern empire. He realized that Buddhism's vitality would not be found in its traditional institutions and political connections and that scholar priests like him had an important role in spreading Buddhist teachings in order to perpetuate Buddhist organizations within a quickly changing political landscape.

Numata avoided active military service, but was well aware of the challenges that political and military disputes with continental Asia presented for Japan. High school and college education in America, with a degree from the University of California coupled with perfect English, made it impossible to label Numata anything but an internationalist compared to the average Japanese of the early twentieth century. However, Numata's publishing projects in America were as much about promoting Japan as they were about promoting Buddhism.[21] After World War II, Numata's BDK did not limit itself to Buddhist texts. They also published a selection of Confucian texts called *Jukyō Seiten* 儒教聖典. This text is divided into two parts with the first 115 pages covering Chinese Confucian classics and major works and the last 110 pages reserved for writings from Japanese neo-Confucian scholars including nativist studies. A *Shintō Seiten* 神道聖典 was also published including selections from the ancient chronicles of Japan (*Kojiki* 古事記 and *Nihon Shoki* 日本書記). The value of these works for our purposes is that they show that Numata's society was promoting Buddhism within the context of the "three teachings," which in Japan are Buddhism, Confucianism, and Shinto. The Buddhist ideology promoted by the BDK is an intrinsic Japanese ideology more similar to teachings

found in Shinto or Japanese Confucianism than Buddhist ideologies or organizations in South Asia. It seems certain that Numata's Buddhism inferred a context of Japanese ideologies. Especially after Numata returns from America, he has to be understood within the context of State Shinto and its continual effect on Buddhism.[22] *The Teaching of Buddha* explicitly claims to be "a book of Buddhist teachings as interpreted in the Japanese way" even though they place those teachings in a broad historical context.[23] Numata was making a common assertion in Japanese Buddhism, while Takakusu Junjirō asserts the benefits of the Japanese way in regards to Buddhist studies:

> In Japan the whole of Buddhism has been preserved—every doctrine of both the Hinayana and Mahayana schools. Although Hinayana Buddhism does not now exist in Japan as an active faith, its doctrines are still studied there by Buddhist scholars. Mikkyō, which we may designate as the Esoteric Doctrine or Mysticism, is fully represented in Japan by Tendai mysticism and Toji mysticism. The point which Japanese mysticism may be proud of is that it does not contain any vulgar elements as does its counterpart in other countries, but stands on a firm philosophical basis. The schools which were best developed in China are Hua-yen (Kegon, the "Wreath" School) and T'ien-t'ai (Tendai, the "Lotus" School). When the Ch'an (Zen) school is added to these two, the trio represents the highest peak of Buddhism's development. These three flourished in China for a while and then passed away, but in Japan all three are still alive in the people's faiths as well as in academic studies. A rather novel form of Buddhism is the Amita-pietism. It is found to some extent in China, Tibet, Nepal, Mongolia, Manchuria and Annam; but it flourishes most in Japan where it is followed by more than half the population. I believe, therefore, that the only way to exhibit the entire Buddhist philosophy in all its different schools is to give a resume of Buddhism in Japan. It is in Japan that the entire Buddhist literature, the Tripitaka, is preserved and studied.[24]

Takakusu argues that Japanese Buddhism is appropriately global Buddhism and provides the most effective and beneficial method for internationalizing Buddhist teachings.

For Nanjō, Numata, and editors of the other *Bukkyō Seiten* projects in twentieth-century Japan, the Buddhism propagated by these Buddhist Bibles was not an apolitical Buddhism. These texts asserted that Japanese Buddhism had unique advantages in doctrine and devotion, which allowed for the projects to succeed and be a light unto all of the Buddhist world.

CONTEXT OF CHRISTIAN EVANGELISM

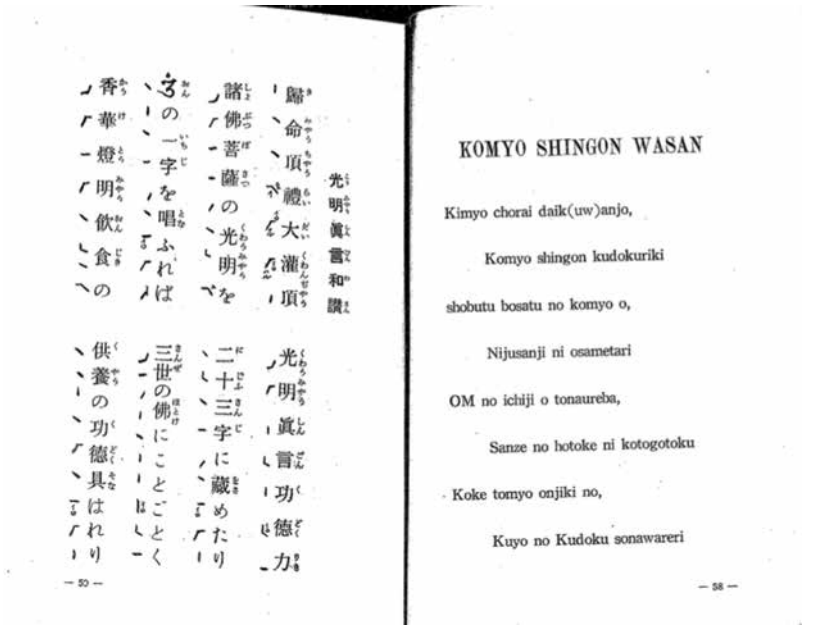
The Meiji restoration ended Japan's two and a half centuries of isolation; with Western diplomacy and commerce came Christian evangelism. Missionaries

quickly entered Japan, building churches and organizing congregations. For several decades, they used Bibles in Chinese or English. By the 1870s, several versions of the New Testament and even a complete Japanese Bible were widely available. With the persecution of Buddhism and the elevation of Shinto as a supra-religious ideology, some Christian evangelicals predicted Japan would be a Christian country by the dawn of the twentieth century.[25] The evangelical advantages of the Christian Bible were obvious. It was a single-volume text, whereas most printed editions of the Buddhist canon, like the *Taishō Canon*, were over fifty volumes. Bibles were available in modern vernaculars; the Buddhist canon was recorded in ancient Chinese, Tibetan, Sanskrit, and Pali. The Christian Bible had a very effective para-text of chapters, verses, and consistent pagination making any sayings, teachings, or doctrine easily searchable. The Christian biblical canon's organization allowed for quick cross-references and effective end matter such as glossaries, indices, and study aides. The Buddhist canon was often printed on woodblocks that had a consistent number of characters per column and number of lines per block but no other para-textual tools or structure and did not have punctuation until twentieth-century editions.

The influence of the Christian Bible can be seen in the para-text of *Bukkyō Seiten*. These Buddhist bibles are often divided into chapters and verses. They are translated from the original Chinese into basic Japanese. Almost always *furigana* or placing the Japanese phonetic syllabary or *kana* next to the Chinese ideographs or *kanji* is provided similar to Japanese editions of the Christian Bible. Often these texts mirror the Christian Bible in the content of end matter by including maps, glossaries, cross-references, or concordances and, in a couple of instances, even hymns, as Figure 2.2 illustrates.[26]

Of course, the BDK's practices of free distribution including placing copies of the text in hotel rooms mimics the traditions of many Christian groups, most notably, as mentioned previously, Gideons International.

The word "New Testament" was translated into Japanese as *Shin'yaku Seisho* 新訳聖書. BDK's first Japanese edition of *the Teaching of Buddha* was called *Shin'yaku Bukkyō Seiten* or *The New Buddhist Scriptures/ Bible*. The Buddhist Bible that was published several times in the 1920s and 1930s and served as the source texts for Numata's *Bukkyō Seiten* also included *shin'yaku* in its title. While the word *shin'yaku* can be transliterated as new translation or new edition, if the *Shin'yaku Bukkyō Seiten* is interpreted as a response to Christian evangelism, another definition can be inferred. Essentially the *Shin'yaku Seisho* is a smaller/shorter selection of canonical text(s) that includes essential teachings but not the entire Christian Canon (it is missing the Old Testament or *Kyū'yaku Seisho*). Similarly the Buddhist Bible editions entitled *Shin'yaku Bukkyō Seiten* are selected essential teachings from the most authoritative Buddhist canon, the *Taishō*



KOMYO SHINGON WASAN

Kimyo chorai daik(uw)anjo,

Komyo shingon kudokuriki

shobutu bosatu no komyo o,

Nijusanji ni osametari

OM no ichiji o tonaureba,

Sanze no hotoke ni kotogotoku

Koke tomyo onjiki no,

Kuyo no Kudoku sonawareri

Figure 2.2 Sample page from Shingon's *Bukkyō Seiten*. You can see the international intent, with *furigana* and even roman letters available. The marks on the left of the characters aid in chanting/singing the sutra.

Canon. But just like the New Testament, it is not the complete Buddhist canon and yet still holds some sort of canonical authority when published independently.

Nanjō and Numata addressed the need for Buddhist scripture publications that were inexpensive, easy to search, read, and carry as well as authoritative in content, transcription, and translation developed as a response to the efficacy of the Christian Bible as an evangelical tool. Until these criteria were achieved, the Buddhist Bible could not have the same evangelical effect as the Christian scriptures. *The Teaching of Buddha* addresses the need for distribution efficacy of Buddhist teachings:

> But, on second thought, in reviewing from the standpoint of the quality of the translations, and the history of the religion's development and the origin during more than two thousand years, with ten thousand or more translations of the books having been written, it still seems difficult to grasp the true meaning of the words spoken by Śākyamuni, even with the aid of "*Daizōkyō*." It is therefore indispensable to pick out those essential points from the "*Daizōkyō*" and make them the criteria of the foundation upon which one can base one's faith in the religion.[27]

Here the BDK argued for a single-volume text similar in characteristics to the Christian Bible as a practical scriptural source.

CONTEXT OF ASIAN RELIGIOUS STUDIES IN THE WEST

Western scholarship was essential to the progression of these Buddhist Bible publications in twentieth-century Japan. The enthusiasm for collecting and cataloging Buddhist scriptures in Europe and America led to Buddhist priests/scholars in Japan placing a greater emphasis on their own Buddhist texts. For most Western academics, antiquity inferred originality, and originality inferred authenticity and scriptural authority. Most Western scholars were focused on Indian Buddhism and the oldest extant Buddhist texts in Pali and Sanskrit. Sutras in Chinese or Tibetan were utilized for texts that were no longer extant in Indian languages. Furthermore, the nineteenth-century archaeology projects led by Western scholars throughout Asia created interesting situations in which some texts were only available in the archives of Europe. This meant that Buddhist scholar/priests from Asia had to request access to their own scriptures from Western scholars.[28]

Several years before the publication of Nanjō's *Bukkyō Seiten*, he published with Max Müller *Buddhist Texts from Japan*. The text itself provides important clues on how Nanjō was influenced by Müller. Like Müller's fifty-volume *Sacred Books of the East*, this edited volume placed a priority on Indian Buddhism. This book was appropriately named because it was not necessarily Buddhist texts of Japan but rather Buddhist texts available in Japan, sometimes only still available in Japan. Several of the texts were translated from Sanskrit rather than Chinese. Sanskrit and Indic studies had a direct influence on the development of *Bukkyō Seiten* in Japan where the ancient and original were the essential characteristics of authentic and authoritative Buddhist scriptures. Compilations favored the most ancient texts. Some publications infer a compilation of original or ancient texts though referencing the Āgama sutras, some of the most ancient sutras of the Pali canon.[29] Academic standards for authenticity and rigorous translation/transcription processes were also adopted and stressed by editors of Buddhist text projects. Often several editions of a single sutra would be compared by several document specialists and footnotes recorded any discrepancies in different editions.[30] Numata's text projects were not led by Buddhist priests as much as they were by Buddhist studies scholars holding academic appointments at the top universities in Japan and America.[31] While most researchers, scholars, and translators were drawn to these projects because they were

devout Buddhists (most commonly from one of the Pure Land schools), projects were completed while upholding academic standards, and authenticity of texts was established as much by rigorous peer review as by consent of top religious authorities.

CONTEXT OF PURE LAND BUDDHISM

Nanjō, Numata, and practically all of the editors for twentieth-century publications of the Buddhist canon in Japan were devout Pure Land Buddhists with a background in both academic study and temple training. A great majority of the Buddhist Bibles produced in twentieth-century Japan were produced and edited by Pure Land Buddhist scholar/priests. The focus on Buddhist texts by Pure Land temples and priests is, in some ways, surprising because Pure Land is an other-powered (*tariki* 他力) Buddhist theology that teaches that pure faith and complete reliance on Amida will improve this life and ensure rebirth in Amida's pure land of the western paradise after death. Studying texts or other pious acts have often been dismissed or discouraged in Pure Land traditions because as deliberate attempts of merit making they represent reliance on something besides the grace of Amida. Recent Japanese Pure Land research, most notably by the postmodern theology of Sasaki Shōten 佐々木正典, has argued that the "Shinshū puritanism" which would reject all merit making, academic enterprise, and local practices has been challenged, and even replaced, by a "Shinshū Catholicism" which emphasizes empathy for the various beliefs and practices of its adherents and Japanese culture generally.[32]

Other sects of Japanese Buddhism were even less likely to focus on the study of Buddhist texts, much less a study of the entire Buddhist canon or single-volume compilations from the canon. Lotus Sutra Buddhism, the dominant teaching in Nichiren Buddhism and a prominent teaching in esoteric schools of Buddhism like Tendai, asserts that the *Lotus Sutra* contains the full truth of the Buddhist law and so additional scriptures are unnecessary.[33] Other esoteric schools, like Shingon, are focused on practice and esoteric transmission through ritual rather than on a singular focus of canonical studies. Shingon did produce a Buddhist companion or *Bukkyō Seiten*; but this is more of a liturgical text and provides chanting guides for sutras, illustrations of Mandalas, and icons as well as songs. Most of the text is devoted to a history of the Japanese patriarch of the school, Kōbō Daishi.[34] Zen Buddhism often focuses on meditation orthopraxis rather than a broad study of Buddhist texts. Zen sects also often focus on discipline to monastic training as essential to the path of spiritual advancement. Often, teachings exhort nonattachment to all things including the sutras and the Buddha himself.[35]

It is not surprising that before the modern period, there was not a great emphasis on the Buddhist canon outside of traditional rituals and Buddhist specialists. Often the writings of founders like Kūkai, Nichiren, Shinran, or Dōgen were emphasized over canonical texts or sutras. However, the influence of Western scholarship, Christian evangelism, and modern or nationalist ideologies of the Meiji period, motivated many Pure Land Buddhist temples to emphasize the Buddhist canon in order to make a contribution to academic scholarship and counter Christian evangelism. Pure Land priest-scholars made uniquely Japanese contributions to global Buddhism, thus making Pure Land Buddhism relevant in the twentieth century.

Preference for and emphasis on Pure Land Buddhism is obvious in Nanjō's Bible. After the introduction, the first section of the text is titled Faith (*shinkō* 信仰) with chapters in that section on belief (*shinjin* 信心), invocation of Amida (*nenbutsu* 念仏), and repentance (*zange* 懺悔). Rather than an introduction to Buddhist texts in chronological order, Nanjō's scriptures represent Buddhist sectarianism by overtly promoting Pure Land teachings. Nanjō's Bible is not an overview of Buddhist scriptures but rather a book on Pure Land gospel principles as described above, Nanjō's Bible begins with other-powered (*tariki* 他力) principles such as faith as well as the Pure Land exclusive practice of the *nembutsu* or invocation of Amida.

Numata's BDK is independent of the Jōdo Shinshū temple system but strongly supports the teachings of Pure Land Buddhism and its organizations, including the Buddhist Churches of America. However, *The Teaching of Buddha* is more broadly focused on general Buddhist principles than Nanjō's Bible. The text starts with the life of the Buddha and the most basic Buddhist teachings including the four noble truths and the middle way. Sectarian Pure Land teachings are presented at the end of each section almost like a culmination of Buddhist development. The Buddha section ends with a discussion of Amida Buddha's virtue or compassion. The dharma section concludes with teachings on Amida's vows. The sangha section finishes with a discussion of how a community is truly created by those who receive glory in the Buddha's Pure Land. Numata's *Bukkyō Seiten* may not be any less sectarian than Nanjō's but while Nanjō's text is directed at a domestic audience where background in Buddhism is assumed, Numata's text is intended for a much more global and general audience where background information and context is necessary to explain the truth and value of Pure Land teachings.

BUKKYŌ SEITEN AS CANON

The Buddhist Bibles of twentieth-century Japan seem to have several non-canonical characteristics. First, they are not complete. They do not attempt

to claim that they have the authority or legitimacy of a complete collection of Buddhist texts like the *Taishō Canon* and do not challenge the *Taishō*'s clout as arguably the most complete collection of Buddhist scriptures. Second, they are not essential in that there is no single authoritative claim made about compilation or catalog. There is no claim made that what is included are "the scriptures" relegating all that is not included as apocryphal. There may be some claim that what is included is essential in a rudimentary educational sense, that is, this may be essential for someone to understand the basics of Buddhism. But no claim is made that these Bibles are essential in a theological, doctrinal, or even sectarian sense. There is certainly no discourse of heterodoxy for reliance on other texts or claims that these Buddhist Bibles are inerrant or the final and complete word of the Buddha. The closest Japanese Buddhism gets to such a claim of complete canonical authority comes not from these *Bukkyō Seiten* editions but from how some Nichiren Buddhists elevate the *Lotus Sutra* as exceptional and worthy of specific theological and liturgical attention. Third, they are not authoritative. They are not compiled, edited, revised, or published with the sanction of a religious authority. Nor do they seek legitimization through the approval of the top authorities of Japan's hierarchical temple systems. Often, scholars or academic committees produce them, and to some they may resemble Buddhist textbooks rather than Buddhist Bibles. However, before we define these works as not fitting into the parameters of canonical literature because they do not fit within perceived definitions or characteristics of complete, essential, and/or authoritative, we must realize that these characteristics assume a single and closed canon which may not be relevant to Buddhist canon traditions. The term "Chinese Buddhist canon" may be appropriately replaced with the term "East Asian Buddhist canons." This accurately describes the sectarian canon traditions, and the independent and specific canon traditions in Korea and Japan.[36]

Also, the Mahayana scriptures represent characteristics of an open canon tradition. Paul Swanson has described the Buddhist canon by stating:

> The Mahayana Buddhist canon is a relatively "open" canon. Compared to the relatively "closed" canon of Christianity and Islam, or even Theravada Buddhism, it does not have a clear beginning or end. It is not bound by any historical period or geographical area. It is possible to continue to add to the Mahayana Buddhist canon; "scripture" (or more accurately, the "words of the Buddha" [buddhavacana]) is not limited to the actual words of the historical Buddha Śākyamuni.[37]

Jiang Wu argues that Swanson's description does not provide a full picture of instances of catalog restrictions or other characteristics of "closedness" and concludes that the Chinese (East Asian) Buddhist canon(s) represent a

"dynamic interplay of openness and closure [and researchers] should avoid simplistic categorization." We agree and would expand this analysis to all canons in the Asian or Abrahamic traditions mentioned above. Canon is such a fluid concept that most research calls for specific historical and cultural contextualization regardless of religious tradition. In the Christian traditions, Bart Ehrman has shown how the creation of the catalog for the Christian Bible was a complex process taking several centuries to complete and almost never established on preconceived ideas of proper or necessary scriptural characteristics.[38] David Holland's research shows great variation and even creativity in American history in regards to how beliefs in revelation can affect the openness or closedness of the Christian canon.[39] Greater contextualization is often seen as necessary in current canon research where canons are constantly being reconceived, recreated, and recontested. The state of canons in practically all religious traditions seems to be characterized by change rather than consistency.

CONCLUSIONS

Bukkyō Seiten in modern Japan have become a significant part of the canon traditions of East Asia. Like all canon traditions, they arise in a context that is both complex and contested. Japan's Buddhist Bible projects were contextualized by the various conditions described above including the political variables of a quickly and drastically modernizing Japan. Within this context, we understand that Buddhist Bible projects were not simply trying to provide instructional tools for the Japanese laity but also asserting Buddhism's relevance and significance for modern Japan by claiming Japanese superiority in Buddhist studies, the necessity of Japanese evangelism to vitalize Buddhism both at home and abroad, and the benefits that Buddhist Bibles could have in bringing about positive social change and globalizing Buddhist teachings. Another important variable is the influence of Christian evangelism. This context created the contested space necessary for Nanjō and Numata to be both ambitious and creative with their Buddhist scripture projects. The challenge of the efficiencies of Christian evangelism helped them, and others in Japan, reassess the benefits and detriments of Buddhist canon conceptions in the status quo and then propose innovative solutions. The success of these projects can be seen not only in their direct influence and impacts but also in the dozens of other Buddhist Bible projects they inspired, each creating a slightly different product based on particular contexts. Japanese Buddhist sectarianism is one of the main variables which explains differences in Buddhist Bible projects. This study focused on two Pure Land Buddhists, and their sectarian Buddhist identities influenced their understandings of scriptures and canon

as well as the content and organization of their publications. Sometimes these sectarian differences create contested canon understandings; in other circumstances, Japanese nationalism or responses to Christian evangelism negate contention and develops appreciation among different sects. Despite their Pure Land influences, the complete canon and Buddhist Bible projects promoted and published by Nanjō and Numata are widely admired in Japan as significant contributions to the advancement of Japanese Buddhism at home and abroad. Numata and Nanjō are also recognized more generally and globally for their commitment to religious principles and service to their communities.

As mentioned earlier, Nanjō and Numata are significant in the ways in which they represent the above contextual factors but also how they influenced the evolution of the overall and combined contexts. They both understood that accessibility of scripture was an important variable for canon engagement and perhaps scriptural relevance. A text can be believed to be a pure and perfectly transmitted inspired or divine utterance, and if it is not read, believed, and venerated, the potential power of scripture can be frustrated. Both realized the need for a balanced approach that included catalogs and translations of the entire collection of Buddhist scriptures along with single-volume collections of scriptures that were affordable, portable, and readable enough to respond to the evangelical efficiencies of Christian evangelicals and the simple liturgies of competing Buddhist sects. This study focused on Numata and Nanjō because canon studies need more contextualization and specificity. Buddhist Bibles in Japan can illustrate the importance of individuals like Numata and Nanjō in expanding the possibilities of canon for their own communities and for the conception of canon for all religious traditions.

NOTES

1. Without and Within, "New Book for Free Distribution."
2. Bukkyō Dendō Kyōkai, "Society for the Promotion of Buddhism."
3. Gideons International, "Let's Spread Some Good News."
4. See Ketelaar, *Of Heretics and Martyrs in Meiji Japan*, 208.
5. Ibid., 207.
6. Ibid., 273 f87.
7. Zumoto, "Bunyiu Nanjio," 122.
8. Ibid., 123–6.
9. See chapter 1 of this book by Jiang Wu for information on Nanjō's activities in Europe and his role in spreading the Buddhist canon in Europe.
10. Ibid., 134.
11. Goldfuss, *Vers un Buddhisme De XX Siecle*, 71–8.

12. Two advertisements for the book are published in the *Yomiuri Newspaper* during 1905, one on June 24 and another on November 11. The first advertisement is simple and straight forward and states that understanding religion starts with its scriptures. The second advertisement contains more information about the contents of the book, listing section, and chapter titles. The advertisement also says that the book is in its fourth printing and that it is a best seller/much loved (*daikōhyō* 大好評).
13. Biographical information on Numata Yehan comes from Numata, *My Path with Saint Shinran*; Ogi, "Toshihide Numata: Igniting the Flame of the Dharma;" and Nagata, *The Life of Yehan Numata*.
14. Bukkyō Dendō Kyōkai, "A Message on the Translation of the English Tripitaka."
15. Bukkyō Kyōkai and Kizu, *Shin'yaku Bukkyō Seiten*; Hisatsune, *Buddha-Dharma*.
16. Bukkyō Dendō Kyōkai, "America: The Teachings of Buddha."
17. Ketelaar, *Of Heretics and Martyrs in Meiji Japan*, 43–86.
18. Wilkinson, "*Taishō Canon*," 288–91.
19. As quoted in Stone, "A Vast and Grave Task," 234.
20. Zumoto, "Bunyiu Nanjio," 119–137.
21. Numata, *My Path with Saint Shinran*, 6.
22. Hardacre, *Shinto*, 403–40.
23. Bukkyō Dendō Kyōkai, *The Teaching of Buddha*, 608.
24. Takakusu, *Essentials of Buddhist Philosophy*, 9–10.
25. Yamamori, *Church Growth in Japan*, 40–51.
26. Kōyasan Beikoku Bukkyōdan, *Reihai Seiten*.
27. Bukkyō Dendō Kyōkai, *The Teaching of Buddha*, 534.
28. Wilkinson, "*Taishō Canon*," 296–300.
29. See, for example, Masutani, *Agon Kyōtenniyoru Bukkyō no Konpon Seiten*. Matsutani was a significant contributor to the BDK and was a lead editor to several editions of BDK's *Bukkyō Seiten*.
30. Kajiura, "Kindainiokeru Daizōkyō Hensan," 11–14.
31. Bukkyō Dendō Kyōkai, *The Teaching of Buddha*, 564–6.
32. Reader and Tanabe, *Practically Religious*, 94–7.
33. Groner and Stone, "The Lotus Sutra in Japan," 1–23.
34. Kōyasan Beikoku Bukkyōdan, *Reihai Seiten*.
35. See Bodiford, *Soto Zen in Medieval Japan*.
36. Wu, "The Chinese Buddhist Canon Through the Ages," 34–36.
37. Swanson, "Apocryphal Texts in Chinese Buddhism," 246.
38. Ehrman, *Lost Scriptures*, 57.
39. Holland, *Sacred Borders*.

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Part II

USE AND UTILITY OF MODERN EDITIONS AND PRINTINGS

Chapter 3

Ōtani Kōzui's Tripitaka Diplomacy in China and the *Qing Dragon Canon* at Ryūkoku University

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INTRODUCTION

The history of the Chinese Buddhist canon is quite long, dating back to the eighth century. For approximately three centuries Chinese Buddhist canons were produced as handwritten manuscripts.[1] Then, the period of block-printed Buddhist canons began in the early years of the Northern Song dynasty (960–1127) with the publication of the *Kaibao Canon* 開寶藏, and both official and private block-printed Buddhist canons were published often over the eras of the Song, Liao, Jin, Yuan, Ming, and Qing dynasties.[2] This chapter investigates the last official block-printed Buddhist canon, which was published during the Qing dynasty (1644–1911). Although the Buddhist canon printed during the Qing dynasty is often referred to as the *Qianlong Edition of the Canon* or *Qianlong Buddhist Canon* (*Qianlong dazangjing* 乾隆大藏經) based on the reign name in which it was published, it is sometimes referred to as the *Qianlong Tripitaka* or *Long Tripitaka*. In this chapter, it will be referred to as the *Dragon Canon* 龍藏, as this term is more commonly used. Deriving from the imperial command for an official block-printed edition, it was originally a common noun used for other Buddhist canons, such as the *Hongwu Southern Canon* 洪武南藏. However, the term is now used specifically to refer to a Buddhist canon printed during the Qing dynasty. In terms of the circumstances surrounding the compilation of the *Dragon Canon* during the end of Emperor Yongzheng's 雍正 reign (1722–1735), this chapter provides the provenance and preservation of a single printing of this canon edition. The sections below describe the printing blocks for the *Dragon Canon* and their preservation, the circumstances in which Qing China gave it to Japan, and how Ryūkoku University's Omiya Library acquired it, as well as its current state.

THE PRINTING BLOCKS OF THE *DRAGON CANON* AND THEIR PRESERVATION

The rich history of the compilation of the *Dragon Canon*, how it was carved and printed and how the woodblocks were preserved, has been recorded in various sources. In the "Preface to the Imperially Reprinted Canon" (*Yuzhi chongkan zangjiang xu* 御製重刊藏経序) published on the twentieth-third day of the second month, 1735, as well as in the "Managerial Affairs in Tripitaka Office" (*Zongli Zangjingguan shiwu* 総理蔵経館事務) in the *Catalog of The Great Qing Tripitaka* (*Daqing Sanzang shengjiao mulu* 大清三蔵聖教目録) in five fascicles, there are a great amount of detail about the coming forth of the *Dragon Canon* edition, including the following details.

During the first several years of the Ming dynasty, Emperor Hongwu and Emperor Yongle each gave a series of royal commands to compile and print three sets of Tripitaka in Beijing and Nanjing, namely the *Hongwu Southern Canon*, the *Yongle Southern Canon* 永樂南藏, and the *Yongle Northern Canon* 永樂北藏.[3] Emperor Yongzheng, the third monarch of the Qing dynasty, studied Buddhist teachings during the last days of his reign, and even compiled *The Imperial Selection of Recorded Sayings* (*Yuxuan yulu* 御選語錄) by himself, indulging himself particularly in the writings of Chan/Zen Buddhism. There have been various speculations about the motivation behind the compilation of this new canon. In the "Preface to the Imperially Reprinted Canon," it says that "the editions of the *Northern Canon* printed in the Ming dynasty has not been meticulously checked and corrected and is insufficient to rely on." This shows that there was dissatisfaction in canons printed during the Ming dynasty. However, we should pay adequate attention to the facts that there was substantial political intentions behind this assessment, and that there were many scriptures that were newly included in the section of "Writings in this Land (China)" (*Citu zhushu* 此土著述) which served as a supplement to the new *Dragon Canon* edition.[4]

The carving of the *Dragon Canon*, which was the first canon in the Qing dynasty and the last officially block-printed canon in Chinese history, started in 1735. It was compiled and published primarily based on the *Yongle Northern Canon* in the early Ming dynasty, but it was not completed during the reign of Emperor Yongzheng and was actually completed in the twelfth month of 1738. It was a woodblock edition printed by the Office of Imperial Palace[5] in the accordion folding style.[6] The format of the printing blocks was basically the same as the *Yongle Northern Canon*, having large page layout with each sheet of the printed paper folded in five half-pages and each half-page having five columns (both the *Hongwu Southern Canon* and the *Yongle Southern Canon* have six columns on each half-page). Each

column has 17 characters, the top and bottom of the page have a double line, and the size of the block frame is 27.2 cm x 25.7 cm. The scriptures, 724 cases in total, are arranged according to the sequence of the *Thousand Character Classic* (*Qianziwen* 千字文) using 724 characters from *Tian* 天 (heaven) to *Ji* 機 (machine). Each case holding 10 fascicles, there are a total of 7,240 fascicles. Adding one more case which holds five fascicles of the *Catalog of The Great Qing Tripitaka*, the entire canon contains a total of 1,670 titles of scriptures in its first printing according to its catalog mentioned above.

The frontispiece of the first fascicle in each case has the "Transformation Tableau of Buddha's Sermon" (*Fotuo shuofa bianxiang tu* 佛陀說法變相圖) while the end of the last fascicle has the "Image of Dharma Protector Bodhisattva Weituo" (*Hufa Weituo Pusa xiang* 護法韋馱菩薩像), and "phonetic notes" (*Yinshi* 音釋) are included at the end of each fascicle.

According to the description in the *Collected Records of the Recarved Dragon Canon of the Great Qing* (*Da Qing chongke Longzang huiji* 大清重刻龍藏彙記) compiled in 1870 by the Jinling Sutra Carving Institute (*Jinling kejing chu* 金陵刻經處), the *Dragon Canon* can be categorized into the following five parts of which the first four belong to the main canon (*zhengzang* 正藏) and the last one belongs to the extended canon (*Xuzang* 続藏):

1. Sutra Pitaka
   - Five major Mahayana sections 五大部
     - Perfection of Wisdom Section 般若部
     - Treasure Trove Section 寶積部
     - Great Collection Section 大集部
     - Flower Garland Section 華嚴部
     - Great Final Nirvana Section 涅槃部
   - Additional Multiple and Single Translations 五大部外重譯經単譯經,
   - Hinayana Sutra Āgama Section: Single Translations 小乘經阿含部·單譯經
   - Mahayana and Hinayana Sutras Included into the canon during the Song and Yuan Dynasties 宋元入藏大小乘經
2. Vinaya Pitaka 律藏
   - Mahayana Vinaya 大乘律
   - Hinayana Vinaya 小乘律
3. Abhidharma Pitaka 論藏
   - Mahayana Abhidharma 大乘論
   - Hinayana Abhidharma 小乘論
   - Various Abhidharma Included into the Canon during the Song and Yuan Dynasties 宋元續入藏諸論

4. Writings of Indian Worthies 西土聖贤撰集
5. Writings of this Land (China) 此土著述

In addition, the characters of the *Thousand Character Classic*, number of cases, numbers of fascicles and woodblocks, and sheets of paper for each category can also be identified. The totals for the edition are: 79,036 woodblocks and 154,211 sheets as well as additional woodblocks for carving Buddha images, the dragon tablet (*longpai* 龍牌) and the image of Bodhisattva Weituo. However, it has been pointed out that these figures have been inconsistent, and different numbers have been reported every time the number of woodblocks was counted as the preservation of the woodblocks was proven to be inadequate.[7]

Within a year after the completion of the engraving of the *Dragon Canon* in the twelfth month of 1738, the Qing court printed 100 copies,[8] which were distributed to large Buddhist temples and monasteries throughout China. A few more copies were printed during the Qianlong era, and fascicle 44 of the *Local Gazetteer of Suzhou Fu* 蘇州府志 (Tongzhi edition) describes the case in which one of the copies were conferred upon Qingliang Temple 清涼寺, which was located at the northern side of Mount Yushan in Changshu in Jiangsu province in 1787.

Over the subsequent years from the Jiaqing 嘉慶 era (1796–1820) down to the Tongzhi 同治 era (1861–1875), a total of twelve sets were printed. Then in 1894, ten temples in Jiangnan, such as Guangxiao Temple 光孝寺 in Taizhou, Jiangsu, Dinghui Temple 定慧寺in Jiaoshan, Jiangtian Temple 江天寺 in Jinshan, Longchang Temple 隆昌寺 in Baohua Mountain, Jurong, and Jingzhong Temple 旌忠寺 and Tianning Temple 天寧寺 in Yangzhou, jointly requested the printing of ten sets, one for each temple, and brought a copy back to each temple after it was ratified by Emperor Guangxu.[9] This shows that private temples often submitted printing requests (*Qingyin* 請印) to the Imperial Household Department and was approved to create new printings of the *Dragon Canon*. Five years later in 1899, Ōtani Kōzui's 大谷光瑞 (1876–1948)[10] request was approved to print one set of the *Dragon Canon*. We don't know if the printing requests submitted by the ten temples in Jiangsu a few years earlier may perhaps have contributed to this approval.

Thereafter, six copies were printed during the Xuantong era (1908–1912), and twenty-two sets were printed in 1936.[11] In total, over 150 sets of the *Dragon Canon* were printed during or prior to the Republican era.

Despite the number of copies and times the *Dragon Canon* has been utilized, the woodblocks have been preserved well without suffering major losses, not only during the Qing dynasty, but also through the Republican era through to the present. Considering together with the preservation of the printing blocks of the *Goryeo Canon* (*Tripitaka Koreana*) in Haeinsa Temple

in Gayasan 伽倻山海印寺, the preservation of the *Dragon Canon* is noteworthy, if not miraculous.

The printing blocks of the *Dragon Canon* were kept, for a while, in the Hall of Military Eminence (Wuyingdian 武英殿) in the Forbidden City after the first print and was later moved to Bailin Temple 柏林寺 in Beijing's inner city (current Dongcheng District, Beijing), and then moved to the Beiping Ancient Works Display Center (Beiping guwu chenliesuo 北平古物陳列所). The circumstances during these periods can be found in appendix 1. In addition, the preservation process for the woodblocks after the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949 is described in appendix 2 based on various documents.

During the Qing dynasty, one complete printing of the canon was located inside the Wanshan Hall 萬善殿 in the Imperial City (in today's Zhongnanhai 中南海). The Wanshan Hall was a Buddha hall located on the East coast of the Central Sea. At the center of the palace, the framed imperial calligraphy by Emperor Shunzhi which reads "Jingfo 敬仏" (Respect the Buddha) was hung. In the sixth month of 1739, which was around the same time as the copies of the *Dragon Canon* were distributed to the temples in and around the capital city, one set of the *Dragon Canon* was brought in to the Hall.[12] The following quote from fascicle 23 of the *Pearl Forest in the Secret Hall* (*Midian zhulin* 秘殿珠林), a catalog for the calligraphic works and paintings of Buddhism and Daoism, shows that there were actually two sets of the *Dragon Canon*, and that a large number of the Buddhist scriptures of the *Imperial Selections of Recorded Sayings* (*Yuxuan yulu*) by Emperor Yongzheng were also housed in the Hall. Therefore, it is certain that the Wanshan Hall was a major repository of Buddhist scriptures for Emperor Yongzheng's personal use.

Currently, there is neither research nor statistics available concerning the temples and repositories that house the prints of the *Dragon Canon*. However, the editions of the *Dragon Canon* which were printed at the beginning of the Qinglong era of course do not reflect the additions and/or deletion of the catalog presented to any of the temples. Therefore, these prints are valuable for research as they retain the features of the original block-printed edition.[13] A set of prints of the *Dragon Canon* found in the 1970s at Miaoying Temple 妙應寺 in Beijing (commonly called White Pagoda Temple 白塔寺) is promising for such research.

In 1753, more than ten-odd years after the first copy of the *Dragon Canon* was distributed, many delicate treasures produced in the name of the emperor were prepared on the occasion of the renovation of Miaoying Temple located inside the Fuchengmen Gate 阜成門 in Beijing. A print of the *Dragon Canon*, included among these treasures, was thus housed inside the White Pagoda with a large number of other rare articles. Thereafter, these collections were treasured in the White Pagoda for more than 220 years and

gradually forgotten. However, the White Pagoda began to tilt and required a renovation when Miaoying Temple suffered from serious damage by the Tangshan earthquake in July 1976. When the top of the White Pagoda was opened and the rare collections were discovered, the contents of the collections were identified. Originally, "Stele Inscription for Rebuilding the White Pagoda" (*Yuzhi chongxiu baita beiming* 御製重修白塔碑銘), the inscription by Emperor Qianlong on the monument for the renovation of the White Pagoda had the following descriptions:

> In the seventh month of 1753, the White Pagoda of Miaoying Temple was repaired. A fascicle of the *Heart Sutra* of which I wrote, the *Uṣṇīṣa Vijaya Dhāraṇī in Sanskrit* 梵文尊勝咒, and a total of 724 cases of the true scriptures of the Tripitaka, which was used as a talisman, are buried inside the pagoda.

It was obvious that the "true scriptures in the Tripitaka" in this quote referred to the *Dragon Canon*. Since these collections were made not long after the block-printed canons were distributed, it is possible that it was one of the copies of the initial 100 prints. However, because the "treasure vase" (*baoping* 寶瓶) structure at the top of the Pagoda had a water leak from early on, a considerable portion of the volumes had gone moldy due to humidity. Many of the pages had been destroyed, making it impossible for them to be read or researched. Therefore, this printing was somewhat inadequate as evidence for studying the initial prints of the *Dragon Canon*.[14]

Including the early prints, the *Dragon Canon* was not necessarily always distributed in the accordion binding style. Li Jining of the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections at the National Library of China has pointed out that some copies of the *Dragon Canon* have been preserved in scroll binding.

> Although copies of the *Dragon Canon* are collected domestically and internationally, the China Ethnic Library in Beijing 民族宮圖書館 houses a very rare copy of the *Dragon Canon*. Although copies of the *Dragon Canon* housed in other facilities are usually accordion binding, each volume of the collection in the China Ethnic Library is scroll (binding) and has no mounting. All of the printed pages are rolled up and they are sealed with a label on the outside. They were not bound in order to make it convenient for transportation. Thus, we know that printing and binding were carried forward at different locations. The printing must have been done in temples and binding must have been done by print shops who specialized in mounting and binding.[15]

When the ten temples in Jiangsu made the joint request for printing of the *Dragon Canon* in 1894 as mentioned earlier, the press reported on its progress:

> The ten temples each prepared the paper, employed the workers, and prepared the printing blocks and printed them. Initially, the scriptures were simply scrolls written on the fine Xuan paper (xuanzhi 宣紙). Later, they were folded and bound in accordion binding, and placed 10 fascicles per case using the sandalwood board for each copy.[16]

It is assumed that this kind of simple binding was common when the *Dragon Canon* was distributed except when it was conferred upon as a special case.

ŌTANI KŌZUI AND THE CONFERRAL OF THE *DRAGON CANON*

I have briefly mentioned the circumstances around the time when Ōtani Kōzui was approved by the Qing dynasty for one copy of the *Dragon Canon* in 1899, approximately 160 years after the first print. It is possible to trace the background as there are some records in both Japan and China about the circumstances before or after this conferral. However, people previously have not paid much attention to the specific differences found between the records in Japan and China. Therefore, I would like to make some corrections and fill in the gaps to the commonly accepted theory by examining how the Qing dynasty responded to the request. In the beginning, I will list basic documents found in Japan.

First, the report *The Conferral of the Dragon Canon by Empress Dowager Cixi of the Qing Dynasty* (Shinkoku Seitaikō no zōkyō kisō 清國西太后の藏經寄贈) gives the following account:

> His Eminence (Ōtani), the successor of our sect, visited the Qing dynasty in January of this year and had an audience with Prince Qing 慶親王 of the First Rank and various ministers. Though he could not have an audience with the Qing emperor because the emperor was in poor health, he was able to dedicate the *Three Wonderful Pure Land Scriptures* (*Jōdo sanbu myōten* 浄土三部妙典), *Five Albums and One Book* (*Gojō ichibu* 五帖一部), and three rolls of Japanese brocade. In return, forty cases of the canon by Empress Dowager Cixi 慈禧, and two rolls of brocade, six wall hangings, six boxes of potteries, and one pot of ancient acorus gramineus (J. Sekishōbachi 石菖鉢) by Prince Qing of the First Rank were conferred upon our sect through the consul.[17]

The quote briefly describes the background on how the "conferral" of "the forty cases of the canon as a reciprocal gift by Empress Dowager Cixi" was made. Though "this year" mentioned in the quote refers to 1899, no specific date is given concerning when the visit to the Foreign Affairs Office (Zongli

yamen 總理衙門) was made in the report. The date of the visit is clearly reported on page 17 in the article as April 23, 1899 of the *Chronological Records of Saint Kyōnyo* (*Kyōnyo shōnin nenpu* 鏡如上人年譜) published in October 1954 by the Office of the Seventh Anniversary of Saint Kyōnyo's Death.

