

*Precepts, Ordinations, and Practice
in Medieval Japanese Tendai*

STUDIES IN EAST ASIAN BUDDHISM 31

*Precepts, Ordinations,
and Practice in
Medieval Japanese
Tendai*

Paul Groner

A KURODA INSTITUTE BOOK
University of Hawai'i Press
Honolulu

© 2022 Kuroda Institute
All rights reserved
Printed in the United States of America

First Printing, 2022

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Groner, Paul, author.

Title: Precepts, ordinations, and practice in medieval Japanese Tendai /
Paul Groner.

Other titles: Studies in East Asian Buddhism ; no. 31.

Description: Honolulu : University of Hawai'i Press, 2022. | Series:
Studies in East Asian Buddhism; 31 | Includes bibliographical references
and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2021050474 | ISBN 9780824892746 (hardback) | ISBN
9780824893293 (adobe pdf) | ISBN 9780824893309 (epub) | ISBN
9780824893316 (kindle edition)

Subjects: LCSH: Tiantai Buddhism–Japan–History–To 1500. | Monastic and
religious life (Buddhism)–Japan–History–To 1500. | Buddhist
precepts–History–To 1500. | Ordination (Buddhism)–Japan–History–To
1500.

Classification: LCC BQ9144.4.J3 G76 2022 | DDC 294.3/92–dc23/eng/20211228
LC record available at <https://lccn.loc.gov/2021050474>

The Kuroda Institute for the Study of Buddhism is a nonprofit,
educational corporation founded in 1976. One of its primary
objectives is to promote scholarship on the historical, philosophical,
and cultural ramifications of Buddhism. In association with the University
of Hawai'i Press, the Institute also publishes Classics in East Asian
Buddhism, a series devoted to the translation of significant texts in the
East Asian Buddhist tradition.

University of Hawai'i Press books are printed on acid-free
paper and meet the guidelines for permanence and
durability of the Council on Library Resources.

Cover photo: Built in 828, the Precepts Platform Hall is symbolic of
the establishment of the Tendai School, the “conferral” of the precepts by
the Buddha, and the “transmission” of the precepts by leaders of the school.
The current building dates from 1678. Photo courtesy of Enryakuji.

*I dedicate this book to all the teachers and friends
in Asia and the West who have taught, inspired,
and accompanied me in my studies. Without you,
this book would not have been possible.*

Contents

<i>Foreword by Jacqueline Stone</i>	ix
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	xiii
<i>Conventions and Abbreviations</i>	xv
1. Introducing the Precepts and Outlining the Chapters of This Book	1
2. The <i>Brahma's Net Sutra</i> Precepts	12
3. Annen's Interpretation of the Tendai Ordination: Its Background and Later Influence	35
4. Annen, Tankei, Henjō, and Monastic Discipline in the Tendai School: The Background of Annen's <i>Futsūju Bosatsukai Kōshaku</i> (Extensive commentary on the universal bodhisattva precept ordination)	55
5. Japanese Tendai Perfect-Sudden Precepts and the <i>Vinaya</i>	81
6. The Role of Confession in Chinese and Japanese Tiantai/Tendai Bodhisattva Ordinations	96
7. The <i>Lotus Sutra</i> and the Perfect-Sudden Precepts	119
8. Kōen and the Consecrated Ordination	147
9. Ritually Embodying the <i>Lotus Sutra</i> : An Interpretation of the Consecrated Ordination in the Kurodani Lineage	180
10. Training through Debates in Medieval Tendai and Seizan-ha Temples	207

11. Jitsudō Ninkū on Ordinations	232
12. Doctrinal Discussions of Killing in Medieval Tendai Texts	255
13. Can the Precepts Be Lost? Can the Precepts Be Violated? The Role of the <i>Record of the Meaning of the Bodhisattva Precepts</i> in Medieval Tendai Discourse	276
14. Summing Up the Medieval Tendai Precepts and Tracing Those Themes to the Modern Period	301
Afterword by Charles B. Jones	329
<i>Glossary</i>	331
<i>Bibliography</i>	351
<i>Index</i>	371

Foreword

PERSONS GOING to Japan for the first time to learn about Buddhism are often struck by the worldly lifestyles of Japanese clerics. Most do not keep the monastic precepts but, rather, marry, eat meat, drink alcohol, and lead lives differing little from those of laypeople. Monastics elsewhere in the Buddhist world sometimes consider Japanese Buddhism “inauthentic” for this reason. Standard overviews attribute this state of affairs to the Meiji government’s 1870s legislation that abolished special status for clerics, incorporated them into the household registry system as ordinary citizens, and decriminalized clerical marriage. However, issues surrounding the precepts—the Buddhist moral and behavioral norms—have a much more complex backstory. Long before the modern period, Japanese monks studied and wrote about the precepts and debated what forms they should take and what roles they should play both in personal religious cultivation and in temple administration and monastic life. That history is vividly reconstructed in the present volume, a collection of groundbreaking essays by Paul Groner.

Groner focuses on the Tendai tradition because of its broad impact on medieval Japanese religion and society and, in particular, its role in setting the terms of debate over precepts and ordination. Controversy began when the Japanese Tendai founder Saichō (766/767–822) resolved to abandon as “Hīnayāna” the mainstream Buddhist practice of ordaining monks according to the *Vinaya*, or traditional monastic rules, and to ordain his disciples instead with the bodhisattva precepts set forth in the *Brahmā’s Net Sutra* (*Fanwang jing*). Saichō’s decision had momentous consequences. On one hand, it freed his fledgling Tendai institution from domination by the rival schools based in the Japanese capital of Nara and also supported his vision of a unified Buddhism grounded in the one vehicle of the Mahāyāna. On the other hand, the bodhisattva precepts did not distinguish between lay and clerical practitioners and were thus unsuited as a guide to temple regulation or monastic training. Another issue concerned the relation of the bodhisattva precepts to the *Lotus Sutra*, the central scripture of the Tendai School and widely revered as Śākyamuni Buddha’s final and highest teaching. In these essays, the fruit of more than thirty years’ study, Groner draws on canonical sources,

commentaries, temple rules, debate texts, oral transmission records, ritual manuals, and other sources to piece together an enthralling account of how Saichō's successors wrestled with these problems over the ensuing centuries. Along a richly nuanced spectrum of interpretation, tension emerged between two poles. Some exegetes understood the precepts as innate, arising from the primordial mind or buddha nature, and downplayed their importance as rules of conduct. Interpretations of this kind often drew on the hermeneutics of esoteric Buddhism and original enlightenment (*hongaku*) thought, which saw liberation as direct apprehension of the perfect interpenetration of all phenomena and thus tended to collapse the Buddhist path structure into a single moment's faith and understanding. Such readings viewed ordination less as an induction into the norms of a renunciate community than as an initiation rite confirming one's innate buddhahood; though doctrinally sophisticated, these readings legitimized a relaxed stance toward monastic discipline. In contrast, other interpreters affirmed the role of the precepts in governing religious life; they devised new ordination rituals and monastic regulations by creatively reinterpreting their received texts and doctrines and selectively drawing on previously discarded *Vinaya* elements and even the practices of rival schools. Groner's analysis seamlessly integrates the institutional, social, and doctrinal implications of these divergent approaches. While focused on Japan, his study has transregional implications, showing how Japanese interpretations were shaped by study of Chinese and Korean commentaries and by the experiences of monks who had traveled to China and witnessed continental monastic practice firsthand.

One of the reviewers of this manuscript wrote: "Each chapter of this volume addresses topics central to Buddhism as a lived tradition: morality; monastic discipline; the boundaries between worldly and religious norms; karmic consequences; the unavoidable tensions between Buddhist ideals of universalism and the rivalries of competing doctrinal interpretations and monastic orders. . . . It is essential reading for anyone wishing to understand the intellectual and doctrinal foundations of Buddhism in Japan, not just within the Tendai tradition." Groner's study indeed goes straight to the heart of problems that engaged medieval Japanese Buddhists across the boundaries of sect and lineage. Its clear style of presentation will communicate to readers—Tendai aficionados and non-specialists alike—the fundamental issues at stake beneath the highly condensed and technical language of Buddhist commentary.

This volume represents a landmark for the Kuroda Institute, as our first publication of a collection of essays by a single scholar. It is thus appropriate to say something about its author. Paul Groner received his PhD in Buddhist Studies from Yale University and taught for more than thirty years at the University of Virginia. He is widely recognized as a leading authority on Tendai Buddhism. In a 1974 book review, Groner's then-to-be dissertation adviser, the late Stanley Weinstein, coined the phrase "neglected Tendai tradition." Despite its profound influence on the religion and culture of premodern

Japan, Tendai Buddhism had long remained understudied, especially in the West, being relegated to the status of the “womb,” or historical backdrop, of the better-known Pure Land, Zen, and Nichiren traditions. But today, although many questions and unexplored areas remain, Japanese Tendai is no longer neglected in Anglophone scholarship. This advance is largely thanks to Paul Groner. His first monograph, *Saichō: The Establishment of the Japanese Tendai School* (1984; reprint University of Hawai‘i Press, 2016), highlights Saichō’s reform of ordination and monastic discipline and relates his struggles to establish a new kind of Buddhist institution, encompassing precepts, meditative practices, and exoteric and esoteric studies under the umbrella of the one vehicle of the *Lotus Sutra*. Groner’s second book, *Ryōgen and Mount Hiei: Japanese Tendai in the Tenth Century* (Kuroda Institute Studies in East Asian Buddhism 15, University of Hawai‘i Press, 2002), explores how, under the dynamic leadership of its eighteenth chief abbot, Ryōgen (912–985), the Tendai School morphed from a small, struggling monastic community into one of Japan’s most powerful religious institutions. A chapter on nuns in that volume merits particular mention. Official ordination for women began to lapse in Japan from the latter part of the eighth century. Groner was among the first to recognize how women, excluded from the formal monastic world, actively created alternative modes of renunciate life via the growing practice of “private ordination.”

While chiefly focused on Japan, Groner’s work is grounded in a broad understanding of Buddhist tradition. In order to introduce Japanese scholarship on Indian Buddhism to an English-language readership, he translated and substantially revised Hiraakawa Akira’s monumental *History of Indian Buddhism: From Śākyamuni to Early Mahāyāna* (University of Hawai‘i Press, 1990). Groner has also published some fifty articles on a range of topics. These include the Tendai doctrines of “realizing buddhahood with this very body” (*sokushin jōbutsu*) and “the buddhahood of grasses and trees” (*sōmoku jōbutsu*). His work on monastic education, debate training, and commentarial practices challenges long-standing assumptions about medieval Tendai scholarly decline and sheds broad light on Japanese Buddhist hermeneutics. Groner’s interest in the precepts also led him to study the esoteric master Eison (1201–1290) and his community, who were active in precept revival and monastic reform. Presently Groner is collaborating with Lori Meeks (University of Southern California) on a substantially annotated translation of Eison’s sermons.

Equally noteworthy are Paul Groner’s contributions as a teacher, mentor, and colleague. Graduate students whom he has trained have gone on to become distinguished scholars (see the afterword to this volume by his first student, Charles Jones). Younger colleagues in North America, Europe, and Asia will testify to Paul’s generous and caring mentorship. Workshops and conferences invariably find him making time to have coffee with younger scholars, hear about their research projects, and offer encouragement and advice. I myself first met Paul in 1987, at the Second International Conference on the *Lotus Sutra*, held at Risshō University in Tokyo. I had just quit my

day job to concentrate on dissertation writing. During Paul's presentation, a fellow student seated next to me leaned over to comment on Paul's natural and understated style of delivery. "That's true mastery!" he whispered. I was awed by Paul's erudition—and by his willingness to discuss my research. For me, working on Nichiren Buddhist material closely related to Tendai thought, that encounter was like discovering an intellectual oasis. Ever since, the chance to talk with Paul Groner has been a high point of attending conferences. Paul has been an exemplary mentor to me at every stage of my academic career. For his example of scholarly rigor, his enlightening conversation, sage advice, encouragement, and friendship over the decades, I am perpetually grateful.

While Paul Groner was never officially a member of the editorial board, the Kuroda Institute has benefited greatly from his sound advice and insights as a manuscript reader. He might as well be an honorary board member, in light of all the work he has done for us. Over the years, his critical input has identified promising manuscripts and guided their improvement in the revision process, helping them to reach publication and make their full impact on the field. We are delighted to publish this collection of his essays and hope there will be more to come.

Jacqueline Stone
Vice President, Editorial Board
Kuroda Institute for the Study of Buddhism

Acknowledgments

THREE TEACHERS played crucial roles in my development as a scholar. I studied at Yale University under Stanley Weinstein, who suggested that I do research on Saichō and the bodhisattva precepts for my doctoral dissertation. Later, while I was doing research in Japan, Hirakawa Akira at Tokyo University read the Chinese version of the rules for nuns in the *Mahasaṅghika bhikṣunī vinaya* (*Mohe sengqi lu*, T 1425) as part of an agreement he had with Gustav Roth, who was publishing the Sanskrit version of the text. Hirakawa's explanations of Buddhist doctrine and history were noteworthy for their clarity, and his explanations of the thought and intentions behind the precepts continue to play a key role in my studies to this day. This book was also inspired by Ōkubo Ryōshun of Waseda University. Ōkubo, a major scholar of Tendai and a close friend, who asked me what happened with the Tendai precepts after Saichō. For the last several decades I have tried to answer his question.

In addition to these three, I must mention some of the scholars who have encouraged, inspired, befriended, and taught me over the decades: Minowa Kenryō, Terai Ryōsen, Kanno Hiroshi, Ikeda Rosan, Sueki Fumihiko, Yoshizu Yoshihide, Daniel Stevenson, Jacqueline Stone, William Bodiford, Daniel Getz, Steve Covell, and James Dobbins, as well as the faculty in Tendai studies at Taishō University and Eizan Gakuin. I apologize to the many people whom I have inadvertently failed to mention.

Conventions and Abbreviations

Conventions

I have generally converted dates to the year in the Western calendar that most closely corresponds to the Japanese calendar. Dates are given with the Western year closest to the East Asian year, with months and days following the East Asian calendar; for example, 11/22/1288 would be read as the year 1288 in the Western calendar and the eleventh month and twenty-second day in the Japanese calendar.

I have tried to make the text more accessible to a broader range of scholars by using English equivalents for the most frequently mentioned works. The *Lotus Sutra* refers to the version mostly translated by Kumarāḥiṣa (T 262) and the *Nirvāṇa Sutra* (T 374) to the version translated by Dharmakṣema. The title of the *Fanwang jing* (T 1484) is translated as *Brahma's Net Sutra*, the *Yingluo jing* (T 1485) as the *Adornment Sutra*, the *Guan Puxian pusa xingfa jing* (T 277) as the *Samantabhadra Sutra*, and the *Sifen lü* (T 1428, *Dharmaguptaka Vinaya*) as the *Four-Part Vinaya*. At the request of the scholars who read my work for publication, I have included a glossary that contains the Chinese characters and translations of many of the terms and title that appear in the text and footnotes.

The translations of several problematic terms deserve mention. The use in Japan of terms like *sō* for monk and *ni* for nun continues from ancient to modern times, as does the use of robes and the shaving of the head. The endurance of terminology and usage within the monastic tradition points to the continuities in that tradition throughout Japanese history. The demeanor of contemporary Japanese monks is usually respectful and carefully controlled; in other words, the continuities with earlier traditions are substantial. These issues have contributed to discussions by Western scholars concerning whether we should refer to ordained Japanese monastics as monks, priests, clerics, or some other name. Some have suggested that the translation might be adjusted on the basis of the historical period. In this study, I have chosen to use the terms “monk” and “nun,” even though the Japanese representatives differ

from those in other parts of the world, because I write mainly about medieval figures and to emphasize the continuities with earlier practitioners.

The translation of the terms for monastic ranks is also problematic. When I began my studies, William and Helen McCullough's thoroughly annotated translation of *Eiga monogatari* (*A Tale of Flowering Fortunes: Annals of Japanese Aristocratic Life in the Heian Period*) provided some of the best solutions to translation problems. As a result, I have used terms such as "bishop" and "archbishop" to convey a sense of the relative positions in the Japanese Buddhist and Tendai hierarchies, even though they may seem too "Catholic" for medieval Japan. Other solutions have since been suggested, but rather than change in the middle of my career, I have continued to use the McCulloughs' terms. Similar issues arise with the use of the term "emperor," and for the same reason I have followed the McCulloughs' lead. I have capitalized a few terms to indicate that they have special doctrinal significance and differ from the everyday usage of the term. For example, when "principle" is capitalized, it signifies the unchanging truth as opposed to the everyday sense of the welter of phenomena.

This book is based on earlier publications, some from several decades ago. I have not significantly modified most of them, except when recent scholarship required changes. The main exceptions to this approach have been the chapters on the *Brahma's Net Sutra* (Chapter 2) and the *Lotus Sutra* (Chapter 7), which have been modified to avoid needless repetition of other work. The occasional need to clarify certain issues has required some repetition of material, but I have usually dealt with this by cross-referencing other chapters of this book. The source of the original publication of each chapter is given as a note at the bottom of the chapter's opening page and listed in the bibliography.

Abbreviations

The abbreviations listed below are used throughout the text and notes. Full bibliographic information is given in the bibliography.

- BZ Bussho kankōkai or Suzuki, *Dainihon Bukkyō zensho*. Of the two versions that exist, the contents are the same, but the arrangement of texts is different.
- DS Shiryō Hensangakari, ed. *Dainihon shiryō*
- DZ Hieizan senshuin fuzoku Eizan gakuin, *Dengyō Daishi zenshū*
- IBK *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* (in the bibliography)
- KT Kuroita Katsumi, *Shintei zōho Kokushi taiki*
- ND Suzuki or Matsumoto for the Kokusho kankōkai ed., *Nihon daizōkyō*. Of the two versions that exist, the contents are the same, but the arrangement of texts is different.

- T Takakusu Junjirō, *Taishō shinshū Daizōkyō*
- TZ Tendaishū kankōkai, *Tendaishū zensho*
- X Xin wen feng chu ban gong si (1993–1994 ed.), *Wan xu zang jing: Zang jing shu yuan ban*
- ZTZ Tendai shūten hensanjo, *Zoku Tendaishū zensho*

Introducing the Precepts and Outlining the Chapters of This Book

JAPANESE BUDDHOLOGISTS have long been regarded as some of the world's best. Their studies of Indian and Chinese Buddhism have often been groundbreaking and deeply appreciated by their colleagues in the international community. When I have traveled in Taiwan and China, I have been impressed by the number of Japanese studies of Indian and Chinese Buddhism that have been translated into Chinese or, if not translated, were in Chinese libraries in their original Japanese editions. By contrast, primary sources for Japanese Buddhism as well as secondary studies of Japanese Buddhism were largely absent from collections in China and Taiwan. Certain exceptions did exist. The long-standing Chinese interest in esoteric Buddhism led to collections of Shingon School texts, as well as of the works of Kūkai (774–835). Texts by Nichiren were evident, but in that case were probably gifts for the purpose of proselytizing. Much of this treatment was due to the problematic relationship of Japanese Buddhism with the *Vinaya* and monastic discipline.

This book focuses on the multifaceted discussions in medieval Tendai Buddhism that led to a variety of views reflecting the differences in monks' attitudes and interpretations of precepts and ordinations; some virtually ignored monastic discipline while others called for strict observance. The story of Tendai views of the precepts was based partly on earlier Japanese difficulties in obtaining orthodox ordinations and interpretations of the *Vinaya* as well as on their readings of Chinese Tiantai texts. Difficulties in interpreting the precepts and ordinations can be dated back to the beginnings of Japanese Buddhism, perhaps to a time when bodhisattva precepts self-ordinations were used before the Chinese monk Ganjin (Ch. Jianzhen, 688–763) came to Japan with the first orthodox full *Vinaya* ordination. Interpretations of

precepts and ordinations were also influenced by Japan's geographic position, which meant that there were long periods during which few Chinese monks came to the island nation. In the case of Chinese Tiantai, virtually no Chinese monk came, though some Japanese Tendai monks went to China, usually to study esoteric Buddhism. In short, few continental exemplars of monastic behavior and ritual were available for Tendai. This was also partly due to the devastation wrought by the Huichang persecution of Buddhism in China in 845. So many texts were destroyed in that persecution that Chinese Tiantai had to search in Japan and Korea for books from its own tradition.¹ Despite these difficulties, the Japanese had access to the East Asian Buddhist canon, and their discussions of doctrine showed impressive mastery of the texts. At the same time, their reading of these sources could be idiosyncratic, resulting in interpretations that would not have been accepted in most parts of the Buddhist world. This situation could have changed when the Tendai monk Shunjō (1166–1227) returned after twelve years studying the Chinese *Vinaya* and Tiantai traditions. But because approximately four centuries had passed since Japanese Tendai rejected *Vinaya* and developed its own approaches, Shunjō's reforms were not accepted by Japanese Tendai.

The importance of Tendai interpretations of precepts and ordinations can also be seen in the Pure Land, Nichiren, and Zen traditions. Even when monks from the Nara schools were critical of Tendai views on the precepts as they strove to restore the *Four-Part Vinaya*, as was the case with the Tendai-Zen monk Eisai (1141–1215), their views were influenced by Tendai. Tendai influence extended to the Meiji period, when the government legally permitted monks to marry and eat meat (*nikujiki saitai*), even though monks had long engaged in such actions notwithstanding the *Vinaya*'s requirement of celibacy.² For most Japanese monks, the appearance of being a monk—that is, shaving one's head and wearing monastic robes—was more important than actually following the precepts of the *Vinaya*. One of the best responses to Japanese lax standards of monastic discipline is found in Ōkubo Ryōshun's comments to me, suggesting that Japanese Buddhism should be regarded as a "special form of lay Buddhism." From this point of view many of the criticisms of Japanese Buddhism seem less damning.

Precepts

The character that indicated precepts or rules, *kai* in Japanese (Ch. *jie*, Skt. *śīlā*), was used in conjunction with the various sets of precepts that differentiated the varieties of lay and monastic practitioners, such as the five lay precepts (*gokai*) or the full precepts (*gusoku kai*) for a monk or nun. Although these precepts could be viewed as "prescribing" correct behavior and stopping

1. Brose, *Patrons and Patriarchs*.

2. See Richard Jaffe's masterful *Neither Monk nor Layman: Clerical Marriage in Modern Japanese Buddhism* for the Meiji-period history of these issues.

wrongdoing, early Buddhists found that the *Vinaya* was filled with exceptions. Moreover, many of the precepts were unsuited to the various times and cultures as Buddhism evolved. No procedure for changing the rules of the *Vinaya* existed, however. Instead, new scriptures purporting to be the Buddha's words were composed and used in exegeses; among these were the precepts of the *Brahma's Net Sutra*. As a result, the precepts frequently did not *describe* behavior. Nor could they be said to clearly *prescribe* behavior; this was because the patterns of monastic discipline changed with the composition of texts that gave new sets of bodhisattva precepts, temple rules, and legal codes. Monastic behavior also depended on the influence and power of a ruler or the abbot of a monastery. Even in the conservative *Vinaya* exegeses, precepts could be differentiated according to whether they were intrinsically ethical or referred to the accepted customs and dignity of a society; but even with these distinctions, the interpretation could vary according to the circumstances. Was drinking alcohol prohibited even when it was included in medicines? Were the acts of killing, stealing, lying, and so forth wrong if they were committed to save lives? Even so, serious Buddhists were influenced by the precepts, and throughout Buddhist history, various attempts were made to revive adherence to the rules. Thus, the use of the term *kai* was dependent on the historical and social background of when it was applied.

Kai was also used in a more general sense to denote "morality," as was the case in the hierarchical three trainings (*sangaku*): namely, morality, meditation, and wisdom. Consequently, some have regarded efforts to revive the precepts as an attempt to revive morality.³ While this view has some validity, a related term in Japanese, *kairitsu* (Ch. *jielu*), reveals a more nuanced view. The term *ritsu*, or *Vinaya*, can refer to requirements of the order—in other words, external requirements—while *kai* refers to those rules based on one's own intentions. In fact, the two overlap in many cases, so the term *kairitsu* often refers to precepts as rules. The nuances of the terms nevertheless are important. *Ritsu* can refer to the requirements of monastic ritual. Consequently, the revival of the precepts or *Vinaya* (*kairitsu fukkō*) sometimes focused on reviving the use of monastic ritual following Indian or Chinese patterns more than on the revival of morality.

Another example of the use of *kai* was as it appears in the term "perfection of morality" (J. *kai haramitsu*, Skt. *śīla-pāramitā*). Because this was primarily a Mahāyāna usage involving an understanding of non-substantiality or emptiness in referring to the actor, the acted upon, and the action, the perfection of morality sometimes led to critiques of the rules of the *Vinaya*. Could such basic rules prohibiting killing, stealing, lying, and sexual intercourse be violated for a higher purpose, such as saving lives, while understanding the

3. See, for example, the poster for the recent exhibition honoring the 770th anniversary of Kakujo's death. The poster presented the revival of the *Vinaya* as being based on ethics, even though Kakujo argued that all infractions could be considered minor (*duṣkṛta*). Much of his emphasis was on monastic ritual. See Groner, "Movement to Revive the Vinaya."

precepts as non-substantial? Medieval Tendai exegeses of the bodhisattva precepts often reflected these issues.

The hierarchical use of concepts like morality in discourse on the Buddhist path suggested the realization of certain stages of practice. Advanced Buddhist practice was sometimes said to spontaneously entail observance of the precepts, as was the case when one was deep in meditation (J. *jōryo shō ritsugi*, Skt. *dhyāna-saṃvara*) or had advanced far on the path to buddhahood (J. *dō shō ritsugi*, Skt. *anāsrava-saṃvara*). The quotation most often invoked from the *Brahma's Net Sutra* reflected the use of precepts to mark a significant stage of practice: "When sentient beings receive the Buddha's precepts, they immediately enter the ranks of the buddhas. Their rank is the same as the great enlightened ones. They are truly the children of the Buddha."⁴ The abstruse precepts from the *Lotus Sutra* were used in similar ways. As a result, Tendai ordinations were sometimes said to entail realization of buddhahood with this very body (*sokushin jōbutsu*), an interpretation quite different from using them to mark an inexperienced person's entry into a religious order.

Ordinations

The conferral of precepts was called ordination, literally conferring or receiving the precepts (*jukai*). Ordinations were used to instill Buddhist practices in lay believers or to induct believers into an order of religious practitioners, giving them a set of rules that they might follow—"prescribing practices," in other words—at least to some extent. When ordinations were used in this fashion, the order might impose monastic discipline and conduct rituals connected with the precepts, among which were the fortnightly assembly, the ceremony marking the end of the rainy-season retreat, and confessions.

The sense of ordinations would change with the widespread use of bodhisattva precepts in ordinations, although being accepted into an order was still an important function. The *Vinaya* ordinations established restraints on behavior—in other words, physical and verbal actions—that could be observed and regulated by the order. Bodhisattva precepts, while still including rules for physical and verbal actions, often referred to mental actions not easily objectively observed. Medieval Tendai bodhisattva precepts ordinations, moreover, might be said to be "conferred" by buddhas and bodhisattvas, while the precepts ordinations were "transmitted" by monastics. Thus, both the contents of the precepts and the ordination procedures differ in the *Vinaya* and bodhisattva precepts.

Imposing monastic discipline could be problematic: Would buddhas and bodhisattvas impose discipline or would orders of monastics? How would the individual, the order, or buddhas and bodhisattvas deal with infractions? Would the means be confession, recitation of *dhāraṇī*, *nenbutsu*, karmic rec-

4. T 24:1004a20–21.

ompense, reordination, or some combination thereof? Or would infractions be ignored?