> (April) 23rd day, visited Prince Qing of the First Rank, Wang Wenshao 王文韶, ministers and high officials of the Qing dynasty at the Foreign Affairs Office and had a long discussion with them.
>
> 24th day, visited Lama Superintendent (the first rank for Buddhist clergy) at Yonghe Temple 雍和宫. I was the first foreigner who have gone around and seen inside the temple.
>
> Today, I left Beijing and arrived at Tianjin. I was not able to meet with the late emperor because this occasion was right after the coup. Thus, I dedicated the texts of *Three Wonderful Pure Land Scriptures*, *Japanese Hymns of the Pure Land* (*Jōdo wasan* 浄土和賛), *Five Albums of Essays* (*Gojō gobunsho* 五帖御文章), and three rolls of Japanese brocade to the Emperor and Empress Dowager Cixi.

"This occasion" of dedicating the gift mentioned in the notes, refers to April 23. In addition, the *Journal of the Travel to the Qing Dynasty* (*Shinkoku junyūshi* 清国巡遊誌),[18] which is believed to be one of the sources for this report, has more details in the entry for the said date. In that entry, besides Prince Qing of the First Rank and Wang Wenshao,[19] eight more high officials were named as those who met Ōtani Kōzui. Among them, Yuan Chang 袁昶 and Gui Chun 桂春 acted as the guides the next day, on the twenty-fourth, during the visit to Yonghe Temple.[20] The report on the visit to Yonghe Temple on the twenty-fourth does not mention that Kōzui requested a visit to Yonghe Temple. This is different than what is mentioned in the Chinese document, which will be quoted later, and the report rather focused on the meeting with the Lama Superintendent. However, although it records the name of the other party at the meeting as "Khutuktu,"[21] the Lama Superintendent's name was not recorded. Perhaps, they did not care about the name itself, or forgot to include the name. The Lama Superintendent, the person with whom they met, was one of the grand lamas of the Yellow Hat sect, Arjia Rinpoche (Aja-Hutuketu 阿嘉呼図克図), namely Lobsang Tenbe Wanshuk Sonam Gyatso (Luosang danbai wangqiu suonan jiacuo 洛桑丹白旺秋索南嘉措, 1869–1909), who was the sixth generation of the Arjia lineage holder. They spoke through translation—the official interpreter Zheng 鄭, who was sent by the legation, may have provided the translation. But it is difficult to figure out if they had an in-depth conversation. In fact, there are no detailed descriptions on the circumstances and the conversation they had in the meeting.

In addition, the journal provides only a brief history of Yonghe Temple.

> Yonghe Temple originally served as the court for the Prince. However, it was given to the Lama Superintendent 150 years ago previously, and it has now the leading position among all the Lama temples in Beijing.

There was originally the secretariat of the director of court eunuchs of the Ming dynasty at the location, but it was converted into the residence of Prince Yong (the future emperor Yongzheng; Emperor Qianlong was his fourth child.) after 1709 (the 48th year of the Kangxi emperor's reign). It was then converted to Yonghe Temple after Emperor Yongzheng ascended the throne because the place became a forbidden ground as an emperor's former residence. It was used even as a facility for the secret military agency for a period of time. After the death of Emperor Yongzheng, renovation was started in 1744 to convert it to Yonghe Lamasery for the purpose of praying for the repose of Emperor Yongzheng's soul, and it was completed the following year. Subsequently, it became the temple for the Gelug school of Tibetan Buddhism, and a residence for more than 300 Tibetan Buddhist monks chosen from every "banner" administrative unit in Mongolia. Changkya Rölpé Dorjé (Luolai biduoerji 羅賴畢多爾吉, 1717–1786), the Yonghe Temple's Changkya Khutukhtu (Zhangjia Hutuketu 章嘉呼図克図), was sent to the temple, and contributed to its development. Arjia Rinpoche, the head priest/grand Lama and of Kumbum Monastery, also had a sojourning residence, and maintained a close relationship with Yonghe Temple afterward.

On the east side of Yonghe Temple is Bailin Monastery whose abbot was Master Duchao 獨超, who led Emperor Yongzheng into the world of Buddhism when the emperor was residing in the temple.[22] Later, the printing blocks of the *Dragon Canon* were preserved in the temple for quite a long period of time. The records infer several turns of fate which brought about Ōtani Kōzui's associations with these political and religious figures resulting in gaining the *Dragon Canon*.

After the visit to Yonghe Temple is done, the group of Ōtani Kōzui attended the farewell party hosted by the Japanese legation at one o'clock in the afternoon on that day, and left Beijing at three o'clock traveling toward Tianjin.

Now, I would like to discuss more about the conferral of the *Dragon Canon*. In the last part of the quote from the aforementioned report, *The Conferral of the Dragon Canon by Empress Dowager Cixi of the Qing Dynasty* described the background of the conferral of the forty cases of the canon. "In return, forty cases of the canon by Empress Dowager Cixi, and two rolls of brocade, six wall hangings, six boxes of potteries, and a pot of ancient acorus

gramineus by Prince Qing of the First Rank were conferred upon our sect through the consul."[23]

The notes added after the entry of May 3 in *Chronological Records of Saint Kyōnyo* described the following:

> Included in the Tibetan scriptures that we obtained in Beijing are four parts, such as *Summary of Infinite Perfection and Life Sutra* 寿円満寿無量総摂経 (無量壽經), *Infinite Life Sutra* 寿量寿経 (無量壽經), *Grand Liberation Sutra* 大解脱経, and *Medicine Buddha Sutra* 薬師尊経. In addition, in return by the Qing dynasty through the consul, forty cases of the Chinese Buddhist canon by Empress Dowager Cixi, and two rolls of brocade, six wall hangings, six boxes of potteries, and a pot of ancient acorus gramineus by Prince Qing of the First Rank were conferred upon us in December of this year.[24]

The key point of this quote is where it says "in return by the Qing dynasty through the consul, forty cases of the Chinese Buddhist canon by Empress Dowager Cixi, and two rolls of brocade, six wall hangings, six boxes of potteries, and a pot of ancient acorus gramineus by Prince Qing of the First Rank were conferred upon." Both entries in the *Kyōkai ichiran* and the *Chronological Records of Saint Kyōnyo* only describe the received texts as canon or the Chinese Buddhist canon. Thus, they probably did not recognize at first that the Buddhist canon they received was the official block-printed *Dragon Canon* (previously mentioned that the canon has other labels, such as the *Qianlong Tripitaka*).

The documents recorded by the Qing dynasty provide additional and distinct details.

First, let us read the entry of the Xinmo day of the third month (May 3) in 1899 in fascicle 441 of the *Veritable Records of Emperor Guangxu of the Qing* 徳宗景皇帝(光緒)実録:

> Japanese Buddhist monk Ōtani Kōzui dedicated scriptures and also presented a memorial requesting for the conferral of the Canon at the Foreign Affairs Office. The scriptures that were presented should be read and kept. In terms of the request for the conferral of the *Dragon Canon*, let the Imperial Household Department produce, print, and confer it upon them through the Foreign Affairs Office.

The Grand Council, who received this imperial order, immediately ordered the Imperial Household Department and the Foreign Affairs Office to print and send the canon (i.e., noted as the *Dragon Canon* in the document).[25]

The printing job was completed after about four months. Concerning the delivery process afterward assigned to the Foreign Affair Office, it is recorded in the entry of the Guiyou 癸酉 day of the seventh month (September 2) in

1899 in fascicle 448 of the *Veritable Records of Emperor Guangxu of the Qing*: "We conferred the *Dragon Canon* upon the Japanese Buddhist monk, Ōtani Kōzoui, through the Foreign Affairs Office."

As it was recorded in the report on May 3, 1899, in the *Chronological Records of Saint Kyōnyo*, the forty cases of the *Dragon Canon* were sent to Nishi Honganji Temple in December of that year. However, the version of the account that says "gift in return from the Qing dynasty" is highly contrary to the descriptions recorded in Chinese documents. In fact, it is very unusual in view of the standard practice of mutual exchange in diplomatic gift and in the comparison of the amount of the gift. Additionally, the fact that only the name of Empress Dowager Cixi, who was at the helm of the Qing dynasty at that time, was recorded without also recording the name of Emperor Guangxu in the quote "forty cases of the Chinese Buddhist canon by Empress Dowager Cixi," directly reflects the state of affairs at that time considering the political situation after the coup by Empress Dowager Cixi. It is not surprising why they were not able to meet with Emperor Guangxu as he had been confined to the Yingtai 瀛台 Island in Zhongnanhai since the sixth day of the eighth month (i.e., September 21, 1898) and significantly restricted in administering political affairs. Thus, the description in the notes for the article of April 23, 1899 in the *Chronological Records of Saint Kyōnyo* mentioned earlier actually reflects the situation despite the fact that the report in *The Conferral of the Dragon Canon by Empress Dowager Cixi of the Qing Dynasty* describes it differently by saying "though he could not have an audience with the Qing emperor because the emperor was in poor health."[26]

Further details about the background in the conferral of the *Dragon Canon* can be found in the historical record of the *Historical Sources Concerning Sino-Japanese Relations During the Guangxu Reign* (*Qing Guangxuchao Zhong Ri jiaoshe shiliao* 清光緒朝中日交涉史料) from which the relevant parts, including the list of scriptures Kōzui presented, have been translated in appendix 3. The main things that we can understand from these historical records are as follows:

1. Ōtani Kōzui requested to visit Yonghe Temple through Yano Fumio 矢野文雄, the Japanese minister.[27]
2. He requested for the conferral of the *Dragon Canon*, and the reason behind the request was stated as "because he admired the Gelug School."
3. They visited Yonghe Temple with the escort provided by the high officials at the Foreign Affairs Office and met the Arjia Rinpoche.
4. The need for an immediate return arose, and thus, they requested to present the scriptures, such as *Jōdo sanbu myōten*, through an agent.
5. The Qing government recognized the reason why he requested for the conferral of the *Dragon Canon* as the conversion to the Gelug School of

> Tibetan Buddhism as they "found a sincere desire to convert to the Gelug School when the Buddhist monk requested the conferral of the *Dragon Canon*." In addition, it seems that the Qing government considered the Mahayana sutra, which is one of the Buddhist scriptures in four languages, such as Manchurian, Mongolian, Tibetan, and Chinese, published during the Qianlong era as the item to confer upon as it is described as, "We thus humbly ask for your heavenly grace if we should show reward for his remarkable excellence by awarding a few copies of the Mahayana sutra of the Tripitaka which have been published in four languages during the Qianlong era."[28]

As we compare each of these items above with the documents from the Honganji side, it becomes clear that the explanations for the background of the conferral of the *Dragon Canon* are quite different between Japan and China. There is a description that shows Ōtani Kōzui's strong interest in the Tibetan scriptures in the entry of April 5, 1899 of the *Chronological Records of Saint Kyōnyo*. Considering the connection with this description, the descriptions given by the Qing dynasty can be considered to have a certain level of credibility. On the other hand, it seems that those Chinese officials who handled this matter did not recognize accurately that the *Dragon Canon* is a Chinese Buddhist canon, and that they misunderstood that it was the scriptures of the Gelug School of Tibetan Buddhism. I assume that it was because the *Dragon Canon* was not widely spread, and that they had virtually no means to actually have the printing blocks in hand and check the contents.

They were able to meet with both the empress and the emperor eight years later on April 17, 1907, which was not possible in May 1899. Ōtani Kōzui and his party stayed in Beijing between April 11 and 22. However, the details of the meeting are not clear as there is only the following simple description in the *Chronological Records of Saint Kyōnyo*:

> 16th: Prince Gong 恭親王and Prince Su 肅親王 visited us.
>
> 17th: We visited the Forbidden City with the Japanese Minister Hayashi and other colleagues. We had an audience with both Empress Dowager Cixi and the Emperor, had a pleasant talk, presented a panel of embroidered folding screen, and were awarded an album of paintings by the emperor, a plaque inscribed with the word "Fushou" 福寿 (happiness and longevity), and a flower vase.[29]

At least, it is easy to assume that they expressed their gratitude for the conferral of the *Dragon Canon* eight years previously.

There is a record by the Qing dynasty for this meeting in the entry in the Bingyin 丙申 day of the third month (April 17) in 1907 in fascicle 571 of the *Veritable Records of Emperor Guangxu of the Qing*.

> Empress Dowager Cixi and the Emperor visited the Qinzheng Hall 勤政殿, and the Japanese Minister Hayashi Gonsuke 林權助, Count Ōtani Kōzui, and others had an audience with them.

The Qinzheng Hall was the name of the main hall, which was not located inside the Forbidden City, but in Zhongnanhai in the Imperial City. Although we should keep in mind that it was close to the Yingtai Island in Zhongnanhai where Emperor Guangxu was confined, it has been reported that Emperor Guangxu visited after the coup by Empress Dowager Cixi, and often had receptions with foreign delegates there.[30] The record for the same meeting can be found in the entry of the same date in fascicle 205 of the *Donghua Records of Emperor Guangxu* 光緒朝東華錄 (typeset edition published by Shanghai tushu gongsi 上海集成図書公司):

> Empress Dowager Cixi and the Emperor visited the Qinzheng Hall, and Minister Hayashi Gonsuke, Count Ōtani Kōzui, and Rear Admiral of the Imperial Navy Teragaki Izō 寺垣猪三, and others had an audience with them.

In this report, the name of rear admiral of the Imperial Navy Teragaki Izō is clearly reported[31] while it was not found in the report in the *Veritable Records*. Although it is not rare for general officers of army and/or navy to have an audience with the emperor, these circumstances are not exactly known.

Finally, I would like to end this section with a brief description about how the print of the *Dragon Canon* was sent to the Nishi Honganji Temple in Kyoto and how it has been stored.

In 1903, Ōtani Kōzui became the new head priest of Nishi Honganji Temple. In November or later of the next year, he donated the past head priests' collections of books (Shajidai-bunko 寫字台文庫) to Buddhist University (current Ryūkoku University) Library after the example of the previous head priest, Ōtani Kōson 大谷光尊 (Myōnyo 明如), and the *Dragon Canon* was included among those books.[32] The *300-year History of Ryūkoku University* (*Ryūkoku daigaku sanbyakunen shi* 龍谷大學三百年史) has a description about the Shajida-bunko, which is the core collection of the Ryūkoku University Omiya Library. Unfortunately, however, the description about the *Dragon Canon* in that book is painfully simple and only the following short sentences can be found:

> In November Meiji 37, by the agency of Maeda Eun 前田慧云, it turned out that the whole collection would be granted to the university. Incidentally, it appeared that the *Dragon Canon*, which had been conferred upon Honganji Temple, was also granted to the university.[33]

The prints of the *Dragon Canon* conferred upon by the Qing dynasty were housed in Nishi Honganji Temple for five years, and were then donated to Ryūkoku University Library soon after November 1904. This means that, by the time they had an audience with Empress Dowager Cixi and Emperor Guangxu, the *Dragon Canon* had already been donated to Ryūkoku University. Ryūkoku University Library explored the methods for academically utilizing the scriptures, including the creation of a catalog, careful storage, and public exhibition of this notable edition and printing. The catalog of the *Dragon Canon* edited by Ryūkoku University Library, *The Catalog of the Qianlong Tripitaka (Dragon Canon) housed in Ryūkoku University* (November 1964, mimeograph-based book), includes the preface written by Professor Ogasawara Nobuhide 小笠原宣秀, who was the director of Ryūkoku University Library at the time.[34] The preface includes a brief description of the background of how this print of the *Dragon Canon* was passed down to Ryūkoku University.

> In January 1899 (Meiji 32), the 22nd head priest of the Honganji Temple, Saint Kyōnyo (Rev. Ōtani Kōzui, 24 years old at the time when Saint Myōnyo was the successor) left for traveling to the Qing empire. On April 23, he visited the Imperial Palace and had an audience with Prince Qing of the First Rank and various ministers and high officials of the Qing dynasty. At the reception, he presented *Three Pure Land Sutras*, *Japanese Hymns in Praise of Pure Land*, *Letters in Five Books*, and three rolls of Japanese brocade to Empress Dowager Cixi. In return by the Qing dynasty, four cases (Note: This is an error, and should be forty cases.) of the Chinese Buddhist canon by Empress Dowager Cixi, and two rolls of brocade, six wall hangings, six boxes of potteries, and a pot of ancient acorus gramineus by Prince Qing of the First Rank were conferred upon. This Chinese Buddhist canon was indeed the *Dragon Canon*, and was the first and only the *Dragon canon* having been brought to our country.
>
> This historic Chinese Buddhist canon was granted to this university by Saint Kyōnyo, and has benefited the students for a long time held as a treasure of this university.

There are a few items in this text that need supplemental explanations. First, there is an obvious misprint where it says "four cases of the Chinese Buddhist canon." This should be corrected as "forty cases" as it is clearly recorded in the report *The Conferral of Dragon Canon by Empress Dowager Cixi of the Qing Dynasty*.[35] Next, the description of "in return" also cannot be considered an accurate depiction of the fact as mentioned above. At least, the Qing dynasty perceived that they conferred the *Dragon Canon* in response to the request of Ōtani Kōzui, and it seems to be more reasonable and closer to the truth even if adding various speculations.

CONCLUSION

The prints of the *Dragon Canon* housed in Ryūkoku University have been showcased many times at the Tripitaka Association (Daizōe 大藏會) exhibition hosted by the Association for Kyoto's Buddhist Universities of All Sects (J. Kyōto Bukkyō Kakushu-Gakkō Rengōkai 京都仏教各宗学校連合会). An example in the earliest period can be found in page 27 of the catalog of the articles, *Memorial Edition: Catalog of the Display Items of the First Daizōe Exhibition* (*Taiten-kinen dai-ikkai Daizōe chinretsu mokuroku* 大典記念第一回大蔵会陳列目録).

In addition, various prefaces and the catalogs of the individual titles according to the *Thousand Character Classic* in *Tripitaka Catalog of the Sacred Teaching of the Great Qing* (*Daqing sanzang shengjiao mulu* 大清三蔵聖教目録) included in the second volume of *Shōwa hobō sō-mokuroku* 昭和法宝総目録 (three volumes, April 1929–November 1934) are written based on the description of the *Dragon Canon* housed in Ryūkoku University (*Shōwa hobō sō-mokuroku*, page 360). Article 14, "Catalog of the *Qianlong Tripitaka*" in the *Overview of the Buddhist Scriptures* (*Butsuten sōron* 仏典総論), which is in the supplementary volume of Genmyō Ono's 小野玄妙 *Encyclopedia of Buddhist Books* (*Bussho kaisetsu daijiten* 仏書解説大辞典) compiled around the same time, is also based on the same record.

The fact that the *Dragon Canon* was conferred upon Japan at the end of the Qing dynasty and housed in Ryūkoku University is relatively well known. One example can be found in the entry "*Qianlong Tripitaka"* in *Foguang Buddhist Dictionary* (*Foguang dacidian* 仏光大辞典, October 1988), edited by Ven. Ciyi 慈怡 and supervised by Ven. Xingyun 星雲 in Taiwan: "the *Dragon Canon* conferred upon by Empress Dowager Cixi in the last days of the Qing dynasty is housed in Ryūkoku University Library." The information in this entry is probably based on the article *Dragon Canon* in volume 6 of the *Encyclopedic Buddhist Glossary* (*Bukkyō daijii* 仏教大辞彙), edited by Bukkyō University (current Ryūkoku University): "In Meiji 32 (1899), Empress Dowager Cixi conferred a copy upon Honganji Temple of our school," and on the entry "*Qianlong Tripitaka*" in volume 3 of the *Great Buddhist Dictionary* (*Bukkyō daijiten* 佛教大辭典), edited by Shinko Mochizuki 望月信亨: "Ryūkoku University in Kyoto houses a copy of this scripture. It was conferred upon by Empress Dowager Cixi of the Qing dynasty in Meiji 32 (1899)." In addition, the article "the *Dragon Canon* of the Qing Dynasty" in chapter 11 of Li Fuhua and He Mei's work *Studies of the Chinese Buddhist Canon* (*Hanwen fojiao dazangjing yanjiu*) also describes the fact about the *Dragon Canon* housed in Ryūkoku University Library based on the article

in *Chinese Buddhist Canon*: *its Creation and Transformation* (*Daizōkyō: seiritsu to hensen* 大蔵経: 成立と変遷), edited by Daizōe and written by Ogawa Kanichi 小川貫弌 as the representative author.[36]

A collection of the *Dragon Canon* in our country is not only found at Ryūkoku University Library. Ōtani University Library houses a copy of the *Dragon Canon*, which was donated by the mayor of Tianjin 天津 city to the head priest of Higashi Honganji Temple in 1938.[37] In addition, other institutions, such as the Institute for Advanced Studies on Asia 東洋文化研究所, University of Tokyo, also house copies, and the number of institutions further increases if we take into account the number of newly printed reproductions. Although some of the accordion books of the *Dragon Canon* housed in Ryūkoku University Library have suffered from insect damage, they have been curated carefully in Library for Valuable Documents to the present.

In recent years, the use of the *Dragon Canon* has dramatically increased due to the repeated publications of the newly printed reproductions and photo-offset copies. The scriptures in the *Dragon Canon*, such as the *Imperial Selections of Recorded Sayings* (*Yuxuan yulu*) by Emperor Yongzheng, were included when Part 1 of the Chinese series in the *Tripitaka Sinica* 中華大藏經 (106 books, published by Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 1983–2004) was compiled and made available for collation. In addition, the *Dragon Canon* is gaining renewed attention as the ruined or missing parts were collated using it when the photo-offset reprint version of the *Hongwu Southern Canon* was published. (The original edition is housed in Shanggu monastery上古寺 in Chongzhou City in Sichuan province; 242 books, published by Sichuan fojiao xiehui 四川省仏教協会, 1999–2002.) Furthermore, it has an exceptional academic value even among the past Chinese Buddhist canons as the majority of its printing blocks have been preserved to the present.

As is well known, the early printed books still have special values. However, it is not appropriate to evaluate only the value of the printed books in a traditional way. The *Dragon Canon* housed in Ryūkoku University Library is valuable not only as a product of the last phase of the officially printed Chinese Buddhist canon, but also as a unique historical document that we should constantly revisit and review when we retrospectively look at the modern history of cultural exchanges between China and Japan.

APPENDIX 1

"Record of Repairing the Storage Shelves for the Printing Blocks of the *Qing Tripitaka*" ("Xiuzheng Qingzang jingku banjia ji" 修整清藏經庫版架記, included in the fifth issue of *Subtle Voice*), written by Master Fancheng 笵成):

Although the repository for the printing blocks was originally the Hall of Military Eminence (Wuyingdian), the location was inconvenient for the printing request. Therefore, it was eventually transferred to Bailin Temple after Master Datian 達天 of Nianhua Temple 拈花寺, who was responsible for holding the official seal of the Central Buddhist Registry, made a formal request to the Imperial Household Department and received an approval by Emperor Qianlong. It was convenient for those who desired to request for printing as both the Central Buddhist Registry and Bailin Temple were responsible for the preservation and handling of the printings blocks while the Imperial Household Department also supervised it. After the Xianfeng and Tongzhi eras, Buddhist temples were allowed to prepare labor and printing materials by themselves to cover the cost as the imperial funds became insufficient. At the beginning of the Guangxu era, Master Kunfeng 崑峯 of Bailin Temple raised funds and installed one hundred sets of shelves to make it convenient for storing woodblocks. After that, standards of restoration were relaxed and the repository became more dusty and dirty. In 1912, the Ministry of Internal Affairs (Neiwubu 內務部) was assigned to take the responsibility for the preservation in cooperation with Bailin Temple. In 1920, the Ministry of Internal Affairs repaired the sets of shelves as Ye Gongzhuo 葉恭焯 petitioned for the reorganization of the printing blocks. Further, they established eight articles of the "Regulations for Sutra Distribution," twelve articles of the "Regulation for Printing," and eight articles of the "Regulations for Preservation." In 1933, the blocks were assigned to Beiping Ancient Works Display Center (Beiping guwu chenliesuo) for caretaking, following the order given by the Ministry of the Interior of the Nationalist government.

APPENDIX 2

The preservation process for the woodblocks after the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949:

In 1954, the printing blocks were transferred to the National Library of China, as Bailin Temple became the storage room for the National Library of China. In May1980, relevant departments of the central national government decided that the Beijing Municipal Administration of Cultural Heritage would be responsible for the preservation of the printing blocks. In August 1982, all the printing blocks of the *Qianlong Tripitaka* were transferred to Zhihua Temple 智化寺, which is an ancient Buddhist temple from the Ming dynasty.[38]

Later in 1987, the plan was made and implemented to reproduce the *Dragon Canon* in accordion folding style using the original printing blocks, which were housed at that time in the Repository of Cultural Relics in Zhihua Temple in the Dongcheng District, Beijing. Thereafter, repository for the printing blocks would change again and again.

> After the Cultural Relics Publishing House published the *Qing Dragon Canon* in 1991, the printing blocks were transferred to Yunju Temple 雲居寺 in Fangshan County, Beijing (current Fangshan district, Beijing), and housed in the Beijing Stone Carving Art Museum. The Beijing Municipal Administration of Cultural Heritage had already allocated a budget and built a repository dedicated for the printing blocks in 1989. After the Beijing Municipal Administration of Cultural Heritage and the Beijing Stone Carving Art Museum published the *Dragon Canon* in 1993, the decision was made in the end to deposit the printing blocks in the repository for the Beijing Municipal Administration of Cultural Heritage in Changping County (current Changping district) which is a suburb of Beijing in order to preserve the printing blocks in a safe and proper manner.[39]

The above quote ended with the description about the repository for the printing blocks of the *Dragon Canon* in 1993. The author confirmed at the end of 2003 with authorities in Beijing that the printing blocks had been transferred again to Yunju Temple in Fangshan. However, it has been known

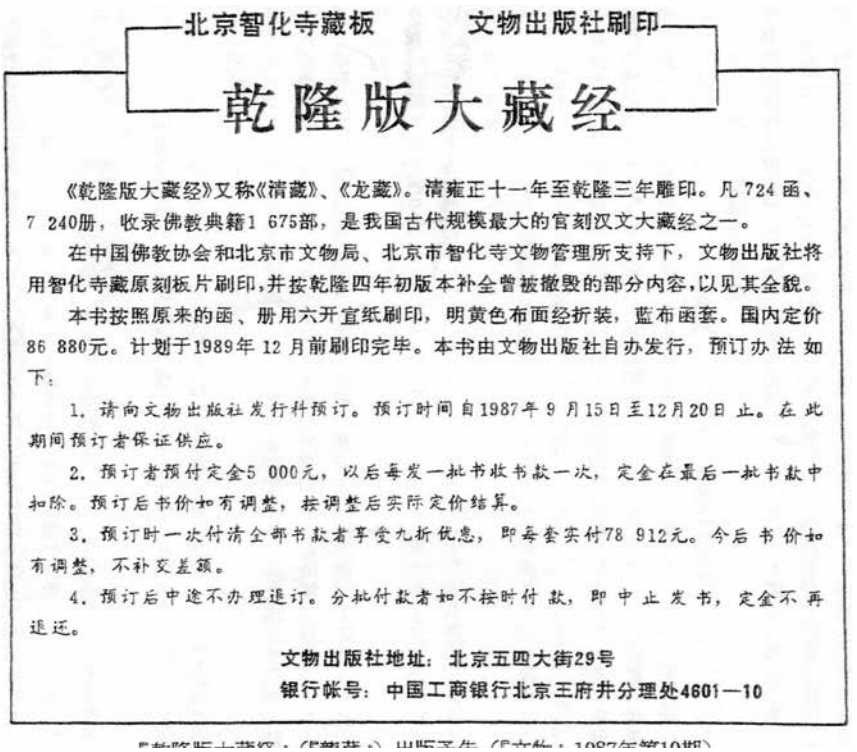

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Figure 3.1 Announcement of the Publication of the *Dragon Canon* from *Wenwu*, Issue 10, 1987.

that the printing blocks were also stored in the Meridian Gate (Wumen) in the Forbidden City at some stage during the process of the transfer. Thus, it is highly likely that the repository will be relocated again in the future. (Editor's note: According to Darui Long, the blocks are now stored in Bangpu Printing Company 邦普製版有限公司 in Beijing for printing.) Between 1988 and 1990, the Cultural Relics Publishing House printed seventy-eight copies of the reproduction of the *Qianlong Edition of the Canon*, which is mentioned in the quote above.[40] (See Figure 3.1 for the announcement of this printing.) Then in 1993, the Beijing Municipal Administration of Cultural Heritage and the Beijing Stone Carving Art Museum in cooperation with the Beijing Yanshan Press published sixty copies of the reproduction. In addition to these reproductions, several versions of the photo facsimile edition have been published since the 1990s.[41]

APPENDIX 3

"Memorial submitted by the Office of Foreign Affairs on behalf of Japanese Monks for Presenting Scriptures and Requesting the Tripitaka of the Yellow Hat Sect" (Zongli geguo shiwu yamen daicheng Riben sengren gongjin jingdian bing qingbanshang Huangjiao zangjing zhe 総理各国事務衙門代呈日本僧人恭進経典並請頒賞黄教蔵経摺):

> Your subject Yikuang (Prince Qing of the First Rank) and others humbly kneel down to report for your sagely judgement about the matter of a Japanese Buddhist monk who respectively presented the scriptures and requested for the conferral of the Tripitaka of the Gelug Sect. The envoy of Japan, Yano Fumio, told us at our humble office that there is a Buddhist monk named Ōtani Kōzui in Japan who resides at Nishi Honganji Temple, studies diligently the doctrines in scriptures, and always devotes himself to observing the precepts. He also told us that he is touring China to search for various Buddhist sects, respectfully requesting to visit Yonghe Temple and the conferral of the *Dragon Canon* because he admires the Gelug Sect and wants to study and chant the canon to use it to disseminate the correct teachings. My office has already sent an official written communication to the Ministry of Tibetan Affairs (Lifan yuan 理藩院) and officially to the Rinpoche to take care of this matter. On the fifteenth day of this month, your subjects Yuan Chang and Gui Chun took the Buddhist monk to Yonghe Temple. He worshiped at the temple, met with Arjia Rinpoche, and consulted with him on Buddhist doctrines. This Buddhist monk also said on the spot that he would have to leave Beijing immediately as he received a telegram from Japan that prompted him to return as soon as possible. He requested us to present the scriptures that he brought from Japan on his behalf. Shortly after, the envoy brought the six fascicles of scriptures in cases. As your subjects humbly

investigated, Japanese people have always been practicing Buddhism, and this Buddhist monk crossed the sea from afar to search for Buddhist teaching. After learning that there is a sage in China who keeps the three treasures of Buddhism, he made a request for Buddhist scriptures as the foundation to cultivate myriads of practices. It is particularly noteworthy that the fundamental motivation behind his actions is that he is truly dedicated to and deeply passionate about it. Here I have humbly made a list of the six volumes of three scriptures this monk asked us to present for him and respectfully submit it for your majesty to peruse. It is evident that this Buddhist monk requested the conferral of the *Dragon Canon* because he truly embraces the Gelug Sect. We thus humbly ask for your heavenly grace if we should show reward for his remarkable excellence by awarding a few copies of the Mahayana sutra of the Tripitaka which have been published in four languages during the Qianlong era. If we receive your kind permission, we request an imperial order to be given to the Bureau of Imperial Gardens and Parks (Fengchen yuan 奉宸院) and the Imperial Household Department to print the scriptures and bind them as books. After delivering them to my office, we will send it to the Buddhist monk through the envoy of Japan so that he would receive them respectfully in order to expound the correct teaching and to spread the royal grace. In this memorial, we have respectfully reported in detail about the scriptures that were presented and about the request for the conferral of the *Dragon Canon* to this Japanese monk. We thus humbly submit this matter to Empress Dowager and His Majesty the Emperor for your judgment, and will obey your instructions.

Respectfully reported. The Twenty-fourth day of the Third Month, Guangxu 25. (Jointly signed below by eleven officials including Yikuang)[42]

"Inventory of Scriptures Presented by Japanese Monk Ōtani Kōzui" (Riben sengren Dagu Guangrui chengjin jingdian qingdan 日本僧人大谷光瑞呈進経典清単) (the 3732nd entry) as it is accompanied with the line above:

1. Three Pure Land Scriptures (*Jōdo sanbu myōten* 仏説浄土三部経), two copies
2. "Buddha-chanting Verse of True Faith and Three Eulogies in Japanese" (*Shōshin nenbutsuge, Sanjō wasan*正信念仏偈三帖和讃) by the Jōdo Shinshū founder Shinran, two copies
3. Five Volumes of Collected Letters and Sermons (Gojō shōsoku) 五帖消息 by Japanese Shinshū patriarch Rennyo 蓮如, two copies

NOTES

1. Fang, *Zhongguo xieben dazangjing yanjiu*. This is a revised and enlarged edition of his *Fojiao dazangjing shi: Ba zhi shi shiji*.

2. There is a large body of literature on the compilation and composition of the Chinese Buddhist canon. The following are representative examples of those works (the date of publication may not necessarily be the date of writing). Daizōe, ed. *Daizōkyō: seiritsu to hensen*; Guo, *Mingqing Fojiao*; Cai, *Er'shiwu Zhong zangjing mulu duizhao kaoshi*; Fang, *Fojiao dianji baiwen*; Zhou, "Dazangjing diaoyin yuanliu jilue"; Tong Wei, *Beisong kaibaozang diaoyin kaoshi ji mulu huanyuan*; Hu and Fang, *Daozang yu fozang*; Tong, "Hanwen dazangjing jianshu"; Luo, *Fozang yu Daozang*; Li, *Fojing banben*; Li and He, *Hanwen fojiao dazangjing yanjiu*, chapter 11 on the *Dragon Canon* of the Qing Dynasty. Additionally, in terms of the compilation of the Chinese Buddhist canon by Emperor Yongzheng, please refer to my article "Yongzheng di yu Longzang," as it summarizes the history.

3. The explanations about most of the contents and the formats of the three editions of the official block-printed Chinese Buddhist canons compiled during the Ming dynasty can be found in Li, *Fojing banben*.

4. Please refer to Cai, *Ershiwu zhong zangjing mulu duizhao kaoshi*; and Tong, *Ershier Zhong dazangjing tongjian*. Buddhist scriptures selected by Emperor Yongzheng were also included in the section of "Writings in this Land" (*Citu zhushu*).

5. See *Qingdai Neifu keshu mulu jieti*, 367.

6. Accordion books (C. *zheben* 折本, J. *orihon*) are also referred to as paste and bind books (*jōsōbon* 帖装本), folding books (*shōhon* 摺本), or album binding books (*hōjō jitate* 法帖仕立) in Japan, and have traditionally been called "Sutra Binding Books" (*jingzheben* 経折本 or *jingzhezhuang* 経折装, *zheziben* 折子本, or *zhezizhuang* 折子装), and so on in China. In addition, Indian-style binding books (*fanjiaben* 梵夾本 or *fanjiazhuang* 梵夾装) have often been used in referring to the accordion book, though it should be written formally as *Fanjia ben* 梵筴本 or *Fanjia zhuang* 梵筴装. However, the original meaning of the term refers to palm-leaf manuscripts (*beiye jing* 貝葉経), so it is not correct to use this term in referring to accordion books.

7. Li and He, *Hanwen fojiao dazangjing yanjiu*, chapter 11, on the *Dragon Canon* of the Qing dynasty, 527.

8. See *Subtle Voice* (*Weimiaosheng* 微妙声), ed. By Puti xuehui, especially Master Fancheng's "Xiuzheng Qingzang jingku banjia ji" as the primary source of information concerning the circumstances around the printing of the *Dragon Canon*. Master Fancheng 範成 (1884–1958) had a secular surname Li 李, and was originally from Rugao County in Jiangsu Province. He was the founder of the Sangha library in Rugao. The stories of his life experiences can be found in Yu Lingbo, *Fancheng fashi*. He devoted himself in preserving various Buddhist canons during the Republican period, and he was the one who worked hardest to coordinate the efforts in taking care of printing blocks of the *Dragon Canon* and printing. Other documents include Zhuozi, "Qingzang zatan"; Liang, "*Qingzang jingban shulue*"; Liang, Guan, and Yu, "Fabao chongguang"; and Li and He, *Hanwen fojiao dazangjing yanjiu*, chapter 11.

9. "Fancha zhi Longzang fengyu jian caihong."

10. Ōtani Kōzui or Kyōnyo, the twenty-second head priest between 1903 and 1914, was the firstborn child of Ōtani Kōson 大谷光尊 (Myōnyo), the twenty-first

head priest of the Nishi Honganji, subschool of the Honganji school of Jōdo Shinshū Buddhism.

11. See Chen, "Nanjing guomin zhengfu yu Qingzang de yinshua." This article includes the list of Buddhist temples that actually submitted printing requests in 1936. It also mentions that temples, such as Gulin Temple 古林寺 in Nanjing, Huayan Temple 華嚴寺 in Qingdao, and Xuedou Temple 雪竇寺 in Fenghua, only requested for supplemental printing for ruined or missing parts for their previous prints of the *Dragon Canon*. It is likely that these temples were those that were conferred upon the *Dragon Canon* in the first year of the Qianlong era. Around the same time, a brochure that invites readers to make purchase reservation of the booklet-multiedition-reassembled collection of the *Dragon Canon* 百衲書冊本清龍蔵経 was posted at the end of the fourth issue of *Subtle Voice* (*Weimiaosheng*). However, it is uncertain if it was actually published or not.

12. See Miaozhou, "Beiping Wanshan dian ji." See also Qi and Yang, *Qinggong cangshu*, chapter 6, section 2.

13. See Cai, *Er'shiwu zhong Zangjing mulu duizhao kaoshi*. See also Li and He, *Hanwen fojiao dazangjing yanjiu* concerning the deletions and removals of the scriptures in the *Dragon Canon* that were done with publications such as Qian Qianyi's 銭謙益 commentary on the *Śūraṅgama Sūtra* (*Da foding shoulengyan jing shujie mengchao* 大仏頂首楞厳経疏解蒙鈔, 60 fascicles, 660 printing blocks, 1765 or Qianlong 30), *Abridged Kaiyuan Catalog of Buddhist Teachings* (*Kaiyuan shijiao lu lüechu* 開元釈教録略出, 1778 or Qianlong 34), and "Preface to the Avataṃsaka Sutra by Empress Wu Zetian" (*Huayan jing Wuhou xuwen* 華厳経武后序文, 1778 or Qianlong 41); Li, "Qingke Longzang manyi."

14. See fascicle 52 of the *Imperial Investigation of Anecdotes about the Capital* (*Qinding rixia jiuwen kao*欽定日下旧聞考). See also Wen, "Baitasi he tade xin faxian"; "Miaoyingsi baita"; Huang, "Miaoyingsi baita chutu de Qingdai chuke Fojiao dazangjing." The cultural relics found at the time are currently housed in Beijing's Capital Museum. See also Huang, "Beijing baitasi tasha fojiao wenwu de faxian ji Qianlong yubi bore boluomiduo xinjing shangxi."

15. Li, *Fojing banben*, 179.

16. "Fancha zhi Longzang fengyu jian caihong."

17. See *Kyōkai ichiran*, no. 59, 25. Brief explanations of the individuals found in this article (only relevant information) are provided here: Empress Dowager Cixi 西太后 (1835–1908): She was a concubine of Emperor Xianfeng and the mother of Emperor Tongzhi. After the death by disease of Emperor Tongzhi, she installed the second child of Prince Chun of the First Rank 醇親王奕譞, Zaitian 載湉, as Emperor Guangxu. After Emperor Guangxu initiated his own direct rule, Empress Dowager Cixi, opposing to the political reform he initiated, launched a coup on September 21, 1898 (the sixth day of the eighth month, Guangxu 24), and confined Emperor Guangxu to the Yingtai 瀛台Island in Zhongnanhai. Emperor Guangxu 光緒帝 (C: Aisin Gioro Zaitian 愛新覚羅載湉, 1872–1908): He was also referred to as the Qing Emperor in this article. Since he was young, he needed Empress Dowager Ci'an and Empress Dowager Cixi serving as Regents. Later in 1889, he initiated his own direct rule and attempted to launch a campaign to increase state wealth and

to strengthen military power, but failed due to the opposition by Empress Dowager Cixi and others. Prince Qing of the First Rank 慶親王 (C: Aisin Gioro Yikuang 愛新覚羅奕劻, 1838–1917): He was one of the individuals who played a central role primarily at the Office of Foreign Affairs in the late Qing dynasty as an influential figure in the imperial court since April 1884. He acted as a plenipotentiary in coordination with Li Hongzhang 李鴻章 to reach an agreement with the Eight-Nation Alliance after these countries invaded China in August 1900.

18. Asakura, ed. *Shinkoku junyūshi*.

19. Wang Wenshao 王文韶 (1830–1908), a native of Renhe County in Zhejiang (current Hangzhou). After acting as viceroy of Zhili and minister of North Ocean (Beiyang), he became a member of the Grand Ministers of State as the minister of the Ministry of Revenue, and he concurrently served as the minister of the Office of Foreign Affairs. When the Eight-Nation Alliance invaded Beijing, he fled to Xi'an with Empress Dowager Cixi and presented a compromise plan against the foreign power.

20. Yuan Chang 袁昶 (1846–1900), a native of Tonglu County in Zhejiang. He was selected as the provincial administration commissioner in Jiangning in 1898 (Guangxu 24). He became a third-rank capital official 三品京堂 and concurrently served as the minister of the Office of Foreign Affairs. He provoked Empress Dowager Cixi's wrath prior to the Boxer Uprising in 1900 and the Eight-Nation Alliance's invasion to Beijing, and was executed at Caishikou outside of Xuanwumen on the twentieth day of the seventh month of that year. Gui Chun 桂春 (dates of birth and death unknown), a member of the Plain Blue Banner of Inner Mongolia. He was from the Fucha 富察 clan, and his courtesy name was Yueting 月亭. As is the case with Yuan Chang, he became a third-rank capital official and concurrently served as the minister of the Office of Foreign Affairs in 1898. He served as a minister of public administration in 1911, but died of illness a while after the Xinhai Revolution in October 1911. For the descriptions above, see the entry of Guangxu 25 in the chronological tables of general ministers in fascicle 4 of Qian Shifu's (ed.) *Qingdai zhiguan nianbiao* (*Chronological Tables of Official Service by Position during the Qing Period*) and *Qingji Zhongwai shiling nianbiao* (*Tables of Chinese and Foreign Diplomats in the Late Qing*), and other references in various chronological tables.