Ordinations marked changes in religious status. They could also mark the realization of buddhahood with this very body, in which case, they marked an individual's status without paying much attention to the order. And yet the religious order needed to define a place for itself. These are a few of the issues that medieval Tendai monks would discuss as they tried to define the rituals that marked religious life. This book is the result of many years of thinking about how Japanese Buddhism, particularly medieval Tendai, arrived at this juncture, as well as how more serious monks responded to the situation. It does not attempt to give a complete narrative of how Tendai views of the precepts developed.

Rather than a strict chronological arrangement, the following chapters are ordered by considerations of how Tendai views developed. In many cases, texts were attributed to earlier figures. Monks who advocated strict monastic discipline were a distinct minority, even though those same monks left some of the most cogent discussions of the precepts. Although I cover many of the major topics concerned with Tendai interpretations of the precepts and ordinations, I've left a number of major topics for later research, among the most important of which are relations between the two major Tendai centers, Enryakuji and Onjōji, and the relationship of women and nuns to Tendai and the esoteric Buddhist *samaya* precepts.

The Background

Saichō

My interest in Tendai views of the precepts began with my doctoral dissertation on the de facto founder of Tendai, Saichō (766/767–822), and his substitution of the bodhisattva precepts for the precepts of the *Vinaya*, a topic suggested by my graduate adviser, Stanley Weinstein. This was expanded and deepened with my first book, *Saichō: The Establishment of the Japanese Tendai School*. In both the dissertation and the book, I used a rigorous chronological investigation of Saichō's thought on the precepts to determine what lay behind his challenge to traditional ordinations and precepts. I concluded that Saichō had been seriously concerned with monastic discipline. Among his proposals was one that called for twelve years of uninterrupted seclusion on Mount Hiei, where his Tendai School was based. His plans were thwarted by rivals in the Nara monasteries, particularly those of the Hossō School, who attracted his students away from Mount Hiei and its austere regimen. I concluded that Saichō did not openly advocate abandoning the *Vinaya* in favor of the precepts articulated in the Mahāyāna *Brahma's Net Sutra* until he wrote his last petition to the court, the *Rules in Four Articles* (*Shijō shiki*), and that this was done partly to draw his adversaries into the debate. A recurring theme in his earlier petitions to the court was that the Tendai School should not be subject to the administration of the court-established Office of Monastic

Affairs (Sōgō), demonstrating that Saichō's initial focus was freeing his school from domination by the schools of Nara, particularly Hossō.

The narrative was further complicated when Saichō died before the court had approved of his *Rules in Four Articles*. He had never clearly explained how the new ordination system and rules were to be put into practice. In China, both lay believers and monastics had received the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts, usually after they had received those precepts specified in the *Vinaya* appropriate to their status. As a result, the Nara monks were drawn into a controversy with Saichō that resulted in his *Kenkai ron* (Treatise revealing the precepts). This point-by-point rebuttal of the Nara schools' arguments defended his contention that the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts were sufficient for fully ordaining monks. Although Saichō cited many texts, he never effectively argued that the bodhisattva precepts could be used alone to ordain full-fledged monks. To further complicate this state of affairs, the earliest biography of Saichō, the *Eizan daishiden*, attributes Saichō's rejection of the *Vinaya* to the influence of the *Lotus Sutra* without specifying which parts of that sutra were to be used or how it was to be interpreted or even mentioning the *Brahma's Net Sutra*.

In my book on Saichō, I surveyed three monks who were Saichō's close associates and concluded that they had no uniform position on the ordinations and the precepts. Kōjō (779–858), the monk who carried Saichō's missives to the court, was in the best position to know Saichō's thinking, but he introduced new terms to describe the ordinations, particularly emphasizing esoteric elements that Saichō had never mentioned. Gishin (781–833) traveled with Saichō to China as a translator and received a full *Vinaya* ordination there. He succeeded Saichō as chief prelate (*zasu*) of the Tendai School and wrote a summary of Tendai doctrine in response to the court's request of all the schools for such works. His *Tendai Hokkeshū gi shū* (Compilation of the Tendai *Lotus Sutra* School's doctrines), however, did not mention the controversy over the precepts even though that occupied the last few years of Saichō's life. Gishin had spent considerable time away from Mount Hiei and was perhaps hesitant to completely reject the *Vinaya*. But because the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts had become one of the hallmarks of Japanese Tendai, Gishin could not very well reject Saichō's position. Gishin's disciple Enchin (814–891) collected over twenty works on the *Vinaya* while he was in China and wrote notes to Saichō's ordination manual, adopting the procedures of the *Vinaya* to *Brahma's Net Sutra* ordinations.

The third of Saichō's disciples to consider is Ennin (794–864), who in 823 served as an instructor (*kyōjushi*) at the first ordination using Saichō's system while Gishin served as the preceptor.⁵ Later, Ennin wrote a lengthy work on the precepts, the *Ken'yō daikai ron*, but died before he could finish it. Because the text consisted of citations from many works, Ennin did not present a coherent position on how the bodhisattva precepts could be inter-

5. Saeki, *Jikaku Daishū den no kenkyū*, 33, 185–186.

puted to be a foundation for monastic discipline. The diversity of positions taken by Saichō's disciples suggests that Saichō had no carefully thought-out interpretation of how the Tendai School would use the bodhisattva precepts. In fact, the subsequent history of the Tendai precepts and their interpretation is varied.

Ryōgen

My second book, *Ryōgen and Mount Hiei in the Tenth Century*, examined the institutional history of the Tendai School as it came to dominate medieval Japanese Buddhism. Dealing with monastic discipline was an underlying theme in the book because Ryōgen (912–985) was loyal to his own faction within the school and tried to instill certain standards, as exemplified in his set of twenty-six rules and use of a debate system to educate monks.⁶ His factional loyalty eventually led, after his death, to armed encounters between the monks of the two Tendai centers, Enryakuji and Onjōji, as well as with monks from other schools such as Hossō. The present book continues these themes by examining the use of precepts from the generation before Ryōgen through the late Kamakura and Muromachi periods.

The Structure of This Book

Chapter 2 on the *Brahma's Net Sutra* focuses on the precepts found in the *Fanwang jing*, an apocryphal text. Although Saichō argued that it could replace the *Vinaya*, it was ill-suited as a guide for monastic discipline, partly because it did not clearly differentiate between lay and monastic practitioners. Saichō's later followers sometimes subordinated the *Brahmā's Net Sutra* precepts to the very abstract *Lotus Sutra* precepts, variously equated with the "one mind," the threefold discernment in a single thought (*isshin sangan*), and innate buddhahood. Other Tendai exegetes sought to supplement the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts with temple rules or even *Vinaya* elements to enlist them in the fostering of monastic discipline. There was no single Tendai position as such but rather an ongoing, multifaceted debate.

Annen's interpretations of the universal bodhisattva precept ordination is the subject of chapter 3. In it, I examine a seminal text on the precepts. By focusing on ordinations rather than interpreting the precepts, Annen (b. 841) set the parameters for most later Tendai views. He expanded the meaning of ordination from induction into a monastic order by stressing its role as confirming inherent buddhahood and the realization of buddhahood with

6. For a heavily annotated translation of Saichō's petitions to the court, mostly involving rules for the administration of his school, see Groner, *Saichō*; Ryōgen's rules are translated in Groner, *Ryōgen*, 345–366. The actual translation of Ryōgen's rules was done by Eishō Nasu, who completed his dissertation on Ryōgen around the same time I finished the manuscript of my book. Although we did not know about each other's work, Nasu graciously allowed me to use his translation with very few changes. Ryōgen's instructions on the property he controlled at his death are found in Groner, *Ryōgen*, 313–326, again translated by Nasu.

this body. Downplaying the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts, Annen stressed the expedient nature of rules of conduct, maintaining that they could be violated when the situation demanded. Significantly, Annen was writing against the position of Enchin, then chief prelate of the Tendai headquarters on Mount Hiei and head of a rival lineage, who was eager to include the stricter *Vinaya* procedures but not the *Vinaya's* precepts. Enchin's views were partially based on what he had observed in China.

Chapter 4 examines the historical background of Annen's text, focusing on several of his teachers and their views of monastic discipline. Tankei and Henjō typified a new type of aristocratic monk for whom clerical life offered an attractive career path compatible with wealth, aesthetic pursuits, and even sexual affairs. The growing attraction of esoteric Buddhism, with its promise of rapid attainment without long years of training, and the influx into high clerical office of sons of the nobility eager to maintain their worldly lifestyle helped generate a situation conducive to deemphasizing the precepts as rules to be observed.

Chapter 5 investigates the problematic position in which Tendai monks found themselves. Although they rejected the *Vinaya* with the polemical term "Hīnayāna" and ordained disciples using the Mahāyāna bodhisattva precepts, the *Vinaya* contained needed guidelines and procedures, for example the monastic procedures for such issues as ordinations, the rules for the rainy-season retreat, and the guidelines for robes. Moreover, Saichō allowed monks who had completed twelve years of strict training on Mount Hiei to be "provisionally ordained" with the 250 Hīnayāna (*Vinaya*) precepts (*keju shōkai*), thereby allowing them to participate in joint assemblies with monks of other schools. In other words, these Tendai monks would use the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts as their primary ordination and the *Vinaya* precepts as expedient means that allowed them to practice with monks from other schools. However, this practice was soon discontinued as impractical only to be revived in the Tokugawa period with the Anrakuritsuin movement.

Chapter 6 examines how confessions, one of the hallmarks of Chinese Buddhist practice, were used in fortnightly assemblies and later became integrated into bodhisattva precepts ordinations. Confessions could be lengthy and personal or shorter and follow an established liturgy. They differed on whether they were part of a ceremony in which a monastic order transmitted the precepts or a component in a ritual in which a person went before an image of the Buddha and asked for the precepts to be conferred directly by the Buddha. In such cases of self-ordination, the confession focused on the Principle of Suchness, non-substantiality, and thus could be an important part of the path, even a key part of realization with this very body.

In Chapter 7 I examine another major source of Tendai precepts. Although the *Brahma's Net Sutra* was an important focus of early Tendai discussions on ordinations and precepts, Saichō's earliest biography mentions the *Lotus Sutra* as a source for his rejection of the *Vinaya*. This was a curious development insofar as the *Lotus Sutra* contained little that resembled the rules

of behavior found in texts on the bodhisattva precepts. Even so, the *Lotus Sutra* soon came to be as important as, and in many cases to eclipse, the *Brahma's Net Sutra*. Later Tendai monks often referred to “perfect-sudden precepts” (*endonkai*), which were identified with the one-mind, innate buddhahood, frequently basing their views on the *Lotus Sutra*. This chapter surveys the widely differing and complex ways in which medieval Tendai thinkers understood the relationship between the specific rules of the *Brahma's Net Sutra* and the perfect-sudden precepts, either integrating or hierarchizing them in various ways, or even discarding the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts in favor of more abstract principles. Comparative attention is paid to three medieval Tendai traditions: Eshin-ryū, Kurodani-ryū, and the Rozanji community of Jitsudō Ninkū (1307–1388).

Chapter 8 focuses on an important monk, Kōen (1262/1263–1317), of the Kurodani lineage, which was based in a deep valley on Mount Hiei. Kōen argued that the precepts arise from one's innate enlightened nature but that buddhahood is manifested only in the particulars of strict monastic observance. He sought to revive Saichō's practice of twelve years' secluded practice (*yōzan*) on Mount Hiei as the foundation of monastic training; he described the monastic establishment as he idealized it with extensive rules and a detailed administrative structure, though how much of this was realized is unclear. His example complicates facile stereotypes of *hongaku* (original enlightenment) doctrine as denying the need for practice by combining *hongaku* with serious practice. Kōen was instrumental in developing the consecrated ordination, or *kai kanjō*—the hallmark of the Kurodani lineage and still performed today at Saikyōji—which confirms or calls forth a disciple's enlightened spiritual status after a period of practice.

The *Kaikan denju shidai*, a representative ritual manual, is the basis of the next chapter's thick description of the aforementioned consecrated ordination of the Kurodani lineage. The ritual described in chapter 9 was not an ordination in the conventional sense of inducting a novice into the monastic life but rather was associated with seniority and confirmed, after a period of training, a practitioner's attainment as a fully realized buddha. Though it drew on some esoteric elements, the consecrated ordination is based chiefly on *hongaku* teachings, and its symbolism is drawn from the *Lotus Sutra*. At the height of the ritual, master and disciple reenact the scene in which the two buddhas Śākyamuni and Prabhūtaratna sit together as equals in the jeweled stupa. The ritual offers solid evidence for considering esoteric teachings and original enlightenment thought as separate discourses despite their mutual influence.

Chapter 10 follows up on Tendai educational structures that I introduced in my books on Saichō and Ryōgen. In this chapter, I introduce the system of training by doctrinal debate that was instituted by Ninkū (discussed in chapter 7), abbot of Rozanji, a Tendai temple in Kyoto, and Sangoji, the headquarters of the Seizan-ha branch of Hōnen's Jōdoshū. Ninkū's curriculum combined the study of Tendai, esoteric Buddhism, Pure Land, and “Mahāyāna *Vimaya*,”

but excluded other, “provisional” teachings. His program was part of a system of Tendai so-called lecture temples instituted around the same time as the Gozan Zen temples, also with court support. The rigorous study programs instituted at these temples overturn long-standing claims about medieval Tendai’s scholarly decline. The significance of Hōnen (1133–1212) in his seldom-acknowledged role as an influential Tendai precept master is introduced.

I continue my investigation of Ninkū in chapter 11, paying attention to his commentary on the *Pusajie yi ji* (also known as the *Pusajie yi shu*), a highly influential commentary on the *Brahma’s Net Sutra* attributed to Zhiyi (538–598). Ninkū’s views reflect the requirements of his dual role as a scholar and administrator as he sought ways to balance arguments for ordination as confirming inherent buddha-nature with the need to regulate monastic conduct. He recognized, for example, that universal ordinations (*tsūju*) for both monks and laity were open to worldlings during the final Dharma age (*mappō*), but he also defined distinct ordinations (*betsuju*) as appropriate to persons at various levels of training and experience, differentiating among types of Buddhist believers. Much of his perspective emerges from his commentaries, prolific lectures, debate manuals, and temple rules, some of which have only recently been published. Ninkū criticized what he considered to be the extremes of other Tendai ordination lineages: Kurodani for its one-sided reading of the precepts as naturally inherent and its fabricated consecrated ordination, and exegetes such as Shunjō who advocated returning to the *Vinaya* precepts as practiced by Chinese Tiantai. Even so, Ninkū advocated using some of the procedures from the *Vinaya*, though not its precepts, in ordinations.

Chapter 12 focuses on discussions in medieval Tendai texts from several lineages about whether killing by Buddhists could be justified. “Not taking life” appears first among virtually all collections of both lay and bodhisattva precepts, but violations of this precept are found throughout Japanese Buddhist history. What doctrinal or textual basis could such violations have? Debates on this topic often cited not only scriptural examples such as Devadatta, Virudhāka, and Aṅgulimālya, but also the figure of Prince Shōtoku (572–622), who was revered as an incarnation of the bodhisattva Kannon but also for his responsibility for exterminating the anti-Buddhist Mononobe clan. An astonishing range of opinion on when compassion might dictate the necessity to kill took into consideration not only the actor’s intent but also scriptural and doctrinal authorities and teachings on emptiness, skillful means, and the incomprehensible powers of enlightened beings.

Chapter 13 concerns questions that might occur to modern readers and that were voiced by medieval Tendai monks in debates. According to the *Vinaya*, breaking major precepts (Skt. *pārājika*) traditionally resulted in the permanent loss of all the precepts and one’s monastic status for the remainder of one’s life; however, the situation was less clear in the case of the bodhisattva precepts, which were said to be based on innate buddha-nature and thus difficult or impossible to lose. Drawing on debates, lectures, scriptural

commentaries, and temple rules, I explore medieval Tendai debates among several lineages about whether the essence of the precepts (*kaitai*) is physical (based on rules of conduct) or mental (deriving from one's inherent nature or the primordial nature of the mind); whether it is innate or conferred at ordination; and whether it is lost at death or as a result of major wrongdoing. Opinions ranged across a spectrum between those who understood the role of essence of the precepts as a basis for monastic discipline and those who took it as the unchanging foundation of aspiration, practice, and insight.

The chapters of this book focus on certain textual sources, individual practitioners, monastic procedures, and doctrinal issues, offering, rather than a chronological narrative on Tendai ordinations and precepts, glimpses of what some of the detailed sources reveal. The book ends with a chapter that places these issues in a broader context. It focuses on three issues: (1) a consideration of the background, placing some of the traditions in conversation with each other; (2) a discussion of the interaction between Tendai precepts and practice; and (3) an exploration of how the themes in medieval ordinations and precepts have influenced modern Tendai.

The Brahma's Net Sutra Precepts

THIS CHAPTER consists of four parts, the first of which is an overview of the terms for the Tendai precepts used in the early school. The second part focuses on the historical background of the *Brahma's Net Sutra*, beginning by describing the Chinese background of the *Brahma's Net Sutra*,¹ including the social background of the precepts. It includes a discussion of how the *Adornment Sutra* was used in interpretations of the *Brahma's Net Sutra* and then proceeds to the Japanese use of the text. The third part describes the ways in which the relation of the *Brahma's Net Sutra* to other texts was described in classifications of teachings. The fourth part briefly describes some of the manuals used in ordinations.

Terminology of the Tendai Precepts

The precepts used in the Japanese Tendai School are often called the “perfect-sudden precepts,” a term that suggests that the precepts were perfectly inte-

This chapter originally appeared as “The *Fan-wang ching* and Monastic Discipline in Japanese Tendai,” in *Chinese Buddhist Apocrypha*, ed. Robert E. Buswell, Jr. (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1990). It appears here, with additional material, with permission.

1. In writing this chapter, I benefited from several general discussions of Tendai precepts, most notably in Fukuda, *Tendaigaku gairon*; Etani, *Endonkai gairon*; Terai, *Endonkai shisō*; and Kodera, *Enkai gaisetsu*. Much of the chapter was written before Funayama Tōru's groundbreaking studies of the *Brahma's Net Sutra* appeared. Rather than rewriting to reflect Funayama's studies, I have let stand those sections that do not disagree with Funayama's work. Funayama translates the title of the sutra into English as “The Scripture of the Pure Divinities' Netted [Banners]” on the title page of his book, *Bonmōkyō: Saiko no katachi to hatten no rekishi*. The translation of the character *bon* as “pure” seems justified, but I have translated it as Brahma simply because that is how the text is usually known in the West. I am less convinced by the translation of *mō* as “netted [banners]” because I am not sure what it would mean.

grated (*ennyū*) and swiftly (suddenly) resulted in the realization of buddhahood with little or no practice. Although the term is used to refer to the rejection by Saichō (767–822) of the 250 precepts of the *Four-Part Vinaya* (*Dharmaguptaka Vinaya*) and the substitution of the bodhisattva precepts in full ordinations, the term *endonkai* probably only became popular in the early Kamakura period. Saichō tended to use terms such as “perfect precepts” (*enkai*), suggesting that the precepts were part of the perfect teaching. The term “adamantine precepts” (*kongōhōkai*), which also appears in some of Saichō's writings, refers to the steadfast and unshakeable quality of the precepts.

Saichō's disciple Kōjō added new terms not seen in Saichō's works, including “one-mind precepts” (*isshinkai*), suggesting that the precepts were based on a primordial mind; “one-vehicle precepts” (*ichijōkai*), indicating that the precepts were universal and resulted in buddhahood through a single vehicle and that precepts used by those in the three vehicles were expedients; and “innate pure precepts that are immovable like space” (*jishō shōjō kokū fudō kai*), again referring to the primordially pure quality of the precepts. In addition to such terms, the Tendai precepts are referred to by more general terms such as “bodhisattva precepts” (*bosatsukai*) and “Mahāyāna precepts” (*daijōkai*), expressions that were used by a variety of schools. All of these terms carried various nuances, some of which differed in important ways from each other.

Japanese Tendai positions on the precepts were never unified into a consistent position. Various lineages were established, many of them with distinctive positions. The difficulty in establishing a systematic and coherent position is evident from the beginning of the Tendai School. If Saichō had lived longer, he might have clarified his position, but he died before his proposal was approved by the court. The sources are particularly rich for certain lineages that treated the precepts and monastic discipline seriously—particularly the Kurodani and Rozanji lineages—but these were not necessarily major components of the Tendai establishment on Mount Hiei. The Eshin lineage's positions were probably more mainstream Tendai. Although the Eshin lineage traced itself back to Genshin (942–1017), its position on ordinations, the precepts, and monastic discipline differed from those of their reputed founder, resulting in some very lax views on monastic discipline. The story is complicated because the history of Tendai precepts relies on a number of works falsely attributed to major figures in the school, resulting in uncertain dates for many of the views. At times, monks probably held radically different views from the texts that were later ascribed to them. As a result, constructing a chronology of their positions is difficult. In this book, I do not describe a unified and cohesive position that would hold for the whole Tendai School, a view that might seem to reflect the term “exoteric-esoteric system” (*kenmitsu taisai*), which reflects some historians' view that Tendai might be a cohesive whole. Perhaps it seemed that way viewed from the outside, but when viewed from within, Tendai had many competing lineages and interpretations. As a

result, I have chosen to investigate the scriptural sources for the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts and then examine the ordination ceremony with the object of describing the range of interpretations used in Tendai. By analyzing Tendai views in this manner, I hope to indicate the diversity and vibrancy of Tendai discussions of the precepts.

The Historical Background of the *Brahma's Net Sutra*

The Chinese Background

The *Brahma's Net Sutra* is an apocryphal text that was purportedly spoken by the Buddha and recorded in Sanskrit in India. Although most medieval monks regarded it as authentic, modern research has demonstrated that it was composed in China. Although Tibetan, Sogdian, and Uighur translations of the text exist, they were based on the Chinese text of the *Brahma's Net Sutra*.² The *Brahma's Net Sutra* consists of two fascicles but is said to have been only a small part of a Sanskrit text that was 112 (or 120) fascicles long. According to later commentators such as Mingguang (fl. late 8th c.) and Fazang (643–712), the original full Sanskrit text would have been 152 or 300 fascicles long if it had been translated into Chinese.³ In fact, no conclusive evidence has been found that a longer full text ever existed. Similar claims were made that other Mahāyāna texts had only been partially translated.

The first of the two fascicles concerns topics such as the stages of the bodhisattva path. Apocryphal texts compiled shortly after the *Brahma's Net Sutra*, such as the *Pusa yingluo benyejing* (Sutra on the adornments of the primordial bodhisattva practices; hereafter *Adornment Sutra*; T 1485), included better organized and more comprehensive discussions of this topic.⁴ As a result, the first fascicle of the *Brahma's Net Sutra* has not played a major role in subsequent Buddhist history and was often omitted in commentaries on the text.⁵ In recent years, Funayama Tōru has convincingly demonstrated that the two fascicles are stylistically completely different and that the fascicle on the precepts was written first. Although a definite rationale for why they were combined is difficult to determine, it may have been because both describe the practices of the bodhisattva, though from different perspectives.⁶ At any rate, by the end of the fifth century, the second fascicle of the *Brahma's Net Sutra* was circulating in China as an independent text on the precepts.⁷

The second fascicle of the *Brahma's Net Sutra* contained a list of ten major

2. Funayama, *Bonmōkyō*, 11.

3. T 55:79b; T 24:997a–b; Mingguang, *Tiantai pusajie shu*, T 40:580c; Fazang, *Fanwangjing pusa jieben shu*, T 40:605a.

4. The compilation of the *Adornment Sutra* and its relationship to other texts has been extensively discussed by Satō Tetsuei (*Zoku Tendai Daishi*, 72–112).

5. See Shirato, “Kenkyū josetsu,” 119–121, for a survey of commentaries.

6. Funayama, “*Bonmōkyō gekan sengyōsetsu no saikentō*.”

7. Shirato Waka has noted that four different formats for the *Brahma's Net Sutra prātimokṣa* were used by commentators (“Kenkyū josetsu,” 111–114).

precepts and forty-eight minor precepts. Most of the Tendai commentaries on the text concern only this fascicle because it was often used as a *prātimokṣa* (collection of rules) for the bodhisattva precepts in both China and Japan. However, the Faxiang (J. Hossō) patriarch Zhizhou (668–723) commented on both fascicles. As a result, Hossō commentaries on the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts sometimes treated both fascicles of the sutra while Tendai commentaries focused on the second fascicle.⁸

The *Brahma's Net Sutra* was traditionally said to have been translated into Chinese in 406 by Kumārajīva, who then conferred the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts on three hundred people. This account has long been questioned, however. The translation and the first *Brahma's Net Sutra* ordination are described in three primary sources: two prefaces (one from the Korean canon and the other, attributed to Kumārajīva's disciple Sengzhao, from the Song, Yuan, and Ming canons), and a postface to the sutra that was included in the *Chu sanzang jiji* (Collection of records concerning the canon). These three texts relate the same basic story; but differences in the details of the story suggest that they were written as successive attempts to make the account conform with what was known about Kumārajīva's translating techniques. For example, in the *Brahma's Net Sutra* preface from the Song canon, Kumārajīva is said to have held the Sanskrit text of the *Brahma's Net Sutra* and translated it orally. This account agrees with accounts from other sources on Kumārajīva's methods of translation. However, according to the other two descriptions of the translation of the text, both probably written earlier than the Song preface, Kumārajīva translated the text from memory, a detail that was included to suggest Kumārajīva's devotion to the text and perhaps to explain why no Sanskrit text of the *Brahma's Net Sutra* was available.⁹ In addition, no mention of the *Brahma's Net Sutra* is found in any of the early biographies of Kumārajīva; however, references to a bodhisattva *prātimokṣa* translated by Kumārajīva are found in historical works such as the *Gaoseng zhuan*

8. Although Zhiyi, the de facto founder of the Tiantai School, is said to have written a commentary (T 1811) on the precepts of the *Brahma's Net Sutra*, when he discussed the stages of practice of the bodhisattva path in his other works, he ignored the *Brahma's Net Sutra* and relied on the *Adornment Sutra*, an apocryphal text that was better organized and had a more complete discussion of the stages of practice. Zhiyi and other Chinese scholars were willing to refer to texts that they knew were apocryphal when they believed that the passage under discussion was in accord with the basic purport of Buddhism (see Makita, "Tendai Daishi no gikyō kan").

9. Funayama Tōru in "Masquerading as Translation" discusses several cases in which lectures by Indian exegetes were treated as translations by Chinese monks. One of these was a lecture on the *Vinaya* by Kumārajīva's *Vinaya* teacher Vimalākṣa (ca. 338–414); his remarks were compiled into a text, *Mulian wen jielüzhong wubai qingzhongshi (jing)* (Maudgalyāna's questions about the five hundred light and heavy sins in monastic discipline). Funayama also cites a commentary on the *Sarvāstivāda Vinaya* as an example. Texts on monastic discipline were not easy to understand and probably required considerable explanation. Although no early evidence exists linking Kumārajīva with the *Brahma's Net Sutra*, the choice of "oral translation" in the account of its production would probably have been common at that point and might have been linked with several texts on monastic discipline.

(Biographies of eminent monks).¹⁰ Such references were probably based on the postface and prefaces to the *Brahma's Net Sutra* and reflect the use of the second fascicle of the sutra as an independent text. No text entitled *Brahma's Net Sutra* is mentioned in the biographies of Kumārajīva's contemporaries. Finally, there are no early references for the first *Brahma's Net Sutra* ordination in the postface and prefaces, even though in later sources the precepts were said to have been conferred on more than three hundred people.¹¹

Doubts about the authenticity of the *Brahma's Net Sutra* began to surface shortly after its appearance. The *Zhongjing mulu*, a catalogue of Buddhist texts compiled in 594 by Fajing, noted that many earlier catalogues had listed the *Brahma's Net Sutra* as a work of questionable authenticity.¹² Although most later catalogues list the work as a translation by Kumārajīva, almost all of the information about the text is taken from the two prefaces and postface mentioned above.¹³

The *Brahma's Net Sutra* was probably compiled during the middle of the fifth century. It is closely related to several other apocryphal texts, including the *Renwang jing* (Sutra of the benevolent king; T 245) and the *Adornment Sutra*, with similar language and terms found in all three. Discussions of the stages of the bodhisattva path and the bodhisattva precepts are found in all three texts. The discussion of stages of the path is more developed in the *Adornment Sutra* than in the *Brahma's Net Sutra*, indicating that the *Adornment Sutra* was compiled last. An analysis of the development of these common themes indicates that the *Renwang jing* was probably compiled first, the *Brahma's Net Sutra* next, and the *Adornment Sutra* last. According to the *Renwang jing*, the Buddhist order should be free from interference from the government, a position that probably is a reaction to the first persecution of Buddhism in China, which began in 446. The *Adornment Sutra* first appears in Chinese records around 480. Thus, the *Sutra of Brahma's Net* can be dated to between 450 and 480.¹⁴

The compilers of the *Brahma's Net Sutra* borrowed from several authentic Indian sources. The setting in which the sutra was preached so resembled that described in the *Huayan jing* (*Avataṃsakasūtra*) that Zhiyi, the de facto founder of the Tiantai School, called the *Brahma's Net Sutra* the capping sutra

10. T 50:332b, 362b.

11. The postface is found in T 55:79b; the prefaces are found in T 24:997a–b. The postface and prefaces are analyzed in Mochizuki, *Bukkyō kyōten*, 442–449. The postface and prefaces have been translated into English and discussed by Pruden in “Some Notes on the *Fan-wang-ching*.”

12. T 55:40a.

13. Mochizuki, *Bukkyō kyōten*, 442–450. Mochizuki's argument for the Chinese compilation of the text is also found in his *Jōdokyō no kigen*, 155–184. Several other scholars have also argued that the *Brahma's Net Sutra* was compiled in China. See Ōno, *Daijō kaikyō*, 252–284; Ishida Mizumaro, *Bonmōkyō*, 11–15; Shirato, “Kenkyū josetsu”; and Shirato, “*Bonmōkyō* no keitai.” Hirakawa Akira has noted that although the text may have been compiled in China, much of the content of it is borrowed directly from Indian sources (Hirakawa's opinion is recorded in Ch'ae, *Shiragi Bukkyō kairitsu*, 396).

14. Funayama, *Bonmōkyō*, 18.

(*kekkyō*) of the *Huayan jing*. The precepts were based on passages from a number of texts, including the *Renwang jing* (*Sutra of the Benevolent King*), *Niepan jing* (*Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*), *Pusa dīchī jing* (*Bodhisattvabhūmi*; Stages of the bodhisattva's practice), *Shanjie jing* (*Bodhisattvabhūmi*), and *Youposai jie jing* (*Upāsakaśīlasūtri*; Sutra on precepts for lay practitioners).¹⁵ Of these, the last to be translated was the *Shanjie jing*, completed by Guṇavarman in 431. Thus, the *Brahma's Net Sutra* must have been compiled after that date. A copy of the text from Dunhuang has been reported with a date of between 479 and 482, suggesting that the text must have been compiled by 480.¹⁶ The *Brahma's Net Sutra* first appears in historical documents during the reign (502–549) of Emperor Wu of the Liang dynasty. Huijiao (497–554), author of the *Gaoseng zhuan*, was said to have written the first commentary on it.¹⁷ Apocryphal Buddhist works by anonymous Chinese monks usually were not accepted as authentic texts by Chinese Buddhists for several decades.

The Social Context of the *Brahma's Net Sutra*

The possible dates for the compilation of the *Brahma's Net Sutra* would place its compilation several decades after the translation of the full *Vinayas* of the Mahīśāsaka, Dharmaguptaka, Sarvāstivāda, and Mahāsaṅghika Schools, texts that were completed during the first three decades of the fourth century. Because they were the first complete versions of the full *Vinayas* translated in China, these texts were the objects of much attention. In addition, around this time Dharmarakṣa (384–433) and Guṇavarman (367–431) finished translating several texts on the bodhisattva precepts, including the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*.¹⁸ Interest in the precepts was at a peak. These newly translated texts detailing Buddhist behavioral standards probably contributed to increased friction between the Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna traditions, as well as with Confucian ideology. The *Brahma's Net Sutra* may well have been compiled with the hope of ameliorating some of these difficulties by using a new set of precepts.

Filial piety and obedience, two subjects of vital concern to Confucians, were stressed in the *Brahma's Net Sutra*: “You must obey parents, teachers, monks, and the three jewels. Filial piety and obedience are the ultimate path. Filial piety is called the precepts.”¹⁹ Such statements might have served to

15. For a thorough discussion of the texts that contributed to the compilation of the *Brahma's Net Sutra*, see Funayama, “Rikuchō jidai ni okeru bosatsukai.” In recent years, Funayama has continued his discussion of this topic, but I have chosen not to delve further into it because it would take me away from my concern with Japanese Tendai. The Taishō numbers of the texts are 245, 374, 1581, 1582, and 1488. Aspects of some of these texts are discussed in Groner, “Ordination Ritual in the *Platform Sūtra*.” Useful charts demonstrating how the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts were probably based on passages from other texts can be found in Ōno, *Daijō kaikyō*, 267, 271–273.

16. Mochizuki, *Bukkyō kyōten*, 446.

17. *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, T 50:471b; *Lidai sanbaoji*, T 49:100a.

18. Heirman, “Indian Disciplinary Rules”; Funayama, “Acceptance of Buddhist Precepts.”

19. T 24:1004a–b.

assuage Confucian criticisms of Buddhist customs such as celibacy and shaving the head, which were contrary to traditional Chinese views on filial piety. The emphasis on obedience would have supported Confucian views of a hierarchical society.

The compilers of the *Brahma's Net Sutra* were not willing to compromise on certain issues that were judged to be vital to the order in the fifth century, such as the claim that Buddhist monks should be autonomous from secular power. Eleven of the forty-eight minor vows were at least partially concerned with the relationship between the government and the Buddhist order.²⁰ The fortieth minor precept forbade a monk from paying obeisance to his parents, any of his family, or the ruler. According to the forty-seventh minor precept, the government was not to establish officials to oversee the order or to keep registers of monks. At the same time, monks and nuns were not to give the government cause for concern by becoming involved in politics. The forty-eighth minor precept prohibited a person from using Buddhism as a means of obtaining the trust of rulers and officials to benefit himself. In addition, the tenth and thirty-second minor precepts forbade the storing of arms. All these issues affected church-state relations during the Six Dynasties period.

The contents of the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts also suggest that the compilers hoped to compose a set of precepts that would join monks, nuns, and lay believers in a common organization. Thus, the *Brahma's Net Sutra* could be seen as laying out the practices of a universal group of bodhisattvas. Most of the precepts, such as the restrictions on killing, stealing, and illicit sexual activity, applied to both members of religious orders and lay believers.²¹ A small number of the minor precepts applied primarily to monks and nuns, among which were restrictions on receiving special invitations from lay supporters and the requirement that monastic officials perform their duties in an unselfish manner.²² A very small number, such as the major precept that prohibited selling liquor, could be considered as principally concerned with lay conduct. The precept against selling was a lay precept because, according

20. Minor precepts nos. 13, 17, 21, 37, 38, 39, 40, 42, 43, 47, 48. The major precepts are found in T 24:1004b–1005a, and the minor precepts are listed in T 24:1005a–1009b. Rather than give page numbers for each precept cited, I usually refer to them here by number.

21. Major precepts nos. 1–3. Sakaino Kōyō analyzed Chinese commentaries on the *Brahma's Net Sutra* and argued that the ten major and thirty-six of the forty-eight minor precepts were usually said to apply to lay believers, monks, and nuns (*Shina Bukkyō seishi*, 842–843). However, individual commentators differed on the range of people to whom they applied the precepts. Fazang interprets the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts as being appropriate for virtually anyone, but Zhiyi interprets them as suitable only for advanced bodhisattvas (Yoshizu, “*Bonmōkyō bosatsu kaihon sho*,” 273–274).

22. Special invitations to monastics for meals are mentioned in three of the minor precepts (nos. 26–28). The *Brahma's Net Sutra* takes a much stricter position on the issue than either the *Four-Part Vinaya* or the *Yuqie shidi lun* (*Yogācārabhūmiśāstra*), both of which permitted special invitations to monks under certain circumstances. Since it was deemed impractical to completely prohibit special invitations, most commentators sometimes permitted them. Requirements for monastic officials are mentioned in minor precept no. 25.

to the *Vinaya*, monks were supposedly not allowed to touch gold or silver, although numerous accounts describe monks being involved in financial transactions.

Seating at assemblies and seniority in this new universal order were to be determined for all strictly based on the order of one's ordination. According to the thirty-eighth minor precept,

"Those who were ordained first should be seated first, and those who were ordained later should sit below them. It does not matter whether one is young, old, a monk, nun, king, prince, or even a eunuch or a slave." The leaders of such organizations were not necessarily monks. Lay believers might confer the precepts on others; in fact, according to the *Adornment Sutra*, a man or woman could confer them on his or her spouse. This position was adopted in a number of commentaries, including those by Jizang and Ūjōk.²³ There appears in the fortieth minor precept a long list of beings who are qualified for ordination, including deities, demons, lascivious men and women, hermaphrodites, and those without sexual organs. In addition, rulers and government officials were especially encouraged to accept the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts as a part of their coronation or installation in office (minor precept number 1). Thus, secular officials were to follow Buddhist rules and serve as protectors of the order rather than as its oppressors. In both China and Japan, the ordination of rulers with the bodhisattva precepts was often used as a means of attempting to encourage rulers to be sympathetic to Buddhist concerns.²⁴

The *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts were not always used in the way that the compilers of the precepts intended. Although many Chinese and Japanese rulers received *Brahma's Net Sutra* ordinations, they usually did so to make merit and did not observe the precepts they found inconvenient. Members of the Buddhist order and lay believers might have occasionally been ordained at the same time, but there is little indication that they practiced together. The focus of a universal organization for monastics and laity based on the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts would probably have been fortnightly assemblies for chanting the precepts. In fact, *Brahma's Net Sutra* fortnightly assemblies for lay believers were apparently held in China. For short periods in Japan, *Brahma's Net Sutra* fortnightly assemblies for monks were held at Tōdaiji and later at Enryakuji. It is not clear that the universal assembly consisting of

23. Satō Tatsugen, "Shingaku bosatsu no kairitsu," 111.

24. Tōdō ("Kōnan to Kōhoku no Bukkyō") contrasts Buddhism in southern China, in which a ruler was often treated as a disciple who followed the bodhisattva precepts, with Buddhism in northern China, where rulers were sometimes identified with the Buddha. Tsuchihashi has suggested that one of the objectives of the compilers of the *Brahma's Net Sutra* was to influence rulers to act in accordance with Mahāyāna ideals as a bodhisattva ("Kairitsu to Ōron," 20–54). Also see, Janousch, "Emperor as Bodhisattva." Annen was aware of how often bodhisattva precepts had been conferred on rulers and discussed the subject in the *Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku*, T 74:760b–c.

people of all social classes envisioned in the *Brahma's Net Sutra* ever existed, however.²⁵

The compilers of the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts probably did not intend to use them as the sole guide for monastic discipline. The use of terms such as “monk” and “nun” within the text suggests that the compilers recognized that recipients might observe other sets of precepts that were suitable to their position. At the same time, the *Brahma's Net Sutra* included several statements that were critical of Hīnayāna precepts and teachings, such as the following:

If a disciple of the Buddha should turn away from the eternally abiding Mahāyāna sutras and *Vinaya* and claim that they are not the Buddha's words, or uphold wrong or pernicious views, rules, or scriptures of the two vehicles, *śrāvakas* or heterodox religions, then that person has violated a minor rule.²⁶

He should always arouse the faith in the Mahāyāna. He should know that he has not yet realized buddhahood and that the various buddhas have realized it. One should aspire to enlightenment and never retreat from it. If for even an instant one has a thought of the two vehicles or of heterodox teachings, then a minor precept has been violated.²⁷

The demands of the “Hīnayāna” *Vinaya* must have disturbed some Chinese Buddhists. After all, Buddhism had already existed in China for four centuries before the full *Vinayas* were translated. Even after they had been translated, they were often difficult to understand. Some of the most eminent figures of Chinese Buddhism had been guilty of serious infractions but had not been punished. For example, Kumarājīva had been asked to engage in sexual relations by the ruler he served so that his brilliance might be passed down to children. If the *Vinaya* had been strictly observed, Kumarājīva should have been expelled from the order for engaging in sex. Although he is said to have been ashamed of his activities, he was still a revered figure for many Chinese Buddhists, though some questioned how translations by someone who had violated major precepts could be trusted. Mahāyāna attitudes toward killing also challenged Hīnayāna conceptions of monastic discipline. Was killing one person justified if it would save many people? Passages from the *Nirvāṇa Sutra* and *Yogācārabhūmi* supported such a view. Buddhist monks such as Dharmakṣema, translator of both the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* and the *Nirvāṇa Sutra* advised rulers on political and military matters.²⁸ If our views of Buddhism of that period are primarily based on canonical texts such as the *Vinaya*, then the actions of figures such as Kumarājīva and Dharmakṣema may appear

25. Satō Tatsugen, “Shingaku bosatsu no kairitsu,” 116; Ishida Mizumaro, *Ganjin*, 253–267.

26. Minor rule no. 8; T 24:1005c5.

27. Minor rule no. 34; T 24:1007b21. See chapter 5 below on “Japanese Tendai Perfect-Sudden Precepts and the *Vinaya*.”

28. For an insightful discussion of issues surrounding violations of the precepts, see Funayama, “Hakai to itan,” 39–58.

exceptional. However, archeological and literary evidence exists that Buddhist practice in Central Asia and China might have been varied and have included such anomalous figures as married monks. Materials found in Niya in Central Asia indicate that the Buddhist clergy there was not celibate and did not live in large monasteries.²⁹ Could this have been typical in China during the centuries before the *Vinayas* and collections of bodhisattva precepts had been translated? The biography of Dharmakāla, who compiled a list of monastic rules around the year 250, includes the following description of monks: "There were many monks who had not accepted the religious rules. They only distinguished themselves from the laity by the tonsure, and when performing [the ceremonies of] fasting and penitence they just imitated the [non-Buddhist] sacrificial rites."³⁰

Making sense of the conflicting claims of various doctrinal systems and of various standards of behavior may well have influenced the contents of apocryphal texts like the *Brahma's Net Sutra*. An aspect of the *Brahma's Net Sutra* that made it more attractive to many was that it seemed more permissive when violations of the major precepts occurred. The *Vinaya* specified that violations of the gravest precepts (*parājika*) entailed expulsion from the order with no hope of readmission.³¹ Although this provision may have been ignored in some cases, such as that of Niya mentioned above, it was still the standard position. In contrast, the *Brahma's Net Sutra* specified confession rites that allowed a person to expiate grave offenses. According to the forty-first minor precept,

If a Buddhist teaches others and causes them to be faithful, then that bodhisattva should be a teacher for those people. If one sees a person who would like to receive the precepts, then he should teach him to ask two teachers [to ordain him or her]. These two teachers are the preceptor and the *ācārya*. The two teachers should ask the ordinee, "Have you committed any of the seven heinous deeds (*gyakuzai*) that would block your ordination?" If the ordinee has committed any of the seven, then he or she may not be ordained by a teacher during his or her current lifetime. If the ordinee has broken any of the ten [major] precepts, then that person should be taught to confess. He or she should go before an image of the Buddha and day and night recite the ten major precepts and the forty-eight minor precepts. If the person pays obeisance to the thousand buddhas of the past, present, and future, then he or she should receive a special sign (*kōsō*) from the Buddha. If practices continue for one, two, three weeks, or even a year, a special sign will certainly be perceived. The term "special sign" refers to the Buddha touching one on the head, seeing a light, seeing flowers, and other such signs. [If one sees such signs,] then one's sins have been vanquished. If one does

29. Hansen, "Religious Life in a Silk Road Community."

30. *Gaosengzhuan*, T 50:324b–25a. Translation from Hansen, "Religious Life in a Silk Road Community," 307.

31. Note Shayne Clarke's studies of the ambiguities involved in violations of the precept against sexual intercourse.

not perceive such a sign, then even though one has confessed, it has not been effective, but even so, one might be reordained (*zōju*)...³² If one has violated any of the forty-eight minor precepts, then one should confess to others; this will expiate the wrongdoing. This is not the same as the [expiation of the] seven heinous sins. The teacher should carefully explain each of these.³³

Almost all later Chinese commentators on the *Brahma's Net Sutra* argued that a person should observe the *Four-Part Vinaya* precepts with Mahāyāna attitudes. For example, “the wrong and pernicious views” mentioned above were interpreted as referring to mistaken views concerning non-substantiality, not to the rules of the *Four-Part Vinaya*. Thus, adherence to the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts did not entail the rejection of the *Four-Part Vinaya* precepts. In most cases, commentators followed the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* explanation that a monk should receive the precepts for laymen, novices, and monks before being ordained with the bodhisattva precepts. Although Chinese commentators had the option of following another explanation found in the *Adornment Sutra* that justified using the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts alone, most chose to ignore that option. Thus, Chinese monks used the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts to supplement the various precepts found in the *Four-Part Vinaya*, not as a set of independent precepts.³⁴ These are topics that will be considered in subsequent chapters in discussions of bodhisattva ordinations.³⁵

Japanese Tendai Views of the *Brahma's Net Sutra*

Chinese Tiantai had used the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts together with the *Four-Part Vinaya* precepts. When Ganjin (Ch. Jianzhen, 688–763) brought orthodox *Vinaya* ordinations to Japan, he also brought Zhiyi's Tiantai texts and the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts. Saichō, however, rejected the *Vinaya* precepts. According to Saichō's petition to the court with four provisions, the *Shijō shiki*, “There are two types of bodhisattva precepts: (1) the Mahāyāna full precepts consisting of the 10 major and 48 minor precepts and (2) the Hinayāna precepts consisting of the 250 precepts.”³⁶

32. This line seems to contradict the first part of the sentence. In fact, there are variations in the wording of this phrase—*zōyaku*, *zōchō*, or *zōyaku jukai*, and so forth—depending on the version of the sutra. The sense of the term I translate as “reordination” varies in commentaries (Funayama, *Bonmōkyō*, 403–406), but reordination seems to fit with Tendai interpretations; see Mingguang, *Tiantai pusa jie shu*, T 40:599a; Ennin, *Ken'yō daikai ron*, T 74:736b17; Annen, *Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku*, T 74:772a. Also see Tsuchihashi, “Shunjō Risshi no teiki seru bosatsukai jūju no mondai,” *Kairitsu no kenkyū*, 1037–1038. Other interpretations would include an increase in merit when one is reordained, perhaps in a future life, or that all others can be ordained.

33. T 24:1008c10–22.

34. For a discussion of the differences between the positions of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* and the *Adornment Sutra* on the “Hinayāna” precepts, see Groner, *Saichō*, 215.

35. For a full discussion of this tradition, see Tsuchihashi, “Shunjō Risshi no teiki seru bosatsukai jūju no mondai,” *Kairitsu no kenkyū*, 1033–1046; and Groner, “Ordination Ritual in the *Platform Sūtra*.”

36. Saichō, *Sange gakushō shiki*, DZ 1:17.

The Tendai precepts that Saichō wished to adopt for full ordinations of monastics are clearly identified as being based on the *Brahma's Net Sutra*. He does this despite the treatment of the precepts of the *Vinaya* probably followed by Ganjin and later exegetes as being “partly consistent with Mahāyāna” (*buntsū daijō*), a position followed by the Nanshan *Vinaya* tradition. When the lineages in Saichō's *Naishō buppō sōjō kechimyakufu* (Lineages of realization of Buddhist teachings) are considered, the bodhisattva precepts begin with Vairocana, preacher of the *Brahma's Net Sutra*, who then confers it on various Śākyamunis and bodhisattvas.³⁷ The conferral of the precepts on Huisi (515–577) and Zhiyi (538–598) on Vulture Peak (Ryōzen), where Śākyamuni eternally preaches the *Lotus Sutra*, is mentioned, but the *Brahma's Net Sutra* seems to be more central than the *Lotus Sutra* in the bodhisattva precepts' lineage. The *Brahma's Net Sutra* also played a major role in Saichō's ordination manual, the *Ju bosatsukai gi*, and in his detailed defense of the *Shijō shiki* (Four-part rules) and the *Kenkai ron* (Treatise revealing the precepts). Although Saichō never in the *Kenkai ron* makes much of the use of fifty-eight proofs being the same number as the fifty-eight precepts of the *Brahma's Net Sutra*, the numbers might have been used intentionally.

From Saichō's time on, the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts presented Japanese Tendai with a major problem if they were to be used for full ordinations, the reason being that these precepts had traditionally been conferred on both lay and monastic practitioners using virtually the same “universal ordination” ceremony (*tsūju*). Saichō's Nara opponents pointed this out, arguing that Tendai monks would be little more than lay practitioners with such an ordination. Saichō answered this criticism in several ways, including noting that the *Brahma's Net Sutra* mentioned shaving the head and wearing robes as marks of monastic practitioners. Moreover, he argued that even though monks and lay practitioners used the same ordination ritual, their inclinations determined which precepts they received and practiced.³⁸ The term “universal ordination and distinct observance” (*tsūju betsuji*) was used by Saichō to refer to this approach, but the term does not appear before Saichō and is rarely used during the century after him, possibly because it is unclear how this ordination might be implemented.

A commentary on the *Brahma's Net Sutra* might have been useful for providing a way to interpret the new use of precepts for the Tendai School, but this was not the course followed by most Tendai monks, except in a few cases. For example, Kōen's *Endon bosatsukai jūjū yonjūhachi gyōgi shō* (Commentary on the perfect-sudden ten major and forty-eight minor bodhisattva precepts) did not call for absolute adherence to the letter of the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts. Instead, he asked that his followers observe them to the extent that they were able. If they were motivated by compassion, the failure to completely observe each precept did not constitute a violation. Although Kōen's attitude

37. Saichō, *Naishō Buppō sōjō kechimyakufu*, DZ 1:230–234.

38. Saichō, *Kenkai ron*, DZ 1:112–113.

may seem lax, in the context of his times (believed by him to be the final Dharma age, or *mappō*), he was asking for serious and careful adherence to the precepts. Possibly because Kōen's flexibility might open his students to criticism, he cautioned that the text be kept secret from those who had not received the precepts.³⁹ Ninkū's thirteen-fascicle subcommentary on the *Pusajie yi ji*, the *Bosatsukai giki kiki gaki*, includes very detailed discussions of the precepts.⁴⁰ Although Ninkū generally maintained a strict attitude toward monastic discipline, he included discussions of when it might be violated.

One of the major problems in using the *Brahma's Net Sutra* was that it had been classified as a mix of "distinct and perfect teachings" (*betsuengyō*) in the Tendai classification of doctrines because the *Brahma's Net Sutra* was considered the capping sutra of the *Huayan jing*. As a result, the *Brahma's Net Sutra* was usually placed in a category of teachings below the *Lotus Sutra*. The Kurodani lineage and particularly the Rozanji lineage, however, stressed the role of the *Brahma's Net Sutra* and gave it a higher status. During the period shortly before and during Kōen's life, the Kurodani lineage had stressed the importance of the twelve-year sequestration on Mount Hiei and the application of everyday activities as being a key to the realization of buddhahood with this very body. The Rozanji lineage's Jitsudō Ninkū ingeniously argued that the second fascicle of the *Brahma's Net Sutra* containing the precepts should be considered an independent text that was a perfect teaching and thus equal to the *Lotus Sutra*.⁴¹ At the same time, he accepted the two-fascicle *Brahma's Net Sutra* as a mix of "distinct and perfect teachings."

When Tendai exegetes wanted to stress the *Brahma's Net Sutra*, instead of writing new commentaries on it, many wrote subcommentaries on the commentary on the *Brahma's Net Sutra* attributed to Zhiyi (*Pusajie yi ji*). Most of these subcommentaries focused on the section in the first fascicle of the *Brahma's Net Sutra* that contained discussions of such topics as the essence of the precepts (*kaitai*). The actual precepts received much less attention in most cases. What, then, took the place of precepts as the foundation of institutions? In many cases, temple rules administered by a capable leader were important.⁴² The *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts usually were only mentioned in passing in these rules, if at all. A significant exception is the recitation of the precepts in the fortnightly assembly (*fusatsu*), when they would be recited in the liturgy. Assemblies focusing on the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts date back to Ganjin, but they were not consistently used in Tendai and seem to have been ignored or to have been formalities during large parts of Tendai history. However, some of the most illustrious figures in Tendai history—such as Ennin (794–864), Enchin (814–891), Ryōgen (912–985), Ryōnin (1073–1132), Jien (1155–1225), and Ninkū—made efforts to revive the fortnightly assembly

39. Kubota, "Jūjū shijūhachi gyōgi"; see chapter 8 below.

40. TZ, vol. 15.

41. Chapters 8, 9, and 11 below.

42. Okano, "Enryakuji no naibu kōzō."

(*fusatsu*), which involved a recitation of the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts. The format of the recitation frequently is not clear, however. It may have involved reciting abbreviated names of the precepts, but probably not the full entries in the *Brahma's Net Sutra*. In such cases, fortnightly assemblies were often used for much more than enforcing monastic discipline. Because they generated considerable merit, they were also used for funerary and memorial purposes as well as for Pure Land practices. They were frequently accompanied by chanting (*shōmyō*), which prolonged the service and sometimes made the contents seem more like a performance than a means to enforce monastic discipline. Thus, the use of fortnightly assemblies cannot be taken as evidence that the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts were used in the practical sense of guiding monastic discipline.⁴³

The influence of the actual provisions of the *Brahma's Net Sutra* were relegated to a subservient role within decades of Saichō's death, as is shown in Annen's *Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku* (Extensive explanation of the universal ordination of the bodhisattva precepts) and in the apocryphal *Tendai gākushō shiki mondō* (Questions and answers on rules for Tendai monks) attributed to Saichō.⁴⁴ However, as is explained below, the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts would regain their influence in the Kurodani and Rozanji lineages of medieval Tendai.