21. It refers to tulku. It is also noted as Hutuktu in Mongolian. In Chinese, it is noted as *Hutuketu* 胡図克図, *Hutuketu* 胡土克図, *Kutuketu* 庫図克図, or *Hutuketu* 呼図克図. Though there are so many of them in the history, Dalai, Panchen, Jebtsundamba (Zhebuzundanba 哲布尊丹巴), and Changkya are regarded as the Holy Four. The Dalai Lama presides over the whole government, and the Panchen Lama, Jebtsundamba Khutuktu, and Changkya Khutuktu are based in Rear Tibet, Outer Mongolia, and Inner Mongolia and around Beijing respectively.

22. *Imperial Selections of Pagoda Inscriptions by Emperor Yongzheng* (*Yongzheng di yuzhuan taming* 雍正帝御撰塔銘) (written when the emperor was a prince) included in fascicle 5 of *Monastic Gazetteer of Li'an Temple* (*Li'an sizhi* 理安寺志): "康照四十一年、余分府城東与柏林寺邇。時独超禅師主柏林、談法甚契。不二年、苦辞南帰、余弗能留也." See Shengkong, *Qing Shizong yu Fojiao*.

23. *Kyōkai Ichiran*, no. 59, 25.

24. *Kyōnyo shōnin nenpu*, 18.

25. For the record, the entry 338 in the twenty-fourth day of the third month (May 3, 1899) on page 92 of *Imperial Decrees during the Guangxu Reign* (*Guangxu chao shangyu dang* 光緒朝上諭档) has the same material.

26. See *Kyōkai Ichiran*, no. 59, 25.

27. Yano Fumio (1850–1931) is a native of Oita prefecture with pseudonym Ryūkei 龍溪. At the time of the fifth month of 1899, he was serving as envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of Japan to Qing (served from June 1897 to November 1899). A legation was established in November 1873, and the envoy was the representative of the Japanese diplomatic mission. The legation was raised to the status of an embassy later in May 1935.

28. See Qi, *Qinggong cangshu*, chapter 6, section 2, which listed the outline regarding the canons in four literary forms previously published during the Qianlong era.

29. *Kyōnyo shōnin nenpu*, 43. Prince Gong of the First Rank (Aisin Gioro Puwei 愛新覚羅溥偉, 1880–1937) became the Second Prince Gong after the First Prince Gong, Yixin 奕訢 (1833–1898), died. Prince Su of the First Rank (Aisin Gioro Shanqi 愛新覚羅善耆, 1866–1922). His fourteenth daughter was Aisin Gioro Xianshu 顯紓(1907–1948), who was known as Yoshiko Kawashima 川島芳子 (her Chinese name was Jin Bihui 金璧輝). The envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of Japan, Hayashi, mentioned in the text refers to Hayashi Gonsuke (1860–1939), a native of Fukushima prefecture. He was the envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of Japan at the time of April 1907 who served from July 1906 to October 1908 (though temporarily left the position from June 1907 to November of the same year).

30. Three examples can be found in the section on the fourth month of 1906 of *Veritable Records of Emperor Guangxu of the Qing*, fascicle 558. The envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of Japan, Uchida Kōsai 内田康哉, on the Gengzi day of that month (i.e., April 26 in Western calendar) right before leaving his post, French diplomatic missions on the Renyin day (April 28 in Western calendar), and British diplomatic missions on the Dingwei day (i.e., May 3 in Western calendar) were all granted an audience with Empress Dowager Cixi and Emperor Guangxu at the Qinzheng Hall. The Qinzheng Hall had become his office when the Hundred Day's Reform was promoted.

31. Teragaki Izo (1857–1938), a native of Ishikawa prefecture. At the time of April 1907, he was serving as the rear admiral and the commander of the second fleet. The record of this audience can only be found in the simple description of *Draft History of Qing* (*Qing shigao*), fascicle 24.

32. The name of Ryūkoku University at that time was Bukkyō University. The name was changed in May 1922 and referred to as Ryūkoku University thereafter.

33. *Ryūkoku daigaku sanbyakunen shi*, 767–768.

34. Although the front cover of the catalog says November Showa 38, it is clearly a typo for Showa 39 (1964) as Professor Ogasawara mentions "on the Culture Day (i.e., Japanese national holiday on November 3) in Showa 39" at the end of the preface, and it can also be interpreted based on the writings in the preface.

35. *Kyōkai Ichiran*, no. 59, 25.

36. Li and He, *Hanwen fojiao dazangjing yanjiu*, 527–532.

37. See Chikusa Masaaki, "Bukkyō denrai daizōkyō bensan."

38. Liang, "Qingzang jingban shulue"; Please refer to the page 175 of Liao and Wang, *Beijing gucha mingsi* for the printing blocks of the *Dragon Canon* housed in Zhihua Temple.

39. Li and He, *Hanwen fojiao dazangjing yanjiu*, 535.

40. The copies published by the Cultural Relics Publishing House (Wenwu chubanshe 文物出版社) won the Honor Award in the first National Book Award, and were selected by experts as one of the "Best Collated Ancient Texts" of the twentieth century. See *China Cultural Relics News* (*Zhongguo wenwu bao* 中國文物報), Oct 12, 2001. The announcement of publication of the Qianlong edition of the canon by Cultural Relics Publishing House was placed in *Cultural Relics* (*Wenwu* 文物), as shown in Figure 3.1.

41. Li and He, *Hanwen fojiao dazangjing yanjiu*, 527–531. The following photo-offset copies were published as *Qianlong Edition of the Canon* by Xinwenfeng publishing company in Taiwan 台湾新文豊出版公司 (164 volumes, separate volume for the collated catalog, published in 1990 and 1992), *Qianlong Edition of the Canon* (168 volumes in hardcover, 1 catalog, 2002) published by Chuangzheng Limited Co. 傳正有限公司 in Taiwan, *Qianlong Edition of the Canon* (168 volumes in hardcover, 2004) by Microfilm Reproduction Center of Chinese Libraries (Quanguo tushuguan wenxian suowei fuzhi zhongxin 全國圖書館文獻縮微複製中心), and others including the version published by China Bookstore 中國書店 (168 volumes in hardcover, Aug. 2007). The efforts were made to study the preserving conditions of the first edition and to restore the scriptures included in the first edition when these photo-offset copies were published.

42. *Qing Guangxu chao Zhong Ri jiaoshe shiliao*, the twenty-fourth day of the third month in Guangxu 25, the 3732nd entry. The following texts that are included before this historical source should also be helpful: "The Office of Foreign Affairs sent the scripture to Japan on the 23rd day of the third month, Guangxu 25 (May 2, 1899, entry 3730)," and "Imperial edict: the 24th day of the third month, Guangxu 25 (May 3, 1899, entry 3731)." Furthermore, the Bureau of Imperial Gardens and Parks mentioned in the text is a division under the Imperial Household Department. Although it was primarily in charge of managing gardens, parks, and rivers, it is likely that it worked with the imperial printing office at the Hall of Military Eminence in printing the Qing palace edition. See Zhang, *Qingdai guojia jiguan kaolue*, chapter 3, section 2; Li Pengnian, et al., *Qingdai zhongyang guojia jiguan gaishu*, vol. 2, chapter 2, section 2; Qi, *Qingdai neiwufu*, chapter 4 about the official duties of the Imperial Household Department and the Bureau of Imperial Gardens and Parks.

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Chapter 4

The 1913 *Pinjia Canon* and the Changing Role of the Buddhist Canon in Modern China

Gregory Adam Scott

> Among canon collections, it is truly the one with the most fascicles and the best editions. Recently the mistress of the Kalaviṅka Hermitage requested that this press distribute it. The price is reasonable. Thatched hut or huge monastery, lay or monastic, all can purchase it at their pleasure. . . . We hope that you won't miss this excellent opportunity.
>
> "This Press Sells by Post: The *Pinjia Hermitage Revised Edition of the Buddhist Canon*," April 16, 1934[1]

INTRODUCTION

The *Pinjia Hermitage Revised Edition of the Buddhist Canon* (*Pinjia jingshe jiaokan dazangjing* 頻伽精舍校刊大藏經), often simply called the *Pinjia Canon* (*Pinjia dazangjing* 頻伽大藏經), was produced in Shanghai 上海 between 1908 and 1913.[2] Named after the hermitage in Shanghai where it was edited, and by extension its patron, it was the first newly compiled edition of the canon to appear in China since the 1730s. At first glance, the *Pinjia Canon* represents a continuation of a long tradition of past canon projects, a new collection of East Asian Buddhist sacred texts for a new generation of readers and devotees. Emerging during an era of rapid political, material, and social change in East Asia, however, it was different in several respects. It made use of new techniques and technologies: a massive financial undertaking, it was funded from private sources outside of Qing Imperial patronage and control; in a reversal of the traditional direction of Buddhist textual flow in East Asia, its text was based upon a Japanese canon edition; it was printed

using movable type, unlike most Buddhist scriptural texts, which even in the early twentieth century continued to be published using woodblock printing; it was intended for all types of readers and buyers, whereas earlier editions of the Buddhist canon were not intended for unrestricted access; and finally it was widely advertised in periodicals of the time, which touted the product's selling features and encouraged readers to purchase it for themselves. These unique features reflect the changing nature of Chinese Buddhist print culture during this period, as new practices of producing, distributing, and consuming Buddhist printed texts spread throughout Chinese-reading Buddhist communities.

How should we understand the changing nature of the Buddhist canon in the context of this period? Printed canons were normally treated as a type of *commodity*, produced for a limited number of buyers who sought to acquire a monumental sacred object, one that imparted an authoritative aura to any monastery library that possessed a copy. Their expense and rarity meant that laypeople and scholars would almost never include a complete edition of the canon in their private library. The production of the *Pinjia Canon* in early Republican China was an attempt to create a new type of role for the Buddhist canon, for it to be understood as a religious and material *consumer product*, that is to say, as an object designed with a wide market of private consumers in mind. The *Pinjia Canon* was still quite expensive; even the discount price of 200 *yuan* in 1913 was then equal to a year and a half wages for a skilled laborer in Beijing.[3] But it was nevertheless intended to be purchased, owned, and displayed by anyone who could afford it, to be far more accessible and present in daily life than canons of old. While it never achieved the widespread acceptance envisioned by its creators, examining its history within a broader context of canon production helps illuminate the massive shifts that were taking place in Buddhist print culture at the start of the twentieth century, shifts that continue to reverberate in present-day Buddhist canon publishing.

THE TECHNOLOGICAL AND TEXTUAL ORIGINS OF THE *PINJIA CANON*

The production of the *Pinjia Canon* is situated within the history of new print technologies, transnational connections, and political contexts that emerged in late-Qing China. This was a period of tremendous change in the social and technological fields, and several people in East Asia with close personal links to Buddhism were directly involved in these changes, as pioneers of printing, as radical journalists, or as scholars working across national borders. Although the creators of the *Pinjia Canon* saw themselves as working within

a well-established pattern of canon production, several significant elements in the production of the canon were radically new, and were unique products of the particular time and place from which it emerged.

In the final decades of the Qing dynasty, foreign mission and commercial presses introduced mechanized movable type printing into China. This technology differed from previous Chinese uses of movable type in that the type was cast, set, and applied to the page all with the help of machinery, greatly increasing the speed and efficiency of the process.[4] Whereas a publication of the size of the *Pinjia Canon* would have required massive amounts of material, labor, and time if printed using xylography (woodblock printing), this new canon was edited, typeset, and printed in just a few years.[5] Movable type had first been used in China as early as the eleventh century, but the difficulty of carving pieces of type for a wide variety of Chinese characters and its expense compared to xylography meant that typeset printing never enjoyed widespread use. It was only with the introduction of mechanized printing presses and cast type in the nineteenth century that movable type gradually became a viable means of large-scale printing. Mechanization allowed for the rapid casting and setting of type, the efficient production of lithographic plates, and the mass production of ink and paper to be used as printing materials.

This new technology made possible the mass production of printed materials for a much lower cost than had been possible with xylography, but it was not a process that could occur in isolation; it required a great deal of capital, specialized factory space and machinery, the presence of a machine industry to produce and service the presses, and the availability of skilled engineers to operate and maintain them. Technological differences also introduced a number of new considerations for publishers. Xylographic presses, for example, would commonly store printing blocks between print runs and could make minor repairs to continue using them after they had begun to wear out; movable type and lithographic printing surfaces, on the other hand, were normally reused after publication. It was thus vitally important for publishers to gauge how many copies they needed to avoid the cost of resetting the type if a reprint edition was needed or, alternatively, that of storing unsold copies. As this technology was adopted for printing East Asian Buddhist texts, it had several wide-ranging consequences for their production: it increased the number of printed works they were able to produce, it changed the way in which they organized and funded print projects, and it allowed new genres of printed works, such as periodicals, to be created.[6]

Religious publishing had been a crucial element in early uses of mechanized movable type in China, as Christian missionaries set up presses to print English- and Chinese-language scriptural and other religious works. Mission newspapers and journals were among the earliest mass-market periodicals

printed in China.[7] Commercial firms followed the mission presses in publishing their own English- and Chinese-language periodicals, and these publications played a central role in many of the intellectual and cultural movements of the late-Qing and early Republican-era reforms. Newspapers such as *Shenbao* 申報 (*Shanghai News*, 1872–1949), *Zilin hubao* 字林滬報 (Chinese Edition of the *North-China Daily News and Herald*, 1882–1900), and *Xinwen bao* 新聞報 (*The News*, 1893–1945) functioned as public venues for debates on social, cultural, intellectual, and political issues, protected from imperial censorship by the laws of the international settlements of Shanghai.[8] By the early twentieth century, several Chinese entrepreneurs had established independent commercial publishing houses in Shanghai that would largely dominate the Chinese book market for the remainder of the Republican era. The Commercial Press (Shangwu yinshu guan 商務印書館) built its reputation and fiscal health as a textbook publisher after the civil service exams were abolished in 1905, and was joined by China Books (Zhonghua shuju 中華書局) in 1912 and World Books (Shijie shuju 世界書局) in 1917.[9] All three of these presses printed Buddhist texts, but for the most part they printed them as works-for-hire on behalf of Buddhist organizations, and their main commercial book catalogs list only a handful of Buddhist titles. Several editors and publishers active in the commercial book publishing world would, however, become leaders in Buddhist publishing, bringing their professional experience to the business of religious text production.

The use of modern print technologies for producing Buddhist publications in East Asia was first undertaken by Buddhists in Meiji-era Japan (1868–1912). These pioneers had anticipated changes in Chinese Buddhist print culture by several decades, and they likely had a strong influence on later developments in China. Those with the necessary educational and language background acted as conduits for this flow of printed and translated material between Buddhist groups in Japan and China, an interchange that would continue throughout the Republican era, one aspect of a much larger cultural exchange that helped define the making of modern East Asia. The legal, political, and cultural changes of Meiji Japan had put acute pressure on Japanese Buddhists to adapt to changing circumstances, and in response they undertook active roles in scholarship and publishing in order to portray Buddhism as a legitimate, modern religion and as an integral part of the Japanese cultural heritage.[10] A key part of this movement was the publication of East Asian Buddhist canons using movable type, two of which were printed in the Meiji period. The first, the *Dai Nippon kōtei daizōkyō* 大日本校訂大藏經 (Great Japanese Corrected and Revised Edition of the Canon; *Dai Nippon Canon*), was printed by the Nihon gukyō shoin 日本弘教書院 in Kyōto 京都 between 1880 and 1885. Also called the *Shukusatsu daizōkyō* 縮刷大藏經 (the *Reduced Print Canon*) because of the small size of its letterpress font,

its internal organization was based on the bibliographic study *Yuezang zhijin* 閱藏知津 (Guide to Reading the Canon) by the late-Ming-dynasty monk Ouyi Zhixu 藕益智旭 (1599–1655), and its content derived from comparing the texts of four earlier canons.[11] The *Reduced Print Canon* would provide the source text for the *Pinjia Canon*, published in China a generation later.

The *Reduced Print Canon* is organized into twenty-five sections and is comprised of 418 volumes in forty cases. It includes punctuation, greatly facilitating reading and comprehension, as well as an index in which each title is listed along with its location in previous canons, allowing readers to consult and compare the content of individual titles between this and other editions. In 1901, the Buddhist scholar and publisher Shimada Mitsune 島田蕃根 (1827–1907), the principal figure behind the canon's compilation, reflected on his reasons for producing it. He was initially motivated when he realized how many typographical errors had been discovered in previous editions of the canon. Shimada was evidently also inspired by the work of Christian mission presses in Japan:

> Yet, in seeing the big advantages obtained in their missionary work by Christian fellows selling Bibles at moderate prices, furthermore I started fostering the wish of setting the canon in movable types to the enhancement of Buddhism. The canon was a truly astounding piece of work, but a book of such a big size was of no use.[12]

Careful textual scholarship and the comparative study of several different editions allowed Shimada and the other compilers of his *Reduced Print Canon* to correct textual errors from previous canons, but even such an improved edition would be "of no use" due to its bulk. Printing it with movable type, following the model of Bible printing established by mission presses, allowed for volumes of much smaller size, making them "handy to carry" and thus preventing the canon from becoming a mere shelf decoration. This smaller volume size reflects the wish of the publishers that people should actually interact with the canon, carrying volumes around and reading them, rather than simply allowing it to sit on a shelf as a static symbol of sacred power. The second movable type canon printed in late-Meiji Japan was unfortunately destroyed by fire not long after their publication and only a few copies were circulated.[13] Nevertheless, movable type had been established among Japanese Buddhists as the standard format for printing scriptural texts, a practice that would continue in what would go on to become the critical scholarly edition, the *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經 (the *Taishō Canon*), printed between 1924 and 1932.[14]

The publishing of Buddhists in modern China was strongly influenced by the scriptural publishing work of Japanese Buddhists. Buddhists in Japan

began to extend their influence to China beginning with the mission of a Shin Buddhist lineage to Shanghai in 1876, followed by the collaborative textual work between the publisher Yang Wenhui 楊文會 (1837–1922) and Nanjō Bun'yū 南条文雄 (1849–1927).[15] Such direct personal contacts between Japanese and Chinese Buddhists were relatively rare; indirect influences, especially those that occurred through the study of Japanese texts and through Chinese students in Japan, were much more common. After the First Sino-Japanese War of 1894–1895, Chinese intellectuals turned their attention to Japan to learn how they were able to modernize and strengthen their nation in such a short period of time.[16] Among the Chinese students and political exiles to Japan were several people who would later become leaders of the Buddhist publishing world in China, including Di Chuqing 狄楚青 (1872?–1941) and Ding Fubao 丁福保 (1874–1952), among others. Chinese Buddhist writers were increasingly drawing upon Japanese Buddhist scholarship, and were actively studying and translating Japanese Buddhist published works.[17]

LIMINAL FIGURES IN A HYPERCOLONIAL CITY

It was against this background of Japanese Buddhist publishing pioneers and a nascent Chinese Buddhist publishing revival that two principal figures undertook the production of the *Pinjia Canon*. Both of these people had backgrounds and work that crossed social and national boundaries, and they were both set at odds with the Qing government in its final decade of power. The first was Luo Jialing 羅迦陵 (Liza Hardoon, neé Roos, 1864–1941), the principal donor and namesake of the canon, who was born in and spent her life in Shanghai.[18] A biography published in 1903 describes her early life as being one marked by loss and suffering. Her father was French (perhaps named Isaac Roos) and was reportedly a leading figure in the French concession in Shanghai, while her mother was from a Fujian minority group (*qimin* 七閩). By the age of nine both her parents had died and she was subjected to cruel treatment from her mother's elder brother and his wife, although Luo remained steadfast as she had a filial duty to support her grandmother. During a bout of tuberculosis, some of her father's friends generously offered their help in treating her, in honor and memory of the kindnesses that he had shown them during his life. Sometime not long after this episode of illness, Luo met Silas Aaron Hardoon 哈同 (1851–1931), and with her grandmother's blessing, the two were married in 1886. Hardoon was a Jewish merchant originally from Baghdad, and soon after the marriage he would build a fortune through trading in real estate and opium, joining the elite Shanghai Club in 1893, sitting on the powerful Shanghai Municipal Council, and eventually becoming one of the richest residents of Shanghai.[19] While Hardoon was

active in Shanghai's Jewish community throughout his life, Luo engaged with Buddhist learning and practice, perhaps motivated by the suffering she had endured as a child. In 1892, she formally received the lay precepts from the Buddhist monk Zongyang 宗仰 (Huang Zhongyang 黃中央, 1861–1921), with whom she would later work to compile and publish the *Pinjia Canon*.[20]

Luo's difficult childhood also appears to have inspired her involvement with one of the reform-minded social movements of the tumultuous final decade of the Qing. The Shanghai Education Association (Shanghai jiaoyu hui 上海教育會) was established by Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培 (1868–1940) and others to promote public education outside of Qing government control. In 1902, a group of students withdrew from the government-run Nan Yang Public School (Nanyang gongxue 南洋公學) in protest of the lack of intellectual freedom there, and in response the Education Association helped set up the Patriotic Study Society (Aiguo xueshe 愛國學社) and an affiliated girls' school (Aiguo nüxiao 愛國女校) in November of that year to support the students in continuing their education.[21] A letter from Luo to the students who had left Nan Yang was published in *Nüxue bao* 女學報 (Women's Education) in 1902:

> The Bodhisattva Dizang made this vow: until hell is empty [of suffering beings], I will not attain Buddhahood. Such a vow! Such compassion! Such bearing! Such adornment! Although I don't dare to claim that I look upon you as would Sákyamuni, I have indeed looked upon you as would Guanyin and Dizang [Bodhisattvas], and I pray that they might compassionately grant you the great power of their vow in order to save the Chinese nation.[22]

In addition to this moral support, Luo further offered her material support, donating money to provide scholarships for students attending the girls' school.[23] According to contemporary documents and later accounts, her philanthropy was motivated both by an impulse to support public education to strengthen the Chinese nation and by a Buddhist compassion for those in need. For her, these two themes were evidently closely interlinked, as reflected in her wish quoted above that the Bodhisattvas lend the students the power to save China from its national calamities. Her Buddhist beliefs were also the center of her private practice; her biography from 1902 further describes Luo keeping a vegetarian diet, enjoying giving alms, and observing regular periods of meditation and recitation.[24]

Guiding her in these practices was her refuge master, Zongyang. Born and tonsured in Changshu County 常熟縣 in Jiangsu 江蘇, Zongyang had received ordination from the prestigious Jiangtian Monastery 江天寺 on Jinshan 金山 in Zhenjiang 鎮江. One of his teachers, Dading Miyuan 大定密源 (1824–1906), and Dading's teacher Guanxin Xianhui 觀心顯慧 (?–1875) had both been instrumental in rebuilding monastic centers in the Jiangnan

region after the devastation of the Taiping Rebellion.[25] Around the time of the attempted Wuxu political reforms in 1898, Zongyang became involved with the reform-minded intellectuals Zhang Taiyan 章太炎 (Zhang Binglin 章炳麟, 1868–1936), Wu Jingheng 吳敬恆 (Woo Tsin-hang, 1865–1953), and Cai Yuanpei. He later became president of the Patriotic Study Society, mentioned above. Such interaction with politically and socially radical groups was quite unusual for Buddhist monastics at the time; and indeed Zongyang comes across as quite a liminal figure, stretching the boundaries of what the proper social relationship between monks and laypeople was thought to be. After 1903 when many members of the society fled to Japan, Zongyang was financially supported by Hardoon and Luo and given refuge on the grounds of their new estate within the International Concession in Shanghai.[26]

In 1904, Hardoon had just purchased over twenty-six acres of property in the west of Shanghai and began building his private estate, Aili Gardens 愛儷園, popularly known as Hardoon Gardens 哈同花園. The estate combined the setting of the traditional scholar's landscape garden (*yuanlin* 園林) with the function of a literary salon, providing Hardoon with a private space to socialize and form relationships with the elite stratum of Chinese political and economic life.[27] Zongyang helped to design the layout of the garden, and when he returned from a year's visit to Japan in 1908, he took up residence at the Kalaviṇka Hermitage (Pinjia jingshe 頻伽精舍), a small compound of traditional Chinese-style buildings on the estate. There he began work on the *Pinjia Canon*, working in a purpose-built thatched-roofed hut called the scripture-editing room (*jiaojing shi* 校經室).[28]

The people who produced the *Pinjia Canon* were thus all outsiders in their own way: Luo Jialing maintaining her Buddhist faith among the foreign-born rising mercantile elite of Shanghai and lending her support to women's education, and Zongyang involving himself in political reform and revolutionary groups. The canon itself took shape within a private estate in the international concession area of Shanghai, situating it beyond the purview of the Qing court, and before its completion would be supported by the private capital that Hardoon had acquired through his businesses. These material and social contexts, so unlike canon collections of previous eras, would be instrumental in determining how the *Pinjia Canon* was organized, compiled, and printed.

COMPILING, EDITING, AND PRINTING THE CANON

Although Yang Wenhui and other scriptural publishers in late-Qing China had envisioned the printing of a new edition of the complete East Asian Buddhist canon, in the end they had been unable to realize that goal. The

amount of material, capital, and labor required to print such a canon using xylographic technology was simply too great for the scriptural presses of the time to handle, and limited the concrete output of Yang's plans to bibliographic catalogs and anthologies of essential canonical texts.[29] The notion of producing a canon, however, still carried an immense amount of religious and cultural significance among Chinese Buddhist publishers. In the past the Buddhist canon had often been compiled and printed under the auspices of the imperial court or high-level officials, groups that could mobilize the required resources for such a large project, but in the political and economic climate of the end of the Qing such sponsorship was unlikely.[30] What made the production of the *Pinjia Canon* possible was the combination of new print technologies and new types of lay sponsorship, both of which were rooted in the commercial-industrial nexus city of Shanghai.

Most sources, including prefaces to the canon itself, relate that the *Pinjia Canon* began with Luo Jialing purchasing a copy of the *Reduced Print Canon*, mentioned above.[31] She found its small size very convenient compared to earlier editions, although she worried that the small size of the characters would represent a hardship for older readers. She thus made a vow to reprint and distribute it in Chinese in a slightly larger format, but still smaller and more portable than woodblock-printed editions. Zongyang lent his support to the endeavor, saying that those in large monasteries, small hermitages, and laypeople all ought to be able to purchase a copy of the canon.[32] While the bulk of the canon adopts the content of the *Reduced Print Canon*, some material in the front matter was newly composed for the publication. The prefaces to the *Pinjia Canon* were contributed by Luo, Zhang Taiyan, the artist and poet Shen Zengzhi 沈曾植 (Shen Zipei 沈子培, 1850–1922), and newspaper editor Wang Deyuan 汪德淵 (Wang Yunzong 汪允宗, 1872–1918). In his preface, Zhang, a reporter, publisher, and scholar whose political activism would later have him placed under house arrest from 1913 to 1916, gives his account of how the project came about, and its importance to present-day Buddhism:

> The venerable Zongyang of Jinshan, who had lived in meditative seclusion and retirement, felt pity for those monks of today who like staying "apart from words" yet talk of True Nature. In these disorderly latter days, if they don't become one of the "mute sheep," then they recklessly take on confusing, non-Buddhist views. Hearing that the mistress of the Kalaviṇka Hermitage had long vowed to print the canon, carry on the one vehicle and bring salvation to this latter world, [he] thus expressed his sincere praise and admiration, and took on the position of managing director.

Zhang proceeds to explain why a new edition of the canon is urgently needed:

> Looking at the quality of venerable laypeople today, to start they follow [Lu Jiuyuan and Wang Yangming], and in the end they come around to an interest in the Buddha vehicle. Some have the tendency of making comparisons to Christianity but talk of "Universal Affection" (*boai* 博愛) or a "Great Unity" (*datong* 大同), or else they delude others by drawing false conclusions. They take sorcery and call it numinous wisdom. The lowest among them only speak of retribution, while in their hearts they wish only for [selfish] blessings. Their words are all immoderate, and their meanings are only great confusion.[33]

Zhang's description of the deficient qualities of both monastics and laypeople in the present latter age of the Dharma (*moshi* 末世) is a common rhetorical theme used by Buddhist reformers of many eras, who sought to correct people's present conduct through a call to restore the practices of the past.[34] The specifics of his criticisms are unique to the age: that Buddhists dabble in Christianity or such grand modern utopianisms as exposed by Sun Yat-sen or Kang Youwei 康有為 (1858–1927). The corrective power of the Buddhist canon, however, remains, and the production of the *Pinjia Canon* was thus seen as a positive step toward a return to proper Buddhist belief and practice.

These themes are echoed in a short essay that follows the prefaces, "Pinjia jingshe kanjing ji" 頻伽精舍刊經記 (Account of Printing the *Pinjia Canon*), written by Zongyang. In it he notes that in previous editions of the canon, "there were many tens of scriptures, so that more than ten people had to carry it. The final product was not suited for consultation, and it was inconvenient to transport or store." He thus concludes that while the work of publishers such as the Yangzhou and Jinling Scriptural Presses is indeed meritorious, it is simply not efficient.[35] The typeset *Reduced Print Canon*, however, was indeed well suited for portability and convenient reading. Zongyang further recalls how after Tang Ziquan 唐孜權 (Tang Tuo 唐駝, 1871–1938) at the China Library Company (Zhongguo tushu gongsi 中國圖書公司) in Shanghai agreed to take on the publishing project, the Commercial Press expressed interest in printing and selling the canon, and although Tang was unwilling to give it up, he had no way of competing with the largest publishing house in China.[36] Tang would remain personally involved with the project, but at his request, Zongyang was invited by Commercial Press board members Li Pingshu 李平書 (1854–1927) and Di Chuqing 狄楚青 (ca. 1873–1941) to manage production of the canon, and Zongyang signed a contract with them to do so in late 1909 or early 1910.

A publication plan was issued early on, but as Zongyang recalls, problems arose and the project quickly fell behind schedule:

> We printed sample volumes and issued pre-order certificates so that before we began our work, we could repay [Luo Jialing's] original vow. Yet the

> company's printers suddenly hatched a plan to move to a new location, and so we had to wait several months before we could begin printing. What's more, the print workers were all Christians, and had obstinate views regarding religious differences. The management treated this as a business issue and would not touch upon religion in resolving it, so they remained obstinate and did not understand. Because of this everything had to be changed, wasting more time. Not long after this Mr. Tang suddenly had to travel to Beijing and the Northeast, so at that time management of printing was entrusted to Wan Xuanqing. Delay had followed delay, but around this time we had just begun printing. The time had finally come, yet our finances were in a frightful state. The company was selling all kinds of [other] products briskly, but when they calculated the value of this project, they stood to lose an enormous amount, and thus could not renew the work contract.[37]

Notable in this account is the emergence of issues relating to funding and expected return on investment, new factors in canon production that were introduced through the use of a commercial printer. The final installment of the canon was eventually completed, but after delays and additional costs the project ended up taking over four years and more than 150,000 *yuan* to produce.[38] The production of the *Pinjia Canon* was thus subject to the commercial, market, and labor conditions of the day. From its inception the intent was to sell the finished product directly to buyers, and the problems surrounding the conception of the canon revolved around how to capitalize such a risky venture considering that the market for such a product was likely to be quite small relative to the size and expense of producing the work.

STRUCTURE OF THE *PINJIA CANON*

The *fanli* 凡例 (set of editorial guidelines) that follows the prefaces adds more detail on how the canon was constructed and produced, and gives some indication of the future plans of Luo Jialing and Zongyang. It states that the source text was compared against other available editions to correct any mistakes, and that the printed canon includes corrections noted in the margins, based upon an errata compiled by Nakano Tatsue 中野達慧 (1871–1934); further notes on these corrections are collected into a special section where they are ordered by fascicle and volume.[39] The *fanli* also states that four typefaces were considered for the text. The one finally chosen was a *Song ti* 宋體 (Song-type) font and is quite distinct from the *zhengkai* 正楷 (formal block-type) font then in widespread use by the Commercial Press and other publishers, although it appears very similar to that used for printing the Buddhist periodical *Foxue congbao* 佛學叢報, published from 1912 to 1914.[40] The choice of using movable type to print the canon is also addressed in the

fanli, but in a negative tone: it places the blame for any mistakes in the text on the novelty of the print technology and the speed of work that it demands, and encourages readers to bring errors to the attention of the publisher for inclusion in future errata. A few portions of the canon that could not be rendered with type, specifically diagrams incorporating Sanskrit text, were reproduced via lithography in order to "avoid mistakes." Lastly, the *fanli* mentions that originally the publishers had planned to print an extended canon (*xuzangjing* 續藏經) with Buddhist texts that had not appeared in the Ming-dynasty *Jiaxing Canon*. Although disruptions associated with the Xinhai revolution of 1911–1912 and strikes in print workshops had delayed their plans, they were then compiling a catalog of texts to be included in such a future project, and planned on publishing an index to the collection before starting to issue individual volumes.[41]

The canon is organized into forty cases (*zhi* 帙), each of which holds multiple volumes (*ce* 冊), and which are labeled according to the system used in several previous canon collections, with index characters (*bianzi* 編字) that use the order of the first forty characters in the *Qianziwen* 千字文 (Thousand Character Classic), from *tian* 天 to *shuang* 霜. The canon index, which runs to 150 pages, lists every title in the collection along with a cross-reference of its location, if it appeared, in five earlier editions of the canon.[42] Titles are organized into divisions (*bu* 部) according to genre, and several divisions are grouped into thematic sections such as Mahāyāna Scriptures, Hīnayāna Scriptures, Chinese-authored Works, and Japanese-authored Works. In structuring their canon in this way, the compilers of the *Reduced Print Canon* followed the bibliographic scholarship of the Ming-dynasty Buddhist monk Ouyi Zhixu, who in turn based his organization on the *panjiao* 判教 (classification of doctrines) system of the Tiantai 天台 teaching, especially in foregrounding of the five major divisions of Mahāyāna scriptures (*wu dabu* 五大部).[43] The structure established in the *Reduced Print Canon* and adopted in the *Pinjia Canon* is similar in some ways to that outlined in the landmark 1883 bibliographic study by Nanjō Bun'yū, *A Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripitaka*, as both place the same five divisions of scriptures at the beginning, within a Mahāyāna Scriptures section, but Nanjō additionally distinguishes works based on the chronological order in which they were admitted to the canon.[44]

As this table illustrates, the content of the *Pinjia Canon* follows very closely that of the *Reduced Print Canon*, with most of the changes being either very minor works that were added to the *Pinjia Canon* or individual works that were traditionally appended to another title being listed separately. There are two areas, however, where the reorganization of the *Pinjia Canon* differs substantially: the number of titles in the section on Esoteric Works (*Mimi bu* 秘密部) was greatly expanded by material that had not appeared in

Table 4.1 Comparative Structure of the *Reduced Print* and *Pinjia Canons*[1]

		Reduced Print		*Pinjia*	
Section	*Subdivision*	*Titles*	*Fascicles*	*Titles*	*Fascicles*
大乘經 Mahāyāna Scriptures	華嚴部 Flower Garland	28	233	28	233
	方等部 Universal	363	1137	365	1139
	般若部 Wisdom	29	747	29	747
	法華部 Lotus	14	57	15[2]	58
	涅槃部 Nirvana	16	121	16	121
小乘經 Hīnayāna Scriptures		321	778	320	777
大乘律 Mahāyāna Vinaya		30	49	30	49
小乘律 Hīnayāna Vinaya		71	486	72	496
印度大乘宗經論 Treatises on Scriptures of the Indian Mahāyāna Lineages		92	402	93	404
印度大乘釋經論 Treatises on Explications of Indian Mahāyāna Scriptures		25	180	26	181
印度大乘諸論釋 Explications of Indian Mahāyāna Treatises		11	77	11	77
印度小乘論 Indian Hīnayāna Treatises		46	722	46	732[3]
印度撰述雜部 Miscellaneous Indian Works		63	167	62	165
秘密Esoteric Scriptures	錄內 Cataloged Works	550[4]	930	187	324
	錄外 Uncataloged Works			134	181
	知津 Works listed in Ouyi Zhixu's *Yuezang Zhijin*			255	432
支那撰述Chinese-authored Works	經疏部 Scriptural Commentaries	44	586	45	591
	論疏部 Treatise Commentaries	4	27	4	29
	懺儀部 Rites of Confession	12	24	14	26
	諸宗部: 三論宗 Lineages: Sanlun	3	7	3	7
	諸宗部: 法相宗 Lineages: Faxiang	2	12	3[5]	13
	諸宗部: 華嚴宗 Lineages: Huayan	11	22	11	23
	諸宗部: 天台宗 Lineages: Tiantai	29	131	31	135
	諸宗部: 淨土宗 Lineages: Pure Land	5	14	6	15

(Continued)

Table 4.1 Comparative Structure of the *Reduced Print* and *Pinjia Canons*[1] *(Continued)*

		Reduced Print		*Pinjia*	
Section	*Subdivision*	*Titles*	*Fascicles*	*Titles*	*Fascicles*
	諸宗部: 禪宗 Lineages: Chan	25	430	32	439
	傳記 Biographies	16	222	16	222
	纂集 Edited Compilations	6	280	6	280
	護教 Protectors of the Teaching	20	156	15	101
	目錄 Indices	19	174	19	174
	音義 Lexicons	6	170	2	110
	序讚詩歌 Prefaces, Odes, Poems	7	120	6	95
日本撰述Japanese-authored Works	天台宗 Tendai[6]	2	12	3	13
	真言宗 Shingon	1	10	1	10
	淨土宗 Jōdo	2	4	0	0
	臨濟宗 Rinzai	2	6	3	6
	曹洞宗 Sōtō	3	3	5	4
	黃檗宗 Ōbaku	2	5	2	5
	真宗 Shin	1	6	0	0
	日蓮宗 Nichiren	13	15	0	0
	時宗 Ji	1	3	0	0
	融通念佛宗 Interpenetrated Recitation	1	1	1	1
Totals		1896	8526	1917	8415

Highlighted rows indicate identical numbers of titles and fascicles in this section in the two canons.

[1] *Pinjia* data based on the original published index. *Reduced Print Canon* index based on the *Digital Database of Buddhist Tripitaka Catalogue* 佛教藏經目錄數位資料庫, <http://jinglu.cbeta.org/suoke.htm>, compiled by the Chinese Buddhist Electronic Text Association. Section title translations and explications based on the *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism*. I use Hīnayāna here as a literal translation of *xiaosheng* 小乘 as used in the original.

[2] The additional title in this section is a preface to the Universal Gate section (*pumen pin* 普門品) of the *Lotus Sūtra* written by Emperor Taizu of the Ming.

[3] The higher number of fascicles recorded may be a misprint in the published index, since the number of titles is identical to that in the *Reduced Print Canon*.

[4] The section on Esoteric Scriptures is not divided into subsections in the *Reduced Print Canon*.

[5] Additional work is *Liuli heshi fashi* 六離合釋法式 (Formula of Six Interpretations of Compound Terms), one fascicle.

[6] The *Pinjia* index lists a subsection of one work separately, leading to the different reported title and fascicle total.

any of the five major previous canon collections; 145 additional titles, mostly shorter works, were newly incorporated from the *Reduced Print Canon*.[45] Since neither Zongyang nor Luo Jialing are known to have had any personal

connection to esoteric teachings, this addition might reflect the then rapidly growing interest in esoteric traditions among Chinese Buddhists, something also reflected in the use of lithography that Zongyang mentions to reproduce esoteric symbols and diagrams that would otherwise have not been possible to print in letterpress.[46]

Secondly, one might expect that the Japanese-authored works in the *Reduced Print Canon* might have been left out of the new edition, since these works were not part of previous Chinese canons and had had no history in Chinese Buddhist bibliographic traditions. This is, however, not the case, as thirteen of thirty-one titles from the final section of Japanese-authored works were retained in the *Pinjia Canon*. Works by Saichō 最澄 (767–822), Kukai 空海 (774–835), Eisai 榮西 (1141–1215), and others appear in this section, and more than half of the original fascicles in this section were in fact retained in the Chinese edition.