The Adornment Sutra

The *Adornment Sutra* (*Yingluo jing*) is an apocryphal text closely associated with the *Brahma's Net Sutra*. Some of its positions are extreme, virtually eliminating any sense of the precepts as rules to be followed. In the *Adornment Sutra*, the precepts from the *Vinaya* are not mentioned as part of the three collections of pure precepts (the restraints preventing evil, encompassing good, and benefiting sentient beings). The precepts preventing evil, instead of being identified with the *Vinaya* as they are in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* (*Pusa dichi jing*) or *Yogācārabhūmi*, were identified with ten *pārājika*, that is, with the ten major precepts of the *Brahma's Net Sutra*. The precepts promoting good were identified with eighty-four thousand teachings, but no specific contents were mentioned. The precepts benefiting sentient beings were equated with the four unlimited minds (friendliness, compassion, joy, and equanimity).⁴⁵ In addition, the *Adornment Sutra* included statements that the precepts could be conferred by virtually anyone, including husbands and wives, who could confer them on each other. A person who received the precepts and then broke them was said to be superior to one who had not received them but

43. Funayama has argued that the *Brahma's Net Sutra* served as a "complete checklist of bodhisattva behavior" ("Acceptance of Buddhist Precepts," 113) or "A Mahayana Code for Daily Life in East Asian Buddhism" (title page of Funayama, *Bonmōkyō*). While this may have been the case for the Chinese, the situation in Japan seems quite different to me. As is described in subsequent chapters of this book, the spiritual power of the ordination was stressed more than explication and adherence to the precepts. For the example of Ryōgen, see Groner, *Ryōgen*, 240.

44. See chapters 3 and 7 below.

45. *Yingluo jing*, T 24:1020b29–c2.

abided by them anyway; a person who received the precepts and broke them was at the very least a Buddhist. The bodhisattva precepts did not end with death but lasted from lifetime to lifetime. One could receive them but could not discard (*shakai*) them, violate them but never lose them.⁴⁶ Such formulas are repeated in many Tendai texts on the precepts, reinforcing the view that traditional Buddhist monastic discipline came close to disappearing at times in some Tendai lineages. In fact, the frequency of citations of this text is one way scholars can measure whether the commentator has a lax attitude toward observance of precepts.

Hierarchical Discussions of the Precepts

Tendai exegetes were aware of the contradictions between these various texts. They also understood how precepts could be treated as guides to behavior and initiations into monastic orders, but that they could also be used to insist that the recipient was virtually a buddha, a claim that was buttressed by an oft-quoted passage from the *Brahma's Net Sutra*: "When sentient beings receive these precepts of the Buddha, they immediately enter the ranks of the buddhas. Their rank is that of the great enlightened ones. They are truly the children of the buddhas."⁴⁷ Explaining such statements was an important problem for exegetes. Space enables me to cite only a few examples of how they arranged these interpretations into hierarchies, thereby explaining away seeming contradictions. Annen argued that three types of precepts could be distinguished:

First are the precepts that are transmitted and received (*denju kai*). They are received from a teacher using syllables, words, phrases, and compounds.

Second are the precepts that are called forth (*hottoku kai*). These are called forth through stating the motion and asking for agreement three times [*byaku shikonma*, following the ritual procedures specified in the *Vinaya* for traditional ordinations].

Third are the precepts that are innate (*shōtokukai*). These are the precepts inherent in Suchness; both worldlings and sages possess them.⁴⁸

Thus, precepts might serve as an entry to an order and be transmitted by monastic orders or they might be called forth from one's buddha-nature, where they were ever present, though often in a latent state.

The Kurodani lineage's Kōen had a particularly clear hierarchy of the precepts in the *Lotus Sutra* and *Brahma's Net Sutra* in his *Bosatsukai giki chiken besshi shō* (Compendium of additional notes of knowledge of the *Pusajie yi ji*):

On the first level, the text and its meaning are both concerned with the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts; these are a mix of distinct and perfect precepts. They are

46. *Yingluo jing*, T 24:1021b. For more on this theme, see chapter 13 below.

47. T 24:1004a20–21.

48. *Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku*, T 74:767a16–19.

related from the perspective of before the *Lotus Sutra* was preached. On the second level, the text is based on the *Brahma's Net Sutra*, but the meaning is based on the *Lotus Sutra*. . . . Although it explains how a bodhisattva studies and practices according to the *Lotus Sutra*, the text [of the *Lotus Sutra*] is abbreviated and so must rely on the *Brahma's Net Sutra* to explain the behavior of the bodhisattva. Thus, the bodhisattva precepts rely secondarily on the *Brahma's Net Sutra*. On the third level, both the text and meaning are from the *Lotus Sutra*. At that point, they are solely purely perfect bodhisattva precepts.⁴⁹

As this passage indicates, the *Lotus Sutra* was frequently seen as lacking concrete passages and thus had to be supplemented with the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts. This is reflected in similar discussions about the relation between the *Lotus* and esoteric texts, discussions that shed light on some of the issues concerning the *Lotus Sutra* and precepts. According to Saichō, the *Lotus Sutra* had the same purport as esoteric Buddhism (*enmitsu itchi*). However, when figures such as Ennin and Annen considered the topic, the *Lotus Sutra* could be categorized as only exhibiting the Principle of the teaching. In Ennin's view, major esoteric texts exhibited both the practices (or the phenomenal or practical aspects) and the Principle of the teaching (*jiri ku mitsui*).⁵⁰ The implications of the latter approach, though never explored in detail, suggest that the *Lotus Sutra* might embody the Principle but not the practical aspects of the precepts.

The relation between the *Lotus Sutra* and *Brahma's Net Sutra* was also treated in some of the lineages created by medieval Tendai thinkers. One of the most innovative and fictitious explanations for divergent views about the sources of the precepts appears in the *Ōwakizashi* (The large text tucked under one's arm), probably an early Tokugawa-period compilation belonging to the Eshin lineage. According to this text, Saichō conferred the bodhisattva precepts on two of his major disciples, Enchō (772–837) and Ennin, on separate occasions. When he bestowed them on Enchō, he conferred the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts, but for Ennin, the *Lotus Sutra* precepts were given. According to the *Ōwakizashi*, the lineage of *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts was continued by such monks as Ryōnin, Hōnen (1133–1212), and the Kurodani lineage of the Tendai School. Because the monks in these lineages had not received the *Lotus Sutra* line that had come through Ennin and the Eshin lineage, they had badly misinterpreted the precepts and overemphasized the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts.

In creating these two lineages, Saichō was said to have had two different objectives. The *Brahma's Net Sutra* lineage and the teachings associated with it, first of all, reflected his efforts to counter criticisms from the Nara schools, and, second, served as expedient teachings (*kyōmon*). The *Lotus Sutra* lineage consisted of the ultimate meaning (*jitsugi*) of the precepts. These precepts,

49. *Bosatsukai giki chiken besshi shō*, ZTZ *Enkai* 2:5b; also see 11b.

50. In English, see Dolce, "Reconsidering the Taxonomy of the Esoteric." In Japanese, see Ōkubo, *Tendai kyōgaku to hōngaku shisō*, 275–276; Misaki, *Taimitsu no kenkyū*, 26, 227, 414.

in turn, consisted of the manner in which matters of the dignity and propriety of sentient beings were not confused as sentient beings passed through the six realms of rebirth; in other words, this level of the precepts was identified with the presence, just as they were without need for change of the “dignity” or existences of grasses, trees, and the nation itself.⁵¹

Most lineages for the bodhisattva precepts in fact included Ennin and Hōnen in the same lineage. Some Tendai groups made claims about secret transmissions. For example, Ninkū argued that Shōkū (1177–1247), founder of the Seizan lineage of the Pure Land School, had received a special verbal transmission of Hōnen’s explanation of the *Pusajie yi ji*, Zhiyi’s supposed commentary.⁵² Ninkū also traced differences in interpretation to different lineages that arose from ordinations of Saichō’s disciples Ennin and Kōjō.⁵³ Of course, almost all of these claims about the differences in the precepts conferred on Saichō’s disciples were later interpretations very loosely based on records of actual ordinations.

The rules of the *Brahma’s Net Sutra* and *Lotus Sutra* were eventually superseded by increasingly abstract conceptions of precepts. Annen’s relegation of the *Brahma’s Net Sutra* precepts to a shallow level of teaching in the Diamond Realm texts of esoteric Buddhism is accompanied by his efforts to trace all precepts back to the *samaya* precepts, a very short set conferred on esoteric Buddhist practitioners. Annen then cited the *Jingangding jing* (*Sutra on Vajra Peak*) narrative of Śākyamuni bodhisattva failing to realize supreme enlightenment until all the buddhas assembled and conferred the *samaya* precepts and fivefold practice of realizing Vairocana’s body (*gosō jōbutsu*).⁵⁴ He also linked the conferral of the precepts to various levels of the realization of buddhahood with this very body.

A similar move to tie the precepts to primordial buddhahood is found in the usages of the term *ishhinkai zō*, “treasury of the one-mind precepts,” in Kurodani-lineage documents. The term is described as being “a reliquary of Prabhūtaratna” (Tahōtō), the “six elements of Vairocana’s self-realization, and the primordial five aggregates (*skandhas*) of sentient beings.”⁵⁵ It represents the state when the mind, sentient beings, and the Buddha are not distinguished, the stage before the precepts are distinguished from meditation and wisdom, the other elements of the threefold training (*sangaku*).⁵⁶ These precepts surpassed any consideration of the four teachings in the Tendai classification system and were thus not subject to the criticism that they were the mix of “distinct and perfect teachings” found in Tiantai texts. To bring them down to a practical level so that they could be put into practice, they

51. *Ōwakizashi*, fasc. 14, sec. 5.

52. *Seizan shōnin engi*, *Tōhō Bukkyō sōsho*, 1.5:339.

53. *Bosatsukai giki kiki gaki*, *Seizan zensho*, bekkān 3:28b.

54. *Futsū jubosatsukai kōshaku*, T 74:764b9–15. See chapter 3 below on “Annen’s Interpretation of the Tendai Ordination.”

55. *Bosatsu endon jukai kanjō ki*, T 74:789c24–790a7.

56. *Bosatsukai giki chūki besshi shō*, *ZTZ Enkai* 2:37b–38a.

were expressed through provisional truth (*ketai*), and it was in this sense that they were expressed through the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts and the consecrated ordination. The consecrated ordination was a ceremony in which a person first received the twelve-part ordination based on Saichō's use of the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts but then later was reordained with the more abstract *Lotus Sutra* precepts in a reenactment of Śākyamuni climbing into Prabhūtaratna's reliquary and sitting next to him.⁵⁷

Similar issues emerged in discussions and debates about the essence of the precepts, those karmic forces or qualities that are the basis of the precepts. Discussions often focused on explaining such issues as whether the precepts could be lost or violated, thereby focusing on the differences between the *Adornment Sutra* and other texts on the bodhisattva precepts.⁵⁸ Other topics concerned whether a physical or verbal action was required to instill the precepts, a position that stressed the importance of the ordination ceremony. This position was based on the argument in the commentary on the *Brahma's Net Sutra* attributed to Zhiyi that stated that the essence of the precepts is "innate, unmanifested provisional form" (*shō musa keshiki*).⁵⁹ It differed from the position that stated that the essence of the precepts was purely mental, which could be used to deemphasize the ordination ritual by tying the precepts to meditation or the realization of the three views in an instant; advocates of a mental essence of the precepts frequently cited Zhiyi's *Mohe zhiguan* (The great calming and contemplation) even though Zhiyi stressed monastic discipline.⁶⁰ When the essence of the precepts was identified with the one mind or the true aspect of the mind (*jissō shin*), then they were inherent; they could not be lost and transcended all consideration of good and evil or adherence and violation. These interpretations were frequently supported by references to the *Adornment Sutra*.

Even though Tendai monks did not use the *Vinaya*, they still had to be aware that Nara monks criticized them as being little more than laymen because of their approach to ordinations and monastic discipline. Neither the *Brahma's Net Sutra* nor the *Lotus Sutra* included detailed instructions for the various ritual procedures—such as ordinations, fortnightly assemblies, rainy-season retreats—that made up the life of monks. When these procedures were revived by Tendai monks, they frequently went back to the *Vinaya* for guidance. When Tendai monks consulted the works of Zhiyi and Zhanran (711–782) to interpret the precepts, they found references to the *Vinaya*. However, Japanese Tendai commentaries on the actual precepts, even by advocates of strict monastic discipline such as Ninkū, departed in significant ways from the *Vinaya*, for example, the consideration of cases in which the killing of a human being would be permissible.⁶¹

57. See chapter 9 below.

58. See chapter 13 below.

59. *Pusajie yishu*, T 40:566a.

60. For example, see *Mohe zhiguan*, T 46:17b.

61. See chapter 12 below.

By the early Kamakura period, it was becoming clear that Saichō's adoption of the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts for full ordinations differed from the procedures in Chinese Tiantai temples. Efforts were therefore made by such figures as Eisai (1141–1215) and Shunjō who had studied in China to reintroduce the Chinese system that combined *Four-Part Vinaya* and *Brahma's Net Sutra* ordinations in a hierarchy of distinct ceremonies (*betsuju*). During the Tokugawa period, Tendai monks of Anrakuritsuin (Anrakuritsu Hall) argued that the *Four-Part Vinaya* should be used along with the *Brahma's Net Sutra*. The Tendai School today, however, has continued to use the bodhisattva precepts to ordain monks.

Ordinations

One of the distinguishing characteristics of medieval Tendai writings on the precepts is that the ordination ceremony came to play a more important role than the actual rules that were conferred. Tendai ordinations were usually based on a bodhisattva precept ordination manual written by Zhanran and revised by Saichō. The manual had twelve parts:

1. introduction
2. three refuges
3. invitation to the teachers
4. confession
5. aspiration for supreme enlightenment
6. questioning about hindrances to ordination
7. conferral of the precepts
8. witnessing of the ceremony
9. signs from the Buddha confirming the ceremony
10. explanation of the precepts
11. dedication of the merit from the ceremony to all sentient beings
12. exhortation to observe the precepts⁶²

Some parts of the ordination were based on self-ordinations, in which a person went before an image of the Buddha, confessed, and meditated until a sign was received that the Buddha had personally conferred the precepts. Other parts—such as questions about hindrances to the ordination, explanations of the precepts, and exhortations to follow them—were based on ceremonies in which the precepts were conferred by an order. When the officiants of the ordination were invited, a ceremony described in the *Guan Puxian jing* (*Samantabhadra Sutra*), the *Lotus Sutra's* capping sutra, was used; Śākyamuni served as preceptor, Mañjuśrī as master of ceremonies, Maitreya

62. *Ju bosatsukai gi*, T 74:625b23–26; Zhanran, *Shou pusajie yi*, X no. 1086; Jōdoshū kaishū happyakunen, *Jōdoshū zensho*, 15:872.

as teacher, the buddhas as witnesses, and the bodhisattvas as fellow students.⁶³ Buddhas and bodhisattvas conferred (*ju*) the precepts, while a qualified representative of the Tendai order transmitted (*den*) the precepts.⁶⁴ The ordination thus had the prestige of emanating directly from the buddhas and bodhisattvas. At the same time, because the ordination was conducted by an authorized teacher from the Tendai School, in many cases the *zasu* (chief prelate), its institutional basis was maintained.⁶⁵ Still other elements reflected the heterogeneous origins of the ceremony. For example, the precepts were said to be conferred when the ordinee accepted the three collections of pure precepts (*sanju jōkai*), but this formula did not appear in the *Brahma's Net Sutra*.

The role of the three collections of pure precepts depended on the scripture used to define them. According to Yogācāra texts, the first collection, restraining wrong actions, included all of the *Vinaya* precepts. In contrast, in the *Adornment Sutra* the collection restraining wrong actions consisted of the ten major precepts with no mention of the *Vinaya's* precepts. Although at first glance this would seem to reflect the sectarian struggles between Tendai and Hossō, Chinese Tiantai had been influenced by Dilun scholarship and probably would have accepted the views of the Chinese translations of the Yogācāra *Bodhisattvabhūmi* used by the Dilun tradition.

In the end, the significance of having an unbroken lineage of correctly ordained monks was lessened because each ordination could be considered a direct conferral from the Buddha, and a variety of interpretations of ordinations could and did emerge. Having the buddhas and bodhisattvas enforce the precepts was virtually impossible. After all, how could the buddhas and bodhisattvas enforce monastic discipline? The role of the precepts as guides for behavior was therefore lessened and in some cases virtually disappeared. Even so, at the end of the ceremony, the major precepts of the *Brahma's Net Sutra* were explained to the newly ordained bodhisattva so that he or she would not unknowingly violate them, a feature similar to the explanation of the four *pārājika* in the full ordination of the *Vinaya*.

The two aspects of the Tendai ordination—typified by institutional continuity and the direct transmission from the Buddha—reflect a tension about what the ordination represented. By having elements from traditional *Vinaya* ordinations, the Tendai ordination marked the admission of a young man into a monastic order where he would spend years being trained. By having elements from a self-ordination, which was successful for those who had a high degree of training, the ordination became a ritual marking significant religious attainments. This distinction is reflected in the Kurodani lineage of

63. *Guan Puxian jing*, T 9:393c22–24; and Saichō, *Ju bosatsukai gi*, T 74:626a; Zhanran, *Shou pusajie yi*, X 59:354.

64. *Sange gakushō shūki*, DZ 1:18.

65. *Shime'i anzengi*, ND-Suzuki 43:657b2; *Denjutsu isshinkai mon*, T 74:644c8; *Onjōji monjo*, 1:50–51.

Mount Hiei, which first conferred the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts on a beginning monk but then conducted an additional consecrated ordination (*kai kanjō*) or reordination (*jūju*) when a practitioner had completed advanced training, often comprising twelve years of seclusion on Mount Hiei; over time, the length of training to prepare for the latter ordination was shortened. The latter ordination was a reenactment of the *Lotus Sutra's* portrayal of Śākyamuni in Prabhūtaratna's reliquary, with the teacher and the student seated side by side under a canopy marking them as buddhas.⁶⁶

The differences in these functions are also found in Annen's *Futsū jubosatsukai kōshaku* (Extensive commentary on the universal ordination for the bodhisattva precepts), probably the most important text in interpreting the ordination. Because I have written about this text elsewhere, I will simply remark here on one aspect of it.⁶⁷ The ordination is identified with the realization of buddhahood with this very body, but this concept has various levels identified with the six degrees of identity (*roku soku*). In other words, one could innately be a buddha without any awareness of it, be practicing to realize that innate buddhahood, or be a fully realized buddha. The *Brahma's Net Sutra* is identified with the second lowest, verbal identity (*myōji soku*), which is being acquainted with the verbal or written teachings of Buddhism. In contrast, the *Lotus Sutra* is for those with the highest faculties.⁶⁸ Precepts from both the *Brahma's Net Sutra* and the *Four-Part Vinaya* (included because Annen was dealing with provisional Hinayāna ordinations) are devalued because they are considered to be expedients that could be broken if necessary as one pursues higher goals. Annen makes this point by citing scriptures describing numerous examples of violations of the *pārājika* precepts that were conducive to practice or teaching.⁶⁹ Thus, the higher ordinations are much more abstract than anything used to initiate candidates into an order.

Enchin's use of the distinct ordinations for the various levels of practitioners was continued by Jitsudō Ninkū, who was a skilled exegete and administrator. Ninkū wrote several sets of rules for monks that were based or influenced by the texts of Daoxuan (596–667), the most important scholar of the *Four-Part Vinaya*. In addition, Ninkū devised a system in which distinct sets of precepts would be conferred on Buddhists of different statuses: (1) lay believers (five lay precepts), (2) novices (ten good precepts), and (3) monks (fifty-eight precepts of the *Brahma's Net Sutra*). Thus, even though Ninkū still used the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts for full ordinations, he adopted some of the procedural aspects of the *Vinaya*. Ninkū also argued that the precepts of the *Brahma's Net Sutra* should not be considered expedient teachings. Instead, basing his argument on a passage from the *Pusajie yi ji*, he claimed that the second fascicle of the *Brahma's Net Sutra*, which contained the precepts, should

66. See chapters 8 and 9 below.

67. Groner, "Kōen"; see chapter 3 below.

68. Annen, *Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku*, T 74:765b04–15; 758c15–17.

69. Annen, *Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku*, T 74:765c–766a; chapter 3 below.

be considered an independent text and classified as a perfect teaching, equal to that of the *Lotus Sutra*.⁷⁰

Other Tendai monks such as Shunjō and Eisai returned from studies in China and brought back the *Four-Part Vinaya* precepts and tried to reintroduce the Chinese system of combining them with the *Brahma's Net Sutra*. The ordinations performed by Shunjō for monks at Sennyūji in Kyoto used the three collections of pure precepts (refraining from evil, promoting good, and benefiting sentient beings) when the precepts were conferred (*jukai*) by having the candidate declare that he accepted them, but the ordination then used the *Vinaya* precepts later in the ceremony when the precepts were explained in more detail (*sessō*). The ordination combined the elements of the bodhisattva ordination with the rules found in the *Vinaya*, an unusual procedure used because Shunjō believed that ten monks who had been ordained in the orthodox manner and had adhered to the precepts specified in the *Vinaya* could not be found in Japan in the thirteenth century. The ceremony thus was similar to a Tendai bodhisattva precepts ordination in some ways, but the contents of the precepts followed the *Vinaya*.⁷¹

Conclusion

Saichō's early death, the lack of a single authority to impose a clear doctrinal and ritual stance on the Tendai School, and the mixture of traditions that made up Tendai views on the precepts led to a variety of positions. On the one hand, some monks advocated strict adherence to monastic discipline, even going so far as to reestablish periods of seclusion in the mountains, which referred back to Saichō's early ninth-century petitions to the court found in the *Sangegakushō shiki* and *Kenkai ron*⁷². However, such strict practice was unusual and only followed by very small numbers of monks. On the other hand, there were those who made the interpretation of the precepts a subject of debate, an indication that ordinations and precepts deserved thoughtful investigation. Finally, for many monks the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts were supplanted by the *Lotus Sutra*, leading to interpretations that were so abstract that they ceased to strongly affect monastic discipline. A major reason for the great variety of interpretations was the absence of a single set of precepts that all Tendai monks received. Rather than searching for a single coherent Japanese Tendai position on the precepts, viewing the literature as vibrant discussions of precepts and ordinations offers a more fruitful perspective.

Ordinations could be used to initiate men into a religious order of monks and encourage people to seriously practice as Saichō had intended. However, Tendai ordinations were also used to suggest that monks, just as they were,

70. Ishigaki, "Seizan ni okeru endonkai no mondai"; chapter 11 below on Ninkū on ordinations.

71. Minowa, "Hokkyō ritsu to Nanto ritsu."

72. Groner, *Saichō*, 120–122, 132–135.

were buddhas in a variety of senses. The *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts were used in both senses, particularly with the statement that those who received the precepts entered the ranks of buddhas. In some interpretations, both the ordination and following the precepts were closely related to the realization of buddhahood with this very body. At other times, ordinations were simplified so much that the ritual as an initiation into the order almost seemed to disappear. Finally, ordinations might be used to mark the culmination of a long period of practice and thus carried a meaning quite different from being an initiation into a religious order. The range of uses and the varieties of precepts conferred have sometimes been interpreted as a lack of serious intent on the part of Tendai monks. In fact, the amount of thought and writing that lay behind these interpretations suggests that some monks took them quite seriously.

Much research remains to be done on these issues. We frequently do not know how popular a particular interpretation of the precepts was. Although a number of important materials from the Kurodani and Rozanji lineages have recently been published in the *Zoku Tendai-shū zensho*, we do not know how widely these were used. More research on the Eshin and Danna lineages' views needs to be conducted. Differences between the views of monks from Enryakuji and Onjōji, the two most important Tendai temples and frequent antagonists, need to be explored. The history and issues of the Tokugawa-period dispute over the Anrakuritsuin also deserves further study. The actual format of ordinations is still not clear in most cases, despite considerable material in the *Mon'yōki*. Finally, more research on the surviving sets of temple rules would reveal information about how and whether precepts guided monastic discipline.

Annen's Interpretation of the Tendai Ordination

Its Background and Later Influence

WHEN THE HISTORY of the Japanese Tendai School is investigated, we find that the founder, Saichō, is credited with (or criticized for) rejecting the *Vinaya* and substituting the bodhisattva precepts from the *Brahma's Net Sutra* in full ordinations. When Tendai history subsequent to Saichō is considered, however, the interpretation of the Tendai precepts is far more complicated, with texts such as the *Lotus Sutra* or interpretations of the esoteric *samaya* precepts playing key roles. When citations of texts of the late Heian-through-Muromachi-period sources are surveyed, we find that the polemical texts that Saichō wrote on the precepts—for example, the *Sange gakushō shiki* (Rules for Tendai students) and *Kenkai ron* (Treatise revealing the precepts)—were ignored by many Tendai exegetes. The exception is those exegetes arguing for a return to stricter monastic discipline, among them Kōen of the Kurodani lineage and Ninkū of the Rozanji lineage. However, these were smaller than the other lineages of Tendai. Monks from other schools opposed to Saichō's innovations occasionally cited his works as they refuted his arguments. For example, the Hossō monk Kakujō, who underwent a self-ordination along with Eison, was criticized for abandoning his ordination lineage at Tōdaiji for a self-ordination similar to that used in Tendai. In his point-by-point refutation of the charge, Kakujō repeatedly cited the *Kenkai ron* in his *Bosatsukai tsūju kengi shō* (“Compendium dispelling doubts about the universal bodhisattva precepts ordination”; T 2353). The text that was frequently cited by most Tendai lineages was Annen's *Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku*.

Early in my career I wrote an article about the *Brahma's Net Sutra* and Annen's text.¹ My views evolved in subsequent years as I investigated the

This chapter was originally published in *Eastern Buddhist* (2018). It is reprinted here with permission and supplemented with sections from my chapter “The *Fan-wang ching* and Monastic Discipline in Japanese Tendai” in *Chinese Buddhist Apocrypha*, ed. Robert E. Buswell, Jr. (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1990).

1. Groner, “The *Fan-wang ching*.”

changes in Tendai views of ordinations, precepts, and monastic discipline, and as I read additional primary source materials concerning the history of Japanese Tendai interpretations of the precepts and several recent scholarly studies. In addition, the development of digital texts such as CBETA, SAT, and the Tendai-CDs has enabled me to investigate some of the sources of Tendai views on these subjects and consider the later influences of the *Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku*. I thought the text deserved a second look and so decided to write this chapter. It is divided into three parts. I begin with a consideration of the background of Annen's insistence that the Tendai ordination be a "universal ordination," in other words, an ordination that could be used by both lay and monastic practitioners. This was not an easy position for Annen to take because powerful figures in Tendai, particularly Enchin, argued against it. I next consider the deemphasis on the actual observance of the precepts, in particular the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts, never a particularly effective set of rules for full ordinations as monks. In addition, various rationales for treating the precepts as expedients that could be ignored under certain circumstances were advanced. The role of a Korean exegete, Taehyōn (fl. mid-8th c.) on Annen's interpretation is particularly important, even though Annen does not mention him by name and twists his interpretations in important ways to support a lax approach to monastic discipline. And finally, because Annen was the great systematizer of Tendai esoteric Buddhism, I consider some of the influences of esoteric Buddhism that appear in the text. These include the *samaya* precepts and the realization of enlightenment of buddhahood with this very body, but, even so, the *Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku* is primarily an exoteric text.