Looking over the authorship of Japanese-authored texts in the two canons, it becomes clear that it was primarily works by Shinran and Nichiren, authors in the Jōdo-shū or Jōdo Shinshū traditions, that were not incorporated into the *Pinjia Canon*. Perhaps the significant doctrinal differences between these sects and the Buddhist backgrounds of Zongyang and Luo Jialing was simply too great for him to accept them as part of this recension. What is clear, however, is that Japanese-authored works were indeed incorporated into this new Chinese canon, breaking from the pattern of previous Chinese canons, and while the Japanese origin of the source text was not emphasized in the front matter or in printed advertisements for the canon, it was not completely effaced either.[47]

The physical design of the canon—its size, binding, intended presentation, and means of packaging—were all strongly directed toward its intended function as a consumer good. As mentioned above, movable type was used so that the end product would be small and cheap enough as to be purchasable by both laypeople and monastic institutions of all types of backgrounds; but whereas the *Reduced Print Canon* sought to produce as small a set as possible by using reduced-size type, Luo Jialing wanted her reprint to be in a large-enough typeface so that the aged could still read it, but still smaller and thus cheaper than the woodblock canons of the past. The canon was advertised and sold only as a complete set; individual titles from within the canon were neither listed in book catalogs nor advertised as separate items. The intent was thus for the canon to be a complete product for lay or monastic libraries, purchased and maintained *in toto*. Further evidence of this intent comes in the form of a custom-designed and -built bookcase for the canon, a photograph of which appears in the front matter of some printings. This bookcase appears intended to display the canon in a domestic or library setting. The text on the front of each removable cover, *dazangjing* 大藏經, announces to any guest

Table 4.2 Japanese-Authored Works in the *Reduced Print* and *Pinjia Canons*

Title	*Author*	*Appears in Pinjia Canon?*
顯戒論	Saichō 最澄	Yes, component work 天台宗年分緣起 listed separately
守護國界章	Saichō 最澄	Yes
祕密曼荼羅十住心論	Kūkai 空海	Yes
選擇本願念佛集	Hōnen 法然	No
黑谷上人語燈錄	Hōnen 法然	No
興禪護國論	Eisai 榮西	Yes, component work 宋佛海禪師未來記 listed separately
圓通大應國師語錄	Nenbō Shōmyō 南浦紹明	Yes
普勸坐禪儀	Dōgen 道元	Yes, component work 坐禪箴 listed separately
坐禪用心記	Keizan 瑩山	Yes, and 三根坐禪說 was added or listed separately
永平元和尚頌古	Dōgen 道元	Yes
普照國師語錄	Ingen Ryūki 隱元隆琦	Yes
普照國師法語	Ingen Ryūki 隱元隆琦	Yes
教行信證	Shinran 親鸞	No
立正安國論	Nichiren 日蓮	No
開目鈔	Nichiren 日蓮	No
撰時鈔	Nichiren 日蓮	No
法華題目鈔	Nichiren 日蓮	No
十法界明因果鈔	Nichiren 日蓮	No
內證血脈鈔	Nichiren 日蓮	No
十法界鈔	Nichiren 日蓮	No
總勘文鈔	Nichiren 日蓮	No
教機時國鈔	Nichiren 日蓮	No
本門戒體鈔	Nichiren 日蓮	No
立正觀鈔	Nichiren 日蓮	No
觀心本尊鈔	Nichiren 日蓮	No
受職功德鈔	Nichiren 日蓮	No
器朴論	Tā Takuka 他阿託何	No
融通圓門章	Daitsū Yūkan 大通融觀	Yes

that the host owns a complete edition of the canon, while also protecting the printed works themselves from dust and light damage. The complete package of the canon was designed to fit into the study of a private home, and would thus not require a dedicated library or even a separate building as did older, xylographic editions.[48]

The dream of publishing a new edition of the Buddhist canon held by the publisher Yang Wenhui was thus realized only a few years after his death with the production of the *Pinjia Canon*, but along with a new print technology came new circumstances and considerations behind the production of the canon. Intended for purchase by a broad market, its publishers initially tried to work with a commercial press but owing to market considerations and other factors, ended up largely funding it themselves; additional works

not present in the previous major Chinese canon recensions were added from the Japanese original, while other works from reformed Japanese Pure Land traditions were left out, resulting in a text that was neither an edited compilation of previous Chinese canons nor a direct reprint of the Japanese edition. Finally, the visual presentation of the canon was designed for ease of ownership and for display, so that the majesty and religious power of the physical canon in a monastic library could be brought into the home of a private consumer. Apart from these structural and design-related elements, however, there were other features that differed significantly from any previous Chinese canon publication: namely, the publicity and other references in the wider world of Chinese Buddhist print culture that accompanied its production and distribution.

DISSEMINATION AND PUBLICITY

The *Pinjia Canon* was published at precisely the same time as Chinese Buddhists were just beginning to adopt the periodical as a new genre, and the canon was widely publicized in Buddhist periodicals both during production and for several years afterward. References to the canon in periodicals served to inform prospective buyers of its availability, and gave them the information they needed to purchase a set for themselves, either directly at one of several distributors or by ordering a set through the post. This was a new element to canon publication: whereas in the past news about publications would have been transmitted gradually through social networks of personal connections or referenced much later in published works, in the age of mechanized movable-type printing it was possible for advertisements and other references to the canon to be printed and distributed in a matter of days to a potentially vast reading public.

Advertisements in early Buddhist periodicals make reference to the canon's ongoing publication schedule, as volumes were printed and issued over five separate installments up to 1913. As mentioned above, the canon's *fanli* makes mention of the impact of worker's strikes and the disruption of the Republican revolution on future publication plans, and such factors likely also lengthened the total time required to publish the canon. While publication was still ongoing, information about and advertisements for the canon appeared in the Buddhist periodical *Foxue congbao* 佛學叢報, which had been founded in 1912 in Shanghai by the journalist and publisher Di Chuqing, who as mentioned above was on the board of the Commercial Press. In the first issue of the periodical in October 1912, Zhang Taiyan's preface to the canon appears in the Literature (*wenyuan* 文苑) section of the issue without any context provided. The second issue features an open letter to

Table 4.3 Timeline of Editing and Publishing the *Pinjia Canon*[1]

Summer 1908	Zongyang becomes formally involved with the project and begins editing
Winter 1909	Editing completed
Late 1909 or Early 1910	Zongyang signs contract with the Commercial Press for printing
Spring 1912	Printing begins
November 1912	First three installments have been printed, fourth expected by the end of the month, final expected within the year
February 1913	Fourth and fifth installments still expected within the year
March 1913	Date of Luo Jialing's and Zongyang's prefaces
May 1913	Announcement that publication is complete

[1] Based in part on Shen, "Lun Huang Zongyang," 41–49. Also Zongyang, ed., *Pinjia dazangjing*, Vol. 1, 6, 16, and MFQ 1: 300–301, 2: 179, 562, referenced below.

all monastic assemblies from the Kalaviṇka Hermitage Scripture-Correcting Room 頻伽精舍校經室, ending with a request for copies of three particular scriptural texts needed for inclusion in the canon printing.[49] A few pages later, a short article reports on recent publishing difficulties:

> Reason for Delay in Printing the Canon
>
> Printing of the Kalaviṇka Hermitage edition of the canon has been divided into five installments, [and] to date three installments have been published. Originally printing of the fourth was to have continued in June, but because the Chinese Library Company, which was handling printing, was in the middle of being sold and transferred to private ownership, the original plan was delayed by several days. Unexpectedly, after the new company took the job on, because the repair room was arranging machinery it caused another delay. At present we have continued printing on the first day of the ninth lunar month. The fourth installment is scheduled to be printed at the end of the month, and I have heard that the fifth installment ought to be completed within the year.[50]

This brief update on the canon printing confirms indications in Zongyang's essay and the *fanli* published in the front matter of the canon that difficulties with the printer held back the aspirations of the canon's editor and financier. While canon printings had certainly had their share of delays in the past, in the early years of the Republic the reasons are new: here we find the publication of a Chinese Buddhist canon being held back by a combination of political upheaval, the transfer of ownership of a printing company, and mechanical trouble.

Three months later in February 1913, a two-page advertisement for the canon still foresees that the fourth batch will be completed shortly, and announces a retail price for the canon: 200 *yuan* if purchased before the final batch of volumes is completed, and 240 *yuan* if purchased afterwards.[51] As

mentioned above, even this discounted price was nearly equal to a year and a half of base wages for a skilled laborer in Beijing. In the May 1913 issue of *Foxue congbao*, a full-page advertisement for the canon names its principal retailer as Hardoon Gardens, with local retailers listed as: the Chinese General Buddhist Association 中華佛教總會 offices in Jing'an Monastery 靜安寺; Liurong Monastery 六榕寺; the Bao Photography Studio 寶記照相館 on Nanjing Road; the scripture distributor of Youzheng Press 有正書局; and the China Library Company. Most of these are located in Shanghai.[52] In a similar advertisement from issue eleven, however, only Hardoon Gardens and Youzheng Press remain as retail locations. In the final issue of *Foxue congbao* in 1914, an eleven-page article extols the importance of the canon and lists each division with an abstract of its contents, but does not advertise any retail location other than directing the prospective buyers to contact the hermitage proper. By 1921, the only retail location being advertised is Hardoon Gardens.[53] While the cause of the shrinking retail presence is not, to my knowledge, mentioned in any documentary material, given the evidence that the canon sold fewer copies than had been anticipated, perhaps the publishers had decided to consolidate sales of the canon, or else perhaps the other retail locations had given up on trying to sell copies of the canon themselves.

Published around the same time and in the same periodical as these brief pieces and advertisements were two article series by Zongyang and Luo Jialing discussing matters incidental to the canon project. Zongyang's series, *Jiaojing shi qiuye pantan* 校經室秋夜槃譚 (Homage on an Autumn Evening from the Scripture-editing Room), appears in four parts from November 1912 to June 1913.[54] In it he discusses a number of Buddhist subjects, from karma to enlightenment, the cycles of cosmic time to rebirth. Although he cites several scriptural texts and writings of past masters, he does not discuss the canon project itself, preferring instead to write on a number of topics in an easily accessible, sermon-like style. Luo's column *Pinjia manbi* 頻伽漫筆 (Casual Jottings of the Kalaviṇka), on the other hand, is a collection of quoted passages from Buddhist texts, primarily drawn from the works of Ouyi Zhixu, whose bibliographic scholarship was, as mentioned above, the basis for the structure of the *Reduced Print Canon* and thus that of the *Pinjia Canon* as well.[55] One of the most striking quoted passages from Ouyi's writings appears at the start of the first article in the series:

> In his afterword to *Explication of the Sūtra of the Deathbed Injunction*, Ouyi wrote: "When I had not yet left secular life, I read the *Sūtra of the Deathbed Injunction*. I then knew that each and every character was like tears of blood, and at once took tonsure. Waste and loss, the hindrances of such regrets are deep. In some twenty-odd years I have achieved nothing. I am neither a genuine practitioner, nor a layman. Now in my heart I feel utterly ashamed."[56]

Ouyi proceeds to claim unworthiness of adding anything to the scriptural text, but his account of his early encounter with the scripture and the effect it had on his life are quite compelling. In this and other cited passages in Luo's article series, Ouyi's very personal and emotive descriptions of the content and meaning of the Buddhist scriptures come across quite clearly, perhaps reflecting Luo's own sense of the continued importance of the scriptures.

IMPACT AND LEGACY OF THE CANON

Although Luo and Zongyang had succeeded in producing a complete edition of the East Asian Buddhist canon, something that xylographic publishers had been unable to do in the last decades of the Qing, there is little evidence that the publication of the *Pinjia Canon* had any discernible impact on the operation of Buddhist xylographic scriptural presses in the 1910s and 1920s. One important piece of data that is still unknown about the canon but would help us gauge its impact is the total number of printed sets. In 1921, an advertisement claims that apart from copies reserved for academic use only 300 sets remained for sale, but there is no indication of how many were originally printed.[57] Book catalogs from scriptural presses appear to have been unaffected by the appearance of the new canon. In 1920, for example, the Beijing Scriptural Press published indices for the Ming-dynasty *Jiaxing Canon* 嘉興藏 and the *Extended Canon* 續藏經, and list prices for some individual titles from both collections, but list no offerings relating to the *Pinjia Canon* even though it had already been in print for some seven years.[58]

One reason for this lackluster reception may be that, in spite of the editing invested in the canon and notes based on the errata by Nakano, the text was littered with mistakes. An errata for the Kalaviṇka edition of the *Da bore poluo miduo jing* 大般若波羅蜜多經 (Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra) published in the October 1930 issue of *Haichao yin* lists over 370 characters or phrases that had been printed incorrectly.[59] The types of errors listed include one paramorphic character substituted for another (e.g., *wang* 往 for *zhu* 住; *ge* 各 for *ming* 名), transposition of characters within a word (e.g., **manyuan* 滿圓 for *yuanman* 圓滿; **hemo* 訶摩 for *mohe* 摩訶), incorrect words within a phrase (e.g., **kong jijing* 空寂靜 for *jie jijing* 界寂靜; **yanse jie* 眼色界 for *yanshi jie* 眼識界), and simply miscopied or misprinted characters (e.g., *shi* 是 for *zi* 自; *wu* 無 for *luo* 羅). For these types of errors to be present in a type of text for which, in the words of Ouyi, "each and every character was like tears of blood," and which derived their numinous power in part from their correct content, seriously undermined a crucial component of what made the printed texts meaningful to readers. We might also recall that one of Shimada's motivations in compiling the *Reduced Print Canon* was to correct typographical

errors of previous editions, and yet its edited reprint in China evidently suffered from a great deal of misprints.

In spite of its textual errors, limited retail locations, and steep price tag, the *Pinjia Canon* continued to be advertised in Buddhist periodicals into the 1930s, particularly in the pages of *Foxue banyue kan* 佛學半月刊 (Buddhism Semimonthly), the in-house periodical of the publisher and book retailer Shanghai Buddhist Books (Shanghai Foxue shuju 上海佛學書局).[60] In the earliest such advertisement from 1934, after briefly outlining historical highlights of canon printing in China and Japan, the text of the advertisement promotes the canon as being of the best quality and a suitable purchase for all types of consumers:

> At the end of the Qing and beginning of the Republic, the mistress of the Kalaviṇka Hermitage Mrs. Luo Jialing continued history by printing a fine canon edition, based on the *Dai Nippon Canon* edition (the *Reduced Print Canon*) with some expansions and adaptations, printed in number four movable type, in forty cases, 414 volumes, and 1,916 titles. At the time, those who corrected the text were all luminaries of Buddhist studies. After four years of editing it was completed.
>
> That is this very publication. Every text in it is expansive and clear. Among canon collections, it is truly the one with the most fascicles and the best editions. Just now the mistress of the Kalaviṇka Hermitage requested that this press distribute it. The price is reasonable. Thatched hut or huge temple, lay or monastic, all can purchase it at their pleasure. Devoting oneself to study, inspiring spiritual luminosity, expanding wisdom, advancing morality, it all relies on this. Those who aspire to the Great Vehicle, take up the great Dharma with all their strength. We hope that you won't miss this excellent opportunity.[61]

As a piece of commercial publicity, this advertisement succinctly delivers the selling points of the work to the reader, ending with a pitch to "buy now before it's too late." In spite of this effusive praise, the *Pinjia Canon* would gradually fade into the background of *Foxue banyue kan*. Much shorter advertisements for the canon follow in later issues, usually consigned to the thin strip of space at the top of the page. In the June 16, 1940 edition, for example, the advertisement for the canon is dwarfed by a full-page list for Shanghai Buddhist Books' own *Foxue xiao congshu* 佛學小叢書 (Short Collection of Buddhist Studies).[62]

The fading of the canon into the background of periodical advertisements parallels its fate in the larger context of Republican-era Chinese Buddhist publishing. Although it is as yet unknown how many sets were in circulation, it is certainly not widely cited in contemporary secondary literature. Xylographic publishers continued to publish their texts based on older editions and never incorporated the *Pinjia Canon* into their print catalogs. An older

canon edition was even later reprinted without any editing: a nearly complete edition of the Song-dynasty *Qisha Canon* (*Qisha zangjing* 磧砂藏經), originally carved between 1234 and 1322, was rediscovered in Xi'an 西安 in 1929, and was reprinted in a lithographic edition of 591 volumes in Shanghai from 1933 to 1936.[63] As for the principal people responsible for bringing the canon into existence, Zongyang died in 1921 while at Qixia Temple 棲霞寺 outside Nanjing after working for many years to restore it both materially and institutionally. Hardoon died in 1931, after which his property was tied up in legal disputes for many years. After the death of her husband, Luo Jialing largely withdrew from public life. She is mentioned several times in Buddhist periodicals up to her death in 1941, usually in relation to her making donation of large numbers of Buddhist texts.[64] Neither she nor anyone else attempted to print the supplement to the *Pinjia Canon* that was originally planned, nor did they work further to promote the canon in Buddhist periodicals.[65]

CONCLUSION

In the late nineteenth century, many Buddhists in China and Japan were interested in producing new editions of the East Asian Buddhist canon. Publishers such as Shimada Mitsune broke with tradition, however, in seeking to produce an edition of the canon that was neither a "museum piece" nor simply a shelf decoration, nor so large as to be "of no use" to readers. The *Reduced Print Canon* and its edited Chinese reprint the *Pinjia Canon* both made use of movable-type technology to bring the canon into a smaller, more compact format, so that readers could more easily acquire and access its contents. These new canons were intended to play a more active role in the day-to-day lives of Buddhists, to serve as sources of information and inspiration as opposed to static, monumental installations that were as inaccessible as they were incomprehensible. The mechanized technology behind movable type also made it possible for great quantities of text to be printed in a very short amount of time compared to hand-carving wooden printing blocks. As the above outline of the *Pinjia Canon* shows, however, simply applying a new print technology to an established genre was by no means a simple process. Funding, editing, producing, marketing, and selling the canon were all challenges that Zongyang, Luo Jialing, and other canon backers struggled to overcome. To do so, they made use of private capital, commercial presses, periodical articles, and sales techniques pioneered by commercial publishers to tout the benefits of buying their canon.

One element of the *Pinjia Canon* that today does not seem prescient at all is the idea of publishing an entirely newly edited set of the canon. Apart from the reprinted *Qisha Canon* mentioned above, the next Chinese canon edition

was the *Tripitaka Sinica* (*Zhonghua dazangjing* 中華大藏經) published in 1982; for scholars of Buddhism, the Taishō edition was long authoritative, and has now been joined by digital collections and indices such as CBETA. Several thousand Buddhist books were produced in China between 1913 and 1949, and many thousand individual scriptural texts were in circulation, but no one else during this period attempted to produce a new complete edition of the canon. Far more popular were selected scriptural texts, commentaries, and "books for beginners" that included explanations on the text's meaning by a learned editor. A market for the canon as a consumer good was still far in the future when the first volumes of the *Pinjia Canon* rolled off the presses in Shanghai.

Given its lackluster reception, therefore, it is tempting to view the *Pinjia Canon* as a failed project. Buddhist scriptural presses in China continued to print individual scriptural texts using xylography, and the canon never became the standard reference edition in the same way that the Taishō edition did in Japan. It might be more appropriate to view the canon as an experiment that was ahead of its time, one that may have not immediately revolutionized canon printing in China, but one which anticipated many of the developments within Buddhist print culture in the decades that followed: just as a commercial print company was responsible for printing the canon, so too would many Buddhist publications be handled by commercial presses, who had the machinery and expertise necessary to handle the more complex and demanding craft of publishing with movable type; just as the *Pinjia Canon* was first announced in the pages of *Foxue congbao*, Buddhist periodicals would continue to be important means by which readers learned about and could order Buddhist publications through book lists and publisher's catalogs; and finally, the center of Shanghai would shortly grow to become the center of movable-type publishing in China, for commercial works and Buddhist books alike.

NOTES

1. *Foxue banyue kan* 佛學半月刊, no. 77 (April 16, 1934), MFQ 49:248. For full citations of MFQ and MFQB sources, please see the beginning of the Works Cited section at the end of this chapter.

2. Zongyang, *Pinjia jingshe jiaokan dazangjing*. Reprint edition: *Pinjia dazangjing*. See Shen Qian, "Lun Huang Zongyang." *Pinjia* is one half of the full term *Jialingpinjia* 迦陵頻伽, or *Kalaviṇka*, a mythical bird mentioned in the Buddhist scriptures.

3. Based on an average base wage of 37.2 silver cents per day as reported in Table XII of *Chinese Social and Political Science Review*, Special Supplement (1926), 100.

4. Reed, *Gutenberg in Shanghai*, chapter one.

5. As a comparative figure, the *Digital Catalogue of Chinese Buddhism* (http://bib.buddhiststudies.net) lists 220 titles printed by Yang Wenhui's xylographic Jinling Scriptural Press during his lifetime. The *Pinjia Canon* is comprised of over 1900 titles.

6. On Chinese Buddhist periodicals, see Scott, "Revolution of Ink."

7. Reed, *Gutenberg in Shanghai*, 28–52; McIntosh, *The Mission Press in China*; Goodall, *A History of the London Missionary Society, 1895–1945*; Lodwick, "Introduction," xi-xii. For a list of mission presses that published in Chinese, see Fan, *Zhongguo yinshua jindai shi (chugao)*, 71–105.

8. Britton, *The Chinese Periodical Press 1800–1912*, 51, 63–71, 74–75. See also Chen, *Wanqing baoye shi*, 115–169; Zhu, "Shenbao fanying xia de Shanghai shehui bianqian (1895–1927)"; Tsai, *Reading Shenbao*; Lean, *Public Passions*.

9. Reed, *Gutenberg in Shanghai*. Also see Reed's "Introduction," 8–10; Li, *Shangwu yinshu guan yu jindai zhishi wenhua de chuanbo*.

10. Ketelaar, *Of Heretics and Martyrs in Meiji Japan*; Josephson, "When Buddhism Became a 'Religion.'" On the late-1890s expansion of Japanese publishing and journalism, see Huffman, "Commercialization and the Changing World of the Mid-Meiji Press"; Huffman, *Creating a Public*.

11. On Ouyi see McGuire, *Living Karma*. An edition of *Yuezang zhijin* was later published by the Jinling Press in 1892. Luo Cheng, *Jinling kejing chu yanjiu*, 167. The four source canons were the Zifu 資福 (?-1175), Goryeo (Gaoli) 高麗 (1236–1251), Puning 普寧 (1277–1290), and Jiaxing 嘉興 (1676) canons.

12. Quoted in Vita, "Printings of the Buddhist 'Canon' in Modern Japan," 223.

13. The *Dai Nippon kōtei kunten daizōkyō* 大日本校訂訓點大藏經 (Great Japanese Corrected and Punctuated Canon), was published in Kyōto from 1902 to 1905, and was followed by the *Zokuzōkyō* 續藏經 (Extended Canon). A few photographic copies of the original printings do survive. See http://jinglu.cbeta.org/knowledge/versions.htm#28 as well as the preface to the index volume of the reprint edition: *Wanzheng zangjing* 卍正藏經. Publication of the *Zoku zōkyō* was supervised by Maeda Eun 前田慧雲 (1857–1930) and Nakano Tatsue 中野達慧 (1871–1934). Maeda was a Shin Buddhist university academic who collaborated with Nanjō Bunyū on the Japanese "Buddhist Bible," *Bukkyō seiten* 佛教聖典. On Nakano, see van der Veere, *A Study into the Thought of Kōgyō Daishi Kakuban*, 47fn127; Ketelaar, *Heretics and Martyrs*, 209. See also chapter 2 in this volume.

14. Takakusu Junjirō, Watanabe Kaigyoku, eds., *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō*.

15. Scott, "Conversion by the Book," chapter one, section three.

16. See, for example, Yan, *Re-understanding Japan*, 22–38.

17. Chen, "The Transmission of the Jōdo Shinshū Doctrine to China." Xiao, "Jindai Zhongguo Foxue yanjiu shiye de xingqi yu Riben."

18. Luo's name appears in the canon as Jialing Luoshi 迦陵羅詩; her Chinese surname Luo was thus likely coined as a shortened form of the transliteration of her family name Roos. Her Dharma name is Dalun Xunmu 大綸熏沐. See Shi Dongchu, *Zhongguo Fojiao jindai shi*, 2:736–738; Welch, *The Buddhist Revival in China*, 16–17, 298–299fn47, 319fn30. Available sources on her biography disagree on many details, and a definitive account of her life remains to be written.

19. "Luo Jialing nüshi zhuan." Also see Betta, "Marginal Westerners in Shanghai;" Betta, "Silas Aaron Hardoon (1851–1931);" Stein, "Protected Persons?"

20. See Yu, *Xiandai Fojiao renwu cidian*, 1:567–571. Zongyang was also known as Wumu shanseng 烏目山僧 (The Monk of Mount Wumu), Mount Wumu being one name of Yushan 虞山 in Changshu. Huang was Zongyang's lay surname, but he continued to publish under this name well after he became a monk.

21. On Cai see Lee, "Active or Passive Initiator," 285.

22. Wumu shanseng [Zongyang], "Dai Luo Jialing nüshi fu Zhejiang tui xuesheng shu."

23. "Luo Jialing nüshi zhuan" 羅迦陵女士傳. Patriotic Study Society students were frequent contributors to *Subao* 蘇報 (Jiangsu Gazette, 1896–1903), but in December 1903 the boys' school was closed and Cai Yuanpei and others associated with the society had to flee to Japan to avoid imprisonment for their articles. The girls' school continued operating until 1908. See Fan, *Zhongguo yinshua jindai shi (chugao)*, 257–258; Lust, "The *Su-pao* Case."

24. "Luo Jialing nüshi zhuan."

25. Jiangtian Monastery is part of the monastic complex of Jinshan 金山.

26. See Betta, "Silas Aaron Hardoon and Cross-Cultural Adaptation in Shanghai," 220–221.

27. After Hardoon's death in 1931, the property became embroiled in a legal dispute, and was later largely destroyed during the Second Sino-Japanese War. The garden was seized by the state in the early period of the People's Republic and was later developed into the site of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Building, which later became the Shanghai Exhibition Center.

28. The Kalaviṇka (*jialing pinjia* 迦陵頻伽), a bird known for its melodious voice that appears in the Amitābha-sūtra (*Amituo jing* 阿彌陀經) and other Buddhist scriptures, likely also inspired Luo's Chinese-style name of Jialing 迦陵.

29. Goldfuss, *Vers un bouddhisme du XXe siècle*, 212–218. *Foxue congbao* 佛學叢報, issue 8, MFQ 3:227–268.

30. Some canons had previously been sponsored by large numbers of lay donors and printed outside direct imperial control. Zhang, "The Strength of the Forgotten."

31. We should view this account with some suspicion, given the fact that in 1908 Zongyang had himself just returned from a short stay in Japan. I suspect that it was in fact Zongyang who had brought a copy of the *Reduced Print Canon* back from Japan, and who convinced Luo to support his republishing of it in China as the *Pinjia Canon*.

32. Zongyang, ed., *Pinjia dazangjing*, Vol. 1, pp. 5–6. The preface also notes that Luo's husband supported the project from its beginning, and stepped in with extra funding when rising material costs had ballooned their budget to three times its original size.

33. Zongyang, ed., *Pinjia dazangjing*, Vol. 1, 7.

34. See, for example, Zhuhong's view of decline and renewal in the late Ming. Yü, *The Renewal of Buddhism in China*, 171–192, 208.

35. Zongyang, ed., *Pinjia dazangjing*, Vol. 1, 15. On xylographic Buddhist scriptural publishing in late-Qing China, see Scott, "Conversion by the Book," chapter one.

36. The China Library Company was founded in 1906, was a well-capitalized publishing firm with its own photoengraving department, and was eventually acquired

by the Commercial Press. Reed, *Gutenberg in Shanghai*, 60, 174, 187, 340fn92. Also see "Zangjing yanqi chuban zhi yuan."

37. Zongyang, ed., *Pinjia dazangjing*, Vol. 1, p. 15.

38. As a comparative, the Beijing Scriptural Press 北京刻經處 for the fiscal year 1921–1922 spent just over 7,400 *yuan* in printing eighty-four titles. Other scriptural presses of that time appear to have had similarly sized annual output, so it's safe to say that the scale of the *Pinjia Canon* was of an order of magnitude larger than any other scriptural printing activity occurring in China at around that time. See Scott, "Absolutely Not a Business."

39. Zongyang, ed., *Pinjia dazangjing*, Vol. 1, pp. 17–19.

40. See Reed, *Gutenberg in Shanghai*, 32–57. On p. 54 of this section, Reed reports that the inventor of the Song font was unknown, and provisionally dates it to the mid-1920s. If the typeface in the *Pinjia Canon* and *Foxue congbao* is indeed an identical or a largely similar Song font, it may point to an earlier invention of the typeface and connect it to the Youzheng Press.

41. Zongyang, ed., *Pinjia dazangjing*, 17–19. These planned additional volumes were never published.

42. Zongyang, ed., *Pinjia dazangjing*, 323–472.

43. Foguang da cidian bianxiu weiyuanhui, ed., *Foguang da cidian*, entry for "五大部."

44. Nanjō, *A Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripitaka*, ix–x. Both systems are quite different from that later adopted by the *Taishō Canon*, 1924–1934, which was based only in part on the organization of the *Dai Nippon Canon*. See Jiang Wu's chapter 1 in this volume for more on Nanjō's catalog.

45. See the index to the *Pinjia Canon*: Zongyang, ed., *Pinjia dazangjing*, Vol. 1, 434–452.

46. See Tuttle, *Tibetan Buddhists in the Making of Modern China*, also his "Translating Buddhism from Tibetan to Chinese in Early 20th Century China (1931–1951)."

47. Additionally, a few catalogs of Buddhist texts were added that had not been included in previous Chinese canons. See pp. 74–75 of the canon index cited above.

48. On Chinese Buddhist monastic libraries and the storage of canons, see Prip-Møller, *Chinese Buddhist Monasteries*, 52–64.

49. *Foxue congbao*, issue one (Oct. 1, 1912), MFQ 1:153–155; Issue two (Nov. 1, 1912), MFQ 1:297–298.

50. *Foxue congbao*, issue two, MFQ 1:300–301.

51. MFQ 2:179–180.

52. The Chinese General Buddhist Association was in operation for only a few months in 1913, headed by Yekai 冶開 (1852–1923). Liurong Temple is located in Guangzhou; its connection to Zongyang and the canon is as yet unknown. The Bao Photography Studio was a well-known photographer, having produced photographs of Kang Youwei and others. Youzheng Press was founded by Di Chuqing and in the early 1910s distributed a number of Buddhist scriptural texts.

53. MFQ 2:562; 4:176, 469–480; 151:94. For more on the CGBA, see Scott, "Conversion by the Book," chapter two, section three.

54. *Foxue congbao*, issues 2, 3, 5, 7, MFQ 1:357–358, 505–511, 2:347–357, 3:119–125.

55. *Foxue congbao*, issues 4, 6–11, MFQ 2:147–157, 545–552, 3:111–118, 283–289, 461–470, 4:163–172, 337–343.

56. *Foxue congbao*, issue 4, MFQ 2:147.

57. *Haichao yin* 海潮音 (Voice of the Sea Tide), June 20, 1921, MFQ 151:94. Complete sets of the original 1913 edition can be found in a handful of academic libraries.

58. The catalogs, *Jiaxingzang mulu* 嘉興藏目錄, originally printed in 1677, and *Xu zangjing zhihua yi* 續藏經值畫一, are reprinted in volume 52 of Yan Lingfeng, ed., *Shumu leibian*. In the Jiaxing catalog, about half of the titles have prices listed, and in the latter catalog nearly all do.

59. *Haichao yin*, Vol. 11, no. 10 (Oct. 1930), MFQ 176:311–323.

60. On Shanghai Buddhist Books see Shi Ruige, "Pingheng gongde yu liyi."

61. *Foxue banyue kan* 佛學半月刊 (Buddhist Studies Semimonthly), no. 77 (April 16, 1934), MFQ 49:248.

62. MFQ 55:324. The advertisement mentions that the price of the canon is to be raised to 1,200 *yuan* because of a recent unbridled rise in the price of paper. It is unclear, however, whether this indicates that new copies of the canon were being printed as late as 1940, or whether they were still trying to move old stock.

63. *Song Qisha ban dazangjing*.

64. Yu, *Xiandai Fojiao renwu cidian*, 754–757. Dongchu, *Zhongguo Fojiao jindai shi*, 736–738. Luo also wrote a monograph, *Yulanpen jing qianshuo* 盂蘭盆經淺說 (A Brief Explication of the Ullambana-sūtra), that was published through the Central Scriptural Press 中央刻經院 in 1934, and during the Second Sino-Japanese War she helped finance the publication of works by Chisong 持松 (1894–1972).

65. A very late mention of the canon appears very briefly in *Haichao yin*, where a Buddhist association from Gansu is mentioned as requesting a copy from Shanghai to display as part of a Buddhist canon exhibition. See *Haichao yin*, Vol. 28, no. 2 (Feb. 1, 1947), MFQ 203:296.

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Chapter 5

Bearing the Canon on the Crown of the Head

Jeongdae Bulsa and Worship of the Buddhist Canon in Contemporary Korean Buddhism

Richard D. McBride II

One of the most striking rituals in contemporary Korean Buddhism is the "ceremony of bearing the Buddhist canon on the crown of one's head" (*jeongdae bulsa* 頂戴佛事) observed at Haein Monastery 海印寺 in Hapcheon 陜川, South Gyeongsang Province 慶尙南道, the repository of the *Goryeo Canon* (*Goryeo daejanggyeong* 高麗大藏經). Under the direction of the monks supervising the liturgy, monks and laypeople receive and place either a woodblock wrapped in white cloth or copies of sutra material in a white package on their heads and walk a ritualized path set in the main courtyard of the monastery in the shape of Uisang's 義湘 (625–702) *Seal-diagram Symbolizing the Dharma Realm of the One Vehicle* (*Ilseung beopgye-do* 一乘法界圖).[1] In addition to being the premier Buddhist service to venerate the Buddhist canon in contemporary South Korea, this ceremony encapsulates and embodies several of the issues and struggles of the Korean Buddhist church in contemporary times: How can the Jogye Order 曹溪宗—the largest Buddhist denomination in South Korea, and one that advances Seon 禪 (Zen) as the correct form of Buddhist practice—be relevant in the lives of modern Korean Buddhists and promote patronage? And how can Korean Buddhists connect to and recreate something of the grand history of the religion in the country? Nevertheless, despite the relevance of attempting to refashion an illustration of the exalted ceremonies to venerate the Buddhist canon and other sutras that must have attended the completion of the first and second Buddhist canons in Goryeo in the eleventh and thirteenth centuries, the practice of "bearing the canon/sutra on the crown of one's head" is probably a combination of a devotional practice that endured from earlier times, circulated in the late-Goryeo 高麗 (918–1392) and Joseon 朝鮮 (1392–1910) periods, and was combined with a modern application of Uisang's *Seal-Diagram*.

In this chapter I reconstruct the context of the emergence of the practice, illustrate the connection between state-protection Buddhism and the *Goryeo Canon*, analyze the origins of the practice of bearing something on the crown of one's head, and explore the practice of walking the form of Uisang's *Seal-Diagram Symbolizing the Dharma Realm*.

THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF THE PRACTICE

Although brief notices of the ceremony of bearing the Buddhist canon on the crown of one's head exist in media reports and photo-essays from the mid-to-late 1980s and early 1990s,[2] the earliest published narrative description of the first ceremony of bearing the Buddhist canon on the crown of one's head and semi-scholarly discussion that I have been able to find dates from the very end of the twentieth century. In the April 2000 issue of *Haein* 海印, the monthly magazine published by Haein Monastery, the monk Gwanam described the origins as follows:

> In this sense, we can say that the process of transporting the Buddhist canon from Ganghwa Island 江華島 to Jicheon Monastery支天寺 in Seoul for safe-keeping and then transporting the Buddhist canon bearing it on their heads to Haein Monastery, passing through Gaegyeongpo 開經浦 in Goryeong 高靈 in North Gyeongsang Province 慶尙北道, should be seen as being filled with a sense of faith impregnated with a desire that transcends the simple purport of merely transferring the woodblocks of the Buddhist canon and embodies the prosperity of the nation (*guktae minan* 國泰民安) and rebirth in the Pure Land of Extreme Bliss (*geungnak wangsaeng* 極樂往生) [that produces] peace of mind (*ansim* 安心). Based on this kind of historical and spiritual origin, the person who first instituted the ceremony of bearing the Buddhist canon on the crown of one's head at Haeinsa is known to have been the eminent monk Yeongam, who was abbot of Haein Monastery in 1961. This monk, who lived in accordance to the *vinaya-piṭaka* (*yuljang* 律藏) and was well versed in administration (*haengjeong* 行政), even while being engaged in seated Seon meditation (*jwaseon* 坐禪), was entrusted with the responsibility of being abbot of Haein Monastery. He put in order the enlightenment site (*doryang* 道場) of Haein Monastery, which was in utter confusion due to the factional dispute about married monks, and was engaged in restoring its lost assets. Furthermore, it came to him in a dream that the teachings of the Buddhist canon, which are preserved in the hall of woodblocks, and the power of empowerment (*gapiryeok* 加被力) may be transferred to living beings, and he started the ceremony of bearing the Buddhist canon on the crown of one's head for protecting the 80,000 woodblocks of the *Goryeo Canon* at Haein Monastery by vowing to preserve them eternally for posterity for ten-thousand generations.[3]

This passage essentially functions as the official statement on the origins of the practice because it was reproduced verbatim in another essay published seven years later.[4]

In 1961, the world of Korean Buddhism was in crisis, turmoil, and division. During the Japanese colonial period (1910–1945), the colonial government took administrative control of the major monastic centers, instituted a nationalized system of Chōsen Buddhism (Chōsen Bukkyō 朝鮮佛教), and established a headquarters of the dominant Seon school (Seonjong 禪宗) in Seoul. The colonial government then passed a series of administrative guidelines that, in essence, reorganized the structure of monastic life in Korea to imitate the rules followed by Buddhist sects in Japan. The most conspicuous measures were the institution of monastic marriage and the granting of inheritance rights and the rights of possession of temple complexes to married monks and their descendants. Because of their compliance to Japanese rules, over time, married monks (*daecheoseung* 帶妻僧) eventually controlled all of the major monastic centers in Korea, including the three key complexes of Tongdosa 通度寺, the Buddha-jewel monastery, Haeinsa 海印寺, the dharma-jewel monastery, and Songgwangsa 松廣寺, the saṃgha-jewel monastery. In 1941, the Seon school was renamed the Jogye Order 曹溪宗 of Chōsen Bukkyō, and in 1945, with liberation from Japanese rule, it was renamed the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism (Daehan Bulgyo 大韓佛教). In 1954, after the Korean War, celibate monks had two primary temporal goals: regain control of the principal monastic complexes and extirpate Japanese influences from Korean Buddhism. They enlisted the help of President Syngman Rhee (Yi Seungman 李承晩, 1875–1965), who was supportive of measures to "cleanse" Korea of the taints of Japanese occupation on Korean culture. This was the beginning of the "Buddhist Purification Movement" (*Bulgyo jeonghwa undong* 佛教淨化運動), the effects of which have had a lasting impact on the history of Buddhism in contemporary Korea.[5]

Although President Rhee ordered a purge of married monks in 1955, married monks were still in possession of most of the significant monastic complexes in South Korea and challenged their eviction in the civil courts. Haeinsa, the monastery symbolic of the dharma, however, was one of the monasteries where monks had first met to discuss how to purify and renew the order in 1945 and 1946.[6] Although married monks were eventually evicted from the Jogye Order in 1962, what would happen in the courts was not completely clear. Furthermore, and perhaps more important, the controversy had a detrimental effect on the popular image of the Buddhist church in South Korea. Although Buddhists in Korea comprised and still comprise roughly half of the religious population of Korea, Christians dominated the press and politics. Thus, the internal problems of the Jogye Order became a source of ridicule and derision in the media industry. The Jogye Order was in

sore need of a public relations boost; something to provide it with good press, reconnect the order in a positive way with its core membership and believers, and link it with the glories of the Korean Buddhist church of the distant past.

The first ceremony of bearing the Buddhist canon on the crown of one's head was held in 1961 at Haein Monastery under the direction of its abbot Yeongam Imseong 映巖任性 (1907–1987). By making a brief digression into the life of Imseong, we can highlight some of the factors relevant to the birth of this practice. The monk Imseong was born as Bak Gijong 朴淇宗 of the Miryang Bak lineage 密陽朴氏 in Uljin County 蔚珍郡 in North Gyeongsang Province. He studied Chinese learning as a youth and became a monk at Tongdo Monastery at eighteen *se* in 1924. He received the śramaṇera precepts (*samigye* 沙彌戒) with the monk Cheongdam 靑潭 (surnamed Ju 周; d.u.) serving as his vocation master (*eunsa* 恩師) and Guha Cheonbo 九河天輔 (1872–1965) functioning as preceptor (*gyesa* 戒師). After that he went to Woljeong Monastery 月精寺 on Mt. Odae 五臺山 and became a pupil of Jiam Jonguk 智庵鍾郁 (1884–1969), studying monastery economics and monastic complex administration. In 1930, he completed the great teaching course[7] in the lecture hall for the specialization in Buddhism (*daegyo-gwa bulgyo jeonmun gangwon* 大敎科佛敎專門講院) at Tongdo Monastery. He became the abbot of Buryeongsa 佛影寺 in Uljin and built a temple. In April 1933, he received the bhikṣu precepts (*bigugye* 比丘戒) and bodhisattva precepts (*bosalgye* 菩薩戒) from Hanam Jungwon 漢岩重遠 (1876–1951). In 1941, he became proficient in the colonial legal code and went into negotiations with the Japanese colonial government to protect the mountains and forests on land belonging to Woljeong Monastery from people who sought to deforest it and exploit it for financial gain. In 1955, he became the secretary of finance for the monastic monks of the Jogye Order. In 1960, he became abbot of Haein Monastery and reconstructed the financial basis of the monastery. When Office of General Affairs of the Jogye Order was being organized in 1962, he was named the first chief of financial affairs (*jaemu bujang* 財務副長). Imseong eventually served as fourth chief of the Jogye Order in 1967, and as the eleventh chief in 1975, during which time he made significant changes to the administrative structure.[8]

Thus, from his early monastic career Imseong was interested first and foremost with temple economics and monastic finances. He studied at and probably had a hand in developing events for the laity for two major monastic complexes: Woljeongsa and Tongdosa. When he became abbot of Haeinsa in 1960, he had to transform and reconstruct the financial basis of the monastery from one geared to support the families of head monks to one that would again support celibate monks. He also had to find a way to win back or at least favorably influence the hearts and minds of the laity who had developed close relationships and a sense of community with the married monks who

had controlled the monastery for many years. Imseong accomplished this by crafting a devotional practice that drew upon the symbolic strength of Haein Monastery and the talismanic power of the Buddhist canon itself.

Named for the famous "ocean-seal samādhi" (*haein sammae*, Ch. *haiyin sanmei* 海印三昧) described in the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*, Haein Monastery on Mt. Gaya 伽倻山, in Chiin Village 緇仁里, Gaya Township 伽倻面, Hapcheon County, South Gyeongsang Province, has long been one of the most significant centers for the study of Buddhist sutras in Korea. Presently it is the twelfth main temple of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism, and it is the monastery representing the jewel of the dharma because the 80,000 woodblocks of the *Goryeo Canon* are enshrined there. The monastery was rebuilt in 802 and expanded to its large size by the monks Suneung 順應 (d. after 804) and Ijeong 利貞 (d.u.). Haeinsa was one of the ten major Hwa-eom monasteries in Korea during the late Silla period (780–935). The monk Huirang 希郎 (fl. 875–927), who was venerated by Goryeo king Taejo 太祖 (Wang Geon 王建, r. 918–943), spread Hwa-eom thought from this place, continuing the tradition that traced back to Uisang.[9] The *Goryeo Canon*, which had been recarved between 1236 and 1251, was moved from the Seonwon Shrine 禪源社 on Ganghwa Island to Haein Monastery in 1398; and it has remained there to this day. The Janggyeonggak 藏經閣 (Canon Pavilion) was rebuilt during the reign of Joseon king Sejo 世祖 (r. 1455–1468), and several reconstructions have taken place at the monastery. Haein Monastery has seventy-five branch temples and fourteen subordinate hermitages and is one of the major monasteries in the Korean Buddhist tradition.

Haein Monastery has deep roots connecting it to the Hwa-eom tradition in Korea, which was founded by the Silla monk Uisang, and it is located in a remote mountainous region far from the capital. Although the monastery records of Haein Monastery have a section associated with state-protection because the *Goryeo Canon* is stored there, the most recent edition published in the early 1990s includes no documentary material related to the ceremony of bearing the canon on the crown of the head.[10] This is curious considering that many of the most influential monks in Korea who have gone on to serve as the leaders of the Jogye Order have been closely associated with the monastery. Aside from the previously mentioned Imseong, the Venerable Seongcheol 性徹 (Yi Yeongju 李英柱, 1912–1993) lived at Haeinsa while functioning as head of the Jogye Order (*jongjeong* 宗正) from 1981 until his death in 1993, and the Venerable Jigwan 智冠 (Yi Haebong 李海鵬, 1932–2012), who served as the director of general affairs from 2005 until his death, was a distinguished scholar of the history of the order whose most important work was written while in residence at Haein Monastery in the late 1960s and who maintained a close association with the monastery throughout his life.

Apparently, this practice was not significant enough to merit documentation outside of the monthly magazine published by the monastery.

The Venerable Jin-Gak 眞覺, the current director of the Department of Education for the Jogye Order, spent several years of his early career at Haeinsa and nearby monasteries. He says that although laypeople participating in the ceremony formerly bore the original woodblocks of the *Goryeo Canon* on their heads in the early years of the ceremony, replicas of the woodblocks have been used to protect the originals since even before the woodblocks of the *Goryeo Canon* and their depository, the Janggyeong Panjeon 藏經板殿, were enrolled in UNESCO's World Heritage list in 1995. Presently, Jin-Gak says, a replica woodblock is wrapped up with a *Pagoda Dhāraṇī Sutra* (*Tapdarani gyeong* 塔陀羅尼經), the *Diamond Sutra* printed in red on a long sheet of white paper with the Sinographs comprising the form of a seven-story or nine-story jeweled pagoda, in either white cloth or soft white paper and borne on the heads of participants that walk in the form of Uisang's *Seal-Diagram*.[11]

STATE-PROTECTION BUDDHISM AND THE *GORYEO CANON*

Veneration of the Buddhist canon as a whole and of specific Mahayana sutras in particular was a common devotional and merit-making practice of the Goryeo period, and lavish ceremonies were held by the royal family, which utilized Buddhism for symbolic legitimacy. Furthermore, the production of a woodblock Buddhist canon was understood by writers from both the early and late periods of Goryeo history to function at least in part, if not primarily, as a means of protecting the state. In this section, I will briefly describe some of the ceremonies held by the Goryeo court that illustrate their veneration of the Buddhist canon. Most observers of the contemporary practice seek to link the practice of bearing the canon on the crown of one's head to Buddhist rituals of the Goryeo period.

For instance, according to the *History of Goryeo* (*Goryeosa* 高麗史), in 1029, Goryeo king Hyeonjong 顯宗 (r. 1009–1031) held a Ritual Convocation for the Recitation of the Buddhist Canon of Scripture (*janggyeong doryang* 藏經道場) in the Palace for Assemblies and Celebrations (Hoegyeongjeon 會慶殿) and provided a feast for 10,000 monks on the occasion.[12] In essence, Hyeonjong established the pattern that his descendent Munjong 文宗 (r. 1046–1083) would perfect.

King Jeongjong 靖宗 (r. 1034–1046) established several ordination platforms in order to regulate the growth of the monastic community and ordered that families with four sons may send one son to a monastery.[13] He usually convened a Ritual Convocation for the Recitation of the Buddhist Canon in

the Palace for Assemblies and Celebrations for the express purpose of seeking relief and protection from disasters and calamities twice a year in the spring and fall.[14] In the third month of 1046, Jeongjong had the director of the Chancellery (*sijung* 侍中), Choe Jean 崔齊顔 (d. 1046), offer incense for him in the spherical garden and supervise a new ritual observance, a sutra procession through the streets of the capital (*gagu gyeonghaeng* 街衢經行). For the event, the streets of the Goryeo capital were divided into three circuits (*samdo* 三道), and placed on each circuit was a portable shrine in the shape of a multistoried tower (*chaeruja* 彩樓子) with a copy of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra*, an important Mahayana scripture that teaches the seminal Mahayana doctrines of emptiness, the role of the bodhisattva and the six perfections they practice, and so forth, placed inside. Ordained monks dressed in their finest dharma robes carried the shrines in front of them along the parade routes chanting the sutra. Next, a consignment of military officers wearing their official robes paced on foot, and behind them the people followed in procession. This ritual, usually called a Sutra Procession (*gyeonghaeng* 經行), was observed to supplicate the buddhas for the happiness and spiritual merit of the people.[15] It became a common practice in Goryeo from that time forward.

The collected works of the Goryeo prince and monk Uicheon 義天 (1055–1101), fourth son of King Munjong, include an "Oration Regarding the Carving and Printing of the Canon of Doctrinal Teachings of All of the Schools on Behalf of Seonjong" (*Dae Seonjong jejong gyojang join so* 代宣宗諸宗教藏彫印疏) in which Uicheon connects the production of a Buddhist canon—in this case, the creation of a canon of doctrinal teachings (*gyojang* 教藏) that includes the commentaries and treatises of all of the doctrinal traditions and schools of East Asia—with wholesome activities for the protection of the state performed by monks.

> I secretly think that in our country, from the time of Master Wonhyo 元曉 (617–686) to that of my insignificant self, there have been monks who have generously engaged in wholesome enterprises in order to protect the country. They have trusted themselves to utmost humaneness and cultivated all things. King Hyeonjong precisely carved the secret canon of five thousand rolls and King Munjong then engraved the written scriptures of the tens of myriads of songs. Although the official text has been promulgated near and far, the essays and commentaries have almost been completely lost. Truly, the great protection and preservation of what remains is truly something [worth doing] . . . (the remainder of the text is lost).[16]

Goryeo kings Hyeonjong, Munjong, and Seonjong 宣宗 (r. 1083–1094), in addition to performing ceremonies to venerate the Buddhist canon, were the rulers primarily responsible for the carving of the first Goryeo canon

between 1010 and 1087. Uicheon equates their pious enterprise to the missionary activities of monks such as the seventh-century Silla exegete Wonhyo, whose wholesome undertakings to spread and preserve the dharma he believed protected the country. Although this first woodblock canon was destroyed in the Mongol invasions of 1231–1232, the belief that a woodblock Buddhist canon would protect the state was not lost. In the midst of intermittent Mongol invasions and depredations, Goryeo king Gojong 高宗 (r. 1213–1259) ordered that a new Buddhist canon be carved to replace the one that was lost. The greatly venerated Goryeo scholar-official Yi Gyubo 李奎報 (1168–1241) was charged with composing a "Royal Prayer on the Occasion of the Production of the Buddhist Canon" (*Daejang gakpan gunsin gigomun* 大藏刻板君臣祈告文) in 1237, not long after the project, which occupied the court from 1236 to 1251, commenced.

> If we look at the first printing of the Buddhist canon in the second year of the reign of King Hyeonjong [1011], the Khitans invaded with a large force, causing the king to flee south to avoid capture. When the Khitan troops occupied the capital and did not retreat, the king, together with ranking officials, made a truly great vow, promising to carve the Buddhist canon in woodblocks. Thereupon, the Khitan troops withdrew of their own accord. Because there is only one true Buddhist canon, the earlier and later carvings to produce it should be no different, just as the vows made by the kings and officials should also be the same. If the earlier undertaking succeeded in getting the Khitans to withdraw on their own, why would not the present undertaking accomplish the same with the Tartars now? It should depend only on the favor extended by the various buddhas of the many heavens.[17]

In this passage, Yi Gyubo asserts that the vow to carve and publish the Buddhist canon made by Hyeonjong and his court was a determining factor in the withdrawal of Khitan forces in 1011, and that the present court should emulate this vow to effect the removal of Mongol forces from Korea in the present. Although the expression "state-protection" (*hoguk* 護國) is not used directly, the passage strongly alludes to the perception that the publication of the Buddhist canon will effect much-needed protection and prosperity.

There is another interesting connection between these vows of the Goryeo period to produce woodblocks of the Buddhist canon, the veneration of the Buddhist canon, state-protection, and the monk Imseong's institution of the ceremony for bearing the Buddhist canon on the crown of one's head in 1961: one of the official policies associated with the renewal of the Jogye Order and the purification of the monastic order was a public pledge with six articles by the monastic leadership of the Jogye Order published in the *Joseon ilbo* 朝鮮日報 on January 25, 1962, one of which was to translate Buddhist

texts into the Korean language.[18] This eventually evolved into the project to translate the Buddhist canon into Korean (*Han-geul daejanggyeong*), which was completed in 2000 with Korean-language translations of all the texts of the *Goryeo Canon* published in 318 volumes. Although the Korean Buddhist goal of translating the scriptures into Korean was probably modeled primarily after such projects as the *Japanese Translation of the Buddhist Canon* (*Kokuyaku daizōkyō* 国訳大藏経, 1927–1928), *Japanese Translation of the Buddhist Canon, Newly Compiled during the Shōwa* (*Shōwa shinsan kokuyaku daizōkyō* 昭和新纂國譯大蔵經, 1928–1932), and *Japanese Translations of All the Scriptures* (*Kokuyaku issaikyō* 国訳一切経, works composed in India, during 1926–1936; works composed in China and Japan, 1936–1945), the late Japanese projects were also probably executed with the aspiration of state-protection and prosperity.

THE ORIGINS OF "BEARING THE BUDDHIST CANON ON THE CROWN OF ONE'S HEAD"

Regardless of how much evidence scholars may adduce about Buddhist ceremonies held during the Goryeo period for venerating the Buddhist canon, there are two distinctive characteristics of the modern-day practice of bearing the Buddhist canon on the crown of one's head that cannot easily be linked to Buddhist practices recorded in either official histories, such as the *History of Goryeo*, or Buddhist literature. First, although the compound that I translate as "bearing the Buddhist canon on the crown of one's head" (*jeongdae* 頂戴) is found in many Buddhist sutras and in Chinese Buddhist materials dating to at least the fourth century, there is little documentary evidence that the practice was commonly performed on the Korean peninsula. The practice is not mentioned in the authorized manual of the Jogye Order, *Buddhist Rituals* (*Seongmun uibeom* 釋門儀範), although it has a substantial section describing rituals for "offering worship" (*yegyeong pyeon* 禮敬篇).[19] The practice is not treated in Hong Yunsik's comprehensive study of Korean Buddhist rituals,[20] suggesting that even fifteen years after its institution the practice was still relatively unknown and lacked prestige in the Korean Buddhist world. Before examining the Korean documentary material, we will first consider a representative text that seems to serve as a model for the practice as it is understood in the modern context.

"The Text of a Penance Ritual using the *Diamond Sutra*" (*Jin'gang bore chanwen* 金剛波若懺文) composed by Liang Emperor Wu 梁武帝 (r. 502–549), recorded in the Tang-monk Daoxuan's 道宣 (596–667) *Expanded Collection for Promoting Enlightenment* (*Guang hongming ji*

廣弘明集) provides us with a glimpse of the cultic practice of bearing the Buddhist canon on the crown of one's head in medieval China.

> It is our desire that all the buddhas and bodhisattvas might assemble together simultaneously due to the karmic affinity of prajñā, take pity on the myriad classes [of things], and protect and care for the flocks of living beings. May they be drawn to and enter the stream of favor and together take refuge in the ocean of Buddha. May they obtain the sublime jewel of adamantine [wisdom] and see the profound sutras [written] on gold leaves. May we bear these on the crowns of our heads and receive and uphold them, and neither forsake or depart [from this] until the ends of our lives. May we take hold of and obtain our own benefits and exhaust all those things that bind us to existence. May our minds acquire unrestricted freedom and never again endure the toils of mundane existence. We humbly kowtow, pay utmost reverence, and will eternally abide in the Three Jewels.[21]

Here we have the *Diamond Sutra* being venerated by being borne on the crown of the aspirants' heads, with the practice done as a means of showing utmost reverence to the Three Jewels of the Buddha, Dharma, and Saṃgha. Although the statement made by Liang Emperor Wu seems straightforward and suggests the actual placing of a roll or scroll of the sutra on someone's head, it is also possible to understand this compound as merely a figurative expression for showing the sutra utmost respect. Although Kim Sangyeong, for instance, recognizes that it is difficult to link this practice as described by Liang Emperor Wu to the ceremony as perfected in the present at Haein Monastery, he does conjecture that the bearing of the Buddhist canon on one's head might have been a part of the devotional practices that accompanied the various ceremonies for venerating the Buddhist canon during Goryeo times that we have treated above.[22]

The earliest extant work of Korean Buddhist historical literature that mentions the practice of bearing something on the crown of one's head is *Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms* (*Samguk yusa* 三國遺事), work on which was begun by the Seon monk Iryeon 一然 (1206–1289) and was further emended by his disciple Mugeuk 無極 (Hon-gu 混丘, 1250–1322) and other later editors before reaching its final form perhaps between 1394 and 1512.[23] The compound is used thrice in the text in sections composed by both Iryeon and Mugeuk, suggesting at least that both literary monks were familiar with the term.

Iryeon uses the term in the miraculous account of the royal monk Simji 心地, a son of Silla king Heondeok 憲德 (r. 809–826), who gave up his royal fiefs and became a monk at fifteen years of age. Simji sought to become a disciple of Yeongsim 永深, who had in his possession divination sticks the famous monk Jinpyo 眞表 (fl. eighth century) had received from the bodhisattvas Maitreya and Kṣitigarbha for use in a special divination dharma

assembly for ascertaining whether one is able to receive the full bodhisattva precepts. He traveled from his monastery on Mt. Palgong 八公山 in present-day Daegu 大邱 to Mt. Songni 俗離山 in present-day North Chungcheong Province 忠清北道 to attend a religious service headed by Yeongsim. Although he arrived too late to participate in the divination dharma assembly, he participated fervently in the penance rites (*yecham* 禮懺) that followed, bleeding from his forehead and elbows and receiving special visitations from Kṣitigarbha just like Jinpyo had a hundred years before. Eventually, failing to see or use the divination sticks he decided to return to his home monastery.

> On route he found that the two divination sticks were stuck in between the folds of his robes. He took them, returned, and informed Yeongsim. Yeongsim said, "The divination sticks are in a chest, so how could this have happened?" He inspected it and the tag on the seal was just as it had been before. When he opened it, however, he saw that they were gone. Yeongsim thought it was really strange. He wrapped them up in cloth and stored them away. [Simji] set off again, but it was just as before. Once again he returned and reported what had happened. Yeongsim said, "The will of the Buddha resides in you. You shall receive [the divination sticks] and take them with you." He immediately gave him the divination sticks. Simji, bearing [the divination sticks] on the crown of his head, returned to his monastery.[24]

In this narrative, Simji is said to perform "bearing the divination sticks on the crown of his head" as a means of offering great reverence toward them. Is this an actual practice or merely a manner of speech? One can certainly imagine the monk carrying the two divination sticks wrapped in some cloth on his head as he walks back to his home monastery.

The expression appears twice in a section containing several narratives about Buddhist śarīra (relics) that found their way to Korea in the past and present. It is found twice in the detailed and complex account of a tooth bone of the Buddha, which the Hwa-eom monk Uisang reportedly received from Lord Śakra—Indra, the Indian king of the gods—when he visited his heavenly realm. Śakra apparently promised Uisang that he could have the relic for a week according to heavenly time. The tooth-bone relic was moved to Ganghwa Island during the Mongol invasions in 1232, was stolen, and was eventually returned. The Goryeo king built a special shrine to house the relic in the palace complex.

> Selecting an auspicious day, the king invited Onggwang, the abbot of Sinhyo Monastery, accompanied by thirty acolytes, to enter the palace and hold a fast to worship it. Choe Hong, the Intendant Transmitter [of the Security Council] who was on duty that day, the generals Choe Gongyeon and Yi Yeongjang, eunuchs, [members of the] Chamber of Royal Recreation [lit. "Tea Room"], and so forth,

> stood by in attendance in the courtyard and took turns bearing it [the tooth-bone relic] on the crowns of their heads to worship it.[25]

In this case, the court official, generals, eunuchs, and other officials took turns bearing the tooth-bone relic on the crowns of their heads. Presumably the relic would have been inside a crystal bottle or some other kind of container. Did they actually carry it on top their heads or is this just a manner of speech?

The final usage of the term is by Iryeon's disciple Mugeuk, who finished the section on Buddhist śarīra. Later, in 1270, when the country was in utter chaos due to the revolt of the Three Elite Patrols, this same tooth-bone relic was reportedly taken to a place of safety by a monk named Simgam 心鑑, who originally served in the palace chapel. Simgam was rewarded for saving the relic by being made abbot of Bingsan Monastery 氷山寺. Later, the tooth-bone relic was re-enshrined in a pagoda at Gukcheong Monastery.

> In *gapsin*, the twenty-first year [of the Zhiyuan 至元 reign period, 1284], when the king repaired the golden pagoda of Gukcheong Monastery, his majesty [King Chungnyeol 忠烈 (r. 1274–1308)] and Queen Jangmok made a royal visit to Myogak Monastery, assembled a throng [of worshippers] and celebrated its completion with praises. With respect to the previously-mentioned tooth of the Buddha [presented by Simgam], the crystal rosary of Naksan Monastery, and the cintāmaṇi jewel, the lords, ministers, and great throng all paid their respects by bearing them on the crowns of their heads. Afterwards, they put them together and enshrined them within the golden pagoda. I also attended this assembly and personally saw what is called "the tooth of the Buddha," which is about three inches long; but yet there were no śarīras [with the tooth]. Recorded by Mugeuk.[26]

Here, as well, these three relics were venerated by the king and queen, and lords and ministers, by bearing them on the crowns of their heads. Or, at least, this is a literal reading of the compound. Most modern translators of the *Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms*, whether into Korean or English, have rendered it instead as "bow respectfully" (*gyeongbae* 敬拜) or to "offer worship" (*yebae* 禮拜), suggesting that they thought the literal action of carrying something on top of one's heads was either odd or inappropriate.

Nevertheless, the literal practice of bearing a sacred text on the crown of one's head was probably known because it appears in a text that circulated in both literary Chinese and vernacular forms and was frequently reprinted during the Joseon period. The *Efficacious Resonance of the Mahāpratisarā* (*Sugu yeongheom* 隨求靈驗) is believed by scholars to be one of the oldest Buddhist texts of the Joseon period written using both Sino-Korean logographs and the Korean vernacular script, having been first published in 1476.[27] The Dongguk University Library preserves an almost complete copy

of the 1569 reprinting of this document, which was originally published at Ssanggye Monastery 雙磎寺 in Eunjin 恩津 in Chungcheong Province.[28] The text is divided into four parts. The third part of the text is the actual "Efficacious Resonance of the Mahāpratisarā" (*Syugu ryeongheom* 슈구령험), which explains why and how to use the *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī* in an effective manner (18a–26b). Although no information is listed regarding who executed the transliteration of the dhāraṇīs into Korean and wrote the section on "Efficacious Resonance," because the material is closely related to material in the *Five Great Mantras* (*Odae jineon* 五大眞言) published in 1485 under the guidance of Queen Insu 仁粹大妃, it was probably developed by the influential monk Hakjo 學祖 (fl. 1464–1520).[29]

The *Five Great Mantras*, which presents Buddhist dhāraṇī in a trilingual format with Siddhaṃ, Korean, and Buddhist-Chinese, is a woodblock text first published in 1485 by the monk Hakjo under the direction of Queen Insu. Hakjo actively promoted the translation of Buddhist texts into the Korean vernacular. Queen Insu, the more popular title of Queen Dowager Sohye 昭惠王后 (née Han 韓氏, 1437–1508), the mother of King Seongjong 成宗 (r. 1469–1494), was a staunch promoter and protector of Buddhism in the fifteenth century.[30] Woodblock texts cataloged in libraries consider her the "translator" of the material into vernacular Korean (*gugyeok* 國譯). However, I take this to mean that she commissioned the work and not that she herself performed the work of translation and transliteration. Her participation in this work is significant because it emphasizes this powerful woman's interest in and approbation of Buddhist spells, their accompanying procedures, and supporting literature. The oldest extant edition of the *Five Great Mantras* is called the Sangwonsa edition 上院寺本 (or the Woljeongsa edition 月精寺本) because it is preserved at Sangwon Monastery, a branch of Woljeong Monastery, on Mt. Odae 五臺山, in Gangwon Province in northeastern Korea. Although called the *Five Great Mantras*, in many recensions there are actually six dhāraṇīs contained in its pages, such as the 1635 woodblock edition preserved in the Kyujanggak at Seoul National University (catalog no. 奎 6749), which was originally printed at Ssanggye Monastery in Eunjin.

In many editions of the *Five Great Mantras*, such as the 1635 woodblock edition, immediately after the trilingual reproductions of the dhāraṇī is a section titled "Brief Transcriptions of Efficacious Resonance" (*Yeongheom yakcho* 靈驗略抄) in literary Sino-Korean. This section explains the efficacy and use of four of the mantras: *Nīlakaṇṭha-dhāraṇī* (*Daebisim darani* 大悲心陀羅尼, 98a–100b), *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī* (*Sugu jeukdeuk darani* 隨求即得陁羅尼, 100b–103a), *Buddhoṣṇīṣa-dhāraṇī* (*Daebuljeong darani* 大佛頂陁羅尼, 103a–104b), and *Uṣṇīṣavijaya-dhāraṇī* (*Buljeong jonseung darani* 佛頂尊勝陁羅, 105a–106b). This may have been the original end of

the document as it was created by Hakjo because a colophon written by him follows (107a).

The Sangwonsa edition of the *Five Great Mantras* published in 1485 is important for another reason. An eighteen-page addendum titled *Vernacular Translation of Brief Transcriptions of Efficacious Resonance* (*Yeongheom yakcho eonhae*영험약초언해 靈驗略抄諺解) is stitched together at the end.[31] This vernacular translation (*eonhaemun* 諺解文) was printed with moveable metal type (*eurhaeja* 乙亥字), the metal type produced by the Joseon government in 1455. The *Vernacular Translation of Brief Transcriptions of Efficacious Resonance* is a close translation of the Sino-Korean text of the "Brief Transcriptions of Efficacious Resonance" mentioned above: *Nīlakaṇṭha-dhāraṇī* (*Daebisim darani*, 1a–5b), *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī* (*Sugu jeukdeuk darani*, 5b–11a), *Buddhoṣṇīṣa-dhāraṇī* (*Daebuljeong darani*, 11a–14b), and *Uṣṇīṣavijaya-dhāraṇī* (*Buljeong jonseung darani*, 14b–18b). In other words, *Vernacular Translation of Brief Transcriptions of Efficacious Resonance* is a Korean vernacular translation of a set of short prose texts in literary Buddhist-Chinese that briefly explains the efficacy of the four spells and describes how aspirants can use these spells in their lives.

The section of the translation titled *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī* (*Sugu jeukdeuk darani*) is exactly the same as the previously mentioned "Efficacious Resonance of the Mahāpratisarā" (*Syugu ryeongheom*), which is believed to have been first published in 1476, suggesting that the Korean vernacular translations found in the "Brief Transcriptions of Efficacious Resonance" had been in circulation in Korea since at least the late fifteenth century, and were probably executed by Hakjo under the direction of Queen Insu. Although this vernacular text is short, only eighteen pages, it provides an interesting cross-section of the spells that were important in the Buddhist culture of the early Joseon period.[32] Korean Buddhist monasteries of the Joseon period must have possessed manuscripts of ritual texts that have not been preserved as part of the established Buddhist canon and, more important, these ritual texts were utilized by the Buddhist community.

The Kyujanggak Library at Seoul National University has two prints of the *Brief Transcriptions of Efficacious Resonance*, which appears to have soon circulated separately, that treat the *Mahāpratisarā*. Both are woodblock editions published at Joram 哲庵 on Mt. Sobaek 小白山 in 1550 (catalog nos. 가람古 294.3-Y43y and 古 1730–22A). The Dongguk University Library also has a copy of the 1550 woodblock edition of the *Brief Transcriptions of Efficacious Resonance*, but the cover says *Collection of the Five Great Ones* (*Odaejip* 五大集; catalog no. 貴 213.19 영 P3 C3), suggesting that the *Brief Transcriptions of Efficacious Resonance* and *Five Great Mantras* were very closely related in the minds of practitioners and manuscript collectors. In the Dongguk University text, the colophon and postscript written by Hakjo

are appended to the eighteen-page Korean vernacular rendering of the *Brief Transcriptions of Efficacious Resonance*.

The reason for this brief divergent discussion of the history of the publication of the "Efficacious Resonance of the Mahāpratisarā," *Brief Transcriptions of Efficacious Resonance*, and *Vernacular Translation of Brief Transcriptions of Efficacious Resonance* is to demonstrate that these texts were published frequently and circulated widely in a variety of forms during the Joseon period.[33] More to the point, however, is that toward the end of the section dealing with how to effectively use the *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī* is a quote reportedly from the Buddha that refers directly to the practice of bearing a sacred text on the crown of one's head. I reproduce a translation of a selection from the vernacular version as follows:

> I put in place a secret method, which is uncommon in the world. It is first in making sins disappear and attaining Buddhahood, and its name is the Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī. If people hear the name of this true word (*jineon* 眞言) for a little while, or if they are familiar with or stay with people who recite it by heart, because all [the gods], the god Māra, evil spirits, and good spirit kings (*seonsinwang* 善神王) will always follow and defend [them], not only will they be free from disasters and be comfortable, not to mention would they themselves recite it by heart? Although people who recite it by heart and wear it [on their person] commit all manner of weighty sins, they will not fall into hell. People close to attaining buddhahood hear this true word, and people far from attaining buddhahood will not hear [it] for generations. If [someone] wears one logograph or two logographs, one passage or one section of this true word on the crown of his head (*jeongdae* 頂戴), this person will be no different than all the buddhas. This true word is the basis of the wisdom of all the buddhas [numbering as] the sands of the Ganges River for numberless koṭis. All the limitless buddhas come out and [their] achieving the Way to enlightenment is because they carry this true word [on their person]. Therefore, the Buddha Vairocana made it the basis of the wisdom of the dharma realm (*beopgye jijung* 法界智中) {[This is] the pure enlightened nature (*gakseong* 覺性) possessed by the Buddha and living beings.} It was acquired after an exhaustive search over numberless kalpas. If all the buddhas do not obtain this true word, they will not accomplish the Way to buddhahood, and if even brahmans of heterodox religions obtain this true word, they will achieve the Way to buddhahood quickly.[34]

The instructions of this text dating to and reprinted multiple times during the Joseon period strongly suggest that the practice of bearing or carrying something on the crown of one's head here functions primarily as a talisman that confers temporal protection and spiritual development. Nevertheless, it neither precludes nor excludes the possibility that it functions as a means offering worship; rather, bearing something on the crown of one's head is the method by which someone offers utmost reverence and respect. The notion

that bearing the canon or sutras on the crown of one's head will bring prosperity and ensure protection to oneself, one's family, and one's country can be seen in this usage of the term.

Although this one example cannot prove conclusively that the practice of bearing something on the crown of one's head was a common practice in the Joseon period, the literary Chinese and vernacular versions were published multiple times. Yeongam Imseong may have perused this text among the books held at Woljeong Monastery, but I would rather assert that the practice of bearing a sacred text on the crown of one's head was more generally known in the Korean Buddhist community as a devotional practice associated with certain dhāraṇīs or dhāraṇī-texts. My case would certainly be stronger if I could find more uses of this term in ritual texts of the Joseon period. Few of these, however, have been published and are only accessible in university and monastic libraries in Korea and Japan.

THE PRACTICE OF WALKING THE SEAL-DIAGRAM SYMBOLIZING THE DHARMA REALM

The second practice that serves as a distinctive feature of bearing the Buddhist canon on the crown of one's head at Haein Monastery is the erection of a path set in the shape of the *Seal-Diagram Symbolizing the Dharma Realm*, in which participants will walk while bearing a woodblock of the Buddhist canon or some other sutra on their heads. Although Uisang's *Seal-Diagram Symbolizing the Dharma Realm* is the most conventional form of the pathway circled by participants in the ceremony at Haein Monastery, it is not necessarily the only course walked by the Buddhist faithful. Members of the fourfold saṃgha (monks, nuns, lay men, and laywomen) participating in this practice bear such important scriptures as the *Diamond Sutra* and *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* on their heads, and may also circumambulate a pagoda or enlightenment site (*doryang*) while sutra chanting. Each person who participates in the ceremony circumambulates the enlightenment site with the intent of obtaining infinite meritorious virtues through "receiving, observing, reciting, and chanting the sutras" (*suji doksong* 受持讀誦).[35]

The use of Uisang's *Seal-Diagram Symbolizing the Dharma Realm*, which functions as an allusion to the relevance of the Hwa-eom tradition and the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* in Korean Buddhism, appears to be a modern addition to veneration practices in Korean Buddhism. Uisang was worshipped as the founder of the Hwa-eom tradition in Silla in vow texts dating to the late Silla period composed by the scholar Choe Chiwon 崔致遠 (857–d. after 908), which were compiled by the Goryeo prince and monk Uicheon.[36]

Furthermore, the *Seal-Diagram Symbolizing the Dharma Realm* was the focus of the mainstream Hwa-eom exegetical tradition that stretched from the late Silla period through the mid-Joseon period.[37] The *Seal-Diagram* is an encapsulation of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* and, according to the Mahayana tradition, the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* is the full-blown Buddhadharma taught by the Buddha Śākyamuni immediately after becoming awakened. This is a clever way to symbolically—as well as patriotically—allude to the totality of the Buddhist message.

However, two *Hwa-eom Ritual Texts* (*Hwa-eom yemun* 華嚴禮文) from the late-Joseon period held by the Dongguk University Library do not mention either Uisang or his *Seal-Diagram Symbolizing the Dharma Realm* but instead focus on praising and taking refuge in the buddhas, bodhisattvas, and deities mentioned in and doctrines and chapters of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*.[38] Therefore, the ritual use of the *Seal-Diagram* cannot be verified in the ritual literature.

Where does the practice of walking in a path of the *Seal-Diagram Symbolizing the Dharma Realm* come from? The late Kim Sang-hyun 金相鉉 (1947–2013), one of the most respected scholars of Korean Buddhist history and Korean Hwa-eom Buddhism and who himself was a native of Hapcheon, in the vicinity of Haein Monastery, held the position that the practice of walking meditation and circumambulation of pagodas (*tapdori* 塔돌이) following the *Seal-Diagram Symbolizing the Dharma Realm* is a contemporary practice of Haein Monastery. He also said that it is possible that it could have originated at Buseok Monastery 浮石寺 on Mt. Bonghwang 鳳凰山 in the Taebak mountain range 太白山脈, in Yeongju 榮州, North Gyeongsang Province, because this monastery has a closer connection to Uisang. Regardless, he maintained that it is certainly of modern vintage. There are no clearly known historical precedents for this practice.[39] In my opinion, because the monks of Buseok Monastery have never asserted that ceremonially walking the path of Uisang's *Seal-Diagram* was a practice first performed at Buseok Monastery, I feel safe concluding that this practice first appeared at Haein Monastery. Also, because the earliest photographs of this practice date to the 1980s, although it is possible that it was part of the earliest ceremonies for bearing the Buddhist canon on the crown of one's head held at Haein Monastery, it is not completely certain that the monks and laity always walked the course of the *Seal-Diagram*. Furthermore, because Buseok Monastery started its own practice of bearing the woodblocks on the crown of one's head beginning only in 2003, as a part of a yearly Buseoksa Hwa-eom Festival called the "Grand Uisang Festival" (Uisang daeje 義湘大祭), the Buseoksa practice of walking the form of Uisang's *Seal-Diagram* is most probably an emulation of the earlier Haeinsa practice. At Buseok Monastery, the woodblocks of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* stored at the monastery are borne on the crowns of the heads of the laypeople

(*Hwa-eom-gyeong jeongdae bulsa* 華嚴經頂戴佛事), and they walk following the pattern of Uisang's *Seal-Diagram* set in chalk on the ground. Although the festival was originally held at the end of the second lunar month or beginning of the third lunar month, it is presently held in the middle of October.[40]

CONCLUSION

The institution of the modern Korean Buddhist practice of bearing the Buddhist canon or sutras on the crown of one's head brings together several threads linking the prosperity and renewal of the Korean Buddhist church and the Korean secular state, state-protection and the production of Buddhist canons, the veneration of the Buddhist canon in the Goryeo period, the transfer and storage of the *Goryeo Canon* at Haein Monastery, and the connection of this old Hwa-eom monastic complex symbolic of the Buddhadharma itself with the Silla monk Uisang, the founder of Hwa-eom Buddhism in Korea. Yeongam Imseong, abbot of Haeinsa in the early 1960s, who was a financial wizard of the Jogye Order, probably consciously connected several of these threads to create a modern practice that drew upon the several powerful symbolic elements to provide new meaning to lay people in modern Korea. The Buddhist ceremony of bearing the Buddhist canon on the crown of one's head has now been held yearly for more than fifty years and has become a mainstay of lay-monastic relations at Haein Monastery. (See Figures 5.1 and 5.2 for a recent ceremony held in the monastery.) Furthermore, it has provided an example for other monasteries and temple complexes in the country.

For example, to commemorate the completion of the translation of the Buddhist canon into Korean, on July 1, 2001, Buddhists at Dopian Monastery 到彼岸寺 in Cheorwon 鐵原, Gyeonggi Province 京畿道, held a ceremony of bearing the *Korean Translation of the Buddhist Canon* on the crown of their heads and circumambulating the *Seal-Diagram Symbolizing the Dharma Realm*.[41] Since 2011, Bongeun Monastery 奉恩寺, in the affluent Samseong Village 三成洞 area of the Gangnam District 江南區 of Seoul, has been holding a ceremony for bearing the woodblocks of the Buddhist canon on one's head as part of its yearly festivities celebrating the founding of the monastery (*gaesan daeje* 開山大祭),[42] in part because it has a sizeable collection of woodblocks dating to the Joseon period and in part because the devotional practice of bearing woodblocks on the crown of one's head has developed some cultural cachet in the Buddhist community. The ceremony for bearing the Buddhist scriptures on the crown of one's head at Bongeun Monastery does not include walking the path of Uisang's *Seal-Diagram* as the primary devotional practice, however. Although a temporary *Seal-Diagram* is usually set up in the small plaza in front of the entrance gate across the street from

the large COEX complex for the founder's day celebration, the principal ritual activity is circumambulating the main pagoda—a concrete, scaled replica of the Seokgatap 釋迦塔 (Śākyamuni Pagoda) at Bulguksa 佛國寺 in Gyeongju 慶州, enshrined with the *Wugou jingguang da tuoluoni jing* 無垢淨光大陀羅尼經 (Great Dhāraṇī on Immaculately Pure Light)—and walking around the monastic complex with devotees bearing the woodblocks of the sutras on the crown of their heads.

Walking the path of Uisang's *Seal-Diagram* has evolved into a stand-alone practice as well. The Venerable Daehyu 大休 (Yi Seongho 李成浩), acting head monk of the headquarters of the Hwa-eom Order of Korean Buddhism (Daehan Bulgyo Hwa-eomjong 大韓佛教華嚴宗), constructed a set piece in the shape of the *Seal-Diagram* at Yaksasa 藥師寺 on Mt. Manwol 滿月山 in Incheon 仁川, so that people can walk this sacred pattern whenever they want.[43] In a personal discussion with the Venerable Daehyu on July 4, 2015, the monk explained that there are no special practices associated with walking the *Seal-Diagram* at the monastery. Rather, because the core teaching of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*, which is the main teaching of Mahayana Buddhism itself, is accessible through Uisang's *Seal-Diagram*, aspirants who walk the path mindfully and imbibe the doctrine contained in the words, concepts, and symbolism of the *Seal-Diagram* will have great spiritual rewards. The institution of these two distinctive devotional practices, bearing a sacred text on the crown of one's head and walking the form of Uisang's *Seal-Diagram*,

Figure 5.1 *Jeongdae bulsa* at Haein Monastery on April 30, 2016. Courtesy of Wolgan Haein.

Figure 5.2 ***Jeongdae bulsa*** **at Haein Monastery on April 30, 2016.** Courtesy of Wolgan Haein.

has created a new nexus of devotional meaning for modern Korean Buddhists, allowing them to connect with an imagined vision of veneration of the Buddhist canon during the Goryeo period, celebration of the existence of the woodblocks of the *Goryeo Canon*, and veneration of the rich history of Korean Buddhism.

NOTES

1. For video clips of *jeongdae bulsa* posted to the internet, see "Haeinsa-Hoguk Palman daejanggyeong jeongdae bulsa 2010–4–10" [esp. 3:20–3:40]; "[Han-guk munhwa 100] mokpan-e saegin hoguk-ui bulsim palman daejanggyeong" [esp. 7:22–7:58]; and "Hapcheon Haeinsa jeongdae bulsa."

2. Haeinsa, "Palman daejanggyeong jeongdae bulsa-ui uiui"; Mugwan, "Daejung Bulgyo sipyeong"; and Hyeonjang Seunim, "Onnuri e picheul illyu-e jabi-reul."

3. Gwanam, "Goryeo sidae Bulgyo haengsa-wa Haeinsa jeongdae bulsa," 17.

4. Hyowon, "Haeinsa-ui jeongdae bulsa," 10.

5. Mun, *Purification Buddhist Movement*, 237–368.

6. Mun, *Purification Buddhist Movement*, 225–227.

7. The great teaching course (*daegyo-gwa* 大教科), the final stage of monastic learning in Joseon Korea, introduced the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* (*Huayan jing* 華嚴經; Flower Garland Sutra), the *Record of the Transmission of the Lamp Published in the*

Jingde Era (*Jingde chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈錄), and *Collection of Analyses and Verses on [Ancient Precedents] of the Seon School* (*Seonmun yeomsongjip* 禪門拈頌集). These were used as educational materials for the monastic examinations stressed in both the Doctrine and Meditation schools that had been recognized publically since the early Joseon period.

8. Yi Jeong, *Han-guk Bulgyo inmyeong sajeon*, 251–252.
9. McBride, *Domesticating the Dharma*, 97, 129, 136–237.
10. See *Gayasan Haeinsa ji*. The published monastery records amount to more than 1,200 pages, with an index (pp. 1240–1261).
11. Venerable Jin-Gak, personal discussion with author, Seoul, Korea, August 27, 2015.
12. *Goryeosa* 5: 11b (Hyeonjong 20/4/gyeongja-il). See also Wu and Chia, *Spreading Buddha's Word in East Asia*, 261–266.
13. *Goryeosa* 6: 8a (Jeongjong 2/5/sinmyo-il).
14. *Goryeosa* 6: 23b–24a (Jeongjong 7/4/gyesa-il).
15. *Goryeosa* 6.35a–b (Jeongjong 12/3/sinchuk-il); An Jiwon, *Goryeo-ui gukga Bulgyo uirye-wa munhwa*, 57, 301.
16. *Daegak guksa munjip*, in HBJ 4: 553c5–10; cf. McBride, *Hwaŏm II*, 427–428.
17. *Dongguk Yi Sangguk jip* 25: 29b2–7; translation emended from Lee, *Source-book of Korean Civilization*, 427.
18. Mun, *Purification Buddhist Movement*, 320.
19. *Seongmun uibeom*, 1–71.
20. Hong Yunsik, *Kankoku Bukkyō girei no kenkyū*.
21. *Guang hongming ji*, T 2103, 52: 332c10–14.
22. Kim Sangyeong, "Gyeongpan jeongdae sinang-ui yurae-wa uiui," 13.
23. McBride, "Preserving the Lore of Korean Antiquity," 11–12.
24. *Samguk yusa*, T 2039, 49: 1009b12–17.
25. *Samguk yusa*, T 2039, 49: 994a9–13.
26. *Samguk yusa*, T 2039, 49: 994c13–18.
27. Kim Mubong, *Yeokju Sangwonsa jungchang gwonseonmun Yeongheom yakcho Odae jineon*, 80.
28. Hong Yunsik, "Joseon sidae jineonjip-ui ganhaeng-gwa uisik-ui milgyohwa," 421. A photolithographic copy of the 1569 woodblock edition of the *Sugu yeongheom* is published in Kim Mubong, *Yeokju Sangwonsa jungchang gwonseonmun Yeongheom yakcho Odae jineon*, 86–138 (recto).
29. Hakjo was a monk of the early Joseon period, who renovated Yujeom Monastery 楡岾寺 on Mt. Geumgang 金剛山. His pen names (*ho*) were Deunggok 燈谷 and "the man from Mt. Hwangak" 黃岳山人. During the reign of King Sejo 世祖 (r. 1455–1468), he published translations of Buddhist scriptures translated into the Korean vernacular script (*han-geul*) in conjunction with the famous monks of the age. In 1464, he took King Sejo on a trip to Bokcheon Monastery 福泉寺 on Mt. Songni 俗離山 and held a great dharma assembly with such monks as Hyegak Sinmi 慧覺信眉 (fl. 1455–1468) and Hagyeol 學悅 (fl.1455–1468). In 1467, he began renovating Yujeom Monastery on Mt. Geumgang under orders from King Sejo. In

1487, he renovated the pavilion for the storage of the woodblocks of the Korean Buddhist canon (Daejanggyeong pan-gak 大藏經板閣) at Haein Monastery under the royal command of Queen Dowager Jeonghui 貞喜王后. In 1500, he printed three copies (*sambu* 三部) of the Buddhist canon at Haein Monastery under orders from Consort Sinbi 愼妃 and wrote a postscript (*balmun* 跋文). He also translated the *Nammyeongjip* 南明集 into the Korean vernacular script. In 1520, he printed another copy (*ilbu* 一部) of the Buddhist canon at Haein Monastery.

30. Yi Gyeongha, "15 segi choego-ui yeoseong jisigin, Insu Daebi."

31. A photolithographic reprint is published in Kim Mubong, *Yeokju Sangwonsa jungchang gwonseonmun Yeongheom yakcho Odae jineon*, 49–84 (recto).