Universal and Distinct Ordinations

When Annen gave the title *Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku* to his work on Tendai ordinations, he used a term that appears in no previous text, *futsūju*, which I have translated as "universal ordination." One of the few passages in the *Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku* that uses the term *futsūju* would seem to confirm this: "Without distinguishing among everyone, the precepts are universally conferred, and the seven groups are established according to the intentions of each recipient (*kaku zuishogyō*), namely, the bodhisattva *biku*, *bikuni*, lay man, lay woman, male novice, female novice, and probationary nun."²

Although the term *futsūju* appears in no other Chinese text covered by CBETA, SAT, or in any Japanese Tendai texts included in Tendai CD 2–4 with the exception of those by Annen, a related term, *tsūju* (universal ordination), does appear in many Chinese translations of Indian texts or in Chinese writings. While Annen does little to explain his usage of *futsūju* in the text, I believe that the term *fu*, or *amaneku*, can be interpreted as strengthening the term *tsūju*, which I also translate as "universal ordination." Why did Annen

2. T 74:758a22–25.

choose to strengthen the sense of universal by adding the term *fu*, or *amaneku*, to *tsūju*? A universal ordination is one in which precepts for lay believers and monastics are bestowed in the same ceremony. This sense of the term reflects the use of the bodhisattva ordinations in China, wherein the same ceremony might be used for both monastic and lay recipients, though usually with the monastics receiving them first. However, for Chinese monks, the bodhisattva precepts would augment the 250 precepts of the *Four-Part Vinaya* (*Sifen lü; Dharmaguptaka Vinaya*), which were received through a distinct ordination because people received sets of precepts according to their status. Only after a distinct ordination making them a monk could monks then receive the universal bodhisattva precepts ordination. This is the sense referred to in the Nara monastic officials' criticism of Saichō's proposals and Saichō's disciple Kōjō's reply to them:

The Nara officials said, "There is no [category of] bodhisattva monks in China, nor are there bodhisattva monks who have received distinct ordinations, but there are bodhisattva monks who have received universal ordinations."

I [Kōjō] replied, "If you say that there are no bodhisattva monks with distinct ordinations, but there are bodhisattva monks with universal ordinations, then you don't know [Saicho's] intention."

The Nara officials said, "In Mahāyāna there is no requirement that hair be shaved off, but in the Hinayāna there is such a requirement. If one passes through the Hinayāna, there are monks who received the bodhisattva precepts, but if one does not pass through the Hinayāna there are no monks who [only] receive the bodhisattva precepts."³

The key issue is whether a universal ordination should be received on top of distinct ordinations, as was usually the case in China and Nara, or whether a universal ordination could qualify one to be a monk without first receiving a distinct ordination, as would be the case for Saichō.

When Saichō and Annen discussed universal ordinations, they noted that distinctions about which precepts are conferred depended on the recipient's motivation. This interpretation was probably supported by proof number 24 of Saichō's *Kenkai ron*, titled "universal ordination and separate observance" (*tsūju betsujū*), a compound that would seem to have been first used by Saichō. In this, he may have been influenced by the sixth Tiantai patriarch Zhanran's commentary on Zhiyi's *Mohe zhiguan*, which states, "You should know that in the precepts there is no Mahāyāna or Hinayāna. All depends on the mental attitudes of the recipient. These are the universal aspects of non-substantiality, provisional existence, and the restraints of this realm of phenomena, which are the middle way. This can be called adhering to the full observance of the precepts."⁴ In this proof, Saichō was responding to the Nara monks' claim

3. *Denjutsu issinkai mon*, T 74:643b3–9.

4. *Zhiguan fuxing zhuan hongjue*, T 46:255a10–12.

that his view on universal *Brahma's Net Sutra* ordination would have enabled animals and slaves to become monks and to sit with the nobility. Saichō responded by noting *Brahma's Net Sutra* quotations that state the requirement that monastics wear robes; therefore, he argued, animals could not become monks because they do not wear robes. He also noted that the precepts allow distinctions between groups, thus preserving at least major distinctions in social class. How this would be accomplished in ordinations is not specified and that problem was a vital concern of Enchin's, the *zasu* (chief prelate of the Tendai School) for much of Annen's adulthood. In fact, Annen wrote the *Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku* in 882, during the height of Enchin's tenure as *zasu*. The timing was probably not accidental, because Annen was reacting to Enchin's effort to correct some of the problems in Tendai ordinations that Saichō had left unresolved, particularly the issue of how lay and monastic practitioners were to be distinguished with this new Tendai ordination.

Enchin

After his return from China, Enchin served in several administrative positions, eventually being named as chief prelate of the Tendai School from 868 to 891. During his long tenure in that position, Enchin administered Tendai ordinations, adding notes on the reverse side of the ordination manual (*uwagaki*) that had been written by Saichō and, in turn, was based on an earlier manual by the sixth Chinese patriarch, Zhanran. Enchin found the monks on Mount Hiei under his charge undisciplined and grumbled that they were not very different from laymen. Many of his concerns and his desire to institute a distinct ordination system on Mount Hiei are found in his 887–888 commentary on the *Samantabhadra Sutra*, the capping sutra of the *Lotus Sutra* and the text on which much of the Tendai ordination ceremony was based. One of his most important objectives was to teach young monks how to behave. He complained,

The novices (*shami*) of this country are mostly devoid of Buddhist teachings. They do not know the six types of mindfulness,⁵ do not observe the rainy-season retreat, do not go to the hall for the fortnightly assembly, and do not understand the rules for the two robes [robes for novices (*man'e*), made up of five and seven columnar pieces of cloth], begging bowl, and cloth for sitting. They have no shame. How are they different from lay believers? How can they use alms? . . . Today's shave pates have no mind to observe the precepts and lack the practices that have come

5. The six types of mindfulness (*rokunen*) are knowing (1) when the next fortnightly assembly will be held, (2) whether one has received an invitation to eat (away from the monastery), (3) how many years of seniority one has accumulated by successfully completing rainy-season retreats, (4) whether one has exceeded the permitted number of robes and other possessions, (5) whether one is eating with one's order, and (6) whether one is free of illness and able to practice assiduously. These appear in several *Vinaya* texts and were also cited by Nanshan Daoxuan. The term "*rokunen*" is also found in the *Samantabhadra Sutra*, but without an explanation as to its meaning (T 9:394a26).

down to us. When they are mixed with those on our Tendai mountain, how do we know whether to call them Buddhist or secular? Those who obtain initiation certificates and the precepts for monks and nuns do so only for their own livelihood and have no sense of protecting the Dharma or observing the precepts.⁶

The emphasis on proper deportment, particularly on how robes were to be sewn and worn, observance of how special invitations to meals were to be allocated, and the seating arrangements in rituals reflect Enchin's experiences in China. He would have been in China shortly after the 845 persecution and might have been influenced by monastic efforts to restore Buddhism. The manner in which Enchin referred to the Tendai practitioners, as novices (*shami*) rather than monks (*sō*), is significant. While he was in China he referred to several of his students as novices while he was a monk, but then he had two of them ordained with the full precepts of the *Vinaya* so that they would be monks.⁷ Ambiguities remain about these usages, however.

While Enchin was in China he collected twenty-one texts on the *Vinaya*, from both the Nanshan and Eastern Pagoda (Dongta) traditions of *Vinaya* exegesis. Enchin's interest in the *Vinaya* can be seen in the fact that he probably used the ten precepts for novices from the *Vinaya* in initiations, thus differing from other Tendai exegetes who used the ten good precepts or the ten major precepts of the *Brahma's Net Sutra* for initiations.⁸ In his notes (*uragaki*) to Saichō's ordination manual, Enchin noted,

In China, the majority [of bodhisattva ordinations] were universal, and a minority were distinct. Thus, when this ritual [manual] was composed, it did not include sections specifying that the candidate for ordination be twenty years old or that the candidate have the three robes and a begging bowl. Now, on our ordination platform, the majority are distinct ordinations and the minority are universal ordinations. The [recipients of the ordination] should wear robes and fulfill the other requirements according to the teaching. Thus, we must thoroughly deal with requirements concerning age, robes, and begging bowls. If this is not the case, then distinct ordinations cannot be established and will clearly differ from the teaching. When [these requirements] are not included, the precepts cannot be conferred to those following us. The attitudes in Mahāyāna and Hinayāna rules differ, but the distinct ordination for the most part is not different. The

6. Enchin, *Bussetsu Kanfugen bosatsu gyōhōkyō monku gōki*, BZ-Bussho kankōkai 26:508a–b.

7. DS 1.1:639–646.

8. Saichō had specified that the “perfect ten good precepts” be used for this purpose, but the contents of this set of precepts were not clear (*Sange gakushō shūki*, T 74:624a6). As a result, various sets had been used by Tendai monks. Ninkū clearly states that Enchin used the ten precepts from the *Vinaya* (*Hongenshō*, ZTZ Enkai 2:501a). The source for this assertion is not clear, but it may come from Enchin's commentary on the *Samantabhadra Sutra*, in which he cites *Vinaya*-School sources in his discussion of the precepts for novices (BZ-Bussho kankōkai 26:505a). I have found no early certificates for initiation from Enchin's lineage in either Onjōji, *Onjōji monjo*, or Takeuchi, *Heian ibun*, that would corroborate this.

eighteen requisite items [mentioned in the *Brahma's Net Sutra* that monks should carry] and monastic robes differ from those of the laity.⁹

Enchin also specified that a candidate for ordination must have the permission of his parents and the government.¹⁰ In the event that the candidate was not twenty years of age, he might vow to take the ten basic precepts and the precepts of the novice. In his notes Enchin refers to both nuns and female novices, suggesting that he hoped to have an order of Tendai nuns.¹¹ However, elsewhere he writes that the 348 precepts for nuns in the *Four-Part Vinaya* do not coincide with the 500 precepts for nuns specified in many sources and questions whether the transmission was complete. In contrast, the 250 precepts for monks in the *Four-Part Vinaya* did coincide with the number found in many sources, suggesting that the transmission had been complete.¹²

Enchin's efforts did not succeed for the most part, even though some later monks, particularly Kōen and Ninkū made efforts in the same direction, but these were minorities within the Tendai tradition.¹³ Thus, Annen's *Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku* was composed at a key point in Tendai history when Tendai ordinations and monastic discipline might have developed in several different directions. Although the history of the Tendai precepts at the end of the ninth century is not clear, within several decades Annen's view, which, as we will see below, is considerably different from that of Enchin, had come to dominate Tendai views on the ordination. It had become commonplace within Tendai to join Annen in emphasizing passages from the *Lotus Sutra* identifying holding the sutra as being equivalent to observing the precepts, the *Brahma's Net Sutra* passage identifying the ordination with entering the ranks of the buddhas, and the *Adornment Sutra* passage stating that the precepts could never be lost.¹⁴ At the same time, however, the precepts themselves as restrictions on behavior had receded in importance.

De-emphasizing the Precepts

The emphasis on universal ordinations left Annen with a problem of how monastics and lay believers were to be distinguished. Leaving it as simply a

9. T 74:633a16–22.

10. *Jubosatsu kaigi uragaki*, DZ 1:320. The expression used to ask whether the candidate had his parents' permission is the same as that found in the *Four-Part Vinaya* and Nanshan Daoxuan's commentaries. Because Enchin had collected over twenty texts on the *Four-Part Vinaya* while he was in China, his use of such phrases is not surprising (*Nihon biku Enchin nittō guhō mokuroku*, BZ-Suzuki 95:62b). Another indication of his reading of the *Vinaya* master Daoxuan's works is found in a mention of a text on the ordination platform at Jetavana that had a bodhisattva precepts platform, though in this case the reference remains unclear (DZ 1:305).

11. DZ 1:319.

12. Enchin, *Bussetsu Kanfugen bosatsu gyōhōkyō monku gōki*, BZ-Bussho kankōkai 26:505a.

13. Ōtsuka, *Chūsei zenritsu*, 135–137, 200–202.

14. Annen, *Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku*, T 74:758c16–18, 777c27. 758c29–759a2; *Lotus Sūtra*, T 9:34b15–17; *Fanwang jing*, T 24:1004a20–21; *Yingluo jing*, T 24:1021b02–8.

problem for the recipient's intention, as Saichō had suggested, seemed inadequate. What if the intention of the recipient and teacher differed, or if the intention of either changed? If the recipient determined the content of the ordination, the role of the teacher conferring the precepts would be called into question. Ennin raised such problems in his *Ken'yō daikai ron*.¹⁵ The group of monks around Ninkū later criticized Ennin's text by arguing that it could mean that if one's intention (*igyō*) changed, then one's practices and status might change.¹⁶

In the introductory fascicle of the *Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku*, Annen describes ten types of people who might receive the bodhisattva precepts:

1. anyone who intends to realize buddhahood with this very body
2. anyone who wishes to hold the rank of a bodhisattva
3. anyone who wishes to be a bodhisattva who goes directly (*jikiō bosatsu*) to the goal of buddhahood
4. anyone who wishes to convert to Mahāyāna
5. anyone who wishes to never lose the precepts
6. anyone who wishes to receive them anew (*jūju*)
7. anyone who wishes to pay recompense for the four blessings [*shion*: from one's parents, sentient beings, rulers, and the three treasure]
8. anyone who wishes to be protected by all
9. anyone who wishes to become the king of all
10. anyone who wishes to convert the beings of the three realms¹⁷

Each of these types is supported by a scriptural reference. For example, the realization of buddhahood is supported with a passage from the *Brahma's Net Sutra* that appears repeatedly in medieval Tendai texts on the precepts, much more frequently than any passage on a specific precept: "All beings with minds are embraced by the Buddha's precepts. If sentient beings receive the Buddha's precepts, they enter the ranks of the buddhas. Their rank is the same as those with great realization. They are truly children of the buddhas."¹⁸ The sixth category, reordinations, is discussed at length because it permits one to receive the precepts anew if a major precept has been broken. In addition, as is discussed below, one might preserve the precepts by reciting a particular *dhāraṇī* if a heinous sin has been committed. Thus, this category could lead to laxity in enforcing major precepts. In all ten of these, the intention to join a monastic or lay order is never specifically given as a motivation. Several of these are concerned with spiritual development, such as the realization of buddhahood with this very body and becoming a bodhisattva who goes directly to buddhahood. Others that seem more this-worldly are gaining protection,

15. T 74:664b4–17.

16. *Kairon shūchō ryakushō*, ZTZ Enkai 2:588b; *Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku*, T 74:776c22–23.

17. T 74:758c15–760b1.

18. *Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku*, T 74:758c16–18; *Fanwang jing*, T 24:1004a19–21.

becoming a king, and returning the four blessings, but in no case does entry into a religious order as a beginning practitioner play an important role.

The Decline of the Influence of the *Brahma's Net Sutra*

When Saichō's *Shijō shiki* (Rules in four articles), *Kenkai ron*, and *Ju bosatsukai gi* (Ordination manual for the bodhisattva precepts) are considered, the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts are clearly central to his thought on the precepts. The ordination described in Saichō's manual is for initiating monks and concludes by asking whether the new monk will observe the ten major precepts. A modern scholar might reasonably think that one of the first tasks for Tendai monks might have been to interpret the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts so that they could serve as a guide for monastic discipline. In fact, the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts were not very suitable for this task because they were a mix of precepts for lay and monastic practitioners. Instead, Tendai texts focused on the ordination and how it should be interpreted. Annen's *Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku* played a major role in the loss of influence of the actual precepts of the *Brahma's Net Sutra*. Instead of focusing on monastic discipline, passages in the *Brahma's Net Sutra* that identified the precepts with buddha-nature were emphasized over the literal discussions of conduct.¹⁹ In the third section, inviting the teachers, Annen cites an esoteric text to demote the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts to a level like that of the precepts from the *Vinaya* and inferior to the esoteric *samaya* precepts. According to Annen, "If we follow the *Determinations of the Shingon* (*Shingon ketsu*), the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts are the shallow and abbreviated (*senryaku*) teaching of the *Vajraśekhara* (*Kongōchō*)."²⁰

The reference is to Amoghavajra's (705–774) *Jingangding jing dayujia mimi xindi famen yigui* (Determinations of the great yoga secret mind-ground law teaching of the diamond protuberance [or apex] scripture), which was based on oral instructions concerning ritual and was valued by Japanese practitioners. Because it is the oldest extant commentary and the only Chinese commentary on the *Diamond Protuberance Scripture*, it has been particularly valued in Japan.²¹ However, the passage referred to by Annen on the status of the *Brahma's Net Sutra*²² is almost never cited in Chinese texts but appears frequently in Japanese texts. Enchin mentions the passage in a set of questions that he sent to China around 882, roughly the same time Annen wrote the *Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku*; in the *Sasa gimon*, Enchin asks how the *Brahma's Net Sutra* would fit in with the eighteen assemblies of the *Diamond Protuberance Scripture*. Unfortunately, the *Sasa gimon* is a set of questions usually without answers, and no clear answer to his question appears in it.²³ Annen's *Futsūju bosatsukai*

19. Shirato, "Inherent Enlightenment and Saichō's Acceptance of the Bodhisattva Precepts."

20. *Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku*, T 74:764b9–12.

21. The text seems to appear with several different titles in bibliographies of works brought from China, making a textual history difficult. For an analysis, see Kiyota, "Kongōchō hyō giketsu."

22. T 39:808a22.

23. BZ-Bussho kankōkai 27:1048.

kōshaku could then be considered a response to such a question insofar as the precepts are identified as expedients based on the *samaya* precepts.

The statement abovementioned by Annen that the *Brahma's Net Sutra* is shallow and abbreviated is also cited in several of Annen's works on esoteric Buddhism: the *Shingonshū kyōji gi*,²⁴ the *Kanchūin senjō jigō kanjō gusoku shibun*,²⁵ and the *Bodaishin gi shō*.²⁶ Annen's numerous citations of this passage are evidence of a sustained effort to de-emphasize the role of the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts throughout his life.²⁷

The tenth section of the traditional bodhisattva precepts ordination manual by Zhanran, which was then refashioned by Saichō, explains the contents of the ten major rules of the *Brahma's Net Sutra*, asking the ordinee whether he or she can observe each of them. This section is called by both Zhanran and Saichō "the explanation of the characteristics [of the precepts] (*sessō*)."²⁸ It mirrors the traditional ordination based on the *Vinaya* in which the precepts that would result in permanent expulsion from the order, the *pārājika*, would be explained to the new monk right after the ordination so that major precepts would not be broken inadvertently; lesser rules could be taught later. A comparison of the *Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku* with the manuals by Zhanran and Saichō reveals significant differences in approach. Annen renamed the section "characteristics of the precepts" (*kaisō*).²⁹ The difference is significant because it allowed Annen to mention a wide variety of precepts, including those of the *Vinaya* and *Yogācāra* texts, that the bodhisattva might observe as expedients and that could be violated so that a monastic could harmonize with and benefit others (*wakō rita*). The term used to refer to this list of various precepts is *hōben gākushō*, which can be translated as "expedient trainings." It is also the title of the eighteenth chapter in the *Darī jing* (*Mahāvairocana Sutra*), a source for esoteric views on the precepts.³⁰ Although Annen did not expound on this usage of the term in this section, elsewhere in the *Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku* he explained four esoteric precepts and an expanded view of the ten good precepts in a manner that suggested esoteric *samaya* precepts were the foundation of all precepts.³¹ The result is a more diffuse presentation of the precepts than the more narrowly focused discussions in the manuals by Zhanran and Saichō. This section concludes by asking the candidate whether he (or she) will observe each of the ten major *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts, following the manuals by Zhanran and Saichō. However, this part of the *Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku* is abbreviated once the question about the first major precept has been asked. In fact, the *Futsūju bosatsukai*

24. T 75:391c22, 400a26, 406c2.

25. T 75:234a24–26.

26. T 75:513a20; 548a9.

27. See chapter 4 below for the background to Annen's questioning of the precepts.

28. Zhanran, *Shou pusajie yi*, X 59:356c1–22; Saichō, *Ju bosatsukai gi*, T 74:629a11–b26.

29. T 74:775c–777b.

30. T 18:39a6, 39a–40a.

31. T 74:764b10–12.

kōshaku would be impossible to use for this section without referring to Zhanran and Saichō. The overall impression is that, for Annen, asking whether the ten major precepts of the *Brahma's Net Sutra* would be observed was simply an afterthought.

The eleventh section of the *Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku*, consists of a disquisition on observance (*hōji*) of the precepts. In the manuals by Zhanran and Saichō, this section is called an “exhortation to observe the precepts” (*gonji*); it is placed last and is very short.³² Annen expanded this section and exchanged its position with the section on extensive vows (*kōgan*). The section on observance includes ten categories and discusses the various rationales for observing and violating the precepts. The result is quite different from an exhortation to observe the precepts. The ten categories are:

1. exhaustively holding the various precepts (*ippen shokai mon*)
2. [holding] greater or lesser precepts in accord with one's intentions (*zuishin tashō mon*)
3. following the moral precepts but allowing [violations] of culturally determined rules (*goshō kōsha mon*)
4. [employing] expedient means as not being violations (*hōben mubon mon*)
5. allowing the superior and controlling the inferior (*koshō seiretsu*)
6. following one's wishes and not violating the precepts (*zuigyō mubon mon*)
7. being fearful not constituting a violation (*fui mubon mon*)
8. going in accord with what is superior not constituting a violation (*zuishō mubon mon*)
9. abandoning the Hīnayāna precepts not being a violation (*shashō mubon mon*)
10. adhering to the ultimate [meaning] one observes the precepts (*kukyō jitoku mon*)

The first of these rubrics encourages observance of all precepts, regardless of whether they are secular, Hīnayāna, or lesser forms of Mahāyāna. The provisional Hīnayāna ordinations—which Saichō had suggested could be conducted after twelve years of practice on Mount Hiei—would fit in with such a statement, and, in fact, abortive efforts had been made to use the provisional Hīnayāna ordination during the early Heian period to gain some yearly ordinands for Tendai.³³ Enchin had asked about them too but had been discouraged by the court.³⁴ According to Annen, “Thus even if they are not the rules of the true vehicle, one should observe the rules of the provisional, Hīnayāna, human, and deity vehicles. If one does not observe all of these, he

32. Zhanran, *Shou pusajie yi*, X 59:356c23–357a14; Saichō, *Ju bosatsukai gi*, T 74:629c.

33. Groner, *Saichō* 195–205; Groner, “Annen Tankei,” 146n35. See chapter 4 n. 62 below.

34. Enchin, *Juketsusūi*, T 74:294c15–24.

will cause others to despise [them], fail to benefit others, and cause them to drop into bad rebirths.”³⁵ From that point on, rationales for both observing and violating the precepts under certain circumstances were presented with an increasing emphasis on justifications for violations. For example, the second topic focuses on the *Adornment Sutra's* assertion that one does better to receive the precepts and violate them than to not receive them even while observing them.³⁶ The next discussion presents the importance of observing the inherently moral precepts while permitting violations that are based on cultural norms; but this then is followed by the view that even inherently moral precepts may be violated when necessary as an expedient means. For each of the rubrics, Annen cites canonical sources. Following the first rubric, which is supported by quotations from the *Brahma's Net Sutra* and the *Adornment Sutra*, sources that would have been highly respected by the Tendai School; he also cites passages from Yogācāra sources that would have been respected by critics of Tendai in the Nara schools.

Several examples concerning adherence to the precepts demonstrate the significance of this discussion. In the fourth rationale, acting out of expedient means, the *She dasheng lun* (*Mahāyānaśāstra*) is quoted: “If one sees a way of benefiting others, then even the ten wrongdoings are permitted. Even if one commits the ten practices, such as killing, as an expedient, they are not sins. They lead to myriad fortunes and the rapid realization of enlightenment.”³⁷

In the fifth rationale, “allowing the superior and controlling the inferior,” Annen cites the *Dazhidu lun*: “For bodhisattvas, not troubling sentient beings is their precept; this is not the same as *śrāvakas* who seek nirvana in the present. As for sexual desire (*inyoku*), although it does not trouble sentient beings, it does bind the mind and so is considered a major wrongdoing. Bodhisattvas do not seek nirvana in the present; they go to and fro in samsara because they have the physical and mental resources to do so.”³⁸ Annen then concludes, “The precepts on desire and hatred should be practiced like this. It is like selling liquor, which delights oneself and others.” This passage might have meant a lot to Annen because one of his teachers, Tankei (817–880), had been laicized by the court for a sexual affair, resulting in resentment on the part of many Tendai monks over the court's action.³⁹ The passage that Annen and his source Taehyōn (discussed below) cite from the *Da zhidu lun* is not found in the text as we have it today, nor have I found a passage that it might have been based on. This is one of several passages in the *Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku* that have been difficult or impossible to trace.

35. T 74:777b10–13.

36. T 24:1021b14–17.

37. Annen, *Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku*, T 74:777b26–28; Xuanzang, *She dasheng lun*, T 31:146b28–c1; but this is not cited by Taehyōn. This passage is cited by such figures as Gyōnen and Eison. I hope to compare their approaches in the future.

38. Annen, *Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku*, T 74:777c06–11; Taehyōn, *Pōmmang kyōng kojōkki*, T 40:700c17–20; also see T 40:705a6–7.

39. See chapter 4 on Annen, Tankei, and Henjō below.

In the sixth aspect, following one's wishes but not violating the precepts, Annen notes, "If one wishes to cut off sexual desire and strives with great effort to do so, his delusions will gradually increase, and he will be unable to see things correctly. To stop his deranged thoughts, he must abandon [his efforts to stop them]. For example, in fishing, when the fish is strong but the hook is weak, one will lose both the fish and the hook. If one loosens the hook and line, he will definitely catch the fish. You should understand all like this."⁴⁰ The eighth rationale, "following the superior does not constitute a violation," relies on the three collections of pure precepts (restraints from wrongdoing, encompassing the good, and benefiting sentient beings), suggesting that one might violate one collection but allow another. Annen concludes with a paraphrase from the *Lotus Sutra*: "'If one can preach the *Lotus Sutra*, this is called holding the precepts.' Even if one violated the precepts preventing wrongdoing, if he held those promoting good and those benefiting sentient beings, how could this not be holding the precepts?"⁴¹ In the last of the ten rationales, "holding the ultimate is observing the precepts," he notes that all is Suchness. When this is realized, such distinctions as observing and violating the precepts are superseded.

Annen's recitation of the ways in which the precepts might be observed or violated concludes with a note that all ten of the rationales depend on the first of the three collections of pure precepts, restraints preventing wrongdoing. However, when the second of the three collections—the precepts encompassing good—are considered, virtually any action might be permitted as long as it did not violate four major precepts (*shūjū*): namely, abandoning the aspiration to enlightenment or any of the three jewels. But this may also refer to the four *samaya* precepts specified in the *Darī jīng*: slandering the Dharma, abandoning the *bodhi*-mind, miserliness with the Dharma, and causing harm to beings.⁴² Although Annen did not identify the four major precepts in this passage, he may have been referring to esoteric views of the precepts, possibly Yixing's (683–727) *Darī jīng yìshì* (Commentary on the *Mahāvairocana Sutra*).⁴³

Much of this section is based on Taehyōn's commentary on the *Brahma's Net Sutra*, the *Pōmmang kyōng kojōki* (Record of old traces of the *Brahma's Net Sutra*), which lists several approaches to observing and violating the precepts. However, Annen stressed the rationales for violating the precepts far more than did Taehyōn. Taehyōn was the founder of the Yogācāra tradition in Korea and one of the most prolific Korean authors, but his Yogācāra works followed the interpretation of Wōnch'uk (613–695), who was one of Xuanzang's chief disciples. However, Wōnch'uk's interpretation of Yogācāra differed dramati-

40. Annen, *Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku*, T 74:777c16–19. No corresponding passage is found in Taehyōn's commentary on the *Brahma's Net Sutra*.

41. T 74:777c27–28; this is a loose paraphrase of the *Lotus Sutra* (T 9:34b15–17). See chapter 12 below, which considers this issue in terms of killing.