32. Kim Mubong, "*Yeongheom yakcho eonhae* yeon-gu."

33. On the publication of dhāraṇī materials and spell collections in the Joseon period, see Nam Hee-sook, "Publication of Buddhist Literary Texts."

34. Kim Mubong, *Yeokju Sangwonsa jungchang gwonseonmun Yeongheom yakcho Odae jineon*, 105, 108–109.

35. Kim Sangyeong, "Gyeongpan jeongdae sinang-ui yurae-wa uiui," 13.

36. McBride, *Domesticating the Dharma*, 101–103.

37. McBride, *Hwaŏm I*, 3–96.

38. See *Hwa-eom yemun* 華嚴禮文, 1767, by Bak Jinhae 朴震海; and *Hwa-eom yemun* 華嚴禮文, 1891.

39. Kim Sang-hyun, conversation with author, Seoul, Korea, June 12, 2013.

40. "[Photo] Hwa-eomjongchal Buseoksa 'Uisang daeje' " [포토] 화엄종찰 부석사 '의상대제,' *Yeongju simin sinmun* 영주시민신문, April 8, 2005, http://m.yjinews.com/news/articleView.html?idxno=6117 (accessed January 26, 2015); Bae Jiseon 배지선, "Hwahap-euro gagguneun Taebaek doryang Gyeongbuk 'Yeongju· Bonghwa' "화합으로 가꾸는 태백도량 경북 '영주・봉화.' *Hyeondae Bulgyo* 현대불교, April 4, 2005, http://www.hyunbulnews.com/news/articleView.html?idxno=212343 (accessed July 14, 2014); Bae Jiseon, "Je 3 hoe Buseoksa Hwa-eom chukje gaechoe" 제3회 부석사 화엄축제 개최. *Hyeondae Bulgyo*, October 1, 2005, http://www.hyunbulnews.com/news/articleView.html?idxno=223148 (accessed July 14, 2014).

41. "Dopiansa Han-geul daejanggyeong bongan jeongdae bulsa" 도피안사 한글대장경 봉안 정대불사, *Hyeondae Bulgyo*, July 11, 2001, http://www.hyunbulnews.com/news/articleView.html?idxno=128333 (accessed July 14, 2014).

42. Nam Suyeon 남수연, "Bongeunsa gaesan daeje 13–17 il . . . gukhwa chukjedo" 봉은사 개산대재 13~17일…국화축제도, *Beopbo sinmun* 법보신문, October 12, 2012, http://www.beopbo.com/news/articleView.html?idxno=72762 (accessed July 14, 2014).

43. Jang Yeongseop 장영섭, "Incheon Yaksasa 'Hwa-eom ilseung beopgyedo' nakseong" 인천 약사사 '화엄일승법계도' 낙성, *Bulgyo sinmun* 불교신문, November 26, 2008, http://www.ibulgyo.com/news/articleView.html?idxno=92106 (accessed April 6, 2015).

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Part III

THE BUDDHIST CANON IN THE DIGITAL AGE

Chapter 6

The Digital Tripitaka and the Modern World

Christian Wittern

INTRODUCTION

With the advent of personal computers and electronic communication, efforts started in various places in East Asia to bring Buddhist scriptures to the new medium. Who were these people? And why were they interested in doing this? How did they proceed? What were the obstacles and challenges and what was the outcome? These are some of the questions that require attention when trying to understand how the digital Tripitaka took shape in the modern world. In this chapter, a comparative view of the developments in Japan, Korea, and Taiwan is attempted. These are the three countries or areas where the most significant projects for a digitization not only of isolated scriptures, but also of a whole edition of a Buddhist canon with thousands of scriptures and millions of characters were conceived.

I will start with a full disclosure: Having been involved with one and in close exchange with the other projects during the last almost 25 years, I will not be able to give an unbiased account of the developments. The fleeting nature of the history of these events, which did involve much action, but little recording and documenting, the scarcity of citeable sources and the fact that I have been acting participant rather than silent observer will make it impossible to provide the kind of objective account that would be appropriate if possible. There would nevertheless be much more to be gained from an even deeper look at these questions, which I cannot attempt to do here, but which might be an interesting topic for a dissertation. I will leave the technical side of things aside, since it has already been covered elsewhere,[1] but rather focus on the social setting and context of the digital projects, on the side of both the producer and the receiver, and also occasionally consider such mundane things as the financial sources.

DIGITIZATION EFFORTS: EARLY PHASE

Almost from the moment personal computers started to appear on the desks and in the homes of ordinary citizens in the 1980s, some started to transcribe texts important to them, including Buddhist scriptures.[2] These efforts have not been coordinated in any way and the results were of mixed quality, but it showed the need for such texts and the will to engage with the new medium, experiment, and realize what could be done. But it was also clear that some coordination and methodological considerations were necessary.

The challenges were to produce digital texts that would overcome the limitations of the early computers and be able to satisfy the highest standards for scholarly editions, so that they could be used in academic research, but also be suitable for use in the daily life of Buddhist laymen and monastics.

The Electronic Buddhist Text Initiative (EBTI)

Prof. Lewis R. Lancaster, then of the University of California, was among the first Buddhist scholars to realize the potential of digital texts and the enormous need for exchange, cooperation, and standardization in this field.

In 1993, he decided to take action and assembled delegates from various Buddhist electronic projects in all major canonical languages and scripts, and founded the Electronic Buddhist Text Initiative (EBTI) as a loose forum for exchange of information and sharing of technology among these projects. Subsequent meetings of the EBTI have been held at Haeinsa, Korea, in 1994, Foguang Shan, Taipei, in 1996, and Otani University, Kyoto, Japan, in 1997 and, together with Pacific Neighborhood Consortium (PNC), Electronic Cultural Atlas Initiative (ECAI), and Scholars Engaged in Electronic Resources (SEER) at Academia Sinica, Taipei, in January 1999; a similar joint conference was held the following year at the University of California Berkeley in January 2000, while the conference in 2001 was an EBTI-only meeting hosted by Dongguk University in Seoul, Korea. Since then, the EBTI has been dormant with one last effort to revive it in 2008, when a conference was held at Dharma Drum Buddhist College in Taiwan to commemorate fifteen years of EBTI and ten years of CBETA.[3]

Urs App, then of the International Research Institute for Zen Buddhism (IRIZ) at Hanazono University in Kyoto, acted as coordinator for EBTI and threw himself into the effort of fostering communication among the emerging projects for digitization in East Asia.

The Zen Knowledgebase Project

This was a project at the IRIZ led by Urs App to collect all information related to Zen Buddhism in a comprehensive digital archive. A considerable part of the

early efforts was spent in creating electronic versions of the most important texts of Chan/Zen Buddhism and providing assistance for researchers using them.

One of the outcomes of this project was a CD-ROM entitled *ZenBase CD 1* containing primary material intended for the use of researchers. This CD-ROM was released in June 1995. It contained over eighty works in Chinese related to Chan/Zen Buddhism and some electronic tools to help the researcher with querying the texts, inputting Chinese characters, and displaying rare characters not yet encoded for use in personal computers.

From our perspective today, perhaps the major achievement of this project was not the CD-ROM itself, of which most material, although still readable, has been superseded by other, better versions, but the Japanese/English bilingual newsletter *The Electronic Bodhidharma* (*Denshi Daruma* 電子達摩), four issues of which were published and distributed by the IRIZ between 1991 and 1995. In this newsletter, Urs App and his contributors tried not only to compile as much information about ongoing projects in and on Buddhist texts of any language, but also to reflect on methodology to use and include advice on best practice. The final issue, dated June 1995, contained articles such as "From dump to intelligent text," "The code of the codex," and "Dog ears and SGML," all three by Urs App. He reflects here on issues such as how electronic texts can be made more functional, what problems arise in the digitization of books out of the physicality of objects, and how to use techniques of markup languages to inscribe meaning into the texts that can be understood and acted upon by computers. All these are issues that lingered with the emerging projects for a long time and are still hotly debated.

There is also a section entitled "Buddhist Input Project News." The rationale behind this collection of information about input projects was the wish to avoid "duplication of efforts": since digitization was such a big effort, duplication should be avoided and collaboration and data exchange encouraged. This has been the prevailing mind-set and the raison d'etre for the EBTI as mentioned above. The *Electronic Bodhidharma* (hereafter EB) is difficult to find nowadays, which is why I will quote a few passages to document some of the early history of the projects as it was seen at that time.

While the earlier issues of the EB had a rather limited distribution and were mostly mailed to researchers upon request, 2,000 copies of the fourth issue were printed and distributed, together with the CD-ROM, to the attendees of the annual meeting of the Japanese Association for Indian and Buddhist Studies, held at Hanazono University in June 1995, and thus achieved considerable visibility in the field.

Tripitaka Koreana (Goryeo Canon)

As a result of the ongoing interchanges in the EBTI, digitization of the scriptures could continue at a high pace. In 1995, the report on the Korean project

in the EB, after giving the contact address at Haein Monastery (Haeinsa), Korea, with Reverend Chongnim in charge, went as follows:

> Content: Input of the entire Chinese Buddhist canon stored on more than 80,000 wooden plates at Haein monastery in Korea. This project has taken a sudden jump after the chairman of the giant Samsung company decided to fund and drive the project. At the present time, 35 typists and several technicians are involved in input activities in Seoul. According to the reports I received, the input setup and strategy seem to be sound: a special font was developed to replicate the woodblock characters, and all typists are connected to an Ethernet network. They input each character exactly as they see it; if they do not find it, they input an asterisk, and a technician on the network constructs the character for use by all typists.
>
> The project is advancing at a fast pace, in June 95 12 volumes where already input. Input should be finished by March of 96; then the more labor-intensive task of proofreading will start.[4]

The *Tripiṭaka Koreana* was thus the first to enter the digital age, with the publication of a CD-ROM by the Research Institute for the Tripitaka Koreana (RITK), Seoul, in December 1996. This CD-ROM contained the transcribed content of all forty-eight volumes of the photomechanical reprint, which had been produced based on the second carving of the *Tripiṭaka Koreana* by Dongguk University of 1965. While this was a pioneering effort, it did not achieve international recognition. This was likely due to the technology employed in this CD-ROM, which required a Korean-language version of the Windows operating system and a Korean word processor to be usable. A second edition of the digital *Tripiṭaka Koreana* as a set of fifteen CD-ROMs was published in 2000. This version contained the whole text in a vastly improved version compatible with Unicode and also has scanned images (based also on the reprint) for the whole canon. The publication was celebrated with a large ceremony attended by thousands of monks and lay believers. Lewis Lancaster describes this moment as follows:

> On 7 December 2000 a solemn procession of Jogye Order monks carried a crystal stūpa into the Olympic Pavilion in Seoul, South Korea. Sealed inside the stūpa was a CD-ROM containing the recently completed digital *Tripiṭaka Koreana*. In this ritual moment, the digital world became part of Buddhist religious tradition, and the Jogye Order's celebration provided telling evidence of the acceptance of the digital canon as a sacred object.[5]

The Tripitaka Text Database Research Society (*Daizōkyo tekisuto detabesu kenkyūkai* 大藏經テキストデータベース研究會)

The EB report also mentioned several input projects in Japan, among them one called "The Taishō Canon Input Project," directed by Prof. Ejima Yasunori 江島恵教 (1939–1999) of Tokyo University and described as follows:

> Content: The Indogaku bukkyôgaku kenkyûkai (Research Association for Indian and Buddhist Studies 印度學佛教學研究會) had decided in 1994 to put its weight behind this input project. To this purpose, it created a committee consisting of 7 supervisors of the highest scholarly calibre, 13 members, two members in charge of publication, and two more members. The project receives substantial funding from the Japanese Ministry of Culture and Education. The project appears to aim not only at input of the Taisho canon, but also at a completely new edition of the canon. The original publisher of the printed version (Daizô shuppansha 大藏出版社) is involved. So far, only about half of a volume has been input (the Dazhidulun 大智度論 and some other texts) and Daizô will present a demo CD with some Windows based search software on June 11 at Hanazono University.[6]

The project involved the commercial publication of CD-ROMs, one per volume of the printed canon, which would amount to eighty-five CD-ROM disks. Three or four have been actually published until 1997, but to switch between the volumes, which could be searched only separately, the computer had to be rebooted due to the way the handling of nonsystem characters was implemented on Windows.

This was the forerunner of what later became the Tripitaka Text Database Research Society (*Daizōkyo tekisuto detabesu kenkyūkai*), also led by the late Prof. Ejima Yasunori as a project of the Japanese Association for Indian and Buddhist Studies with the mission to create a digital version of the *Taishō Tripiṭaka* under the name of *Saṃganikīkrtaṃ Taiśotripiṭakaṃ* (SAT), and distribute the result over the internet.

A website of the SAT project started operation in 1998 and continuously added new texts to the collection, until in 2005 completion of the whole set of all eighty-five volumes was reached. In 2007, a two-set CD-ROM was created as a stand-alone version, providing access to the complete text. But this set has seen only a limited distribution and was not without technical problems. Very soon, the website became the only medium of distribution for SAT.

The Chinese Buddhist Electronic Text Association (CBETA) 中華電子佛典協會

Although there had been activities going on in Taiwan, they did not make it into a report in the EB 4 list of Buddhist input projects, since most of these activities where informal and did only reach a small group of people.

This changed when in February 1998 the Chinese Buddhist Electronic Texts Association (CBETA) was founded by Venerable Heng Ching 恒清, Taiwan University, and Ven. Hui-min 惠敏, National Institute of the Arts. The aim of this new organization was to coordinate efforts in Taiwan and promote the creation of a new scholarly digital edition of the Chinese Buddhist scriptures, with support from all Buddhist denominations. At the meeting, delegates from all Buddhist groups in Taiwan were present, as well as a few members of the academic community, including Prof. Hsieh Ching-chun 謝清俊, a computer scientist who had conceived and led the first major digitization project in Taiwan at Academia Sinica, which was the digitization of the official histories of China. After attending the founding meeting, I decided to join CBETA and moved to Taiwan in April 1998. To this day I am frequently visiting and continue to serve as an adviser to this project.

CBETA was not planning to start from scratch with the input of Buddhist texts, but rather aimed at collecting and proofreading materials that had been put into electronic form elsewhere, thus ensuring a high consistency and reliability throughout the whole collection.

The first CD-ROM, containing six volumes from the *Taishō Tripiṭaka* was finalized in December 1998 and presented to the delegates of the EBTI meeting at Academia Sinica in January 1999. This was followed by almost yearly releases, with the completion of the fifty-six volumes (1–55 and 85) in 2000. Since then CBETA has continued with working on texts in other canonical collections, like the *Newly Compiled Japanese Supplementary Canon* (*Shinsan Dai Nippon zokuzokyō* 新纂大日本續藏經, completed in 2007) and the *Jiaxing Canon* (*Jiaxing zang* 嘉興藏, completed 2010). In addition to that, other noncanonical collections have been also added to the publications, making the CBETA releases a comprehensive digital archive of Chinese Buddhist texts.

ACTORS AND MOVERS

At this point, I would like to reflect on the different characteristics of the three projects described above. Although the ultimate goal of all three projects is very similar, namely to provide an electronic version of a Buddhist canon, there are still remarkable differences in who took charge and how the projects choose to proceed toward this goal.

Korea: Monastic Origins

The *Tripitaka Koreana* project originated from a monastic setting and is still driven by the needs and desires of institutional Buddhism. The project was

located originally at Haeinsa, which is also famously the location of the earliest complete set of woodblocks of any Buddhist canon in existence today. These plates are from the second carving of the *Tripitaka Koreana* completed in 1251 and used for the printing of the Korean canon henceforth. While the original carving of the woodblocks was a state-sponsored undertaking, it was still supervised by monks. The modern digital edition was similarly created by the Buddhist Jogye Order, one of the main denominations of Buddhism in Korea[7]. Outside help was sought and found, first, through the help of the company Samsung, since by now the woodblocks had become an item of national pride and prestige, especially since its inscription in the UNESCO list of World Heritage Sites in 1995[8] and through sympathetic academic advisors, for example Prof. Kyookap Lee, a sinologist at Yonsei University, who among other things also compiled a dictionary of the characters used in the *Tripitaka Koreana*.[9] The origin and original drive of the project thus came from within the monastic community, as Ven. Jongnim describes in the abovementioned interview, and support was later acquired much in the same way as printing projects in the Buddhist world were perused traditionally.[10]

Japan: Research Community in Charge

The setting for the activities in Japan is completely reversed: Here we have from the outset a distinctively academic environment that is composed of distinguished scholars in the field of Buddhist studies, many of whom have also a strong interest in Indian Buddhism and have a good training in Buddhist philology.[11] Sponsorship for the project is also foremost from the usual sources for academic research, that is grant applications from the Ministry of Education or nowadays the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (JSPS) and the project is executed with the help of graduate students.[12] This in fact quite closely reflects the social setting of the original compilation of the *Taishō Tripitaka*,[13] which was similarly produced in academic departments of national universities using the labor of graduate students.

Taiwan: Monastics, Academics, and Lay Believers Join Forces

The situation in Taiwan is yet different in a very interesting way: Here we have two monastics, Bhikkhuni Heng Ching, professor at the Department of Philosophy of National Taiwan University (NTU), and Bhikkhu Hui-min, professor at the Taipei National University of the Arts, who through their academic positions have training and credibility in the methods of Buddhist studies, but also visibly combine this with their role in the Buddhist community as teacher and abbot of a large monastery. They joined forces with a group of young Buddhist devotees and laypeople, who connected through a

Bulletin Board Service operating out of the NTU office of Ven. Heng Ching, where they discussed technical and practical aspects of creating a standardized format for the Buddhist texts.

A lay believer with business activities in mainland China had set up an input workshop there and had a group of people type the whole text of initially twenty-five volumes of the *Taishō Tripitaka*. He was willing to donate this to any group that would proofread and curate the text to make it ready for distribution. The group around Heng Ching decided to accept this and to give this a more stable financial foundation and to enable proper proofreading, curation, and distribution of the texts. She (Ven. Heng Ching) had later acquired a large grant from a Chinese Buddhist lay organization in the United States. Being cut off from their main cultural environment and lack in easy access to the scriptures in Chinese, this lay organization hoped to use the digital texts as a replacement for educational, devotional, and ritual purposes. While the project thus does have a footing in the academic world and the connection especially to Chung-Hwa Institute of Buddhist Studies (the later Dharma Drum Buddhist College) and Academia Sinica were indeed crucial for the establishment of a sound working procedure and the eventual success, the main driving force, both in terms of demand and in funding, came from the very active world of lay Buddhist believers, from which also the bulk of the staff for CBETA was recruited.

This is also reflected in the fact that the institution that was founded to pursue this work, the Chinese Buddhist Electronic Text Association, was deliberately modeled on the Pali Text Society of the United Kingdom,[14] which in 1881 was founded by Thomas William Rhys Davids "to foster and promote the study of Pāli texts"[15] as a nonsectarian, nonprofit-making legal entity devoted to the promotion of highly reliable texts.

Deliverables of the Projects

The difference of approaches described above can also be seen in the output produced by these different projects:

- The digital *Tripitaka Koreana* was initially published and ritually enshrined in a traditional Buddhist setting without any apparent consideration for academic uses. There is today also a website (http://www.sutra.re.kr/home/index.do), but it is clear from the website that the main audience are lay supporters, and it celebrates what could be called the "cult of the website" or the "cult of the book" through the means of a website.
- The digital version of the *Taishō Canon* produced by SAT in Japan on the other hand was initially only produced online and was from the outset only

catering to users from the academic environment where it originated. The renewed website (http://21dzk.l.u-tokyo.ac.jp/SAT/satdb2015.php) today strives even more to become a research environment for Buddhist studies, including direct links to a comprehensive electronic dictionary, a database of scholarly articles in the field of Buddhist studies, a parallel corpus of Chinese/English texts utilizing the translations from the Bukkyō Dendō Kyōkai (BDK) 仏教伝道協会 English Tripitaka and a window that shows scans of the original prints for many texts.

- The dual footing of CBETA in both worlds was from the beginning also visible in the published texts, which were produced in many different formats to make them suitable for different purposes: On the one hand, a normalized version of the text is produced, which takes away the whole scholarly baggage of the text and provides the reader with a clean copy of the text and the text only.[16] In addition to that, a carefully edited version, including all the variant readings given in the *Taishō*, is produced. This allows the reader to see what variant forms of a text existed and what corrections have been made by the CBETA team. CBETA is also still distributing a significant number of hardcopies, nowadays on DVD-ROM[17], whereas the website is best suited to read, but does not offer the many tools for researchers found on the SAT side.

There is yet another characteristic which is unique to CBETA, but falls outside of the discussion above: Both the Korean and the Japanese projects essentially aim at digitizing one specific edition of the Tripitaka, be it the Korean *Goryeo Canon* or the *Taishō Canon*. As had already been noticed by Greg Wilkinson for the printed edition of the *Taishō*, there were nationalistic motives at work then and they are also visible in communications related to the electronic edition, as well in the user community. This is even more pronounced in Korea, where the set of woodblocks, as a material monument of national pride, serve as the center of nationalistic attention.

For CBETA, the canon was not significant as a national symbol. This might be one of the reasons that from a very early stage the vision went beyond one single edition of a canon, the aim was rather to create an all-inclusive repository of all Buddhist texts from the Chinese world—including texts from earlier canonical editions that had not been selected for the *Taishō*, but also stone rubbings of Buddhist content or extra-canonical material such as has been found in Dunhuang and other places.

We can thus see quite distinctive processes at work here in the three East Asian countries that produced these digital canonical editions, reflecting differences in the way they relate to the Buddhist heritage, to Buddhism as such and maybe also to the digital medium.

THE AUDIENCE OF DIGITAL BUDDHIST TEXTS

The users of the texts digitized and made available by these projects in general fall under two basic groups:

- religiously motivated reading by believers or interested groups
- used by scholars of Buddhist studies and related fields as a principal way to access the texts in the Chinese Buddhist textual tradition

Religiously Motivated Reading

With the emergence of the internet and its proliferation to mobile devices, the distribution and usage of digital Buddhist texts changed considerably, opening up access to these texts to new audiences and new contexts of usage. I have no information on any activities in either Korea or Japan to distribute the digital texts in the respective teams through means other than the webpages set up for this purpose. After some initial experiments with distribution on compact discs, these discs are now out of fashion, and these projects seem to regard the distribution of texts through their websites as a desirable outcome of this.[18] This is the reason the following observations are focused solely on the activities of CBETA.

CBETA has taken advantage of new opportunities and distribution methods, for example, by providing the texts of the CBETA collection in formats like EPUB and MOBI and thus make them usable on ebook readers, mobile phones, and tablets. These can then be distributed using channels provided by vendors of devices or electronic bookstores and are easily findable and accessible for users of these devices.

This has enlarged the audience beyond what was available through CD-ROMs or first-generation web interfaces, which assumed personal computers as terminals for accessing the resources. Digital texts can now be more easily used in liturgical or ritual sessions, with children, in schools or hospitals, or simply while waiting for a bus.

There are also tools that allow the integration in daily individual reading practice and reading groups and dictionaries that can be used to look up unfamiliar terms.

Other Forms of Interaction with Readers

In addition to publishing Buddhist texts in various formats,[19] CBETA has regularly held outreach meetings to familiarize the audience with the digital

tools used to read the texts, introduce new functions, and get feedback from the users. In the early years, there was a separate department for outreach, but since the operations had to somewhat be scaled back with the expiring of a number of big grants, this is now planned and conducted by the core staff.

There used to be a regular email newsletter, but this has now been mostly replaced by posting news about the project on the website, including a monthly progress report. Another major channel for interacting with users is increasingly a presence on social networks,[20] where frequently information is exchanged and problems discussed. This is also a channel to solicit donations from the user base, which has become one important source of income and a pillar for long-term project sustainability. The most recent DVD presentation is also available through the CBETA Youtube channel.[21]

Over the years, CBETA also worked with volunteers willing to help with the correction of newly added textual material. For that purpose, a special website was set up and volunteers could select one page a time to proofread a transcription of the text against a scanned image of the same page and directly submit the page after finishing the work. This proved also popular with many users in mainland China, who could contribute some of their time to the project without any long-term commitment or the need to go somewhere, especially since this contribution to the spread of the Buddhist scripture is also a way to acquire religious merit.

Scholarly Audiences: From Digital Texts to Digital Research Tools

The digital resources available to us today form a wonderful tool for the researcher, devotee or anybody interested in Buddhism and its teachings. However, for a researcher the resources that are now published on the web do not yet realize their fullest potential.

The way the resources are published resembles the way one can use books from a library: It is possible to read the material, but not to take ownership of it and, for example, write annotations into the margins. For the scholar, however, reading a text is a process of interaction with the text, leaving traces in the book, be it annotations, punctuation, references to related passages or even a translation.

An ideal Tripitaka would allow the reader not only to leave the traces in the text in each of the collections mentioned above by themselves, but also to combine them as needed to form a virtually new integrated digital Tripitaka that takes exactly the shape that is needed by its user. Steps are taken toward this goal, but have not yet realized this vision.

DIGITIZATION EFFORTS: CURRENT STATE

Digitization, that is moving the heritage written on material objects into the realm of bits and bytes, is even more so than the print media, a process without closure. The constantly changing environment of new versions, new applications, new devices, and new ways to interact with them makes it a necessity to constantly readjust goals and priorities.

This is even more important for long-term projects such as those dealing with canonical collections described here. In this case, the interaction with the material itself also constantly provides new challenges and this practice of editing by necessity is also reflected in the theory of the scholarly edition, as hitherto unseen textual features are discovered and an appropriate way of dealing with this needs to be established.

For all three projects, there came a point at which, however daunting the task seemed at the beginning; nevertheless, a point has been reached where that original task has to be declared completed. I will now again have a look at the three projects in turn and give a short overview of the new tasks that were taken on.

The Millennium *Tripitaka Koreana*

For the commemoration of one millennium since the beginning of the first carving of the Korean canon, a whole year was dedicated to this celebration, lasting from October 2010 to September 2011. Many events were held during this time. Two of them had a scholarly component and were at least partly devoted to discussions related to the digital version of the Korean canon. I was invited to both of them and participated as a speaker. The first was a one-day symposium of a preparatory character (but still held in a large convention hall with hundreds of participants) under the motto "The Millennium Tripitaka Koreana, Rediscover the Value." The welcome addresses and keynote speech by Prof. Heo Heung-Sik (*Rediscover the Value*: 33–47) all emphasized the importance of the canon for Korea and its culture. For example, Kim Doo-Kwan, the president of the organizing committee said: "The Tripitaka Koreana is an extraordinary product of Korean people's wisdom, justice and determination, encompassing biography, historical records in 80,000 scriptures of truth culturally, religiously, historically"(ibid: 7). It appears that in the mind of those celebrating this cultural achievement the fact that at least the content of these scriptures for the most part did not originate in Korea, but formed part of the East Asian cultural heritage, did get lost somehow. But again, this shows what cultural capital has been accumulated here and in this political climate, it is not surprising that a lot of money was spend for digital projects related to the canon. The second one,

held at the culmination point during the end of the last month, was a two-day event with even more scholarly deliberations on many different aspects of the Korean canon, its printing and distribution; here again a few papers were dedicated to digital aspects and tasks, also considering possible steps for future developments.

Besides these celebrations, one of the most important new tasks for the project was the creation of high-quality digital images of the woodblock prints. This was first completed for the whole set of prints from the second carving, of which the blocks are still preserved and high-quality prints could be easily accessed. The next phase was also to create a three-dimensional image for each of the 80,000 blocks, to enable further study of the way the carving was done.[22] Since the printing blocks of the first carving had been destroyed, it was of all the more importance to collect as much of the known prints scattered in different collections. Around 1,800 scrolls of prints from this first carving are kept at Nanzenji Temple in Kyoto (another 580 are in the Tsushima Folk History Museum),[23] and more scattered around several locations in Japan while only about 400 prints and 223 of the original blocks are preserved in Korea (Park, *Microscope*, 22). For the pursuit of this task, a Japanese-Korean joint project had been conceived to produce high-quality digital images of these scrolls. This project was started in 2004 in collaboration with the IRIZ at Hanazono University, Kyoto, and successfully concluded in 2009.[24]

Digital Taishō and Digital Humanities in Japan

After the completion of the initial phase of text preparation, the Japanese team concentrated on the tasks of refining the data through continued proofreading, but also by carefully analyzing all the characters that could not be represented in Unicode and working with the committees overseeing the selection of additional characters to have them added to new versions of the standard; a considerable number of these have been added to Unicode 8.0 in June 2015. The technical team led by Nagasaki Kiyonori also continued to improve the website by adding new tools for researchers to integrate it with other services, such as A. Charles Muller's *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism* (DDB). As a more recent improvement, access to the volumes 86 to 100, containing a collection of Buddhist images have been added in June 2016, thus making all 100 volumes of the *Taishō Canon* accessible in electronic form for the first time. There are also links to digital facsimiles of other versions of a text, such as manuscripts from the Dunhuang collections digitized by the International Dunhuang Project at the British Library or scans from the edition of the *Jiaxing Canon* from the collections of the University of Tokyo Library.

But the activities of SAT, led by Prof. Shimoda Masahiro of Tokyo University, were also reaching beyond the work on the *Taishō Canon* itself. Together with his collaborators, he started developing the project "Towards a digital research environment for Buddhist studies," so the title of a 2013 article in *Literary and Linguist Computing* (LLC), which lays out the vision of a comprehensive digital research environment. This project would not only document the whole textual tradition of Chinese Buddhism but also connect to sources in other languages, such as Tibetan translations, or even Sanskrit sources if available. This is a major international collaborative research project involving well-known research centers in the field of Buddhist studies and supported by a series of prestigious research grants.

The team around Shimoda, Muller, and Nagasaki has also been the driving force that worked toward establishing connections between the international Digital Humanities research community and their counterparts in Japan, a goal that was achieved also through the establishment of the Japanese Association for Digital Humanities in 2011. This in turn increased the visibility and lent scholarly credibility to its activities and gained such a high profile that it was mentioned by the president of the University of Tokyo in his autumn commencement speech for 2015:

> The University of Tokyo has become a global hub for theoretical research on Buddhism. In 1924, Professor Junjiro Takakusu, of the Faculty of Letters, began editing the Chinese translation of Tripitaka consisting of 100 volumes called the *Taisho Shinshû Daizôkyô*. Professor Takakusu saw this project as a cornerstone for disseminating Asian spiritual culture throughout the world. The project was based on the most advanced research results and methodologies available at that time. Today, it is recognized as the basic research standard in the world.
>
> Professor Takakusu's spirit has been passed on to our generation and continues to stimulate new studies on Buddhism. Professor Masahiro Shimoda, at the Center for Evolving Humanities of the Faculty of Letters, launched a unique collaboration project to construct a digital database of the *Taisho Shinshû Daizôkyô*. He completed the project in 2007. It has become a new standard for studies in humanities, paving the way for a field called Digital Humanities. I believe it will spread around the world.[25]

Taiwan

While the RITK team moved ever deeper into digitizing, everything that had a relation to their original target, the Korean Tripitaka and the SAT team, did similar for the *Taishō*, but then moved on to expand to texts in other canonical languages and are now even moving to other collections, their main area of expansion being in the area of developing new tools for academic research and building a community of Digital Humanities practitioners. In Taiwan, on

the other hand, the focus has right from the beginning been on expanding the collection to contain as many Buddhist texts as possible. While the collection originally was called *Chinese Electronic Tripitaka Series* (Dianzi fodian xilie 電子佛典系列), in 2008 the name was changed to *Chinese Electronic Tripitaka Collection* (Dianzi fodian jicheng 電子佛典集成) to reflect the fact that the product was not just a series of digitized texts of canons, but a newly curated collection in its own right. Although the English translation retains the term Tripitaka, the Chinese uses *Fodian* 佛典, "Buddhist scriptures," which is a very generic term that includes any type of scripture, not limited to canonical texts.[26] In addition to historical canonical collections, excerpts from the Chinese Official Histories compiled by Du Doucheng 杜斗成, Buddhist texts not contained in the Tripitaka by Fang Guangchang 方廣錩, a supplement to the Tripitaka compiled by Lan Jifu 藍吉富, a selection of stone rubbings of the Northern Dynasties period held at the Institute of History and Philology at Academia Sinica, Chinese Buddhist Temple Gazetteers, and selections from the Rare Book Collection of the National Central Library in Taipei were also included.

This list quite clearly shows that CBETA has been successful not only in building a community of users, which also includes members of the scholarly community on both sides of the Taiwan Strait and major research institutions of the Chinese speaking world, but in developing the CBETA collection into a research platform to which scholars were eager to contribute, since it would increase the visibility and usability even for their own purpose, if the results could be published electronically as part of the CBETA collection. CBETA has thus also become a major publisher for all users of Chinese Buddhist texts, for whatever purpose. This tendency of including evermore into the collection continued with the most recent 2016 version of the compact disc, which now also contains a complete version of the Chinese translation of the Pali canon.

In addition to this expansion of the content, another major activity was to republish the texts with modern punctuation, starting with the most popular sutras, but adding hundreds of texts with every new release. Unlike the Korean and Japanese audience of the digital texts, where nonspecialists would usually need a translation into the modern vernacular to understand a text, formatting a text with the familiar punctuation used in other modern print publications already goes a long way to make the text more easily accessible to a Chinese speaker with a classical education.[27]

CONCLUSIONS

As has been demonstrated, very different constellations at the start of the projects and a remarkably different trajectory of adjustments during the about

twenty years of the lifetime of these projects has led every of these three collections of digital Buddhist texts to a completely different place, although there is a very large core of texts that is present in all three collections.

It can also be seen from the present analysis of the three East Asian canonical projects that each of these projects in their own way contributed to the development of the field of Digital Humanities in Asia as a whole, providing important examples and showcases of best practices and methodologies, as can be seen in the case of the introduction of Text Encoding Initiative (TEI) to Taiwan through the adoption within the CBETA project and the development of the University of Tokyo into the central hub for Digital Humanities, as a leading center not just for Japan but for all of East Asia. In fact, even in the Anglophone world, which is the original home of all things digital, it is rarely seen, if ever, to have long-term projects working on the digitization and utilization of major content in such a focused way. In this sense, these projects can also serve as a source of inspiration for projects in other cultures and languages.

It would be worthwhile to investigate in more detail the interaction between monastic and lay communities, researchers, and the general public, their respective weight and their roles as driving and directing the direction of the projects. Unfortunately, limitations of time and space did not allow for a fuller treatment of this topic, which awaits research by more able hands in the future.

NOTES

1. I am thinking here mostly of the account of the developments of CBETA by Aming Tu, "The Creation of the CBETA Electronic Tripitaka Collection in Taiwan," and chapter 7 "The SAT Taisho Text Database: A Brief History" by A. Charles Muller, Shimoda Masahiro, and Nagasaki Kiyonori in this volume.

2. The best-known collection of literature and texts of interest to a general public is the Project Gutenberg, founded by Michael S. Hart in 1971. In the mid-1980s, Japanese Buddhist texts started circulating on electronic networks, at that time mostly very popular and short scriptures such as the *Heart Sutra*.

3. The conference program is still available here: http://cbeta2008.ddbc.edu.tw/program.html, a report by A. Charles Muller (EBTI Chair) is here: http://www.buddhism-dict.net/ebti/ebti2008report.html

4. App, "Buddhist Input Project News," 18.

5. Lancaster, "Digital Input of Buddhist Texts."

6. App, "Buddhist Input Project News," 19. Chinese characters are added by editors, and diacritics are kept unchanged.

7. A comparatively recent journalistic report on the project can be found in the *Korean Quarterly*, Vol 25, Winter 2011, 32–40.

8. Item 737 in the list as of December 1995: http://whc.unesco.org/archive/repcom95.htm#737

9. *Dictionary of Variant Chinese Characters in Tripitaka Koreana*.

10. An interesting predecessor is the carving of the stone sutras at the Cloud Dwelling Monastery near Beijing, which was conceived by the monk Jingwan in 616 and continued for almost 500 years, with the support of the local laity and elite. See Ledderose, "Carving Sutras into Stone before the Catastrophe."

11. This is of course only the surface view. Many of the scholars in the field of Buddhist studies in Japan are also monks, usually head of a small temple where they live with their family. Unfortunately, I have only anecdotal evidence, and to this moment I have not found a study that gives reliable statistics for this, but there are some studies on individual scholars. Although therefore the division is not as strict as it might seem, in the academic setting the monastics as a rule do not don monastic garb, or shave their heads and are thus indistinguishable from their colleagues.

12. It should be noted here that in later stages of the project there was also a significant financial contribution from Buddhist groups, monasteries, and societies, solicited by Prof. Ejima and his colleagues.

13. On this topic, see Wilkinson, "*Taishō Canon*: Devotion, Scholarship, and Nationalism."

14. This was discussed at the founding meeting of CBETA in Taipei, Taiwan on Feb. 15, 1998.

15. About the Pali Text Society, http://www.palitext.com/subpages/aboutpts.htm (accessed 2016–09–21).

16. This is then made available in many formats, including various forms of plain text, Word document, EPUB, and PDF.

17. For many years there was a yearly production of a new version, which always includes the whole set, but in many cases there are corrections to the previously published texts, so all users will usually want to have a new version. A significant portion of these hardcopies is distributed outside Taiwan, to mainland China or to communities in the Chinese diaspora. In recent years, the frequency has been somewhat reduced, with one issue in three or four years; the most recent is from June 2016.

18. I do not have access to any information other than what is available on the project webpages and conference reports; this statement is thus based only on what can be induced from there and from the fact that no distribution of electronic text initiated by these projects through other channels, such as Amazon, Google Play, and App Store, can be observed.

19. Besides the formats mentioned above, this also includes access to the actual source of the text as it is maintained in the day-to-day work of editing the corpus, which is available at https://github.com/cbeta-git/xml-p5a with a history of all changes. While this might be interesting to only a small number of advanced users, it is significant, since this puts all the editorial activity out in the open for everybody to verify and allows advanced usages such as text mining, stylometrics, and other forms of distant reading.

20. For example, the CBETA Facebook Group has 2,626 members at this point (2016–08–27); there is also an active group at Google+.

21. CBETA Youtube channel: https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCCoCP4rqEPXRM91VEftAbCQ

22. The report on this part of the project by Kang Song-Ae is in *Rediscover the Value*, 155–172.

23. A detailed record of the holdings of the *Tripitaka Koreana* in Japan can be found in Baba, *Nikkan kōryū*, the table for Nanzenji in 64; his figures differ slightly from the ones given by Park Song guk in "True Values," 75.

24. It is briefly mentioned in Choe Kwang-sik, Tasks and Roles, 26.

25. The whole speech is available here: http://www.u-tokyo.ac.jp/gen01/b_message27_08_j.html (accessed 2016–09–25).

26. For exact information about the content of the collection, please see Tu, "The Creation of the CBETA," or refer to the CBETA website at http://www.cbeta.org.

27. It should be added here as an explanation that traditionally Chinese texts did not include any punctuation, not even spaces between words. This is the way the *Tripitaka Koreana* was published and the digital version follows this. For the *Taishō Canon*, very simple punctuation was added following Japanese conventions, which basically only marks a phrase, but gives no other hints to the reader, such as sentence markers, markers of quotations, questions, and exclamations. Structurally the text is broken into very long paragraphs, which makes it difficult to follow. The punctuation of the *Taishō* was also done in great haste and is notorious for its unreliability. The modern punctuation makes it thus much easier for the reader to engage with the text.

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Chapter 7

The SAT Taishō Text Database

A Brief History

A. Charles Muller, Masahiro Shimoda and Kiyonori Nagasaki

INTRODUCTION

The *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經 (*Taishō canon*) is the Japanese edition of the East Asian Buddhist canon, compiled during the Japanese Taishō period (1912–1926). The Taishō compilation of Buddhist texts (mainly in classical Chinese, as well Japanese and some Indic scripts) began in 1924 (Taishō year 13) under the editorial direction of Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎 (1866–1945) and Watanabe Kaigyoku 渡辺海旭 (1872–1933), and was completed in 1934, including a total of 100 volumes. This compilation is reported to have been largely based on a Korean Goryeo dynasty (918–1392) woodblock printed edition (*Goryeo Daejang Gyeong* 高麗大藏經) held in the collection of Zōjōji Temple 增上寺, further informed by Song (960–1279), Yuan (1271–1368), and Ming dynasty (1368–1644) texts, and also sources from the Zōjōji collection, materials in the Shōsōin 正倉院, and the imperial household agency collection, texts from Dunhuang, as well as materials preserved in temples, universities, and other private collections.

The twentieth century was a watershed period for Buddhist studies in Japan, in the sense that the field underwent a major transformation from being strictly the domain of religious organizations and institutions to its being secularized and restructured along Western scientific principles of history and philology and being taught at secular state institutions. The *Taishō Canon* was, in this environment, compiled and organized along philological and historical principles, and its compilation was a crowning achievement for Japanese Buddhology, as well as Japan as a nation. The comprehensiveness, clarity, and rigor with which the *Taishō Canon* was compiled, and then printed in modern typeset, made it the standard source for the study of the East Asian canon from the 1930s down to the present day.

One of the results of the secularization/scientization of Buddhist studies in Japan was that Buddhism would be taken up as a major object of research in Japan's secular and national universities, among these, its leading national university—the University of Tokyo (formerly, Tokyo Imperial University). The University of Tokyo became the de facto academic headquarters for Buddhist studies in Japan, and the university's graduate program in the Department of Sanskrit Literature (later, the Department of Indian Philosophy) became the premier program in Japan, staffed by scholars of the highest reputation. In the postwar period, this department became the location for the headquarters of the Japanese Association for Indian and Buddhist Studies (JAIBS), as well as the journal published by the same organization.