42. T 18:40a; Geibel, *Vairocanābhīsamboधि Sutra*, 169.

43. T 74:778a24; *Da Piluzhena chengfo jing shu*, T 39:672b18–20. However, various other formulations of the *samaya* precepts were also used.

cally from that of Ci'en (632–682), the de facto founder of the Faxiang (J. Hossō) lineage. Taehyōn also wrote about the Huayan tradition and was thus more amenable to buddha-nature positions than Ci'en. Annen could have exploited the differences between the Yogācāra views of Ci'en and Wōnch'uk, not to mention between the translations of Paramārtha and Xuanzang, much as Saichō had done.⁴⁴ But Annen chose not to mention or identify Taehyōn in the *Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku*, possibly because of Taehyōn's identification with Yogācāra. The Hossō interpretation of Yogācāra, centered at Kōfukuji, was vehemently opposed to Tendai views on the precepts. Even so, when the source of a quotation of a sutra in the *Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku* cannot be located in the sutra, Annen was often simply quoting or paraphrasing Taehyōn. Moreover, Taehyōn had been cited extensively in the Hossō monk Zenju's (723–797) commentary on the *Brahma's Net Sutra*, the *Bonmōkyō ryakusho*.⁴⁵ A few decades after Zenju, Saichō and Kōjō both cited Taehyōn, but by Annen's time this was perhaps more difficult because of the increasing friction with the Hossō School. Because Hossō supported a three-vehicle position, Annen might have been hesitant to mention citing Taehyōn. Taehyōn primarily used the precepts and doctrinal structure from the *Bodhisattvaabhūmi* to augment the *Brahma's Net Sutra*.⁴⁶ After Annen's time, Taehyōn was cited in the Shingon Ritsu movement;⁴⁷ Gyōnen referenced Taehyōn well over one hundred times in his voluminous Kamakura-period commentary on the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts, the *Bonmō kaihon sho nichiju shō*. In contrast to these works, there is no mention of Taehyōn in many of the more theoretical works on Tendai precepts. However, Tendai monks who stressed the literal interpretation of the precepts, as did Kōen and Ninkū, cite his commentary by name.

Confession and Expiation

The last topic in looking at the decline of adherence to the precepts is a consideration of what expiation of the act of committing heinous sins might entail. One of the key preliminary moments in a traditional ordination according to the *Vinaya* occurred when a candidate was asked about issues that would permanently disqualify him for ordination during his current lifetime, for example, whether he had committed a *pāvārika* offense or shed the blood of a buddha (an offense that only applied to Devadatta). Some issues were obstacles that might be remedied, such as whether he had his parents' or spouse's permission. In the case of the Tendai bodhisattva ordination, Annen discussed the various wrongdoings and noted that, according to the *Brahma's Net Sutra*, violations of the major precepts might be vanquished by confession and receiving a sign from the Buddha recognizing his efforts, or if that failed,

44. Groner, *Saichō*, 102–104.

45. Otani and Utsunomiya, "Chishakuin shōgyō," 148.

46. Yoshizu, "Hōzō izen no *Bonmōkyō* no shochūshakusho," 106, 117n39.

47. Otani and Utsunomiya, "Chishakuin shōgyō," 136–150.

by receiving the precepts again. The key disqualifying issue was whether a person had violated the seven heinous sins: shedding the Buddha's blood, patricide, matricide, killing a preceptor, killing a teacher (*ajari*), creating divisions resulting in splitting the Buddhist order, and killing a sage. Annen then noted that some teachers had mentioned that a *dhāraṇī* in a text called the *Jifayue* could vanquish the five heinous sins (the above seven minus killing a preceptor and killing a sage).⁴⁸ He then argued that if this were true of the five heinous sins, it must be true of the seven sins as well. Although the use of a *dhāraṇī* might suggest the influence of esoteric Buddhism, this is questionable.⁴⁹ The story in the *Jifayue*, actually a *jātaka* tale, appears in Nara-period records of manuscripts and was cited by the two Korean exegetes Ūjōk (fl. late 7th–early 8th c.) and Taehyōn in their commentaries on the *Brahma's Net Sutra*, which have virtually no esoteric influence.⁵⁰ However, Annen cites the *dhāraṇī* in several other works, suggesting the ambiguities inherent in whether or not it is considered esoteric.⁵¹ The Korean commentators express some hesitation in allowing that the *dhāraṇī* could vanquish the karma arising from heinous wrongdoing, but Annen is more positive about the *dhāraṇī*, arguing that if this were true of the five heinous sins, it would surely apply to the seven. Vanquishing bad karma is not the same as conferring the precepts again, but Annen uses the *Samantabhadra Sutra* to argue that the precepts making one a monastic might be naturally or spontaneously accomplished. The term “naturally accomplished” (*jinen jōju*) indicates that the precepts could be conferred without the participation of an order.

In conclusion, Annen pays lip service to the importance of observing the precepts, even including the *Vinaya* in some of his statements. However, the end result of his commentary is to consider both the precepts of the *Brahma's Net Sutra* and *Vinaya* as expedients and to argue that major violations of these might be expiated through confession, reordination, or the recitation of powerful *dhāraṇī*.

Esoteric Elements in the *Futsūju Bosatsukai Kōshaku*

The esoteric *samaya* precepts play an important role in the *Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku*; in the section on inviting the teachers, Annen states, “Specifically, the precepts of the *bodhisattva-piṭaka* refer to the *samaya* precepts of all the buddhas. In full, they include the four *pārājikas*, the ten major precepts, the

48. *Tuoluoni zaji*, T 21:631a–b; chapter 6 below.

49. For a thorough and insightful investigation of the text, see Silk, “*Jifayue sheku tuoluoni jing*.”

50. Ishida Mosaku, *Shakyō yori mitaru Narachō Bukkyō*, bibliography, no. 1795.

51. *Shoajari Shingon Mikkyō burui sōroku*, T 55:1122b3; *Kanchūin senjō jigō kanjō gusoku shūben*, T 75:234a26–29. Debates arose in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries about whether a person who had committed any of the seven heinous sins could confess the wrongdoing and be ordained (Kubota, “Enkai ni okeru shichigyaku jukai”).

four grave wrongdoings⁵² (*shi dai shōzai*), and the ten expedient studies [or precepts]⁵³ (*jū hōben gakusho*).⁵⁴ The vague terminology in this statement probably refers to the section on precepts in the eighteenth chapter of the *Dari jing*, “Receiving the Code of Training with Expedient Means.” The passage in the *Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku* is ambiguous in its abbreviated explanation of how the *samaya* precepts lie at the basis of all precepts. This is certainly due to the lack of an established Tendai explanation of the *samaya* precepts at the time that Annen wrote the *Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku*; some of his subsequent works clarify his position. Several scholars have tried with varying degrees of success to explain Annen's system, but a thorough investigation of this issue lies beyond the scope of this work.⁵⁵ Suffice it to say that Annen's position provided the basis for the view that almost all precepts could be seen as expedients and violated when necessary.

The term “*samaya* precepts” appears only twice in the *Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku*. These mentions are followed by a description from texts related to the *Jingangding jing* (*Vajrasekharasūtra*) of how Śākyamuni could not realize enlightenment until the various buddhas came down and conferred the *samaya* precepts on him. The texts tell of how, long ago, Śākyamuni bodhisattva practiced for six years and then sat in the place of enlightenment but did not realize supreme enlightenment. All the buddhas came and conferred the *samaya* precepts on him. Then going through the five stages of realization of buddhahood (*gosō jōbutsu*),⁵⁶ the World Honored One through the direct path (*jikidō*) suddenly entered the buddha-realm (*bukkai*).⁵⁷

This story is well-known as a reworking of Śākyamuni's enlightenment in esoteric terms; it indicates that the traditional practices of Mahāyāna were not completely effective in the realization of supreme enlightenment and that only esoteric Buddhist practices could bring one to the ultimate stage. The five stages of realization of buddhahood are a set of meditations or discernments (*kan*) and mantras that were conferred on Śākyamuni (frequently referred to as Siddhartha in these accounts) to bring him to ultimate

52. The four *samaya* precepts of chap. 18 of the *Dari jing*: slandering the Dharma, abandoning the *bodhi*-mind, miserliness in teaching the Dharma, and causing harm to beings.

53. The ten expedients found in chap. 18 of the *Dari jing*, which are an expansion of the ten virtuous deeds.

54. *Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku*, T 74:764b9–12.

55. Among the most successful efforts are Teramoto, “Annen to samayakai” and “Taimitsu no samayakai”; Kubota, “Annen no samayakai”; Tomabechi, “Taimitsu no samayakai saho”; and Mano, “Annen ni okeru samayakai.”

56. Usually rendered as *gosō jōshin*, “to achieve (or realize) the body (of Mahāvairocana) by practicing a fivefold meditation.” Various formulations of this exist, but an example can be found in Kūkai's *Precious Key to the Secret Treasury*: “have an insight into the Mind; meditate on the enlightened Mind; to visualize the enlightened Mind in the form of a *vajra*; to transform one's mind into a *vajra*; and to realize unsurpassed enlightenment and obtain an adamant body like a *vajra*” (Hakeda, *Kūkai*, 220). Such formulations could be filled out in a variety of ways; see Tado, “Gosō jōshin kan” and “Hannya-yaku kyōten ni okeru gosō jōshin kan.”

57. *Fa putixin lun*, T 32:572c13–14; *Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku*, T 74:764b12–15.

enlightenment. The esoteric practitioner repeats these. The conflation of the *samaya* precepts with these five stages suggests that for Annen the Tendai ordination was not just an initiation into an order, but in some sense a realization of the buddhahood that was an aspect of one's inherent nature.

This theme is explored further in the manual's seventh section called "Conferring the Precepts." Following the manuals by Zhanran and Saichō, the three collections of pure precepts are conferred. However, Annen argues that three interpretations of these exist: "(1) the precepts that are transmitted and received (*denju kai*), (2) the precepts that emerge [from the ordinee through the ordination] (*hottoku kai*), and (3) the precepts that are inherent (*shōtoku kai*)."⁵⁸ He notes that this analysis is found in the *Yūgie shīdi lun* (*Yogācārabhūmiśāstra*).⁵⁹ Annen did not develop the three views of the precepts in his other works, nor did they play a significant role in later texts that were available to me for a digital review. In the *Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku*, he seems to be hunting for a system and terminology to express his views. The ritual directions for the conferral of the precepts in the *Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku* are repetitions of rituals consisting of the proposition and three votes (*byaku shikonma*) and simple declarations (*tanbyaku*) for each of the three types of precepts.

The three collections of pure precepts that occupied the central place in the ordinations described by Zhanran and Saichō only have an auxiliary role for Annen as an aspect of the precepts conferred and received. Instead, Annen views the ordination as serving as a virtual realization of buddhahood. In fact, at one point, he uses the realization of buddhahood with this very body to categorize teachings. Annen's use of realization of buddhahood with this very body in the *Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku* differed significantly from his later treatments in his texts that dealt more substantively with esoteric Buddhism. Terms such as the six elements (*rokudai*), which played a key role in both the *Sokushin jōbutsu gi*, attributed to Kūkai, and in Annen's view of the realization of buddhahood with this very body in later works, are not mentioned in the *Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku*.⁶⁰

For Saichō and his immediate disciples, realization of buddhahood with this very body centered on the attainment of the first abode (*shōjū*), the stage when a person first gained some insight into ultimate truth. Subsequent stages

58. T 74:773c2–3.

59. T 30:522a10–22. However, the *Yūgie shīdi lun* lists four types. Two of the categories—the precepts correctly transmitted and the innate precepts—correspond to Annen's categories, but the other two—precepts through repetition and precepts in accord with expedients—do not. Because Annen's category of precepts that emerge would require buddha-nature, it probably would not have fit in with Hosō thought.

60. Ōkubo Ryōshun *Taimitsu kyōgaku*, 305–307. The connection between the six degrees of identity and realization of buddhahood with this very body, as well as an absence of mentions of the six elements, is also found in Annen's *Sokushin jōbutsu gi shūki*, a text that focuses on the exoteric interpretation of the realization of buddhahood with this very body (Sueki, *Heian shōki Bukkyō shisō*, 283–315, 523–654).

consisted of deepening that insight until supreme enlightenment was realized.⁶¹ In the *Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku*, the realization of buddhahood is used with another Tendai classification system, the six degrees of identity. Worldlings (*bonbu*) and sages are identical in terms of their intrinsic nature, but a series of attainments allow for a hierarchy of stages reflecting training as Tendai practitioners advance to full realization of their intrinsic nature. In the following passage, this system is used to present a classification of scriptures but at the same time suggests a series of realizations of buddhahood. The ordination is thus seen as much more than an entry into a religious order, although it is represented as entry into a group of buddhas and bodhisattvas. When the precepts are viewed against this system, the *Brahma's Net Sutra* occupies a very low place in the hierarchy.

According to the *Sutra on Perfect Enlightenment (Yuanjue jing)*, "All sentient beings have originally realized buddhahood."⁶² This refers to the Buddha's identity in principle (*risoku butsu*).

According to the *Brahma's Net Sutra*, "If sentient beings receive the Buddha's precepts, they enter into the ranks of the buddhas."⁶³ This refers to entering verbal identity with this very body (*sokushin nyū myōji*). The status of verbal identity is for those with the lowest of the nine grades of religious faculties.

According to the *Sutra of the Benevolent King*, "If one receives, holds, reads, and chants [this scripture],"⁶⁴ one immediately becomes a buddha (*soku ibutsu*). This refers to entering the ranks of the buddhas with this very body through contemplative practice (*sokushin nyū kangyō butsu*). This is for the eighth lowest of the nine grades of religious faculties.

According to the *Samantabhadra Sutra*, "A practitioner realizes the purity of the six faculties."⁶⁵ This refers to the entry into the ranks of those who resemble buddhas with this very body (*nyū sōji butsu*). This is for the seventh lowest of the nine grades of religious faculties.

According to the *Sutra of Myriad Meanings (Wuliang yi jing)*, if one receives and holds this sutra, then "one will realize acquiescence to the non-production of dharmas with this very body."⁶⁶ This is entry into the identity of practice with this very body. This is for the sixth lowest of the nine grades of religious faculties.

61. Groner, "The *Lotus Sūtra* and Saichō's Interpretation" and "Shortening the Path."

62. Words to this effect, though not with the exact characters are sprinkled through the text. See for example, T 842, 17:915a20.

63. T 24:1004a20.

64. The exact phrase does not occur in the *Renwang jing* (*Sutra of the benevolent king*), but the list of four practices appears repeatedly; for an example close to the usage here, see T 8:839c16–18.

65. A paraphrase of several passages in the *Guan Puxian jing* (*Samantabhadra Sutra*), such as T 9:389c21; 390c27.

66. T 9:388b13. This passage appears in the questions that Kōjō sent to China (*Tōketsu*, X 56:692a12).

If one enters the inherent seeds [of the sage] (*shōshu*)⁶⁷ of buddha ranks with this very body, one has the fifth [of the nine grades] of faculty. If one enters the seeds of the path (*dōshu*) with this very body, one has the fourth highest of the nine grades of faculty. It also mentions, “When the bodhisattva ascends to the seventh ground.” Thus, he enters the Buddha’s rank of seeds of the sage with this very body. This is the third [of the nine ranks]. If he realizes virtual enlightenment with this very body, then he has the second [of the nine ranks].

According to the *Lotus Sutra*, “In the instant he hears this, he is able to thoroughly realize supreme enlightenment.”⁶⁸ This is entering buddhahood with supreme enlightenment and only for those with the highest degree of faculties. Thus, you should know that the rules of the precepts (*kaijō*) are only the realization of the fruits of the path and no recompense for violations exists.⁶⁹

Annen uses these categories to classify teachings in a way that is significantly different from Saichō. The realization of buddhahood with this very body is virtually the same as the six degrees of identity, so much so that the two doctrines are linked with such terminology as verbal realization of buddhahood with this very body (*myōji sokushin jōbutsu*). The *Brahma’s Net Sutra* is placed at the bottom of the hierarchy, below the *Lotus Sutra* and its opening and closing scriptures. The *Brahma’s Net Sutra* would consistently rank lower than the *Lotus Sutra* in the schemes for the Eshin and Danna lineages, two of the main groups in medieval Tendai. Even when the *Brahma’s Net Sutra* precepts gained in stature, such as in the Rozanji lineage, it was because Ninkū argued that the precepts were separate from the *Brahma’s Net Sutra* and should be a separate scripture that was the perfect teaching, the highest level of exoteric doctrine and thus coequal to the *Lotus Sutra*. The passage does not specifically link ordinations with esoteric Buddhism, but Annen must have been aware of efforts by Ennin and others to identify the *Lotus Sutra* with the principle, but not the practice of, esoteric Buddhism.

Despite Annen’s tentative suggestion of connections between the perfect-sudden precepts⁷⁰ and the *samaya* precepts, this was not an area that he developed. Later Tendai exegetes sometimes rejected the connections between the perfect-sudden precepts and esoteric Buddhism. For example, although Ninkū was certainly interested in both esoteric Buddhism and the precepts, he argued that for pedagogical purposes they should be kept separate.⁷¹ In the Kurodani lineage, the practice of consecrated ordination (*kai kanjō*) was

67. The four types of seeds in this section are based on a passage in the *Yingluo jing* (T 24:1012b25), which was then expanded into a more detailed hierarchy in Tiantai passages, with the various types of seeds corresponding to the practices ranging from the ten practices (*jūgyō*) to the ten grounds (*jūji*). Typical is Zhanran’s commentary on the *Fahua xuanyi*, the *Fahua xuanyi shiqian* (T 33:887a09–11).

68. T 9:31a10.

69. *Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku*, T 74:765b.

70. See chapter 1 above.

71. Groner, “Training through Debates,” 237; chapter 10 below.

said to not be an esoteric Buddhist practice, even though the term *kanjō* was often used in esoteric rituals.⁷² Such efforts to separate the perfect-sudden precepts and the *samaya* precepts did not, however, hinder the development of teachings of the *samaya* precepts in the context of esoteric Buddhism.

Conclusion

Annen wrote the *Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku* at a key point in the development of Tendai views of the precepts. If ordinations had followed the path laid out by Enchin, procedural elements from the *Vinaya* would have been incorporated into Tendai monasticism but not the 250 precepts for fully ordained monks from the *Four-Part Vinaya*. The universal ordination advocated by Annen gave Tendai monks much more freedom to interpret ordinations in a variety of ways. At the same time, Annen was vague about such questions as the distinction between monastic and lay practitioners and how violations of the precepts should be interpreted.

Annen's efforts to describe the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts as expedients, much like the precepts of the *Vinaya*, led to an absence of a coherent guide to monastic behavior. Sets of rules for particular monasteries or the Tendai School sometimes filled this role but depended on a strong abbot or chief prelate of the Tendai School for their implementation. When Tendai monks such as Ninkū or Kōen went back to the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts, they usually interpreted them on the basis of the *Pusajie yi ji*, the commentary attributed to Zhiyi, the de facto founder of Chinese Tiantai. However, their efforts would have been confined only to the temples under their control.

By identifying the ordination with the realization of buddhahood by Śākyamuni portrayed in esoteric texts, Annen fundamentally changed the meaning of the ordination. The emphasis on the ordination as entry into an order of monastics was weakened and the ritual as a sacrament marking religious attainment was strengthened. Rather than citing specific precepts from the *Brahma's Net Sutra*, the sutra was primarily cited as placing the ordinee in the ranks of buddhas.

Esoteric Buddhist elements were cited in the *Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku*, particularly interpreting all the precepts as developments of the *samaya* precepts. In addition, the ordination could be seen as a reenactment of how the buddhas assembled and conferred the esoteric precepts on Śākyamuni when he failed to realize enlightenment using exoteric teachings. Annen did not, however, develop the esoteric potential of these approaches when he discussed the realization of buddhahood with this very body in terms of the precepts. Instead, the teaching was used as a classification of exoteric texts, often with only vague connections to the Mahāyāna precepts.

Finally, passages from the scriptures used by Annen appear repeatedly in

72. Groner, "Kōen," 194; see chapter 9 below for an in-depth analysis of one consecrated ordination that does not directly rely on esoteric Buddhism.

later texts on the Tendai precepts, but these changes did not occur immediately after Annen wrote the *Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku*. A chronology of how the interpretation of the precepts developed is not possible at this point, but within a century or two of his death, the significance of Annen's views was obvious.

Annen, Tankei, Henjō, and Monastic Discipline in the Tendai School

The Background of Annen's *Futsūju Bosatsukai Kōshaku*
(Extensive commentary on the universal
bodhisattva precepts ordination)

DURING THE MIDDLE and late Heian period (11th and 12th centuries), monastic discipline in Japanese Buddhism declined drastically. Many monks began to carry weapons and engage in armed warfare, sometimes against other monks of the same school. A number of sociological, political, and economic explanations have been offered for these events: for example, the influx of nobles into monasteries and their domination of top positions in the monastic world, the need to defend the monasteries' estates (*shōen*), and the breakdown of the Ritsuryō system that had governed ordinations. Several scholars have suggested that changes in the interpretation of the precepts may also have played an important role in making it easier for monks to ignore monastic discipline. Both Takagi Yutaka, a scholar of Nichiren and Kamakura Buddhism, and Taga Munehaya,¹ the author of a biography of Eisai, the monk traditionally considered the founder of Rinzaï Zen, have argued that the ninth-century Tendai scholar Annen's text on the precepts and ordinations, the *Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku*, contributed substantially to the decline in monastic discipline in the Tendai School. In this chapter, Annen's biography is presented and analyzed in order to determine some of the influences behind his permissive interpretation of the precepts. The activities of several

This chapter is based on my article "Annen, Tankei, Henjō, and Monastic Discipline in the Tendai School: The Background of the *Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku*," in *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* (1978).

1. Taga Munehaya (*Eisai*, 236–237) remarks that Annen's treatment of the precepts are quoted in almost all subsequent Tendai treatments of the perfect-sudden precepts and argues that Annen's views could easily be interpreted to provide a doctrinal basis for breaking the precepts. Takagi Yutaka (*Kamakura Bukkyōshi kenkyū*, 55) maintains a similar position. Tonegawa Hiroyuki ("Shoki Nihon Tendai no enkaï," 75–79) has described the influence of Annen's position on the precepts in several late-Heian Tendai works.

of Annen's teachers, particularly Tankei and Henjō, are considered as well because of their influence on Annen's position on the precepts.

Annen's Biography

Early Years

Along with Ennin and Enchin, Annen is considered to be one of the great practitioners of Tendai esoteric Buddhism (Taimitsu). Tendai scholars such as Keikō (1740–1795) regarded him as one of the five most important figures in Tendai history, along with Saichō, Ennin, Enchin, and Ryōgen.² Annen was said to have realized the eighth stage on the bodhisattva path, and later Tendai monks conferred several titles on him to express their admiration.³ Unlike the other great practitioners and scholars of the Japanese Tendai tradition, little is known about Annen's life. Modern scholars generally agree that he was born in 841.⁴ In his own writings Annen notes that he was from the same clan as Saichō; but in later sources this fact is ignored, and he is said to be

2. For Keikō's list of the five most important figures in Japanese Tendai, see the *Sange shōtō gakusoku*, in Washio, *Kokubun Tōhō Bukkyō sōsho* 1 (shūgi):12. For the belief that Annen had realized the eighth bodhisattva stage, see *Sangoku denki* (DS 1.1:338). In some texts, the title *himitsu daishi* (great teacher of secrets) was said to have been bestowed on Annen by the Japanese court (BZ-Bussho kankōkai, 2:252a). In addition, the claim was made that he was awarded the title *akaku daishi* (great teacher of the realization through the syllable "a") while he was studying in China (Washio, *Kokubun Tōhō Bukkyō sōsho* 1 [shūgi]:12). However, this explanation is based on the mistaken belief that Annen studied in China. The title was undoubtedly devised by a later Tendai monk who believed that Annen should have a title similar to those bestowed on such figures as Saichō (Dengyō daishi), Ennin (Jikaku daishi), and Enchin (Chishō daishi). The titles for Saichō, Ennin, and Enchin were conferred posthumously by the court, whereas the title *akaku daishi* was used privately by Tendai monks.

Annen sometimes called himself Godai'in (*Soshitsuji daiinō taijuki*, T 75:205a). This appellation is usually interpreted as referring to the hall in which Annen was said to have lived (*Shijūjōketsu*, T 75:946a). The Godai'in is said to have been in the Gongendani of Tōdō (Eastern Pagoda region) on Mount Hiei. However, it has proven difficult to determine when Annen resided there. Hashimoto Shinkichi has suggested that Annen might have used Godai'in as a style or pen name and that it might not have referred to an actual place at the time Annen lived ("Annen oshō jiseki kō," 11: 49–50).

3. Despite Annen's important position in the history of Japanese Tendai, traditional biographical sources, such as the various collections of biographies of eminent monks, include little more information than a list of Annen's works. The pioneering work on Annen's biography was done by Hashimoto Shinkichi ("Annen oshō jiseki kō"). Also, see Inada ("Godai'in sentoku denkō," 8–24), Shimizutani (*Tendai mikkyō no seiritsu*, 231–251), and Ōyama ("Godai'in Annen," 497–515). In addition, DS 1.1:254–352 includes many of the primary sources for the biographies of both Annen and Henjō.

4. Annen's birth date is based on a document containing his appointment to the position of master of esoteric Buddhism (*denbō ajari*); this same document notes that in 884 Annen was thirty-four years old and had twenty-six years of seniority as a monk. Because monks were not ordained at the age of eight, scholars have usually corrected the document to read forty-four years old in accordance with a collation note (*Ruijū sandaikyaku*, KT 25:100). Annen would thus have been born in 841. Several other references to a monk named Annen who would have been born approximately thirty years earlier can be found in sources such as the *Eigaku yōki*.

from several different clans.⁵ He never traveled to China, was never appointed chief prelate of the Tendai School, and never became the subject of literary legends (*setsuwa*) concerning his spiritual powers. However, his writings in a variety of areas, particularly esoteric Buddhism, are regarded as definitive texts by the Tendai School. In order to evaluate his attitudes toward the precepts, it is important that the available facts about Annen's biography be presented and analyzed for insights concerning his positions.

Annen's Teachers: Ennin and Enchin

Annen was ordained as a Tendai monk when he was nineteen years old and may have spent at least the next twelve years on Mount Hiei in accordance with the regulations for Tendai monks formulated by Saichō. Annen studied under Ennin for several years; however, Ennin died when Annen was only twenty-four years old, before Annen could receive any of the more advanced esoteric initiations (*kanjō*). Virtually no details about Annen's studies during this time are known, but he probably studied some esoteric Buddhism with Ennin.

Almost nothing is known of Annen's activities for the next ten years. However, according to the *Tendai zasuki* (Record of Tendai chief prelates), a monk named Annen was summoned along with monks from other schools to participate in lectures on the *Zuishengwang jing* (translation of *Suvarṇa-prabhāsōttama*) at court in 868.⁶ If the person referred to in the *Tendai zasuki* is identical to the author of the *Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku*, it would suggest that his promise was recognized early, since he would have been only twenty-eight years old at this time. Most of the other monks listed were much older. In addition, he is called "chaplain" (*naigu*) in the document cited in the *Tendai zasuki*, suggesting that he had been appointed as a monk to serve in court. If Annen was ordained when he was nineteen and appeared at court when he was twenty-eight, he could not have remained on Mount Hiei for twelve years without venturing outside the Tendai monastery's boundaries, as Saichō had required in the *Hachijō shiki*.⁷ The Annen referred to in this document may well be another monk with the same name as the author of the *Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku*. Most modern biographies of Annen say that he underwent the twelve-year training period on Mount Hiei, but no substantial proof for this supposition exists. Hiraoka Jōkai has suggested that by 872 Tendai monks had begun to break the ban on leaving Mount Hiei during the twelve-year training period.⁸

Shimizutani (*Tendai mikkyō noseiritsu*, 252–254) and Hashimoto ("Annen oshō jiseki kō," 40–48) have argued convincingly that these documents must refer to another monk named Annen.