Coming up to the mid-1980s, the age of the personal computer emerged, and the need to think about the digitization of the core textual resources of Japanese Buddhology became an unavoidable reality. At least a few Japanese scholars working in the field of Buddhist studies (especially at the University of Tokyo) could not but gradually come to be aware of the new possibilities—and eventually, the new responsibilities—that were emerging. One of the first University of Tokyo faculty members to take the matter of digitization seriously was Prof. Hirakawa Akira 平川彰 (1915–2002), who took the initiative for creating the database of Japanese articles on Buddhist studies (the INBUDS database) in 1984. This database at first focused on articles published by the JAIBS, but later expanded its coverage to articles from a broad range of academic publications.[1] Hirakawa was joined in his efforts toward digitization in 1993 by Prof. Ejima Yasunori 江島恵教 (1939–1999), who became concerned about the need to digitize the *Taishō Canon*, and began to seek both funding and methods to begin this task. For funding, Prof. Ejima naturally applied for the standard Japanese JSPS Grants-in-aid, but in order to secure a sustainable source of monetary support, he also worked to form an organization of Japanese Buddhist temples that would contribute to support this monumental task.

The publisher of the *Taishō Canon*, Daizō Shuppan 大藏出版, had attempted to begin the digitization process, producing three Taishō volumes on three CDs. However, the process was slow, and the price of $250.00 per CD was far too high to be realistically affordable for the average researcher. At length, Daizō Shuppan turned the project over to the leadership of Prof. Ejima, who had already taken over the responsibility for the digitization of the INBUDS database from Prof. Hirakawa. Working toward the digitization of both collections up through the early 1990s, Ejima came to the realization that the management of the digitization of *both* collections at the same time was beyond his capacity. So, in 1994, upon the entry into the University of Tokyo Department of Indian and Buddhist Philosophy faculty of junior professor Shimoda Masahiro (whom Ejima had taught as a graduate student),

Ejima "bequeathed" the project of the digitization of the *Taishō Canon* (named as SAT[2]) to Shimoda.

Shimoda was not, by any means, a technical maven who knew the best approaches to digitization of texts and, as an incoming junior professor, had but minimal power to make others work or to gain financial support for the project, so it was clearly a formidable task that had been laid at his feet.[3] But realizing the importance of the task, he began the long, difficult, and sometimes halting march toward the digitization of the *Taishō* in Japan.

The first thing needed was basic funding to support the work. The initial source of funding was a JSPS "Grant-in-aid for databases," through which Shimoda was able to secure a basic level of ongoing support for the work of digitization. Additionally, vital ongoing support was obtained from a SAT support association comprising Buddhist temples organized by Takasaki Jikidō 高崎直道 (1926–2013) and Nara Yasuaki 奈良康明, called the Society for the Promotion of Buddhist Studies (Bukkyō Gakujutsu Shinkōkai 仏教学術振興会),[4] which paid for approximately half of the expenses. Dedicated collaborators from around Japan (approximately 250) offered their services as typists for the input of the text.

Technical challenges abounded, the foremost of these being the basic method of converting paper text into digital form. In those days, although OCR input was a viable approach for digitizing roman character–based texts with their fifty or so ASCII[5] characters, it was impossible to accomplish the digitization of a Chinese and Japanese character database containing some 12,000 types of old characters[6] in timeworn fonts to a viable level with OCR. The CJK Han Character section of the Unicode consortium was still only in the early stages of planning, and the Japanese computer character set at the time (JIS-x 0208) only included some 6,800 characters—only a little more than half of what would have been needed—even assuming that the hardware and software could read the fonts accurately. Thus, the SAT team had no alternative but to use the input method of double-typing,[7] also practiced by other major text database projects such as the Academia Sinica Text database[8] and the *Tripiṭaka Koreana*.[9] Yet there were 100 million characters to be typed in, many of which were not contained in the Japanese computer character set—even with the addition of 5,800 new ideographs in the newer JIS-x 0212 character set. The Unicode (ISO-IEC 10646) character set was becoming available in the mid-1990s,[10] but Japanese software engineers were slow in embracing and implementing it. Therefore, thorny technical decisions had to be made as to how to encode, and later display the large numbers of missing characters (*gaiji* 外字). Beyond the basic problem of ideographic coverage, the *Taishō Canon* contained charts, diagrams, and pictures, as well as Siddhaṃ and other non-Sinitic characters. Many problems needed to be

solved by Shimoda and his team of largely nontechnical Buddhist specialists, and progress was, in the early stages, slow and painful.

In some cases, the solution of technical problems could be resolved through the emerging standards developed in the realm of the computerization of Buddhist studies. There were a number of digitization projects in progress around the world, many of which were tackling similar problems.[11] There were also developments in general world standards for computers, including the gradual implementation of Unicode, and basic computer functions. But progress was nonetheless slow.

A shift in the management strategy of the project came during the year 2000, when, based on input received from experts from the IT sector, the project was able to improve significantly its strategy for digitization. During this period, the development of the SAT database was also much aided by the advice and efforts of Ishii Kōsei 石井公成 of Komazawa University and Moro Shigeki 師茂樹 (at the time a graduate student at Tōyō University, now a professor at Hanazono University). Shimoda also received much unexpected and invaluable assistance from many of his graduate students. During the latter stages, the input system was improved significantly based on the web collaboration system designed and implemented by Nagasaki Kiyonori (introduced in further detail below), who joined the project in 2005. In 2007, after more than a full decade of work, the basic textual digitization process was beginning to reach its completion.

As the task of digitization reached its completion, SAT members came to be convinced that the best course to follow in terms of publication would be a web-centric approach, rather than a CD-based or local-application-based approach. In this way, it distinguished itself from the other major East Asian canonical projects of CBETA[12] and *Tripitaka Koreana*. In fact, this approach had begun even in the late 1990s, when SAT was the first of the Buddhist canon digitization projects to make its data available for downloadable in plain text format with instructions. Thus, SAT was beginning to show its own distinctive impetus and orientations, in much part already inherent in its basic environment. With the project based within the JAIBS, located in the University of Tokyo, which together comprised one of the richest research repositories for detailed textual/historical studies of Buddhism, it was natural for SAT to take advantage of the situation. The SAT team was also coming to awareness that the future of humanities resource development lay not in CDs or hard drives, but in online web services. In this regard, the SAT project was fortunate to gain as a key member Nagasaki Kiyonori, at the time a faculty member at Yamaguchi Prefectural University.[13] Although originally a Buddhist studies specialist, Nagasaki had honed high-level web server and database programming skills and shared a vision for the development of Buddhist studies resources on a web platform. Not just “SAT online,” but “SAT

online sitting at the center of an array of other web-based Buddhist Studies research resources."

Nagasaki took over the technical management of the database in 2007, started off by taking the currently available SAT texts and setting them up in a fast, searchable database format. In 2008, the database went online. He then began to add interactive functions, starting with the INBUDS article database, creating an environment where users could select terms in a Taishō text and directly see if they were included in the titles or keywords of the articles contained in the INBUDS article database. Since this INBUDS data was already the property of the JAIBS, the matter of getting access to it was relatively straightforward. At the same time, Nagasaki took technical responsibility for the administration of the INBUDS database, and he worked to expand the search functions and coverage of that bibliographical resource significantly.

WEB COLLABORATION

A major step in interoperative function development was achieved in 2008 when, using Web API techniques, Nagasaki set up an interoperative function between the SAT database and the *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism* (DDB),[14] wherein, based on a type of XML resource description file,[15] users of the SAT database who selected a portion of text would be presented with a list of terms within that text contained in the DDB, along with basic meanings, pronunciations, and links to the full entries in the DDB. At this point in time on the web, this kind of interoperative arrangement between two separate resources was relatively new, but quite significant, as, instead of loading the entire DDB dataset into the SAT database, both SAT and the DDB could maintain their independence as separate entities, yet at the same time add significant value to each other.[16] Using these DDB XML data extracts, Nagasaki was also able to add other distinctive search functions to SAT, including searching capabilities based on English or Hangeul input.

From here began the development of a SAT-based "ecosystem" that included both API-based interoperation and other sorts of datasets that were being developed at various ranges of proximity to SAT. The point was not to only create an online database of the Buddhist canon, but to take the lead in starting an entirely new approach to humanistic studies. Thus, the notion of a "knowledge base" of the humanities, which would be sufficiently persuasive to receive acknowledgment by those who were unfamiliar to these new approaches—approaches that would eventually become known by the label of "Digital Humanities." At the most basic level, this included web-based inputting and proofreading of the base texts. Complementing the translation-tool array that started with the DDB linking, first came the inclusion of parallel

text data from the Bukkyō Dendō Kyōkai 仏教伝道協会 (BDK) English Tripiṭaka translation project,[17] linked in such a way that lines of Taishō text that matched translated lines in the BDK texts would now appear in a separate pop-up window. Further bibliographical information was provided by linking to the SARDS database.[18] In 2009, the function of being able to search for PDFs contained in CiNii[19] by title and keyword through INBUDS was established. These and several other new applications and updates were included in the SAT 2012 edition. Thus, in 2012, in addition to the revamping of the search engine and extensive basic correction of the textual content,[20] readers had access to the *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism* along with the article databases of INBUDS and SARDS. On a micro level, users were provided with access to the ideographic information resources of CHISE[21] and the Unihan database.[22]

Even with the full digitization of the text of the *Taishō*, plain text presentation by itself was found to be inadequate in many cases. For example, in the case of notes, or other additions to the original source text, such as deliberate font-size changes, and so forth. Thus, the pages of the *Taishō* were also scanned into image format and these images were made directly available, aligned through links to searched pages, and these were set up to allow zooming in and out. Further developments in the implementation of images would follow later.

In terms of the basic dataset, although the main task of digitization had been completed in 2008, a number of problems remained to be resolved. Foremost among these was the *gaiji* (missing character) problem. The *Taishō Canon* contained thousands of characters that were not yet available in the international character standard. Of course, developments in Unicode, especially with the continued expansion of CJK Unified Ideographs coverage in Unicode 2.0 and 3.0, were gradually reducing the number of ideographs that needed to be represented with GIF images. But still, even with Unicode covering some 40,000 ideographs, the SAT database contained more than 6,000 ideographs that still needed to be displayed with GIF images. Without in some way getting these ideographs registered into Unicode, such a situation could have continued indefinitely.

Up to this point in time, the Unicode Consortium had only been accepting new character applications from national standards bodies through its International Rapporteur Groups (IRG). In other words, ideographs found in the writings of local countries could only be added to Unicode via a proposal submitted by that country's officially designated IRG. Fortunately, through the kind help and intervention of the members of the Japanese IRG, most importantly Kobayashi Tatsuo 小林龍生, Suzuki Toshiya 鈴木俊哉, and Kawabata Taichi 川幡太一, a proposal was put forth to allow the submission of candidate ideographs from major international research organizations and

projects, in this case, the SAT project. The Han Ideograph IRG committee accepted this proposal, and this opened the way for the inclusion of the 6,000 ideographs identified by SAT.[23]

During the years after the 2012 update, other functions have been added. Collaboration has been arranged between SAT and the *Tripiṭaka Koreana* (TK) project, wherein textual selections within the SAT database can be viewed in their TK parallel. Efforts are being made toward the handling of Siddhaṃ characters and images within the *Taishō*. Links to manuscripts and prints of canonical texts held at other institutions and locations are also expanding rapidly. Starting from the RITK linkage mentioned just above, SAT texts are now linked to images in libraries at Waseda University, the University of Tokyo, the British Library, National Diet Library, and others. Thus, SAT is steadily expanding its functions and links in various directions, in various media and technologies.

The most important recent developments lie in the area of the enhanced ability to manipulate and present images. Taking advantage of the new possibilities offered by the International Image Interoperability Framework (IIIF),[24] SAT is using IIIF to present the images of monks, mandalas, rituals, and so forth contained in a twelve-volume section of the *Taishō* (called the Zuzōbu 図像部), as well as the images of the text of the *Jiaxing Canon* (J. Kakōzō 嘉興蔵) from the University of Tokyo Library.[25]

SAT AND DIGITAL HUMANITIES

There is another aspect of the SAT project that extends beyond the creation of a state-of-the-art database replete with tools, applications, and interoperation with other resources. That is its role as the starting point for the creation of the study of Digital Humanities (DH) at the University of Tokyo, and its further influence for all of Japan. This is not to say that all of DH in Japan sprung from SAT—Japanese researchers have been using computers for the study of literature, art, history, and other humanistic fields for more than three decades. But these studies had been led, and carried out for the most part by computer scientists from a relatively technical-oriented perspective. They had also been limited to Japanese-language publications carried out exclusively by Japanese-language scholars.

On the other hand, the SAT project, in order to continue to develop as an academic and scientific enterprise, needed to maintain and strengthen its academic and scientific orientation within the University of Tokyo and in Japan inorder to receive due financial support from the JSPS granting agency. In other words, once the database had been completed, ongoing funding could not be obtained through database-creation grants. Rather, the project needed

to be defined in terms of advanced academic research. Shimoda and other SAT project members saw that the emerging movement of DH (already long flourishing in Europe and North America), led and defined by scholars with humanities backgrounds, provided exactly the kind of language and framework which define the future trajectory of the project. SAT members began to attend international DH conferences, soon becoming deeply involved in the worldwide DH community. As a result, members of SAT in Tokyo began to link up with other researchers around Japan at institutions such as Kyoto University, Osaka University, Dōshisha University, Ritsumeikan University, Tokyo Institute of Technology, National Institute of Informatics, and so forth, who were also interested in the DH approach. A community began to develop, and in 2011 the Japanese Association of Digital Humanities (JADH) was formed with Shimoda as chair. In 2013, the JADH was accepted by the Alliance of Digital Humanities Organizations (ADHO)[26] as a constituent member. Thus, in a sense, the existence of the SAT database was a pivotal factor in the development of DH in Japan.

Armed with the language and framework of DH, Shimoda and the SAT team in 2010 obtained a grant-in-aid at level (A) for the creation and expansion of SAT as a "knowledge base" for Buddhist studies, which lasted until 2014. In 2015, Shimoda obtained the larger JSPS grant-in-aid level (S)[27] for the further development of SAT as a research base, including the investigation and application of various DH methodologies, including, for example, the application of TEI/XML principles to SAT and other Buddhist textual materials. The ripples from SAT's DH involvement have also had effects locally at the University of Tokyo, where a fledgling DH curriculum is being established.

Thus, the SAT project expects to continue to grow in many ways along with developments in the broader realm of DH, ever trying to provide a more efficient, broader-reaching, and increasingly functional "research base" around the teachings of the Buddha spoken more than two millennia ago.

NOTES

1. http://21dzk.l.u-tokyo.ac.jp/INBUDS/search.php. Prof. Hirakawa helped to arrange the rental of a house for this purpose.

2. SAT is an acronym for the Sanskrit neologism "Saṃgaṇikīkṛtaṃ Taiśotripiṭakaṃ."

3. Shimoda reports that he made his best attempt at turning down Prof. Ejima's request, but to no avail.

4. This organization still actively supports digital Buddhist studies projects. See http://butsugakushin.org.

5. ASCII stands for American Standard Code for Information Interchange. Computers can only understand numbers, so an ASCII code is the numerical representation of a character such as 'a' or '@' or an action of some sort. The ASCII character table is available at http://www.asciitable.com.

6. In fact, 12,000 is a relatively small number, when one considers that the Korean Tripitaka, a major source for the *Taishō Canon*, included more than 30,000 different characters. The number of characters available to the typesetters for the *Taishō Canon* was less than 12,000, which means that many characters were arbitrarily normalized in the process of printing.

7. That is, two typists input the same text, and the two versions are later checked for differences by computer. Even with modern advances in OCR, this method is still regarded by many as being more effective for a large project. The longer the work proceeds, the greater is the speed and accuracy of the typing.

8. http://hanji.sinica.edu.tw.

9. The *Tripiṭaka Koreana* project initiated their efforts in 1993 under the leadership of Ven. Chongnim of Haeinsa. Based on the generous support of Samsung, they completed the digitization of the Korean canon in 1999. A timeline of the project can be found at http://kb.sutra.re.kr/ritk_eng/intro/introProject03.do.

10. The history of Unicode release dates is provided at http://unicode.org/history/publicationdates.html. One must keep in mind that the "release" of a version of Unicode does not mean that it becomes immediately usable on computers. Especially in the earlier days, some regions were slow to adopt Unicode for cultural and political, as well as technical reasons.

11. Early pioneers of the digitization of Buddhist studies began to connect with each other, and began to gather for academic meetings. The main venue for these early meetings was the Electronic Buddhist Text Initiative [EBTI] (http://www.buddhism-dict.net/ebti.) The rapidity of the digitization of all of the Buddhist canons, along with the development of Buddhist studies research tools, can be in part attributed to the regular meetings of the EBTI.

12. The history of CBETA is provided in the prior volume in this series in the article by Aming Tu, "The Creation of the CBETA Electronic Tripitaka Collection in Taiwan." See Jiang Wu and Lucille Chia (ed.), *Spreading Buddha's Word in East Asia* 321–335. In addition to the information provided in Tu's article, it should be understood that it was SAT that made it possible for CBETA to publish their version of the *Taishō*, as it was the SAT representatives who persuaded the president of the Daizō Shuppan to relax its stringent copyright restrictions toward Taiwanese publishers. Daizō Shuppan, which had suffered severe damage by the pirated editions published in Taiwan during the postwar decades, had originally flatly refused to accept the proposals submitted by CBETA to digitize the Tripitaka. In response to the request put forth to SAT by CBETA, SAT, after careful discussion, came to the conclusion that CBETA's work, even though in direct competition with that of SAT, should be supported by SAT as much as possible, since the database of the Buddhist canon, regardless of the provider, should be equally shared by contemporary and future generations as common property to all the people. With this decision in mind, SAT members, escorting delegates from CBETA, visited the president of Daizō Shuppan to ask for

the permission to be given to CBETA. The president, based on this recommendation from SAT, eventually agreed. This was in 1998, one year after SAT's first volume of the Prajñāpāramitā sutras had been published on the web.

13. Nagasaki was introduced to the project by Suzuki Takayasu 鈴木隆泰, former student of Shimoda and the former manager of INBUDS.

14. A dictionary/encyclopedia of Buddhist terms edited by A. Charles Muller, based on Sinitic headwords, which went online in 1995, presently including more than 66,000 entries. http://www.buddhism-dict.net.

15. A small data extraction of each entry in the dictionary in XML format, providing a pointer to more detailed information.

16. It is important to clarify that the availability of the DDB extracts file is by no means, and has never been, a special limited arrangement between SAT and the DDB. The file is available for any other online web resource project that wishes to use it in a proper way. For example, it is presently being used by the Smarthanzi web application (http://www.smarthanzi.net), the DDBAccess program (http://download.smarthanzi.net/ddbaccess), and the Chinese Āgama pages of Sutta Central (http://suttacentral.net).

17. http://www.bdk.or.jp/english. Bukkyō Dendō Kyōkai (BDK) America was founded in 1986 by Rev. Numata Yehan, having as one of its primary goals the translation of texts from the *Taishō Canon* into English. To date, more than eighty works have been translated.

18. South Asia Research Documentation Services (bibliographic database) http://www.sards.uni-halle.de.

19. CiNii (Scholarly and Academic Information Navigator, pronounced "sigh-knee") is a database service which can be searched with academic information of articles, books, journals, and dissertations. It is an exemplary academic resource, providing access to full-text PDFs and so forth, which, in North America, are supplied mostly by expensive for-pay services such as JSTOR, Wiley, and so forth. https://support.nii.ac.jp/en.

20. For a list of persons involved in the proofing and correction of the SAT 2012 database, scroll to the bottom of http://21dzk.l.u-tokyo.ac.jp/SAT/members_en.html.

21. The Character Information Service Environment (CHISE) project attempts to collect and organize into a knowledge-base information about characters in the scripts of the world. http://chise.zinbun.kyoto-u.ac.jp.

22. http://www.unicode.org/charts/unihan.html.

23. The inclusion of these ideographs in Unicode is still in progress. The IRG does not simply accept batches of ideographs and uncritically add them. Each character has to be checked with its source references, and it has to be established as being either fully unique or part of a variant plane including other ideographs. At the time of this writing, approximately 3,000 SAT ideographs have been approved.

24. From the IIIF website (http://iiif.io): "A growing community of the world's leading research libraries and image repositories have embarked on an effort to collaboratively produce an interoperable technology and community framework for image delivery. IIIF (International Image Interoperability Framework) has the following goals: (1) To give scholars an unprecedented level of uniform and rich access

to image-based resources hosted around the world. (2) To define a set of common application programming interfaces that support interoperability between image repositories. (3) To develop, cultivate and document shared technologies, such as image servers and web clients, that provide a world-class user experience in viewing, comparing, manipulating and annotating images."

25. http://dzkimgs.l.u-tokyo.ac.jp/SATi/images.php.

26. https://adho.org.

27. The only (S) level project selected from candidates among the field of the humanities in Japan in 2015.

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Appendix

Defining the Chinese Buddhist Canon

Its Origin, Periodization, and Future

Fang Guangchang
Translated by Xin Zi and Jiang Wu

There have been different views on the specific time when Buddhism was first transmitted into China. One relatively credible version says in the first year of the Yuanshou reign (2 B.C.) of Emperor Aidi 哀帝 in the Han dynasty, Yi Cun 伊存, an envoy from the central Asian state of Scythia, dictated the *Buddha Sūtra* (*Futu Jing* 浮屠經) to Jing Lu 景盧, a student of the Imperial College. While Yi Cun followed the Indian tradition of transmitting the sūtra orally, Jing Lu wrote it down according to the Chinese custom. Therefore, this text is the first translated Buddhist scripture in writing, suggesting that Buddhist scriptures and the Buddhist religion were transmitted into China simultaneously.[1]

Central Asian monks came for missionary work, and Chinese monks also went to Central Asia and India for Buddhist scriptures. As a result, Buddhist scriptures were translated into Chinese one after another. No longer subordinated to the mainstream teachings such as Confucianism and Daoism, Buddhism gradually became an independent and organic component of Chinese thought and culture. In response, Chinese Buddhist scriptures have developed into a massive collection of the canon, which has been called *Dazangjing* 大藏經 (J. *Daizokyō*, K. *Daejanggyeong*) or literally the "Great Storage of Scriptures." The content of the Chinese Buddhist canon is related to many academic fields such as philosophy, history, sociology, language, literature, astronomy, geography, medicine, and so on. As a result of cross-cultural communication, the Chinese Buddhist canon influenced the entire Chinese cultural sphere profoundly. It also contains abundant information for studying Chinese and East Asian culture.

In this chapter, I will offer a panoramic view of the history of the Chinese Buddhist canon by reflecting upon various essential issues. I will first clarify the etymological origin of the term *Dazangjing* and propose a working

definition for the study of the canon based on my identification of three essential elements in canon formation: selection criteria, structural system, and external markers. This chapter also provides a periodization scheme of the canon based on my working definition and divides the history of the canon into the period of manuscript editions, the period of printed editions, the period of printed editions in modern times, and the period of digital editions. In addition, I will provide a detailed analysis of the characteristics of the canon during different periods and make suggestions for future studies.

ETYMOLOGY OF THE TERM *DAZANGJING*

The Chinese Buddhist canon was and is often referred to as *Dazangjing*, a Buddhist term invented in China and without a direct counterpart in Sanskrit. The creation of the term *Dazangjing* resulted from the synthesis of Chinese and Indian cultures and the development of Chinese Buddhism. In my view, the evolution of its meaning is related to three factors: Chinese views on translating Buddhist scriptures, the popular devotion to the Three Refuges (*sanbao* 三寶) during the Southern and Northern dynasties (420–586), and the massive production of Chinese Buddhist scriptures.

Etymologically, *da* 大 (great) is a modifier that signifies the scope of the canon, suggesting that its content reaches the limit of time and space. *Zang* 藏 (storage) is a paraphrase of the Sanskrit word *piṭaka*, which means "cases" or "baskets" for storage. Because paper was not introduced in ancient India, scriptures were carved or written on palm leaves, which were made into the so-called "palm-leaf Buddhist scriptures." Indian monks usually put these palm-leaf scriptures in cases or baskets, namely *piṭaka*. Therefore, *piṭaka* has gradually become a measuring unit and an alternative name for Buddhist scriptures. Scriptures of different categories were stored in different *piṭakas*. For example, scriptures under the categories of sūtra, vinaya, and abhidharma were stored in three separate "baskets," which is where the name *Tripiṭaka* comes from.

Jing 經 (scripture) is translated from the Sanskrit word *sūtra*, whose original meaning is "running through." Buddhists in ancient India believed that if flower petals were bound with strings, they would not be blown away by the wind. Similarly, collecting the words of Buddha's teaching would preserve them forever so that they could be handed down to later generations. Therefore, they were called sūtras. The Chinese character *jing* originally referred to vertical lines in fabric, with an extended meaning of "constancy." Thereupon, the word *jing* embodies the Chinese traditional thought that truth can last forever, as Heaven does. As Kumārajīva's 鳩摩羅什 (334–413) famous student Sengzhao 僧肇 (384–414?) says in his *Commentary on the Vimalakīrti Sutra*

(*Zhu Weimojing* 注維摩經), "*Jing* means being constant. Although things have been changing from ancient times to the present, the cardinal truth does not change at all. Neither nonbelievers nor Buddha's disciples could make any changes. That's why *jing* is considered constant and eternal" (T 38: 327c). It seems that *jing*, the Chinese translation of sūtra, reflects Chinese Buddhists' boundless devotion to and faith in Buddha's teaching, though this translation does not correspond exactly to the original meaning of the word.[2]

In Sanskrit, the word sūtra only refers to one of the three "baskets," comprising sūtra, vinaya, and abhidharma. However, in Chinese, the meaning of *jing* has been expanded gradually. There are three usages of this word. First, it is equivalent to sūtra in Indian Buddhism, referring to all the translated Buddhist scriptures transmitted from India. Second, since the beginning of the transmission of Buddhism into China, Chinese people always called all the texts *jing*, including vinaya and abhidharma. Third, it has been used in phrases such as *Dazangjing*, which includes Chinese Buddhist works written and edited by Chinese people.

The Chinese Buddhist canon has been a research subject since the twentieth century. Scholars attempted to find out when the word *Dazangjing* first appeared and usually assumed that this phrase was created during the Sui dynasty.[3] According to the record written by Guanding 灌頂 (561–632), *Separate Biography of Tiantai Master Zhizhe of the Sui Dynasty* (*Sui Tiantai Zhizhe dashi biezhuan* 隋天臺智者大師別傳), Zhiyi 智顗 (538–597) "copied fifteen sets of *Dazangjing*" (T 50: 197c) throughout his life. This suggests that the word *Dazangjing* appeared during the Sui dynasty. I used to hold this opinion as well. However, at the suggestion of Japanese scholar Fujieda Akira 藤枝晃, I carefully examined the nuanced meaning of the few lines at the end of this biography and found that this paragraph is actually not Guanding's original writing, but supplementary remarks added by a Master Xian 銑法師 (dates unknown). Therefore, all the information on this Master Xian needs further study. So we cannot take the appearance of *Dazangjing* in Guanding's biography of Zhiyi as necessary evidence proving that the term first appeared in the Sui dynasty.

To clarify the origin of the first use of the term *Dazangjing*, I have examined a number of sources. My findings suggest that the term *Dazangjing* must have been invented before the Buddhist persecution around 845, or during the Zhenyuan 貞元 Reign of Emperor Dezong 德宗 (785–805) in the Tang dynasty at the latest.

In the first place, when collating Dunhuang manuscripts, I found the occurrence of this term in two obscure manuscripts: first, *Catalog of the Indian Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna Sūtra, Vinaya, and Abhidharma in the Great Tang* (*Xitian daxiaosheng jinglülun bingjian zai Da Tang guonei dushu mulu* 西天大小乘經律論並見在大唐國內都數目錄), which appeared in both the

Pelliot and the Stein collections as P 2987 and S 3565, respectively; second, *Number of Scriptures in the Great Storage of the Great Tang* (*Da Tang Dazangjing shu* 大唐大藏經數), which was preserved only in the Pelliot collection as P 3846. Based on the scribal style, the former two Dunhuang manuscripts must have been written during the period when the Allegiance Army (Guiyi Jun 歸義軍) controlled Dunhuang (851–1036). However, after analyzing the contents, I believe that these two documents date back no earlier than Emperor Xuanzong's 唐玄宗 period (712–756) and no later than the Buddhist persecution around 845. As for the manuscript numbered P 3846, it must have appeared after the Buddhist persecution around 845. Therefore, I concluded that the word *Dazangjing* appeared during the time between Emperor Xuanzong's reign and the Buddhist persecution during the Huichang reign.[4]

Second, when I was searching the Chinese Buddhist canon in electronic format, I found a sentence saying, "those hundreds and thousands of copies of liturgy were again abbreviated from the Bodhisattva *Dazangjing*" (其百千頌本，復是菩薩大藏經中次略 T 39: 808a), in the first fascicle of *Commentary on Essential Secret Teachings of the Great Yoga of the Adamantine Diamond Crown* (*Jingangding jing dayujia mimi xindi famen yijue* 金剛頂經大瑜伽秘密心地法門義訣). Although this text is not contained in any edition of the Chinese Buddhist canon in Chinese history, the *Taishō Canon* collects it based on a Japanese copy. The Japanese version originated from Kūkai's 空海 (774–835) collection during his visit to China in the Tang dynasty from 804 to 806.

Finally, I found a record in the book *Record of Inheritance of Two Sets of Great Teaching* (*Liangbu dafa xiangcheng shizifufaji* 兩部大法相承師資付法記), written by Haiyun 海雲 (dates unknown) of the Tang, saying that "according to the Sanskrit version, this text was translated into six scrolls. In addition, one comprehensive scroll was compiled to teach the procedure of practice and chanting. In total, there were seven scrolls, which were made into one whole set to be put into *Dazangjing*" (T 51: 785c). Haiyun's work was written in the eighth year of the Taihe 太和 reign (834) of Emperor Wenzong 唐文宗 (809–840) in the Tang dynasty, before the Buddhist persecution during the Huichang reign.

Both documents mentioned before, P 2987 and S 3565 in the Dunhuang manuscripts, contain the phrase *Xitian Dazangjing* 西天大藏經 (the Indian Buddhist canon), which is a massive collection of 84,500 scrolls. From this we know that the Chinese who created the term *Dazangjing* did not limit it to meaning the Chinese Buddhist canon, but actually used it as a common term for all Buddhist literature. Nonetheless, in ancient times, Buddhist communities in other traditions continued to transmit their own scriptures and use their own traditional terms. For example, Hīnayāna[5] Buddhist literature

is called Tripiṭaka; Tibetan Buddhist literature is named Kanjur 甘珠爾 or Tanjur 丹珠爾. The phrase *Hanwen Dazangjing* 漢文大藏經 (the Chinese Buddhist canon) was first used by Japanese scholars at the beginning of the twentieth century. Chinese Buddhists, focusing on the integration of Buddhist literature written in different languages, also used a series of new terms, such as the Pāli Buddhist canon (*Bali Dazangjing* 巴利大藏經), the Southern Buddhist canon (*Nanchuan Dazangjing* 南傳大藏經), the Tibetan Buddhist canon (*Zangwen Dazangjing* 藏文大藏經), the Mongolian Buddhist canon (*Mengwen Dazangjing* 蒙文大藏經), the Manchu Buddhist canon (*Manwen Dazangjing* 滿文大藏經), the Tangut Buddhist canon (*Xixia Dazangjing* 西夏大藏經), and so on. For the purpose of comparison, the term *Dazangjing* in Chinese Buddhism naturally evolved into *Hanwen Dazangjing* 漢文大藏經 (Chinese Buddhist canon). Therefore, *Hanwen Dazangjing* and *Dazangjing* are only different names from different historical and linguistic backgrounds that actually have the same referent: that is, the Chinese Buddhist canon.

THE DEFINITION OF THE CHINESE BUDDHIST CANON

In China, people at first called the Buddhist canon *zhongjing* 眾經 (Myriad Scriptures), *yiqiejing* 一切經 (All Scriptures), and *zangjing* 藏經 (Storage of Scriptures). The term *Dazangjing* only appeared in the Tang dynasty. If we examine these terms carefully, we can see that their emergence and changes reflected the Chinese conception of Buddhist scriptures. However, when they first appeared, these names were not clearly defined but simply followed longtime conventions of usage. In modern times, along with the development of scholarly research on Buddhism, the Buddhist canon has increasingly attracted people's attention, and scholars have attempted to define the meaning of the Chinese Buddhist canon.[6]

What is "the Chinese Buddhist canon"? Twenty years ago, my definition was "the whole collection of Chinese Buddhist literature."[7] When I review that definition now, I find it not very accurate. The connotation of the so-called "whole collection of Chinese Buddhist literature" should be the Buddhist literature written in Chinese, and the extension should be all Chinese Buddhist literature. However, the fact is that all the literature collected in the Chinese Buddhist canon is written in Chinese, but not all of it is Buddhist literature. For example, there are works such as *Sāṅkhya kārikā* (*Jin qishi lun* 金七十論) and *Vaiśṣikadaśapadārthaśāstra* (*Shengzong shiju yilun* 勝宗十句義論), which belong to the Sāṅkhya school 數論派 or Vaiśṣika school 勝論派 in India. In addition, not all Chinese Buddhist literature was collected into the Chinese Buddhist canon. A large number of Buddhist texts exist outside it. Moreover, the formulation of "a whole collection of the

Chinese Buddhist literature" cannot demonstrate the fact that the Chinese Buddhist canon is an organic unity with fixed content, internal logical structure, and external appearance, such as case number.

When ancient scholars were compiling the Chinese Buddhist canon, they had certain selection criteria, structural designs, and identification methods. Based on this fact, twenty-six years ago I proposed the theory of "three essential elements" of the Chinese Buddhist canon: selection criteria, structural system, and external identification markers. My definition did not highlight these elements, so now I improve upon it and express it as follows:

> Including essentially the translated Buddhist scriptures of past ages as the core of its content, the Chinese Buddhist canon is the collection of the Chinese Buddhist classics and related literature organized according to certain structures and with some external identification markers.

Here, I add the "three essential elements" to the above definition as modifiers. First, I use the wording "including essentially the translated Buddhist scriptures of past ages as the core of its collection" to indicate the selection criteria because the Chinese Buddhist canon has incorporated all the translated Buddhist scriptures as its core. I also put in a quantitative limit, expressed as "including essentially," to distinguish the Chinese Buddhist canon from the collections of abridged scriptures such as *Essential Texts from the Canon* (*Zangyao* 藏要). In addition, I use the phrase "related literature" to show that the Chinese Buddhist canon includes some non-Buddhist literature. Historically, the Chinese Buddhist canon collected scriptures of the Indian Sāṅkhya and Vaiśeṣika schools. The *Taishō Canon* also has a catalog of "Non-Buddhist Religions" (*Waijiaobu* 外教部), including Daoist, Manichean, and Nestorian scriptures.

My definition does not stress the structure of the Three Baskets (*tripiṭaka*)—sūtra, vinaya, and abhidharma—which form a specific structure. In the history of Indian Buddhism, this structure never became a universal way of classifying Buddhist scriptures. It was the same in the history of Chinese Buddhism, and this way of classification was given up long ago. For example, the *Taishō Canon* totally abandoned it. To look forward to the future, there is no possibility of it surviving. Therefore, I did not stress the traditional structure of Tripiṭaka as the core of the canon.

One of the functions of a definition is to explain the essential aspects of the research subject by its connotations and extensions. A definition should be able to describe every single stage in the development of the subject. A formulation such as "take the Tripiṭaka as the core" is only suitable for a certain historical period, and therefore cannot define the entire history of the canon.

Unlike this narrow definition, my formulation—"including essentially the translated Buddhist scriptures of past ages as the core of the canon"—already covers the contents of the traditional Tripiṭaka.

PERIODIZATION CRITERIA

For thousands of years, the content, structure, and appearance of the Chinese Buddhist canon has been changing. In order to study the canon, dividing its history into historical periods is necessary. To determine these periods, we need a set of feasible criteria.

Most scholars take dynastic change as their criterion for determining the periods of Chinese Buddhism. I do not agree with that criteria. Instead, I prefer to determine the periods of Chinese Buddhism by the inherent logic of its development.[8] And I do not think that we can apply the periodization standard of Chinese Buddhism to the history of the Chinese Buddhist canon, because the Chinese canon exists independently and has its own history.

To explore the inherent logic of the development of the Chinese Buddhist canon, we have to examine the various factors that stimulated its transformation. The following five factors have affected the evolution of the Chinese Buddhist canon.

Chinese Buddhism

As a collection of books that has recorded and reflected the history of Chinese Buddhism, the Chinese Buddhist canon is conditioned by the development of Chinese Buddhism from beginning to end. Therefore, the canon evolves with the changes in Chinese Buddhism. (See below for details.)

The Factors Irrelevant to Buddhism

The Chinese Buddhist canon was also affected by Chinese feudal dynasties. China had been a highly centralized autocratic empire since Emperor Qin Shihuang 秦始皇 united the country in 221 B.C. The state power had the supreme position, which could not be counterbalanced by other forces. In history, the Chinese ruling class supported or suppressed Buddhism based on their own interests. Dominating the relationship, the state power imposed its own will upon Buddhism. After the 1911 Revolution, the power of Chinese feudal dynasties over Buddhism no longer existed. However, political and intellectual factors outside Buddhism continued to affect the compilation of the Chinese Buddhist canon to some extent.

The Compilers

Different people compiled different editions of the canon. All the differences of time, place, compilers' guidelines, principles, scholarship, and method determine the differences among various editions. It is also necessary to consider the gaps between the compilers' subjective expectations and objective realities, and the interactions arising from them.

Physical Form and Printing

After Buddhism was introduced to China, the physical form of Chinese books changed from bamboo and wooden slips to silk, and then to paper. The way of producing books shifted from handwritten to block printing and to typographic printing. A series of printing technologies, such as photocopying and laser typesetting, has emerged since the end of the nineteenth century. Along with the development of digital technology, a revolution of form and book production has taken place in recent years. All this has brought about major changes in book format and the appearance of the Chinese Buddhist canon.

Bookbinding and Layout

Since Buddhism was transmitted into China, there have been various ways of binding in the history of the Chinese book, such as butterfly binding, stitched binding, whirlwind binding, concertina binding, wrapped-back binding, modern paperback and hardcover, and even the e-book. Bookbinding and layout have thus become unavoidable topics in research on the Chinese canon.

Due to these five factors, the Chinese Buddhist canon has shown different physical appearances as time has gone by. In my opinion, these five factors affected the Chinese Buddhist canon in five different ways. If we plan to study the Chinese Buddhist canon from one perspective, then we should consider one of these factors as the criterion for periodization. To some extent, most of these could serve as the criterion. However, in practice, the five factors are not compatible and thus cannot be integrated. Since the twentieth century, scholars have mainly focused on researching block-printed editions. Later, the study of handwritten manuscript editions gained academic attention. Because the Chinese Buddhist canon is a kind of book collection, taking the historical development of the Chinese book as the periodization criterion for the canon is also a convenient choice.

Considering all these factors, I divide the development of the Chinese Buddhist canon into four periods: handwriting, block printing, modern printing, and digital. In the following, I will outline the evolution of the canon in each stage and its characteristics.

THE HANDWRITING PERIOD

The handwriting period is the beginning and foundation of the Chinese Buddhist canon, which can be divided into six stages.

The Preparation Stage: First to Fifth Century

This stage corresponds roughly to the period from the transmission of Buddhism into China to Daoan's 道安 (312–385) time, during which Buddhism was first considered equal to "the Daoist Learning of Emperor Huangdi and Master Laozi" (*Huang-Lao zhi xue* 黃老之學) and then was subordinated under Neo-Daoism. Despite the emergence of some excellent Buddhist scholars, Chinese Buddhism had not become independent due to lack of clear self-consciousness. Although Daoan once questioned the practice of "matching the meaning" (*geyi* 格義), which could be considered a vague sense of self-consciousness, he himself could not completely get rid of the influence of "*geyi*" because of the historical conditions.

The Chinese translation of Buddhist scriptures was also in a chaotic situation during this stage. The quantity of translated scriptures was considerable. Some translators intentionally translated sectarian scriptures and some monks even traveled to Central Asia and India to seek new scriptures. The overall situation was that the translators would translate whatever scriptures they came across, whether complete or not. From Daoan's catalog, *Comprehensive Catalog of Scriptures* (*Zongli zhongjing mulu* 綜理眾經目錄), we can see that Chinese Buddhists did not realize or perceive the necessity to distinguish and collate Buddhist scriptures under the categories of Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna. The transmission of scriptures also varied geographically. There was no unified or standardized edition of the Chinese Buddhist canon throughout the country. This accorded with the level of development of Chinese Buddhism and the political situation of the sixteen separate states in the Eastern Jin dynasty (316–420).

Daoan was the first person to raise the issue of apocryphal scriptures in the history of Chinese Buddhism. In addition, Daoan's catalog, *Zongli zhongjing mulu*, following the elaborate Chinese bibliographical tradition, attempted to record detailed information about translators and the time and place of translation of every scripture in chronological sequence. This shows that the formation of the Chinese Buddhist canon has been closely connected to traditional Chinese culture and thought since its introduction.

Daoan would not have thought in terms of "the three elements of the Chinese Buddhist canon" that I have used in the definition. But in fact, the issue of apocryphal scriptures in his work did involve the first element—criterion

of selection. Therefore, the chaotic state of Chinese Buddhist scriptures was also the preparation stage of the Chinese Buddhist canon.

The Formation Stage: Fifth to Sixth Century

This stage corresponds to the period from Kumārajīva coming to China to Fei Changfang's 費長房 (dates unknown) compilation of the *Record of the Three Jewels through the Ages* (*Lidai sanbao ji* 歷代三寶記) in the Sui dynasty. During his stay in China, Kumārajīva translated Nāgārjuna's 龍樹 (dates unknown) Mādhyamika theory systematically and introduced a new world to Chinese monks, allowing them to study authentic Indian Buddhism. From then on, Chinese Buddhism obtained a clear self-consciousness and developed independently; conflicts among Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism began to take place.

Based on a deepened understanding of Buddhism, Kumārajīva's disciple Huiguan 慧觀 (dates unknown) developed the theory of "Classification of Teaching into Five Periods" (*wushi panjiao* 五時判教). After him, different classification theories emerged. Their purpose was to organize different concepts from Indian Buddhism that had been transmitted into China into an organic system. The emergence of the "Classification of Teaching" was a significant event in the history of Chinese Buddhism because it helped to spread Buddhism in China and stimulated the creation of indigenous Buddhist schools in the Southern and Northern dynasties as well as the Sui and Tang dynasties. Such classifications involve the second element of the Chinese Buddhist canon that I have defined—the structure. Therefore, "Classification of Teaching" meant much to the formation of the Chinese Buddhist canon.

It was the *Separate Catalog of All Scriptures* (*Zhongjing bielu* 眾經別錄), by an anonymous author, that introduced the "Classification of Teaching" into the organization of Buddhist scriptures. The author of this catalog absorbed Huiguan's "Classification of Teaching into Five Periods" and developed many categories such as "Catalog of Mahāyāna Scriptures" (*Dasheng jinglu* 大乘經錄), "Catalog of Hīnayāna Scriptures" (*Xiaosheng jinglu* 小乘經錄), "Catalog of Universal Teachings of Three Vehicles" (*Sansheng tongjiaolu* 三乘通教錄), "The Great Catalog of the Three Vehicles" (*Sansheng zhong Dasheng lu* 三乘中大乘錄), and "Catalog of Undecided Scriptures regarding Great and Less Vehicles" (*Daxiaosheng bupanlu* 大小乘不判錄). This was a tentative but helpful attempt to determine a structural system for arranging Buddhist scriptures. Around that time, Sengyou's 僧祐 (445–518) catalog, *Compilation of Notes on the Translation of the Tripiṭaka* (*Chusanzang jiji* 出三藏記集), appeared and made great contributions to the preservation of documents by separating original scriptures from apocryphal ones. But in the classification of Buddhist scriptures, Sengyou's catalog retrogressed to

the level of Daoan's catalog (*Zongli zhongjing mulu*); the new classification scheme developed in the anonymous *Separate Catalog of All Scriptures* was not adopted.

Later on, many catalogers, such as Li Kuo 李廓 in the Northern Wei dynasty (386–534), Baochang 寶唱 in the Liang dynasty (502–557), and Fashang 法上 in the Qi dynasty (550–577), compiled their own catalogs. This shows that Chinese monks tried to grasp the essential characteristics of the Chinese Buddhist canon in order to collate and distinguish Buddhist scriptures and to design an organizational structure. In these catalogs, we can see clearly that the development of Chinese Buddhism, the organization of the Indian Buddhist canon, and the Chinese cataloging tradition influenced the canon profoundly.

According to the documents handed down from ancient times, Wei Shou's 魏收 (507–572) "Tripiṭaka Prayer of the Northern Qi Dynasty" (*Beiqi sanbu yiqiejing yuanwen* 北齊三部一切經願文) and Wang Bao's 王褒 (513–576) "Tripiṭaka Prayer of the Zhou Dynasty" (*Zhou zangjing yuanwen* 周藏經願文) prove that in the Southern and Northern dynasties (420–589) the governments of the Northern Qi (550–577) and Northern Zhou (557–581) had compiled the Chinese Buddhist canon. In the Southern dynasties, Baochang's 寶唱 *Catalog of All Scriptures* (*Zhongjing mulu* 眾經目錄) was written under the command of Emperor Wudi 武帝 (464–549) in the Liang dynasty (502–557), with the purpose of compiling the Chinese Buddhist canon.

According to Dunhuang manuscripts, governments began compiling the Chinese Buddhist canon even earlier. There is a batch of Buddhist scriptures copied by Dunhuang official scribes from 511 to 514 in the Northern Wei dynasty.[9] The official scribes employed in Dunhuang copied scriptures for years. What they were copying could not be one single volume, and it must be part of the Chinese Buddhist canon. The remaining volumes mentioned above include both Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna Sūtras and Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna Abhidharma. Most of these are ordinary Buddhist scriptures rather than those that one could gain merit by copying, such as the *Lotus Sūtra* and the *Diamond Sūtra*. This could also prove that the scriptures copied by official scribes in Dunhuang are components of the Chinese Buddhist canon. After 1,500 years, these fifteen scrolls survived, and there were two copies of fascicle 14 of Xuanzang's 玄奘 (602–664) *Discourse on the Establishment of Consciousness-only* (*Cheng Weishilu* 成唯識論). This shows that these remaining scrolls belong to at least two sets of the canon. If we consider the year recorded in fascicle 8 of *Discourse on the Establishment of Consciousness-only*, they could have belonged to three different sets of the canon. The discovery of the transcriptions in Dunhuang also proves that Buddhist beliefs flourished there during the Northern Wei dynasty. At least, copying scriptures

had become an official undertaking west of the Yellow River, showing that Buddhism was a significant social force at that time.

Some documents in Dunhuang manuscripts also demonstrate that as early as the late fifth century, private sponsorship of the canon was a trend in northern China. Evidence can be found in fascicle 6 of *Saṃyuktābhidharmahṛdaya* (*Za apitan xilun* 雜阿毗曇心論, S 00996): a colophon attached to the end of that volume records that a person named Feng Jinguo 冯晋国 created ten sets of the canon (*Yiqiejing* 一切經, all scriptures), each including 1,464 scrolls. These figures indicate the size of the Chinese Buddhist canon at the time. It is a pity that only one of the 1,464 scrolls in total made by Feng Jinguo has been discovered.[10]

During the formation stage of the handwritten manuscript canon, popular devotion to the Three Treasures or Refuges, which includes the Dharma, became another driving force for the creation of the Chinese canon. Traditionally, the Three Refuges—Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha—are essential components of Buddhism. Therefore, all three are worshipped by Buddhists. As the embodiment of "Dharma Treasure," Buddhist scriptures are worshipped as well. Here, the dividing line between philosophical Buddhism and faith-based Buddhism had been very clear. The ordinary people's major Buddhist activities were confession and merit accumulation. Specifically, making private copies of Buddhist scriptures and reciting and upholding the scriptures constituted their daily Buddhist practice. Descriptions of copying, reciting, and worshipping Buddhist scriptures, and the merit that those activities could create, can be found in many scriptures. Those descriptions helped to promote the activities of faith-based Buddhism. The apocryphon, *Sūtra of Avalokiteśvara [Promoted by] Lord Gao* (*Gaowang guanshiyin jing* 高王觀世音經) is one of the products and proofs of those activities. Stronger physical evidence of the worship of Buddhist scriptures is the twenty-fascicle version and sixteen-fascicle version of *Buddhabhāṣita-buddhanāma Sūtra* (*Fo ming jing* 佛名經) found in Dunhuang, which show how the initial twelve-fascicle version translated by Bodhiruci 菩提流支 (dates unknown) during the years of Zhengguang's 正光 reign in the Northern Wei dynasty (520–524) was developed into the thirty-fascicle version in *Tripiṭaka Koreana*. As devotion to the Three Jewels (*sanbao* 三寶) spread, more and more people valued Buddhist scriptures and took their veneration as an important Buddhist practice, thus promoting the creation of the Chinese Buddhist canon.[11]

China's profound cultural heritage was another important factor in the formation of the Chinese Buddhist canon with China's strong consciousness of being a great civilization. China has self-awareness and a sense of superiority, which Chinese people consciously spread and perpetuated by all kinds of methods. This high self-consciousness of civilization has been manifested

in collecting, maintaining, and preserving the books from the past in order to sort out, analyze, and integrate different thoughts, by which later generations can "cultivate themselves, regulate family, govern the country, and pacify the world."[12] Following Confucius, scholars engaged in compiling books, generation by generation. After the great unification achieved during the Qin and Han dynasties, all Chinese emperors took it as an essential activity to collect, compile, and catalog books. This cultural tradition was profound and magnificent, and formed certain social conditions ready to absorb and digest foreign cultures such as Buddhism.

After Indian Buddhism was introduced into China, it went through confrontation and domestication within Chinese traditional culture. Indian Buddhism transformed Chinese traditional culture greatly and also changed itself, gradually developing into Chinese Buddhism, which was tightly connected with Chinese traditional culture and became one of the three major Chinese traditions, together with Confucianism and Daoism. It was against this background that the unified Chinese Buddhist canon—corresponding to the unified political empire—took form. In contrast to India, which was never truly unified, every unified Chinese dynasty would compile a standard history for the previous dynasty as well as its own edition of the Chinese Buddhist canon.

Fei Changfang's catalog, *Records of the Three Jewels through the Ages* (*Lidai sanbao ji* 歷代三寶記), compiled in 597, marks the end of the formative period of the Chinese Buddhist canon. Judging from its title, one can easily tell that this work is a direct product of the "Cult of Three Jewels." Scholars of later generations criticized this work for not following the stylistic rules and layout of scriptural catalogs, and the *Taishō Canon* even put his work into the category "History and Biography" rather than "Catalogs." This happened because those scholars did not fully understand the social and historical background against which Fei's work was compiled. Fei Changfang invented the classificatory rubric of *Register of Canonical Texts* (*Ruzang lu* 入藏錄) and corrected the previous convention of listing titles under categories such as "Derivative Scriptures" (*Biesheng* 別生, meaning excerpts from a complete scripture), "Doubtful Scriptures" (*Yihuo* 疑惑), and "Apocrypha" (*Weiwang* 偽妄). Fei's innovation shows that the Chinese Buddhist canon had evolved from the stage of spontaneous dissemination to that of theoretical sophistication. Therefore, the canon had taken shape in both practice and theory. The stylistic rules and layout of Fei's catalog (*Lidai sanbao ji*) were adopted by later influential scriptural catalogs such as Daoxuan's 道宣 (596–667) *Neidian lu* 內典錄, *Da Zhou lu* 大周錄, Zhisheng's 智昇 (dates unknown) *Kaiyuan lu* 開元錄, and *Zhenyuan lu* 貞元錄. All these became the most basic catalogs.[13]

The Stage of Structural Systematization: Sixth to Ninth Century

This stage corresponds to the time period from the completion of Fei Changfang's catalog to the Buddhist persecution in 845, during which scholar-monks who were in charge of the compilation of scriptural catalogs tried to work out the structure of the Chinese Buddhist canon from different angles. Zhisheng's *Catalog of Buddhist Works Compiled during the Kaiyuan Period* (*Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄), which integrated the accomplishments of earlier scholars, became a model for later generations. Zhisheng's contribution to the structural system of the canon and the catalog of Buddhist scriptures represented the highest level of Chinese Buddhist bibliographical study in ancient times.

As the Chinese Buddhist canon was developed, especially with the appearance of "combined cases" (*hezhi* 合帙), the issues of "external markers" of the canon were put on the agenda. In the formation period, the "title-label method" (*Jingming biaozhi fa* 經名標誌法) employed one character from the title of the text in the canon to label each individual scroll or case. The "fixed shelf storage method" (*dingge chucun fa* 定格儲存法) was also invented. In the Dunhuang region ruled by Tibetans, there appeared the "verse-based case number method" (*jisong zhihao fa* 偈頌袂號法), which employed characters in popular liturgical verses to mark each case.[14]

At that time, scholar-monks studied further translated scriptures and Buddhist thought, writing a large number of works in response. Different Chinese Buddhist schools took form, and scholars from these schools wrote many works in order to elaborate their own doctrines. In addition, a variety of Chinese Buddhist writings, such as annals, liturgical texts, catalogs, translations, scripture extracts, and other faith-based works, appeared in great numbers. Some of these Chinese works were collected into the canon, but most were excluded by monk-compilers because the Chinese Buddhist canon mainly collected the translated scriptures. If it is said that in the first two stages, the development of the canon coincided with that of Chinese Buddhism, after this stage of structural systematization, the orthodox canon tended to be fixed and could not really reflect the progress of Chinese Buddhism. To supplement the main canon and make up for this deficiency, there appeared "separate canons" (*Biezang* 別藏). The Vinaya School compiled their own *Vinayapiṭaka* 毗尼藏, while the collection of doctrinal works of the Tiantai school was also popular. In addition, the Zen school also collected works on Chan, naming their collection "Chan Canon" (*Chanzang* 禪藏).[15] These phenomena deserve our attention.

The Stage of National Unification: Ninth to Tenth Century

This stage corresponds to the period from the Buddhist persecution in 845 to the printing of the *Kaibao Canon* 開寶藏 in 983. Before the persecution, the

development of the canon was relatively stable. Both the main canon and the separate canons mentioned above were expanding in scale. However, the 845 persecution was a heavy blow to Chinese Buddhism. Almost all the scriptures and images were destroyed in most regions of the country. Afterward, Buddhism recovered gradually. Temples all over the country used Zhisheng's catalog as the standard to rebuild the canon for themselves or for local regions, which in fact promoted the unification of different editions of the canon and created opportunities and the social environment for the appearance of printed canons. However, such a unification based on Zhisheng's catalog also resulted in a dilemma for including translated scriptures, such as the Tantric scriptures translated by Bukong 不空 (705–774, Amoghavajra), because these were translated after Zhisheng's catalog was written.

Another important factor that facilitated the unification of the canon was the appearance and spread of the court editions. These were compiled to accumulate merits for the imperial families. Relying on abundant human and material resources, the court editions were usually carefully copied, well collated, produced with fine paper, and well made. Because they often contained the new scriptures translated in official translation bureaus, they were ranked highest in quality among all editions of the canon. The imperial family also bestowed the canon to different regions. Therefore, compilers from different regions built up new canons or supplemented local canons according to the court edition. As a result, the court edition in fact helped to unify and regulate the Chinese Buddhist canon in different regions.

The intervention by the imperial court should be considered another important factor in the formation and unification of the canon. Before the Kaiyuan period (713–741), issues about how the canon was compiled or what kind of canon was going to be created were only relevant to local Buddhist groups and were never considered by the court. Even though there was a court edition, the court was only responsible for funding it and left monks to compile it. The imperial family had little effect on the structure, the content, or the methods of compilation of the court editions. After the Kaiyuan period, Emperor Xuanzong 玄宗 (685–762) in the Tang dynasty prevented some scriptures from being included in the canon. This practice was adopted and strengthened by emperors from later generations. The scriptures translated by monks had to be approved by the court or they would not be collected into the canon.

Since the Qin and Han dynasties, China had been basically under unified political power, and emperors had the supreme authority. The imperial intervention in canon formation was, actually, a kind of guided control of political power over theocratic power. To perpetuate their own long-term stability, Chinese feudal rulers would never have approved the rise of any independent religious power; instead, they had to integrate religious power into their

power structure and put it under their control. The imperial intervention in the contents of the canon was a sign that the political power controlled the development of Buddhism and made it part of the imperial bureaucratic system.

As for external markers of the canon, during this stage, the "Labeling Method by the *Thousand Characters Classic*" (*Qianziwen zhihao fa* 千字文袟號法) was adopted. This character-based call number system quickly replaced the storage-based method, verse-based method, and other methods. It spread further after the national unification of the canon and was adopted by the editions after the *Kaibao Canon*. From another perspective, the appearance of the "Labeling Method by the *Thousand Characters Classic*" also helped to promote the progress of the national unification of the canon.

After the 845 persecution, different editions of the canon were gradually unified under the framework of *Register of Canonical Texts* in Zhisheng's catalog, while editions from different places still maintained distinctions. This situation was caused by regional variations of local Buddhism in different places, the distinction between doctrinal and faith-based devotional traditions, various needs for having a canon, the unstable nature of handwritten manuscript editions, and so on. Due to these reasons, various editions of Zhisheng's catalog appeared. The situation was different from before the 845 persecution during the Huichang 會昌 reign, since the various editions were based on a standard checklist, namely Zhisheng's catalog. Because of this variety, three canonical systems, representing the "Central Plain" region, the northern region, and the southern region, appeared in the block-printing period.[16]

The Stage of the Coexistence of Handwritten and Block-Printed Copies: Tenth to Early Twelfth Century

This stage corresponds to the period from the printing of the *Kaibao Canon* to the end of the Northern Song dynasty (960–1127), during which, even though block-printed copies of the canon first appeared, handwritten copies were still popular. As the block-printed copies became more numerous, the number of handwritten copies began to decline. Therefore, during this period, block-printed and handwritten copies coexisted. In China, this lasted from the printing of the *Kaibao Canon* to the end of the Northern Song dynasty; in Japan, this period was much longer, lasting until the Edo Period (1615–1868). We have found several handwritten editions from this period, such as the Jinsushan edition 金粟山藏經, the Faxisi edition 法喜寺藏經, and the Daheninguo edition 大和甯國藏經. In addition, there are many copies written in gold or silver ink. Extant handwritten manuscripts handed down from the Northern Song dynasty are now considered first-rate cultural relics for their fine paper and elegant handwriting. Thus, it can be seen that the form and function of this type of canon tended to be more and more faith-based.

The Stage of Pure Merit Accumulation: Early Twelfth to Early Twentieth Century

This stage roughly corresponds to the period from the Southern Song dynasty (1127–1279) to the Qing dynasty (1644–1911), during which block-printed editions of the canon completely replaced handwritten ones in China and became the major means of production and circulation. However, the handwritten editions did not disappear completely. Although their philosophical function declined, their faith-based function was highlighted. The handwritten editions in this period were mainly written in gold or silver ink. According to the research materials we have now, people did not stop making gold or silver-lettered canons until the Qing dynasty. Nowadays, although no one tries to make any complete gold- or silver-lettered copies of the canon, there are still some people making handwritten, gold- or silver-lettered, and even blood-written copies of scriptures, in order to gain merit. All the above can be seen as evidence of purely merit-oriented devotion. In recent years, people have been making copies of scriptures for the sake of calligraphic demonstration, which is a sign of the popularity of Buddhist culture. We can expect that the art-oriented and merit-oriented copy-making will be long-standing traditions.

As discussed above, in the first four stages of the history of handwritten editions, there were only handwritten copies, while in the last two stages, editions of other forms coexisted with the handwritten ones. Our division of such stages can only provide an overview; the actual situation is much more complicated. In some cases, when a stage had already ended, the following one did not start immediately. Or sometimes two stages overlapped. The disparity among regions in China added much more complexity. Thus, this kind of periodization is only for convenience.

The very fact that handwritten canons were copied by particular groups of people gives rise to some basic features, that is, the uniqueness of each individual copy. This means that each copy of the canon or scripture copied by hand is the only one extant in the world. This contrasts sharply with block-printed canons, for copies printed from the same set of blocks are totally the same. Thus, there must be differences in the copies of the same scripture that were hand-copied by different people, and copies of the same scripture copied by the same people at different times. This formal uncertainty—or, in other words, scribal/textual fluidity—is another feature of the handwritten canon. The combination of uniqueness and fluidity determines its basic characteristics, summarized in the following:

1. Differences in number of lines and number of characters in each line (*xingkuan* 行款), design of boundary lines (*jielan* 界欄), and calligraphic style

2. Differences in scribal style such as redaction of the content and the use of different kinds of Chinese characters
3. Differences in textual content of different editions due to addition, deletion, accidental omission, and scribal errors
4. Differences in the division of fascicles and chapters due to the use of different master copies
5. Differences in the scope of inclusion and structure of the canon due to regional, temporal, and personal variations in their creation[17]

Because of the uniqueness and fluidity of the handwritten canon, we have to seek commonalities while preserving minor differences by temporarily ignoring details and searching for a system of textual transmission based on the original master copies. Here we must establish the concept of "text lineage" (*chuanben* 傳本, literarily "transmitted texts"). For every handwritten copy, whether it is a copy of scripture or a whole set of the canon, if it is not the original, it must have a master copy from which it was made. Both original copies and later copies form a system of text lineage. The handwritten copies that belong to the same text lineage are considered the same edition of the canon.

Then, the question is how to distinguish different systems of text lineage. Here I rely on the "three essential elements" of the canon proposed in 1988—namely, selection criteria, structural system, and external marker—to solve the issue. These three elements focus on content, structure, and physical markers of the canon, respectively. The internal characteristics of the canon can be presented in the aspects of content and structure, while the external ones are shown by physical markers. We can use these three elements to evaluate and examine any handwritten edition of the canon. If all the three elements are changed, the edition of the canon is changed and will be considered a new edition. If only external markers are changed, the canon edition is considered unchanged. But if the content or structure is changed, the edition of the canon with the new internal elements will be considered a new one. Therefore, the decisive factors distinguishing the editions of the handwritten canon are their internal characteristics.

To study an edition of the handwritten canon, the most important procedure is to analyze its catalog, because the content and structure of that edition are presented in the catalog. No matter how different the handwritten editions' external markers are, they are considered to belong to the same system of text lineage if they are based on the same catalog. Because of the uniqueness and fluidity of handwritten editions, even when there are subtle differences in structure or content between two sets of a canon, we still consider that they belong to the same system of text lineage. For example, compared with the *Great Kaiyuan Canon* 開元大藏, the several sets of the canon, on which *Kehong's Phonetic Glossaries of Buddhist Sūtras* (*Kehong yinyi* 可洪音義)

are based, include editions of scriptures that were not in Zhisheng's catalog (*Kaiyuan lu*). However, we still consider the canon Kehong worked on as a variation of the *Kaiyuan Canon*. For another example, although a canon compiled at Longxing Monastery 龍興寺 in the Dunhuang region under Tibetan rule added several new scriptures not contained in Daoxuan's catalog (*Da Tang neidian lu* 大唐內典錄), we still consider it to belong to the system of Daoxuan's catalog.

Because of the role catalogs played in the study of manuscript canons, we must study various Buddhist catalogs in depth and among them identify the catalogs for the canon. As for the text lineages of manuscript scriptures or canons and their transformation, there are very few people who have done serious research, and it should become a focus in the future.

In order to determine if a copy of manuscript scripture belongs to a canon or not, we need to examine the physical copy by first checking if there are external markers such as the case number (*zhihao* 袟號). If there is a case number, this copy must belong to a canon. Then we can look at the colophon and see if it mentions whether the creation of the copy was for a canon or not. Finally, we can establish links within a group of copies through comparison and thus establish their identity.

THE BLOCK-PRINTING PERIOD

More research is needed to determine when the earliest printed materials first appeared in Chinese history. The earliest block-printed canon was the *Kaibao Canon*, printed in the early Song dynasty; the latest was the *Piling Canon* 毗陵藏, printed in the late Qing dynasty and early Republican China.[18] During the 1,000 years in between, more than twenty editions of block-printed canons were produced. However, despite the number and size of the court editions and private editions, the development of the Chinese Buddhist canon was declining along with Chinese Buddhism. New editions such as the *First Supplement to the Jiaxing Canon* (*Jiaxing xuzang* 嘉興續藏) and the *Second Supplement to the Jiaxing Canon* (*Jiaxing you xuzang* 嘉興又續藏) collected more Chinese Buddhist works than ever before. During the block-printing stage, the overall structure of the canon did not change significantly. In external form, the Chinese canon evolved from the scroll style (*juanzhouzhuang* 卷軸裝) to the accordion-folding style (*jingzhezhuang* 經折裝), and then to the stitched-booklet style (*xianzhuang* 線裝).[19]

Compared with the handwritten canon, the most important feature of the block-printed canon is its uniformity. The copies made from the same set of carved wood blocks have the same format and layout. Therefore, the engraved blocks on which the copies are based become the most persuasive basis for

distinguishing different editions of the block-printed canon. Once the blocks are engraved, the internal characteristics such as content and structure are fixed. Because of the enormous scope of a whole set of the canon, a considerable number of blocks were used in the printing process. For example, the *Kaibao Canon* used 130,000 blocks. In order to manage them systematically and to identify each individual block, engravers created block numbers and carved them to create "external markers" of a canon on the blocks as well. Thus, the blocks, which reflect all "three elements of the canon," become the basis for us to distinguish different editions of the block-printed canon, just as catalogs are the basis for the study of the handwritten canon.

We can therefore establish a principle that if the blocks are different, even though two sets of the canon were compiled under the same catalog, they are different editions. This is very important for clarifying the confusion of several editions of the block-printed canon. For example, there is a question about how many Liao-dynasty (916–1125) texts recently found in a wooden pagoda in Ying County 應縣, Shanxi Province, belong to the canon. Although scholars have been debating it for a long time, there is still no consensus. They did not realize that a common criterion of evaluation is needed. If we pay more attention to the blocks and compare them carefully, we can discover that only copy no. 7 belongs to the canon. Also, the Liao edition has a big-character version and a small-character version. In addition, printed copies from the *Fangshan Stone Canon* (*Fangshan shijing* 房山石經) were produced during the Liao and Jin dynasties but were based on the *Liao Canon*. Questions remain about how the three were related. After we consider blocks as the only criterion to distinguish different editions of the canon, we can declare confidently that the bigger-character edition, the small-character edition, and the *Fangshan Stone Canon* edition existed simultaneously but belong to different editions of the canon (Fang, "*Liao Dazi Zang"*). In a similar vein, although the *Zhaocheng Canon* (*Zhaocheng zang* 趙城藏) and the *First Korean Canon* (*Chuke Gaoli zang* 初刻高麗藏) were reprints of the *Kaibao Canon*, these were all independent editions because they have their own blocks.

Analyzing the blocks for an edition not only covers details such as the size of the blocks, number of characters in a column and number of columns, boundary design, and block numbers, but also refers to the overall condition of a whole set of blocks. Many editions of the canon had been repaired and supplemented. For example, the blocks of the *Qisha Canon* (*Qisha zang* 磧砂藏) were engraved in the Song dynasty, supplemented in the Yuan dynasty (1271–1368), and repaired in the Ming dynasty (1368–1644). The *Puning Canon* (*Puning zang* 普寧藏) was supplemented with scriptures of the esoteric tradition. The *Yongle Southern Canon* (*Yongle nanzang* 永樂南藏) was supplemented in the Wanli reign (1572–1620) in the Ming dynasty. In

addition, damage cannot be avoided, and blocks used for a long period need repairs. For example, the *Chongning Canon* (*Chongning zang* 崇寧藏) was repaired several times. When the Cultural Relics Publishing House (*Wenwu chubanshe* 文物出版社) reprinted the *Qing Canon* or *Dragon Canon* (*Qing Longzang* 清龍藏) in recent years, original blocks were rearranged, supplemented, and repaired on a large scale. If the main body of a set of blocks is not changed but only repaired and partly supplemented, we consider it a new version of the same edition. That is to say, one edition of the canon may have different copies made from the same blocks and different versions caused by supplements and repairs. Thorough studies of different versions of one edition of the canon will be an important task in canon research. For example, it is significant to clarify the relationship among the original version, the supplemented version, and the repaired version of the *Zhaocheng Canon* carved during the Jin dynasty (1115–1234). If the alleged *Hongfa Canon* (*Hongfa zang* 弘法藏) is indeed a supplemented version of the *Zhaocheng Canon*, it will not be considered an independent edition.[20]

THE MODERN PRINTING PERIOD

The modern printed editions can be classified into two types based on the method of production: typographic printed and photographic printed.

Typographic Printed Editions

There are two kinds of typographic printed canons—metal-type printed editions and laser-typeset printed editions. The metal-type editions are printed with movable metal type and conform to modern book standards. The editions of this type include the Gukyō edition (*Gukyōzō* 弘教藏), the Zōkuzōkyō edition (*Dai Nihon Zōkuzōkyō* 大日本續藏經), and the Taishō edition (*Taishōzō* 大正藏) in Japan. In China, there were the Pinjia edition (*Pinjiazang* 頻伽藏) and the Puhui edition (*Puhuizang* 普慧藏). Laser typesetting uses the technology of laser platemaking. In China, canons printed in this way include the Wenshu edition (*Wenshu dazangjing* 文殊大藏經), which was aborted halfway through, and the Foguang edition 佛光大藏經, which is in progress.

The modern printed editions have the advantages of sharp fonts, practical bookbinding style and layout, and a large amount of information. What deserves special mention here is that the appearance of the modern printed canon is connected to the rise of modern academic research on Buddhism. The Taishō edition, an example of the newly compiled canons, has high academic value not only in its collation and punctuation but also in its unique design of a classification system and its scientific and practical index. With

such advantages, the modern printed editions replaced the block-printed ones as soon as they appeared.

Although the level of technology used in metal-type printing and in laser-typeset printing is different, both require manual input and typesetting by computer. Because it is hard to avoid typos even with careful collation, there is no essential distinction between these two types of modern printing in terms of accuracy.

Photographic or Facsimile Editions

There are also two types of photographically printed editions. The first type does not make any changes to the original copy. The modern photographically printed versions of the *First Southern Canon* (*Chuke nanzang* 初刻南藏), the *Yongle Northern Canon* (*Yongle beizang* 永樂北藏), the *Qing Dragon Canon*, and the *Pinjia Canon* are all of this type. The second type resets and reedits the original copies. Editions of the second type include the modern Taiwan edition and the Beijing edition of the *Tripiṭaka Sinica* (*Zhonghua Dazangjing* 中華大藏經).

Now the ancient block-printed canons have become cultural relics and the photographic printed editions can present photocopies of the original canon. Although the photocopies are not the same as the original blocks, they are convenient for researchers studying ancient editions of the canon. The photographically printed copies usually employ modern bookbinding and layout, making reading more convenient. Therefore, the photographically printed copies are very popular.

Determining the Independent Status of Modern Printed Editions

The catalog on which a particular edition is based is the main criterion used to determine whether a modern printed edition is an independent one or not. If the catalog shows independent content and structure, we will consider the edition a new one. In addition, we have to focus on the historical transmission of that edition, namely the original version and collated version.

According to these two criteria, all the typographically printed editions are new editions. Because the cost of typesetting is high and the process provides more room for rearranging the content, modern compilers take the opportunity to compile a new edition of the canon. In terms of text lineage, for example, the Taishō edition is very different from the Pinjia edition, mainly because they used different master copies for printing and different copies for collation.

The status of photographically printed editions is more complicated to determine. As mentioned above, there are two types of photographically

printed editions. The first one does not make any changes to the original copies, while the other resets and reedits their content and structure. The first type follows the original catalog and keeps the original form, so we consider the photographically printed editions of this type the same edition as the original copy. The Qisha edition, which was photographically printed in the 1930s, is a special edition. Because the original copy was missing a number of volumes, some scriptures from other editions were added to this reprint, as explained by the compilers in the instructions and catalog attached to the end of this edition. The photographically printed version of the Qisha edition did not cause confusion in the recognition of editions and did not change the arrangement of the original, reflecting the true face of the ancient block-printed Qisha edition. So we still consider the photographically printed version the same edition as the original Qisha version. The supplemented part in the photographic printed version resembles the supplemented engravings in ancient block-printed editions. The Beijing edition of the *Tripiṭaka Sinica* can be taken as an example of the other kind of modern printed canon that rearranges the order of the original content. Although the Beijing edition of the *Tripiṭaka Sinica* is based on the *Zhaocheng Canon*, the whole collection of the *Tripiṭaka Sinica* contains about 10,000 fascicles of texts. The total number of texts in the *Zhaocheng Canon*, however, accounts for half of the content in the Beijing edition of the *Tripiṭaka Sinica*. The rest includes texts taken from other editions of the canon and even texts input through computer. Compared with the *Zhaocheng Canon*, the structure and order of content of the Beijing edition were changed enormously, and it made many supplements and repairs to the *Zhaocheng Canon*. What's more, its catalog is different. Therefore, it is not a simple photographic version of the *Zhaocheng Canon* but a new edition. (Some people still believe, inaccurately, that the Beijing edition of the *Tripiṭaka Sinica* is a photographic version of the *Zhaocheng Canon*). We have to admit the independent status of this edition, which inherited the contents of the *Zhaocheng Canon* and eight other editions. So, when we evaluate the Beijing *Tripiṭaka Sinica*, we cannot ignore its legacy from the *Zhaocheng Canon*. In sum, in the study of modern printed editions, we have to take both their catalogs and their text lineages into consideration.

THE DIGITAL PERIOD

With the rapid development of technology, the digital age of books has come, and the Chinese Buddhist canon entered the digital world in the 1980s. The digitization of the canon has greatly progressed in the past twenty years. The process can be divided into two stages.

Initial Stage

The major feature of the initial stage is "media transformation," in which the paper medium of the Chinese Buddhist canon was transformed into digital data. Correspondingly, similar to the division of typographic and photographic printings, the digital canon in the initial stage also has two types: one is manual input and the other optical character recognition (OCR) input.

In the mid-1990s, *Tripiṭaka Koreana* completed the digital transformation first. This success laid a solid foundation for future works. After the completion of the digital version of the *Taishō Canon*, the digital transformation spread to Chinese Buddhist academic communities throughout the world. The major advantage of the digital canon is its full-text retrieval system through which instantaneous retrieval, storage, and spread of information brings great convenience for researchers.

OCR scanning of a whole collection of the canon was first finished in the late 1990s. Now the scanned editions of the canon include the *Taishō Canon*, the *Yongle Northern Canon*, and the *Qing Dragon Canon*. Although the scanned canons cannot realize the function of full-text retrieval, the information contained in paper copies that would take several bookshelves to store can be condensed on a small hard disk. Compared with photographically printed editions, the scanned ones indeed have more advantages. Completion of the scanning paved the way for the advanced stage of the digital period.

Although the electronic texts created in this initial stage have many advantages, the deficiencies of the typographic and photographic printed versions still exist in them because they are basically simple transformations of media. In addition, there are two more problems in the electronic canon.

Textual Variations in Different Electronic Versions

Early in the initial stage of the digital period, there was great enthusiasm for textual input of scriptures and the entire canon, as many people were working in this area. However, the quality of text input by different people or groups is different. Therefore, there might be several electronic versions of different quality for the *Taishō Canon*. However, in the past seventeen years, after resource integration and competition, the version of the *Taishō Canon* created by the Chinese Buddhist Electronic Text Association (CBETA) in Taiwan has been recognized by the public, while other versions have disappeared gradually.[21]

The early electronic texts input by CBETA contain many mistakes, but the texts were gradually collated and corrected. Thus, early texts are different from later texts. Since the electronic texts created by CBETA were released gradually, different versions of the same electronic texts have been spread

around the world. Due to lack of information about when the texts were input, ordinary readers may have difficulty distinguishing different versions.

Public Credibility of Electronic Texts

It can be either an advantage or a disadvantage that electronic texts are easy to revise. By revising, electronic texts may be perfected. However, revision can cause instability of these texts, negatively affecting their public credibility. The electronic version of the *Taishō Canon* created by CBETA has been widely accepted among Buddhist researchers, despite its mistakes and typos. Because the electronic version has corrected many typographical errors in the original, we consider its quality better than or as good as the original *Taishō Canon*. But when careful scholars search CBETA's electronic version, they still have to check against the original *Taishō Canon* when they need to indicate the sources of quotations. Therefore, we have to determine how to establish public credibility of electronic texts. This is of course not a problem Buddhist scholars have to deal with alone. Rather, it is linked to public opinion about electronic texts in the whole society. In my opinion, one way to gain public trust in electronic texts of the Chinese Buddhist canon is to number the published texts, build databases for different versions of electronic texts, and keep records of revisions.

All electronic versions that appeared in the initial stage are simple transformations of certain original editions of the canon. Since they all depend on the original editions, they do not have independent status and do not belong to new editions of the canon. Catalog is still the criterion for distinguishing different editions.

The Advanced Stage

The major feature of the advanced stage of the digital canon is the hypertext link, namely showing the hyperlinks of different data resources on the same screen in order to meet different readers' demands. There are two levels of hyperlinks in the canon: the ordinary hypertext at the low level and the interactive hypertext at the high level.

One representative of the so-called ordinary hypertext is the *Chinese Buddhist Tripiṭaka Electronic Text Collection* 電子佛典集成 created by CBETA in April 2004.[22] Its basic content includes the first fifty-five volumes and the eighty-fifth volume of the *Taishō Canon*, and ten volumes under the category of historical biography in the *Newly Compiled Japanese Supplemented Canon* (*Shinsan Dai-Nihon zōkuzōkyō* 新纂大日本續藏經). The desktop structure of this collection is designed according to the principle of "combining texts and their commentaries together" (*yishu lishu* 以疏隶書) first proposed by

Yang Wenhui 楊文會, thus changing the content and structure of the canon and providing new functions that the traditional canon does not have.

The so-called interactive hypertext is a new form of the canon based on active reader participation on the internet.[23] The future development of the digital canon remains to be seen. In my opinion, in the next few years or decades, a newly collated digital canon with the scanned images on the top and electronic texts below will appear, so will a hypertext canon with an interface that can accommodate multiple editions and allow switching back and forth among them. The new digital canon will not only be a simple database but also provide researchers with different kinds of research tools.

As new forms of the canon appear, the criteria for evaluating different editions in the digital era will change as well. They will be neither internal content and structure nor external markers; the "three elements" of the Chinese Buddhist canon will be abandoned in the advanced stage of the digital period. The amount of information contained in the digital canon and the types, numbers, and functions of the research tools that the digital version can provide will be the criteria to evaluate different versions of the canon. This is a leap forward in quality.

In the digital era, the traditional paper-based canon will never disappear, and will develop toward the format of luxury bookbinding and layout to enhance its faith-based functions. The ideal canon should have three functional forms—the philosophy-oriented type, the faith-based type, and the research database type.[24] It is very difficult for the previous versions of the canons to achieve all three. The combination of digital and paper-based editions will realize this ideal.

NOTES

1. Fang Guangchang, "Futujing kao," 24–7.

2. It must be also mentioned that *jing* is a term by which Confucian classics were known for centuries, long before the arrival of Buddhism. In their attempt to establish the textual authority of Buddhist texts, Chinese Buddhist scholars regarded all Buddhist translations as *jing*, or Buddhist classics, whether they belonged to the vinaya, sūtra, or abhidharma type of a text. For a detailed discussion, see Storch, *The History of Chinese Buddhist Bibliography*, esp., 57–8.—Translator's note.

3. Daizōe, *Daizōkyō: seiritsu to hensen*, 22.

4. Fang, *Ba zhi shi shiji Fojiao dazangjing shi*, 1.

5. The term "Hīnayāna" is no longer in use by American scholars, for it is considered incorrect and derogatory toward the early schools of Buddhism. See Storch, *The History of Chinese Buddhist Bibliography,* xxi. Most commonly "the Southern Traditions" or the extant "Theravada" school from these traditions is used instead of "Hīnayāna."—Translator's note.

6. For some of these definitions, see Ding, *Foxue dacidian*, 215b, 3b; Mochizuki and Tsukamoto, *Mochizuki Bukkyō daijiten*, 3311b; Daizōe, *Daizōkyō: seiritsu to hensen*, 5–6; Zhongguo dabaike, *Zhongguo dabaike quanshu: Zongjiao*, 56–7; Ciyi, *Foguang dacidian*, 893; Lan, *Zhonghua fojiao baikequanshu,* 628a; Ren, *Zongjiao dacidian*, 161, 440; Ren*, Zongjiao dacidian*, 157a, 302a; Chen, *Zhongguo fojiao baikequanshu*, 392; Li and He, *Hanwen fojiao dazangjing yanjiu*, 1. Editors have omitted a long discussion of these definitions by Chinese and Japanese scholars.—Translator's note.

7. Fang, *Ba zhi shi shiji Fojiao dazangjing shi*, 3.

8. Fang, *Fojiao zhi*.

9. According to incomplete statistics, there are about fifteen scrolls extant. See Ikeda, *Chūgoku kodai shahon shikigo shūroku*, 101a–105b. The paper and transcription style of these scrolls are similar, and the colophons at the end have the same style. Ink seals on the colophons, perhaps the earliest such seals in Chinese history, are also the same, although the content of the seals is still unidentifiable.

10. The transcript of the colophon of S 00996 in Fang's original article has been omitted here. For the complete document, see Fang, *Zhongguo xieben dazangjing*, 19.—Translator's note.

11. Fang, "Guanyu Dunhuang yishu 'Foshuo Foming jing.'"

12. Quoted from the Confucian classic *Great Learning* (Daxue大學).—Translator's note.

13. For a recent study of Fei's catalog, see Storch, "Fei Changfang's *Records of the Three Treasures throughout the Successive Dynasties* and its Role in the Formation of the Chinese Buddhist Canon."—Translator's note.

14. For details of these labeling methods, see Fang, *Zhongguo xieben dazangjing*, 403–513.—Translator's note.

15. For a detailed study of "Chan Canon," see Fang, *Zhongguo xieben dazangjing,* 242–79.—Translator's note.

16. The three systems were first proposed by Chikusa Masaaki. Fang Guangchang worked out similar ideas independently in his early work. See Chikusa, "Sō Gen ban Daizōkyō no keifu," 271–362. Professor Fang Guangchang confirmed this in an e-mail to Jiang Wu, October 13, 2010—Translator's note.

17. Detailed explanation about manuscript morphology is omitted.—Translator's note.

18. This is an unfinished edition sponsored by Sheng Xuanhuai and recently discovered by Fang Guangchuang. In the last few years of the Qing dynasty, the famous official merchant and entrepreneur Sheng Xuanhuai 盛宣懷 (1844–1916) sponsored the carving of a new canon based on the Dragon edition as a project with Yang Wenhui's 楊文會 (1837–1911) printer in Nanjing (*Jinling kejingchu* 金陵刻經處). This project was never finished. Fang Guangchang recently discovered a few copies in a library and named it the *Piling Canon* 毗陵藏, after Sheng Xuanhuai's dharma name. See Fang, "Pilingzang chutan."—Translator's note.

19. For these binding styles, see Tsien, *Science and Civilisation in China*, 64, 86–8, 227–34.—Translator's note.

20. In Japan, the Tenkai edition produced in the early Edo period was printed with movable wooden type, and it is the only movable wooden-type printed edition.

Although both wooden-type printing and block printing belong to the scope of ancient printing, they are two different technologies. Thus, I will not discuss it further in this chapter.

21. For an overview of CBETA and its projects, see Tu, "The Creation of the CBETA Electronic Tripitaka Collection in Taiwan."—Translator's note.

22. This was the latest edition when the author wrote this chapter.—Translator's note.

23. Fang, "Zixun shidai de Fojiao muluxue."

24. Fang, "Lun dazangjing de sanzhong gongneng xingtai."

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Editor's note: The original Chinese title of this chapter is "Guanyu Hanwen Dazangjing de jige wenti" 關於漢文大藏經的幾個問題 (Several issues concerning the Chinese Buddhist canon), which has been incorporated as the introduction to Fang, *Zhongguo xieben dazangjing*, 1–38. The current translation was prepared by Xin Zi 自信 for the First International Conference on the Chinese Buddhist Canon held in Tucson, Arizona, March 20–21, 2011, and was published later in *Journal of Chinese Buddhist Studies* 28 (2015): 1–34. Stylistic changes have been made and certain detailed discussions about primary sources are omitted to save space. The translators want to thank the two reviewers for their meticulous reading of the manuscript to help us avoid many errors. A few notes were added by the translators for clarification.

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