5. In the *Kyōji sōron*, Annen mentions that as a layman he was a descendant of Saichō and that as a monk he was a disciple of Ennin (T 75:369a). At least four places are mentioned as his birthplace; the most likely place is Ōmi, since Saichō's family was from Ōmi (Ōyama, "Godai'in Annen ni tsuite," 498).

6. Shibuya, *Tendai zasu ki*, 21–22.

7. Groner, *Saichō*, 134.

8. Hiraoka, *Nihon jūnshi no kenkyū*, 475.

Annen regarded Ennin's teachings as particularly authoritative even though he had only been able to study under him for a few years before Ennin's death. In the *Kyōji jōron* (Disputes over teachings and time periods) he stated that he was a disciple of Ennin.⁹ Annen's writings on doctrine were often based on Ennin's positions, although Annen was not hesitant to add his own views. Annen seems to have received little training from Ennin in esoteric Buddhism, however. Although Annen later received esoteric initiations from direct disciples of Ennin such as Dōkai (n.d.), Chōi (836–906), and Tankei, he seems to have been disturbed that he had not received advanced esoteric initiations directly from Ennin. Annen later described several dreams in which Ennin appeared to him and taught him mudras or *dhāraṇīs* connected with the Womb Realm (Taizōkai) tradition. He noted that after one dream he had participated in an esoteric initiation with Henjō and ascertained that the mudra he had seen in the dream was indeed correct, but that the *dhāraṇī* he had heard in the dream differed from that which Henjō had conferred.¹⁰

Annen was also familiar with Enchin's teachings and had studied directly under him, although the contents of these studies are problematic.¹¹ Enchin was chief prelate of the Tendai School for twenty-three years, a period that encompassed many of Annen's most productive years. Although Annen and Enchin seem to have respected each other, indications of friction between them are found in several sources; for example, Annen barely mentions Enchin's positions in some of his texts.¹² Annen recorded that he had a dream in which Ennin appeared and criticized one of Enchin's mudras as being "very ugly."¹³ Enchin moreover is said to have taken the seventh fascicle of Annen's *Gushi kanjō* (Consecration with the full complement of necessary elements) and burned it because he disapproved of it.¹⁴ Although Annen did

9. T 75:369a.

10. *Taizōkai daihō taījuki*, ND-Suzuki 81:366a; 82:60b–61a. Annen seems to have been very interested in these dreams. He notes that his teacher Henjō studied with Ennin's disciple Annē because Ennin told him to do so in a dream, even though other sources state that it was in his will that Ennin directed Annē to teach Henjō (ND-Suzuki 81:335b).

11. Kiuchi, "Godai" in Annen sonja to mikkyō," 542.

12. Kiuchi, "Godai" in Annen sonja to mikkyō," 543.

13. Mizukami, "Annen no *Taizōkai daihō taījuki*," 117–119.

14. According to a passage in the *Jizai kongōshū* (BZ-Suzuki 34:26) compiled late in the eighteenth century, when Annen was writing his ten-fascicle *Taizō gushi kanjōki* (T 2393), several problems of interpretation arose when he came to the seventh fascicle. He showed it to Enchin to ask his opinion, but Enchin burned the fascicle because he believed that Annen's writings about esoteric teachings might fall into the wrong hands. Annen was concerned that if the esoteric traditions were not recorded, they might be lost forever; thus he wrote the *Dainichikyō kuyō jiju fudō* (T 2394), which supplements the *Taizō gushi kanjōki*. An earlier but less detailed description of these events is found in a note at the end of the sixth fascicle of the *Taizō gushi kanjōki* (T 75:280b), which is based on a passage in the *Shijūjōketsu* (T 75:946a) by Chōen (1016–1081). Some scholars have suggested that either all or only the seventh fascicle of the *Dainichikyō kuyō jiju fudō* may correspond to the missing fascicle of the *Taizō gushi kanjōki* (Ono Genmyō, *Bushsho*

not openly criticize Enchin, the evidence suggests that the two men were not on the best of terms.

Enchin and Annen differed in their attitudes toward the precepts. Annen argued that literal adherence to the precepts was much less important than a monk's attitudes toward them. In contrast, Enchin was interested in tightening the rules and procedures concerning monastic discipline. He studied the *Four-Part Vinaya* precepts in China with Cunshi and collected approximately sixty works on the precepts during his stay there.¹⁵ Since Saichō had rejected the *Four-Part Vinaya* precepts as "Hīnayāna," Enchin's interest in them may seem surprising; however, Enchin seems to have hoped to use at least some of the interpretations from the *Four-Part Vinaya* to supplement the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts that were in use on Mount Hiei. Because the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts were presented only in a very terse and summary fashion, further explanations of the precepts were necessary. In his notes to a Tendai ordination manual attributed to Saichō, Enchin expressed the opinion that candidates for ordination should be required to be at least twenty years old, have their parents' permission to be ordained, and have their robes and begging bowls prepared, all procedures that were based on the *Four-Part Vinaya*.¹⁶ Enchin did not intend to revive the practice of having Tendai monks receive *Four-Part Vinaya* ordinations, however.

During the twenty-three years Enchin served as chief prelate on Mount Hiei, he tried to make the procedures concerning ordinations stricter by adopting a number of procedures from the *Four-Part Vinaya*. Several times during his tenure he complained that Tendai monks ignored the precepts, failed to observe such basic rituals as the fortnightly assembly (*fusatsu*), wore expensive robes, and kept horses on Mount Hiei so that they could travel more easily down the mountain to Kyoto.¹⁷ To Annen, many of these complaints must have seemed trivial, particularly during the latter years of his life when he was serving at temples in Kyoto, working closely with Henjō, and involved with the Tendai Buddhism connected with the court.

Annen's name appears in some lineages from the Shingon School; however, it is unclear whether the monk mentioned in these lineages is identical to the Annen of the Tendai School. Evidence that Annen received esoteric initiations from Shingon School sources is not found in Annen's

kaisetsu daijiten, 7:390 and 2:173). Although the authenticity of the story is difficult to determine, it does agree with the other indications of the difficult relations between Annen and Enchin.

15. Seita ("Eizan no gōgisei," 226–230) has compiled a list of the texts on the precepts included in the bibliographies of works brought back from China by Tendai monks from Saichō through Enchin. The list reveals that most Tendai monks brought back at least a few texts concerning the *Four-Part Vinaya* precepts and that Enchin displayed a surprising interest in works on that text.

16. DZ 1:319–321. Also see chapter 3 above for more details about Enchin.

17. Four regulations for Mount Hiei by Enchin are found in the *Sandai jitsuroku* (KT 4:188–189). In 888, at the end of a commentary on the *Samantabhadra Sutra*, he complained bitterly about the behavior of the monks on Mount Hiei (BZ-Suzuki 26:112).

writings. However, Annen did obtain and study the major texts of the Shingon School and at times made trenchant criticisms of them. For example, his criticism of Kūkai's hierarchical classification of Buddhist doctrine according to ten stages of mind (*jūjūshin*) became the focus of a number of doctrinal controversies between the Tendai and Shingon Schools. In addition, Annen studied the esoteric Sanskrit syllabary that Kūkai had brought back from China.¹⁸

Annen's Studies

Tankei

Among Annen's most important teachers was Tankei. Although the name of his father is not known, Tankei apparently was born into a noble family.¹⁹ He was ordained at an early age and studied esoteric Buddhism at Enryakuji, where he received a number of special teachings from Ennin.²⁰ When Tankei was approximately forty, he was invited to the quarters of the crown prince (later Emperor Seiwa, 850–880, r. 858–876) to perform a prayer service. Since the crown prince was the grandson of the chancellor Fujiwara no Yoshifusa (804–872), Tankei probably went to Yoshifusa's residence to perform the ceremony. While he was there, he met and began an affair with the prince's wet nurse (*menoto*). When the affair was discovered, Tankei was defrocked by Yoshifusa. Wet nurses and their husbands sometimes wielded great power because of their access to the crown prince or emperor. Thus, Tankei's affair may have had political implications that led to his laicization, but the available information is not sufficient to determine whether this was the case. Because of Tankei's prominence as a master of esoteric Buddhism, the monks on Hiei bitterly resented the chancellor's action.²¹

Tankei's name was changed to Takamuko no Kimisuke after he was laicized. Even though Yoshifusa had been responsible for defrocking him, Yoshifusa felt that Tankei was so learned and talented that he should serve at court, indicating that the two men had a close relationship.²² In honor of Yoshifusa's sixtieth birthday, Ennin was invited to his residence to confer consecrations (*kanjō*) on Yoshifusa and his supporters from court. That day Ennin conferred initiations and the *sanmaya* precepts on over 140 nobles of the third

18. Hashimoto, "Annen oshō jiseki kō," 58. Although Annen did not receive esoteric initiations from Shingon monks, he did obtain records written by Shingon monks such as Shūei and Eun (*Taizōkai daihō taijuki*, ND-Suzuki 81:336b). Also see fig. 1 (above) in this chapter, where chart 4 shows Annen's *shittan* lineages. Although Annen referred to the Tendai esoteric tradition as the Shingon School at times, for the sake of clarity I use the name Shingon School to refer only to the school founded by Kūkai.

19. Tankei's story seems to have been well-known and is found in many texts. See Hashimoto ("Annen no shittan no shi Tankei ajari," 110) and Saeki (*Jikaku Daishi den no kenkyū*, 292–294). Although Tankei wrote several works on esoteric Buddhism, they have not survived.

20. Hashimoto, "Annen no shittan no shi Tankei ajari."

21. *Sandai jitsuwoku*, KT 4:483; *Meishō ryakuden*, in Hanawa, *Gunsho ruijū*, 4:505.

22. Mabuchi, *Konjaku monogatari shū*, 24:535–539.

rank or above and over 60 court functionaries of lower ranks. However, since Yoshifusa himself was indisposed, Tankei represented the chancellor in a special five-vase (*gobyō*) initiation conferred by Ennin. The five vases represented the five types of wisdom of a buddha.²³

Tankei rose steadily in court circles and worked at court in a variety of capacities. After he was defrocked, he probably served in the crown prince's quarters. When the crown prince became emperor in 858, Tankei served the empress dowager. In approximately 877 he was appointed provisional governor of Sanuki Province and awarded the junior grade of the fourth rank. He had two sons, one of whom became a monk but died early; the other served at court. Even after Tankei was defrocked, he remained famous as a master of esoteric Buddhism. According to a story found in the *Konjaku monogatari shū*, after he was laicized Tankei was the only person who could properly arrange the Buddhist images at the Gokurakuji temple.²⁴ Between 877 and 880, Annen received a number of important esoteric transmissions from Tankei, primarily in the areas of esoteric ritual and the Sanskrit alphabet used in Japanese esoteric Buddhism (*shittan*). These studies ended with Tankei's death in 880, however.

Tankei's story may indicate that the precepts were sufficiently respected by the court that flagrant violation of one of the major precepts might result in a monk being defrocked. The reaction of the Tendai monks to Tankei's laicization and continued status as a respected teacher of esoteric Buddhism, on the other hand, suggest that the Tendai monks were not seriously concerned by Tankei's violation of the precepts. Japanese monks who were Annen's contemporaries sometimes did not take the precepts concerning celibacy very seriously. Although from the beginning of Japanese Buddhism it was probably not unheard of for monks to have mistresses, blatant violations of this precept are not often mentioned in the genres of literature written during Annen's lifetime. A search of historical sources compiled in the early and middle Heian periods reveals few instances in which monks were punished for sexual offenses by being defrocked. Literary sources such as the *Nihon ryōiki*, *Kojidan*, and the *Konjaku monogatari shū* record instances of monks living with women without any comment about breaking the precepts. By the end of the Heian period, restrictions on sexual intercourse were often ignored.²⁵ Confession ceremonies and esoteric rites may have been regarded as more than equal to the task of absolving a person who had violated the precepts from the karmic consequences of his action.

Two years after Tankei's death, Annen wrote the *Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku*, his major work on the precepts. Although Annen never stated that his permissive views concerning the violation of the precepts were directly influenced

23. Honda, *Yakuchū Jikaku Daishiden*, 143–144.

24. Mabuchi, *Konjaku monogatari shū*, 24:538–539.

25. See Ishida Mizumaru ("Nyobon: Sono furerarenai jittai," 424–439; and *Nyobon*), for a detailed discussion of heterosexual activities and Japanese monks.

by Tankei's situation, many positions taken by Annen in the *Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku* are consistent with Annen's respect for this teacher of esoteric Buddhism who had broken the precepts and been forced to return to lay life. In writing this text, Annen argued that violations of the precepts should be considered in the context of the person's whole life, that adherence to the precepts was an expedient for teaching others about Buddhism, and that the precepts could be violated for certain reasons, such as out of compassion for sentient beings.

Annen's Plans to Study in China

Annen wrote that in 877, when he was thirty-six years old, he received a variety of esoteric teachings in preparation for a study trip to China.²⁶ The possibility of studying in China gave Annen the opportunity to receive initiations that he otherwise might not have been granted for many years. He in fact received several versions of the same initiation from different teachers. For example, in the space of two months in 876, he received Womb Realm initiations from three of Ennin's students: Dōkai, Chōi, and Tankei.²⁷ Annen noted that he also received major (*daihō*) esoteric initiations from different teachers for the Diamond Realm (Kongōkai) and Soshitsuji traditions. He also studied with three teachers the Sanskrit syllabary used in esoteric Buddhism. These are diagrammed in lineage charts 1–4 in figure 1.²⁸ At least four different esoteric lineages were present in the Tendai esoteric tradition at that time: (1) lineages beginning with Saichō as the first Japanese master; (2) lineages beginning with Ennin as the first Japanese master; (3) lineages beginning with Enchin as the first Japanese master; and (4) lineages focusing on Henjō, who had received initiations from both Ennin's disciples and Enchin, resulting in Henjō's own position in a number of instances. Annen's esoteric initiations

26. *Taizōkai daihō taijuki*, ND-Suzuki 81:335b and 82:59a. Hashimoto ("Annen oshō jiseki kō," 50–56) has argued that the correct date should be one year later.

27. ND-Suzuki 81:335b.

28. The lineages are based on Hashimoto ("Annen oshō jiseki kō," 57–61, 95–96) and Kojima ("Annen no shittangaku," 40). The charts are based on statements scattered throughout Annen's works, especially the *Taizōkai daihō taijuki*, the *Kongōkai daihō taijuki*, and the *Shittanzō*, as well as traditional Tendai lineage charts (see DS 1.1:298–301). Questions have been raised recently concerning the Soshitsuji lineage from Henjō; see Kiuchi ("Henjō to mikkyō," 762–763) and Mizukami ("Shoki taimitsu no soshitsuji sōjō"). Enchin apparently studied the Soshitsuji teachings in China but may not have received a Soshitsuji initiation. If this is the case, he could not have conferred a Soshitsuji initiation on Henjō. Some of the ambiguity arose from the similarity between the Soshitsuji initiation and the *Sanshu shitsuji* initiation that Saichō is said to have received from Shunxiao in China. See the discussion of Saichō's studies in China in Groner, *Saichō*, 52–61. The similarity between the terms—*sanbu* (three Taimitsu transmissions) used by Tendai clerics after Saichō and *sanshu shitsuji* (three attainments) for the initiations that Saichō had supposedly received in China—also contributed to the confusion (see Kiuchi, *Tendai mikkyō no keisei*, 350–355). More recently, Chen Jinhua, in *Legend and Legitimation: The Formation of Tendai Esoteric Buddhism in Japan*, has convincingly argued that the *sanshu shitsuji* may have originated with Annen and others around that time as an attempt to describe the lineage for the esoteric initiations Saichō received in China.

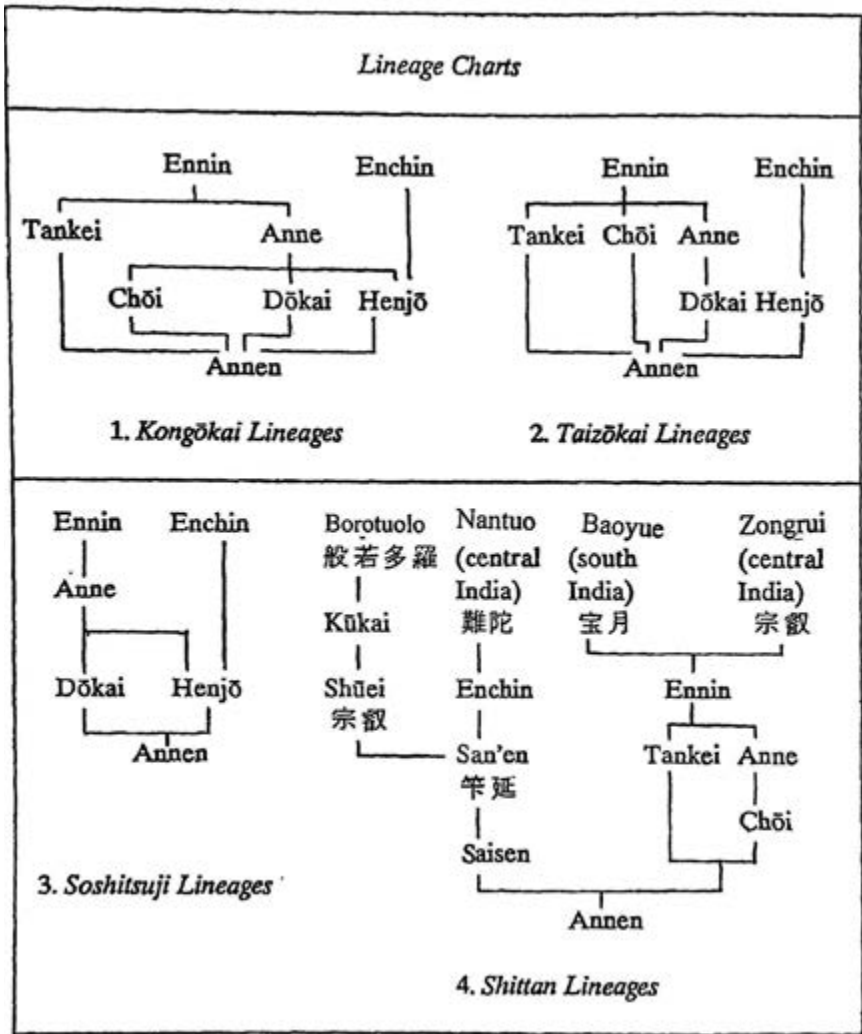


Figure 1. Annen's Lineages

were from disciples of Ennin during the period around 876 to 880; in 882 and 884, he received advanced initiations from Henjō, who had studied under both Ennin and Enchin. Annen apparently hoped to unify the variant Taimitsu teachings that were circulating in Japan at the time by receiving initiations from a number of different Japanese teachers and then verifying their validity with Chinese teachers. Annen's comments in his works on the differences between the various esoteric transmissions provide modern scholars with a view of the esoteric traditions that were circulating in Japan in the ninth century, though he may in fact have been responsible for fabricating some of

them, such as the three attainments (*sanshu shitsujī*) that Saichō was said to have received in China.²⁹

Traditional Tendai scholars long argued about whether Annen ever studied in China as had Ennin and Enchin, the other scholars of Tendai esoteric Buddhism with whom he is often compared. Besides Annen, three other Tendai monks, Saisen (d. 877?), Genshō (846–917), and Kankei planned to travel to China to study in 877. The group was probably led by Saisen, who had been given the rank of *dentō daihosshii* (great Dharma teacher who transmits the lamp) by the court.³⁰ The group received government support for their trip and was given gold for offerings to Mañjuśrī on Mount Wutai. The four monks went to Dazaifu in order to find a merchant ship to take them to China; however, all but Saisen were suspicious about the ship that they were to board and returned to Mount Hiei. Saisen boarded, but it turned out it was a pirate ship and he probably died at sea.³¹ Saisen was criticized by Enchin as having been motivated more by the desire for fame than to study Buddhism.³² The group's plans thus ended in failure. Although some later Tendai scholars claimed that Annen did eventually travel to China, no mention of actual studies or travels in China is made anywhere in his works.³³

The failure of Annen's plans to go to China was probably the Tendai School's gain because he devoted much of the rest of his life to systematizing Taimitsu rather than propagating whatever teachings he might have received in China. The period was also important to Annen because his impending trip to China had given him a reason to ask for, and receive, a variety of esoteric initiations from Japanese masters. Otherwise Annen might have had to wait a much longer time before receiving esoteric initiations from so many masters. His studies during this time gave him an invaluable basis for his later works on Taimitsu.

Annen and Henjō

In 884, two years after he wrote the *Futsujū bosatsukai kōshaku*, Annen received advanced esoteric initiations (*denbō kanjō*) from Henjō (817–890) and was

29. Chen, *Legend and Legitimation*.

30. Annen held the lesser rank of *dentō man'i* (completion of the stage of transmission of the lamp). Saisen, Genshō, and Annen had all studied under Ennin. Genshō later became an important Taimitsu master and taught several of the future chief prelates of the Tendai School. Little is known about Kankei.

31. *Meishō ryakuden*, Hanawa, *Gunsho ruijū*, 4:489.

32. *Chishō Daishiden*, BZ-Suzuki 28:1377a.

33. In some versions of Annen's *Yugikyōsho* (Hashimoto, "Annen oshō jiseki kō," 53), the statement is found that "the work is by Shinnyo Kongō [Annen's esoteric name or *mitsugō*] who went to China." Saicho signed most of his works in a similar manner, noting that he had studied in China. However, this title only appears once in Annen's works and was probably added by a later scholar who believed that Annen studied in China. Among sources that claim Annen did study in China is the *Keiran shūyōshū* (DS 1.1:332–333). The Tokugawa-period scholars Jihon and Keikō argued that Annen did go to China (*Tendai kahyō*, BZ-Suzuki 41:224b; *Sange shōtō gakusoku*, in Washio, *Kokubun Tōhō Bukkyō sōsho* 1 [shūgi]: 38). Also see *Asabashō*, DS 1.1:320.

appointed a master of esoteric Buddhism (*denbō ajari*) to serve as the instructor of Henjō's students at Gangyōji.³⁴ Yuishu (825–893), who would later serve as chief prelate on Mount Hiei, was appointed master of esoteric Buddhism at Gangyōji at the same time.³⁵ In order to be appointed a master of Taimitsu (*denbō ajari*), a person had to study many years and have the active support of someone, such as Henjō, who already held that status.³⁶ Annen had already studied with Henjō for several years by the time he was appointed master of Taimitsu. In the sixth month of 882, just two months after he had finished writing the text of the *Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku*, Annen received a Diamond Realm initiation from Henjō.³⁷ Thus, Annen must have been studying with Henjō when he wrote his major text on the precepts.

Henjō had devoted most of his time from 876 on to the establishment of Gangyōji temple near Kyoto. Consequently, Annen might well have seen Henjō when he went to meet Tankei between 876 and 880. After Henjō's death in 890, Annen's name virtually disappears from historical records. Henjō was obviously a significant force in Annen's life from at least 882 to 889, a period during which Annen wrote many of his most important works. It is thus important to consider Henjō's biography for any insights it may offer concerning Annen's views on the precepts.

Henjō's biography differed from that of contemporary Tendai teachers in a number of ways. Henjō's lay name was Yoshimine no Munesada. He was the eighth child of Yoshimine no Yasuyo (785–830) and the grandson of

34. *Ruijū sandaikyaku*, KT 25:99–100; Takeuchi, *Ritsuryōsei to kizoku seiken*, 2:548–550. The term *ajari* (Skt. *acārya*) originally meant teacher. In the late ninth century, it was used primarily to refer to the teachers of esoteric Buddhism. In many cases, the court authorized the number of *ajari* at a temple, but the term was also used at private temples that were not authorized by the court.

35. Yuishu studied under a number of teachers, including Saicho's disciple Tokuen, Gishin's disciple Hosei, and Enchin. Yuishu later became a *denbō ajari* under Henjō. After Enchin's death in 891, he became the abbot (*chōri*) of Onjōji; in 892 he was appointed as the sixth Tendai chief prelate but served for less than a year before his death (Shibuya, *Tendai zasuki*, 28; Ōyama, "Godai'in Annen ni tsuite," 499).

36. In 871, two years before Henjō received the rank of master of esoteric Buddhism, Enchin petitioned the court for permission to institute a strict set of new procedures to be followed in conferring the rank. The candidate's teacher consulted with the abbot of the temple about the advisability of giving advanced teachings to the candidate. Were permission granted, the candidate was expected to be well versed in both esoteric and Tendai doctrine. After he had completed his studies, he was examined by a group of teachers, all of whom had to be at least fifty years of age. If he passed the examination, the teachers and the candidate would inform the chief prelate and the three major administrators of the monastery (*sangō*), who then conducted a second examination. The result was reported to the lay administrator (*zoku bettō*), who served as the liaison between the court and the Tendai School. The lay administrator reported to the court, and an imperial command was issued conferring the status. After the command received the chief prelate's seal, the appointment was completed (*Yohō nennen zasshū*, BZ-Bussho kankōkai 28:1324–1325).

37. *Kongōkai daiinō taijuki*, ND-Suzuki 82:103b. Ōyama has suggested that Annen may have started studying with Henjō while Annen was still in his twelve-year training period on Mount Hiei ("Godai'in Annen ni tsuite," 499).

Emperor Kanmu (737–806, r. 781–806). Emperor Kanmu had sponsored Saichō's studies in China and the establishment of the Tendai School. After Kanmu's death in 806, the Tendai School continued to enjoy the support of his son Yasuyo, who held a number of key posts at court, eventually rising to the office of senior counsel (*dainagon*). Yasuyo also served as governor of Ōmi, the province where Enryakuji was located.

Yasuyo's son, Henjō, initially pursued a career at court. Because of his family connections and literary abilities, he quickly rose to the fifth rank and served as governor of Bizen and head of the Office of the Chamberlain (Kurōdo Dokoro). He was one of Emperor Ninmyō's (810–850, r. 833–850) favorites, and when the emperor died in 850, Henjō is said to have decided to become a monk out of grief.³⁸ In fact, political considerations might have played an important part in his decision. According to a story in the *Konjaku monogatari shū*, Henjō was not on good terms with Ninmyō's successor, Emperor Montoku (827–858, r. 850–858).³⁹ To those in the court, Ninmyō's death was an obvious opportunity for the Northern Branch (Hokke) of the Fujiwara clan under Fujiwara no Yoshifusa (804–872) to solidify their hold on the government. Because Henjō seems to have been allied with those in the court who did not support the Northern Branch, the impending changes in the government might well have contributed to his decision to become a monk. Henjō was certainly not alone in choosing a monastic career when his political future looked bleak. Eight years earlier, in 842, Henjō's cousin Prince Tsunesada (825–884), who favored the Tachibana clan over the Fujiwara, had been forced in the struggles for power at court to give up the title of crown prince in favor of the future emperor Montoku. Tsunesada eventually became a monk. Tsunesada's mother, who was also the retired emperor Junna's wife, Princess Shōshi (809–879), became a nun in 842 out of grief for her husband, who had died in 840, and anger over her son's loss of the position of crown prince.⁴⁰ However, after Henjō became a monk, he referred to Fujiwara no Yoshifusa (804–872) in several places as a benefactor. In fact, the fathers of Henjō and Yoshifusa had the same mother, Kudara no Eikei, but different fathers. Thus, Yoshifusa may have encouraged Henjō's religious career even as he discouraged his political interests.⁴¹

At the time of Henjō's ordination, the Shingon School had closer relations to the Fujiwara clan than the Tendai School did. Shingon monks, for

38. *Montoku jitsuroku*, KT 3:4.

39. Mabuchi, *Konjaku monogatari shū*, 2:481–486.

40. Hiraoka, *Nihon jūinshi no kenkyū*, 492–497.

41. See *Onjōji komonjo*, DS 1.1:259, and Mezaki, "Sōryo oyobi kajin to shite no Henjō," 27–28. Scholars such as Tsuji (*Nihon Bukkyōshi*, 1:383–385) and Hoshimiya ("Henjō no shukke," 298–308) have emphasized the political aspects of Henjō's decision to climb Mount Hiei. However, Yoshifusa also had close ties to the Tendai School. His father was Fujiwara no Fuyutsugu (775–826), one of Emperor Kanmu's sons and an important lay supporter of Saichō. Yoshifusa himself contributed funds to cover travel expenses for Enchin's studies in China (Ono Katsutoshi, *Chishō Daishi Enchin hen*, 1:40, 46, 49).

example, had prayed for the birth and, later, for the success of Yoshifusa's grandson Prince Korehito (later Emperor Seiwa 850–880, r. 858–876) in a succession dispute. Tsuji Zennosuke has suggested that Henjō may have chosen the Tendai School partly because of his resentment against the Fujiwaras as well as because of his father's past support for the school.⁴² However, since Fujiwara no Yoshifusa also supported the Tendai School, Henjō may have had additional reasons for choosing to become a Tendai monk. Henjō's family had traditionally maintained close relations with the Tendai School. One of Henjō's brothers, Nagamatsu, had been the captain of the ship that had taken Ennin to China. Another brother, the lesser councilor (*shōnagon*) Tsuneyo, had been the imperial messenger who had brought to Mount Hiei the imperial edicts appointing Anné (794–868) as chief prelate of Tendai in 864 and bestowing the posthumous title of Jikaku Daishi on Ennin in 866.⁴³ Henjō's decision to climb Mount Hiei to study may have been made when Ennin came to court to perform an esoteric ritual for the recovery of the dying emperor Ninmyō in the second month of 850.⁴⁴ Ennin had returned from nine years of study in China in 847, and Henjō must have been attracted by the possibility of studying with a teacher who had just brought a number of new teachings to Japan.

Henjō climbed Mount Hiei immediately after Ninmyō's death in the third month of 850 and began the twelve-year period of training on Hiei that Saichō had required of all Tendai monks. He was thirty-four years old, a late age to begin a monastic career. In 855, he received the bodhisattva precepts on the ordination platform on Mount Hiei.⁴⁵ He studied esoteric Buddhism under Ennin but was unable to receive the most advanced esoteric initiations (*daijō*) before Ennin's death in 864. Consequently, Ennin specified in his will that Henjō receive those initiations from Anné, Ennin's disciple and successor as chief prelate. The three major esoteric initiations (*sanbu*) used in the Tendai School were conferred on Henjō the following year.⁴⁶ Henjō

42. Tsuji, *Nihon Bukkyō shi*, 1:383–385. Yoshifusa's relations with Shinga of the Shingon School are discussed in Osumi, *Shōbō*, 30–37.

43. Honda, *Yakuchū Jikaku Daishiden*, 155–157; Ono Katsutoshi, *Nittō gūhō junrei kōki no kenkyū*, 1:509.

44. *Ruijū kokushi*, KT 6:231. Normally Enchin would probably have been asked to lead the services. He was the head of esoteric studies on Mount Hiei and one of the monks appointed to serve at the temple for the protection of the emperor, the Jōshin'in on Mount Hiei. When Enchin appeared at court and saw that Ennin had been asked to lead the services, Enchin was shocked and apparently resolved to go to China to study (*Enchin den*, Hanawa, *Gancho ruijū*, 8B:703).

45. *Sōgō bunin shōshutsu*, BZ-Kokusho kankōkai 111:13b–14a. Although most other sources state that Henjō climbed Mount Hiei shortly after Ninmyō's death, the *Sōgō bunin shōshutsu* states that he became a monk shortly after Ninmyō's death but only later climbed Mount Hiei. It is unclear which account is accurate, but if Henjō spent time in the Nara temples before climbing Mount Hiei, it might explain why he had a more tolerant attitude toward them than other Tendai monks. The *Yamato monogatari* and the *Konjaku monogatari shū* record that he visited a number of temples while he was doing religious austerities.

46. Honda, *Yakuchū Jikaku Daishiden*, 149–150.

obviously was receiving special treatment from the Tendai School because of his ties with the imperial household and because of the debt of gratitude that the Tendai School owed his father and grandfather. He nevertheless still had to study for a total of more than twenty years before he was granted the position of master of esoteric Buddhism (*ajari*), indicating that noble birth did not automatically entitle one to high office in the Tendai School as it would a century later.

In 868, when Emperor Seiwa's wife, Fujiwara no Takako (842–910), was pregnant, Henjō was asked to perform ceremonies to ensure that the child would be a boy.⁴⁷ When a boy was in fact born, Henjō became the monk in charge of performing ceremonies to protect the child. As a result, Takako and Henjō proposed the establishment of a temple for that purpose. When the child—who eight years later ascended the throne as Emperor Yōzei (868–949, r. 876–884)—was named crown prince the next year, Henjō was rewarded with the rank of *hōgen oshō* (Dharmaeye preceptor), which corresponded to the position of bishop (*sōzu*) in the Sōgō (Office of Monastic Affairs). The post was probably honorary, and Henjō does not seem to have played any active role in the Sōgō at this time.⁴⁸

Approximately fifty years earlier, Saichō had fought and finally won a bitter battle to free Tendai monks from the supervision of the Sōgō. As a result, Tendai monks had held no posts there. However, the Sōgō played a key role in awarding positions as lecturers (*kōji*) or readers (*dokushi*) in the provinces and in assigning top positions at the various monastic assemblies. Although the Tendai School used lay administrators (*zoku betto*) instead of the Sōgō to gain such appointments for its members, it still had not received its fair share of awards. Henjō was the first Tendai monk appointed to the Sōgō and his appointment represented an important change in the Tendai School's attitude toward the Sōgō.⁴⁹

In 869, three months before his death, Prince Tsuneyasu (d. 869), Emperor Ninmyō's son, gave Henjō the Unrin'in (also read Urin'in, Cloud

47. *Sandai jitsuroku*, KT 4:414.

48. In 864 the Shingon monk Shinga (801–879) submitted a petition concerning ranks for monks. On the basis of that petition, the court decided that the old rank system that had been in use since 760 (with several minor changes) had lost much of its effectiveness because of the indiscriminate conferral of honors. Consequently, a new system was introduced. According to the new system, the rank of transmitter of Buddhism and greater preceptor (*hōkyō daioshō*) corresponded to the position of *Vinaya* master (*rishū*) in the Office of Monastic Affairs, Dharmaeye preceptor (*hōgen daioshō*) to bishop (*sōzu*), and Dharma-seal preceptor (*hōin daioshō*) to archbishop (*sōjō*).

Mezaki ("Sōryo oyobi kajin to shite no Henjō," 29–30, 31–32n31) has noted that at the time Henjō was appointed, only sixteen monks were permitted to serve in the Sōgō and that the limit had already been reached. In addition, since similar ranks were conferred upon a number of deceased monks, such as Saichō, Kūkai, and Ennin, around this time, Henjō's rank may have been an honorary one, which carried no rights to serve in the Sōgō.

49. Groner, *Saichō*, 281–285. For the later history of Tendai relations with the Sōgō, see Groner, *Ryōgen*, 120–127.

Forest Hall) along with some landholdings to support the Unrin'in.⁵⁰ Henjō subsequently lived at the Unrin'in, and his activities were based in or near Kyoto from 869 onward. Earlier, in 851, the year after Henjō climbed Mount Hiei, Prince Tsuneyasu also had decided to become a monk, ostensibly out of grief over Ninmyō's death. Political reasons also probably dictated his choice because Tsuneyasu's maternal relations, the Ki clan, lost most of their influence to the Fujiwaras. The Unrin'in (located near the present site of Daitokuji in Kyoto) had originally been a detached palace for Emperor Junna and later for Emperor Ninmyō. Upon Emperor Ninmyō's death, it had been given to Prince Tsuneyasu. While the prince lived at the Unrin'in, he was the center of a group of monks and laymen who composed *waka*.⁵¹ The members of the group regarded themselves as *wabibito*, men who had met with various disappointments and were living simple, quiet lives. Henjō was an active member of the group, and his interest in *waka* eventually led to his being called one of the six poetic geniuses (*rokkasen*) of the early Heian period. Later, Henjō was said to be the first example of the cultured monk from a noble family who retired to a monastery to live a life of solitude.⁵² This type of monk would become prominent in later Heian culture. Because of their similar backgrounds as close relatives of the imperial family, affection for the deceased emperor Ninmyō, and interest in *waka*, Henjō and Tsuneyasu were undoubtedly close friends.

The gift of the Unrin'in gave Henjō the institutional independence to pursue his own policies in regard to Tendai and esoteric Buddhist doctrine and practice. However, he still had not been recognized as an independent master of Tendai esoteric doctrine and practice. This problem was solved when an imperial order directed Enchin, the chief prelate on Mount Hiei, to test Henjō's mastery of the esoteric practices and teachings he had received from Anné. Enchin examined Henjō's mastery of the various esoteric practices by having Henjō make each mudra and recite each *dhāraṇī*. Annen noted that since Henjō's teacher Ennin had studied under eight teachers in China while Enchin had studied under only one, there were differences in their practices. As a result, Henjō was asked not to use certain practices that differed from those approved by Enchin. Although Annen did not directly criticize Enchin's examination, he did imply that Ennin's studies were broader and more profound than those of Enchin. But because both Ennin and Enchin had studied under the same teacher, Faquan (n.d.), in China there

50. *Sandai jitsuroku*, KT 4:571; *Ruijū kokushi*, KT 6:271–72; *Tendai kaiyō*, BZ-Suzuki 41:374c.

51. *Waka* written by members of the group that mention the Unrin'in are found in the *Kokinshū*, (Mezaki, "Sōryo oyobi kajin to shite no Henjō," 32–33). Ki no Tsurayuki (868?–945?) criticized Henjō's *waka*: "Among well-known recent poets, Archbishop Henjō masters style but is deficient in substance. It is no more satisfying to read one of his poems than to fall in love with a woman in a picture" (McCullough, *Kokin wakashū*, 7). Henjō is not credited with the authorship of any works on Buddhism.

52. The author of the *Imakagami* (comp. 1170) regarded Henjō as the first example of this type of monk (Mezaki, *Shukke tonsei*, 20–21).

were also many similarities between their teachings, and Enchin was able to approve of Henjō's appointment as master of esoteric Buddhism.⁵³ In 873, through an order from the chancellor's office (*kanpu*), Henjō received the three major Taimitsu initiations (*sanbu daihō*) from Enchin at the Sōjiin (Dhāraṇī Hall) on Mount Hiei and was granted the rank of master of esoteric Buddhism.⁵⁴

In 876, the crown prince ascended the throne as Emperor Yōzei. Because Henjō had performed many ceremonies for the protection of Yōzei while he was crown prince, Yōzei's succession had a significant impact on Henjō's career. In 877, Gangyōji, the temple for the protection of the emperor that Henjō had proposed eight years earlier, was completed. It was designated a *jōgakuji*⁵⁵ (one of a supposedly limited number of officially sanctioned temples), a status that carried with it important rewards.⁵⁶ *Jōgakuji* often, but not necessarily, received funds from the provinces where they were located for such purposes as repairs or for the oil to light their lanterns. They were also often awarded yearly ordinands (*nenbun dosha*).

Henjō asked that the treatment accorded Gangyōji be similar to that given Kajōji and Anjōji, established around the same time at the wish of members of the imperial family and granted the status of *jōgakuji*. Each of the temples was granted three yearly ordinands. In the case of Gangyōji, two were to study the Taizōkai or Kongōkai traditions of esoteric Buddhism, and the third was to study Tendai (*Mohe zhiguan*, the basis of Tendai exoteric practice, especially meditation). To a large extent, Henjō followed the precedents established by the Tendai establishment on Mount Hiei in organizing this temple. Candidates for yearly ordinand were to be tested in the presence of an imperial messenger, not by representatives of the Office of Monastic Affairs. Successful candidates were to be initiated as novices on Emperor Yōzei's birthday, thus helping to fulfill Henjō's wish that Gangyōji be used to protect the emperor. The candidates would then climb Mount Hiei in order to be ordained as monks with the bodhisattva precepts. After they returned to Gangyōji, the

53. *Yōhō hennen zasshū*, BZ-Bussho kankōkai 28:1325–1327; *Taizōkai daihō taijuki*, ND-Suzuki 81:335b–336a.

54. *Chishō Daishiden*, BZ-Kokusho kankōkai 28:1372b.

55. The term *jōgakuji* (government-sanctioned temple) first appeared in 749 and was used to refer only to a limited number of temples that were officially sanctioned. Although the term suggests that there was a limit on the number of temples, no specific number is mentioned in extant documents. By the middle of the Heian period, the number of temples being established through vows of members of the imperial family or the nobility (*goganji*) had increased markedly and no serious attempt was made to limit the number that were built. Temples were usually designated *jōgakuji* once they had been built. Among the best studies on the establishment of temples during this period are Takeuchi Rizō's *Ritsuryōsei to kizoku seiken* and Hiraoka Jokai's *Nihon jūinshi no kenkyū*. When a temple was granted the status of *jōgakuji*, it was often given permission to have a certain number of yearly ordinands, the most common number being two or three. Some *jōgakuji* were given permission to have a certain number of monks (*jōgakusō*) who were to perform services for the emperor or members of his family.

56. *Sandai jitsuwoku*, KT 4:414.

Tendai monks were required to read in an abbreviated form (*tendoku*) the *Sutra of the Benevolent King* (*Renwang jing*), and the esoteric monks were expected to perform rituals and meditations that focused on a set of five images of the Immovable Wisdom King (Fudō Myōō).⁵⁷

Several years later, in 886, Henjō supplemented these procedures by requiring his recently ordained monks to undergo a six-year period of training at Gangyōji, during which they were not to leave the monastery's precincts (*yōzan*). The rules were written in the form of *shiki* (procedures and rules) and probably patterned after Saichō's *Sange gakushō shiki* (Regulations for Tendai students). Henjō added the *Lotus Sutra* and the *Jin guangming jing* (*Suvarṇāprabhāsaśūtra*)⁵⁸ to the texts that his monks were required to chant and also required them to perform *Lotus* and *Amida* meditations. While the monks on Mount Hiei were required to remain there for twelve years, Henjō required the monks at Gangyōji to remain in the monastery for only six.⁵⁹ One of Henjō's primary reasons for requiring newly ordained monks to remain at Gangyōji for six years was that by doing so he would be able to rank Gangyōji with some of the major monasteries of the time that employed similar educational systems. Because the full text of Henjō's rules does not survive, it is difficult to determine how strict the training at Gangyōji was. Although it was undoubtedly less strenuous than that on Mount Hiei, the requirements for seclusion on Hiei had nevertheless become looser soon after Saichō's death. Gangyōji was probably an attractive place to visit for nobles because of its proximity to the capital and its cultured chief prelate. Approximately ninety years after Henjō's death, Emperor Kazan (968–1008, r. 984–986) abdicated to become a monk and chose to live at Gangyōji. Like Henjō, he was skilled in writing *waka*.

Henjō strove to secure the financial and institutional base of Gangyōji.

57. *Ruiju sandaikyaku*, KT 25:99; *Sandai jitsuroku*, KT 4:414–415. Both the esoteric and exoteric rites were to be performed in front of a set of images of five bodhisattvas, probably the group mentioned in the *Renwang jing* as guardians of the nation. Although there is a long history of the recitation of this text for the protection of the nation as an exoteric ritual, the installation of the five bodhisattvas as central images suggests that they might also have been significant in esoteric ceremonies. In fact, Amoghavajra "retranslated" the apocryphal *Renwang jing* (T 246), and three texts concerning esoteric rites based on the *Renwang jing* are attributed to him (T nos. 994–996). Although the *Asabashō* (T [zuzo] 9:834c) notes that esoteric rituals based on the *Renwang jing* were performed by Sanmon Tendai monks in the past, I have not been able to find any evidence that these texts were used by Tendai monks in Henjō's time.

58. The full title of Yijing's translation of the *Suvarṇāprabhāsa* (T 665) was *Jingguangming zuishengwang jing*. It is referred to in documents as both the *Jingguangming jing* (the current example) and *Zuishengwang jing*.

59. The practice of restricting monks to the confines of their monasteries was popularized by Saichō, who stated that Tendai monks were required to undergo a twelve-year period of intensive training on Mount Hiei before they went out into the world to preach. The practice was adopted by a number of other *jōgakuji* temples in the early Heian period. Among them were the Kegon temple Kai'in zanmaiji (twelve years) and the Shingon temples Kongōbuji (six years) and Anjōji (seven years). A period of six years seems to have been the most common figure (*Ruijū sandai kyaku*, KT 25:100–101; Takeuchi, *Ritsuryōsei to kizoku seiken*, 2:550).

In 882, the Unrin'in was made a branch temple (*betsuin*) of Gangyōji, a step that ensured that Gangyōji monks would be appointed to the key positions within it. In fact, Henjō's son eventually served as administrator of the Unrin'in. In 885, Henjō petitioned the court to grant Gangyōji 153 *chō* of wasteland in Ōmi. That same year, he petitioned the court to ensure that every year a Gangyōji monk would be favored for appointment to at least one of the vacancies for lecturers and readers, which were the monastic officials who were selected to supervise the Buddhist order in the provinces. In 887, Henjō also asked that Gangyōji monks be guaranteed positions at the annual assembly on the Yuima-e (Assembly for the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa Sutra*) held at Kōfukuji in Nara, one of the most prestigious ceremonies of that time. Because a monk's career depended on his participation in such assemblies, this was an important step in ensuring that his monks would receive court recognition and ranks, as did the monks in the Nara schools. Henjō also established his own monastic assemblies at the Unrin'in and obtained official recognition for them. When Gangyōji monks had served as leaders of several major assemblies, they were to be rewarded with ranks bestowed by the court.⁶⁰

Henjō's proposals for Gangyōji differed from the procedures followed on Mount Hiei in several important ways. Since Saichō's time, Tendai monks had generally not studied at the temples in Nara. Henjō, on the other hand, actively pursued a conciliatory policy toward Nara. Thus, after monks had completed their six years of training at Gangyōji, Henjō encouraged them to go to either Enryakuji or the temples of Nara to study.⁶¹ In addition, although Gangyōji was closely affiliated with the Tendai School—with its monks being ordained on Mount Hiei and studying Tendai and Taimitsu teachings—institutionally Gangyōji was independent. In 878, Henjō was appointed chief prelate (*zasu*, not to be confused with the Tendai *zasu*) of Gangyōji, a position that he held for life. Below him at the temple were a *bettō* (lay administrator) and *sangō* (three main monastic administrative officials), who held their offices for six years. The administrative structure was like that at Enryakuji, with Henjō's position being equivalent to that of the Tendai chief prelate.⁶²

In addition to being institutionally independent from Mount Hiei, some of the monks at Gangyōji held doctrinal positions that differed from those held by other Tendai monks. Besides being more tolerant of the Nara schools, the monks of Gangyōji practiced esoteric Buddhism that probably differed

60. *Kokushi ruijū*, KT 6:248–249, 271–272; *Ruijū sandaikyaku*, KT 25:60–61; *Tendai kaiyō*, BZ-Suzuki 41:373b.

61. *Sandai jitsuroku*, KT 4:589. In addition, in 887, a monk named Kansei submitted a petition suggesting that the Tendai yearly ordinands appointed to the Kamo and Kasuga shrines receive "Hinayāna" ordinations. Unfortunately, not enough is known about Kansei to determine whether or not he was influenced by Henjō's conciliatory policies toward the Nara schools (Ishida Mizumaro, *Nihon Bukkyō ni okeru kairitsu no kenkyū*, 310–327).

62. *Sandai jitsuroku*, KT 4:421. When the status of *denbō ajari* was conferred on Annen, Henjō performed the same administrative role as the Tendai *zasu* that Enchin had performed when candidates for *denbō ajari* were tested and appointed (*Tendai kaiyō*, BZ-Suzuki 41:212–213, 224c).

slightly from that practiced on Mount Hiei. Henjō had received esoteric initiations from Enchin as well as from monks of Ennin's lineage. His position transcended the differences of the two main esoteric lineages on Mount Hiei.⁶³ Henjō and the monks on Mount Hiei were aware of the differences. A document dated 874 praising the Soshitsuji initiation is signed by Enchin, Jōun (one of Ennin's direct disciples, fl. mid-9th c.), and Henjō, suggesting that the three men represented three major lineages of esoteric teachings in Tendai.⁶⁴ Annen had received initiations from Henjō and thus probably adopted a position like that of Henjō. When Annen wrote his works on esoteric Buddhism, he could adopt an objective stance and evaluate the differences between the teachings and practices transmitted by the different esoteric masters because as a master of esoteric Buddhism at Gangyōji, he was free from at least some of the rivalries on Mount Hiei. Despite the differences between Gangyōji and Mount Hiei, relations between the two Tendai establishments seem to have been cordial. In 892 Yuishu, who served as master of esoteric Buddhism (*denbō ajari*) at Gangyōji along with Annen, became chief Tendai prelate on Mount Hiei.

Henjō's conciliatory position toward the Nara schools bore fruit when, in 879, he was appointed to be supernumerary archbishop (*gon-sōjō*) within the Office of Monastic Affairs, an unprecedented honor for a Tendai monk. Six years later in 885, when the archbishop Shūei died, Henjō was appointed archbishop (*sōjō*), the highest position in the Office of Monastic Affairs.⁶⁵ Like Henjō, Shūei seemed to bridge the traditions of both Tendai and the Nara schools, studying at both Mount Hiei and Kōfukuji before becoming a Shingon monk. He traveled to China to obtain esoteric texts and initiation, where he studied with a number of monks, including Faquan, who had also taught Ennin and Enchin.

Henjō took his responsibilities as archbishop seriously. In 882 he submitted a petition with seven items designed to strengthen the Office of Monastic Affairs.⁶⁶ Henjō noted that because the monks who were appointed to the office held their positions for life, they sometimes were negligent in carrying out their duties. He suggested that appointees serve four-year terms. Although Henjō's proposal was apparently put into practice at some point, it was subsequently abandoned. Henjō also suggested procedures for tightening the Office of Monastic Affairs' control over ordinations and its supervisory

63. Rivalry already existed between monks of Ennin's lineage and those in Enchin's lineage by the end of Enchin's life. In 888, three years before his death, Enchin asked his followers to cooperate with Ennin's followers and noted the debt of gratitude all Tendai monks owed Ennin for his efforts to propagate esoteric Buddhism (Shibuya, *Tendai zasuki*, 25). Enchin's warning suggests that at least some rivalry existed by 888, although it was far from the bitter hatred that one century later would split the Tendai School into rival branches based on the lineages of Ennin and Enchin.

64. *Ruiju sandaikyaku*, KT 25:100; Kiuchi, "Godai" in Annen sonja to mikkyō, 261–262.

65. *Sandai jitsuwoku*, KT 4:597.

66. KT 4:521–522.

responsibilities over the control of the administrators of temples. Two of his suggestions concerned the welfare of animals. Assemblies to free animals that might otherwise have been killed for food often resulted in the inadvertent death of the animals from mistreatment. These assemblies were to be reformed and held more frequently. The practice of using poison to kill the fish in ponds so that they might be harvested for food was to be prohibited because it involved the killing of many animals besides the fish. Henjō's interest in temple administration was probably a reflection of his earlier activities as a court administrator before he was ordained.

The last few years of Henjō's life were marked by special treatment by the court. Henjō was a close friend of Emperor Kōkō (830–887, r. 884–887). The two men had known each other since they were young; in fact, before Henjō was ordained, he had served the future emperor Kōkō. After Henjō was ordained, he served as one of the monks who prayed for the future emperor's long life. Both men were also interested in *waka*. Moreover, Henjō's mother may have been Kōkō's wet nurse, though no certain proof of this relationship exists.⁶⁷ On Henjō's seventieth birthday, he was invited to the court. The occasion was not a stiff ceremonial affair, since the men stayed up through the night talking. Henjō, moreover, was given permission to enter the court in a special cart (*teguruma*)⁶⁸ and received a fief of one hundred households.⁶⁹

Annen was probably closely associated with Henjō for several years before and after 884, the year Henjō conferred the rank of master of esoteric Buddhism on him. This period would have included the time when Annen wrote the *Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku*. Consequently, Annen was undoubtedly influenced by Henjō's attitudes toward the precepts. Although Henjō wrote no works concerning the precepts, some general conclusions about his attitudes can be inferred from his biography. Henjō was not ordained until he was middle-aged; he had three wives and several children. The austere life on Mount Hiei was certainly more difficult for him than it would have been for a younger man who had not been raised at court and known married life. It is not surprising that after his training period on Mount Hiei, Henjō moved back to Kyoto, where he established a form of Buddhism that was more suited to the inclinations of court nobles who wished to be ordained than was spending years away from the capital on Mount Hiei. During this time, he lived in a temple that had been the detached palace of an emperor, wrote *waka*, made frequent trips to the court, and busied himself with administrative tasks concerning the Unrin'in and Gangyōji.

67. See *Ruiju kokushi* (KT 6:298) and McCullough, *Kokin wakashū*, 62; Hoshimiya, "Henjō no Gangyōji keiei," 36. These sources and studies note that relations between a wet nurse's own children and the children she suckled were often closer than those between blood relations.

68. The *teguruma* was a special cart with a Chinese gabled roof drawn by two men. Its use was generally restricted to the highest levels of court. Although people were usually expected to enter the palace on foot, permission to proceed through the outer gates of the palace in a *teguruma* was granted to certain people on special occasions.

69. *Ruiju kokushi*, KT 6:298; *Tendai kaiyō*, BZ-Suzuki 41:221c–222a.

A number of sources suggest that Henjō had a permissive attitude toward at least some of the precepts. In a statement concerning the celebration for Henjō's seventieth birthday, the emperor noted that "although outwardly [Henjō] is concerned with secular affairs, inwardly he is pure and chaste (*bongyō*)."⁷⁰ The emperor's statement is reminiscent of Annen's argument in the *Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku* that the precepts could be broken if the practitioner's motive was pure.

Although the literature of the Heian period is not reliable as a historical source, it is suggestive of Henjō's activities and attitudes. The *Yamato monogatari*, compiled in the middle of the tenth century, approximately a half-century after Henjō's death, contains several stories relating Henjō's amorous adventures. Although most of these stories are about events that were said to have occurred before Henjō's ordination, one of the stories concerned a flirtation with the poetess Ono no Komachi (n.d.) after Henjō had become a monk.⁷¹ When Henjō became a monk, he is said to have kept his location a secret from everyone at court. Ono no Komachi went to Kiyomizudera for the New Year and heard someone with a beautiful voice chanting sutras and *dhāraṇīs*. Believing that the voice might be that of Henjō, she sent a poem requesting the loan of one of the monk's garments to ward off the cold. Henjō replied in a poem that he had only one set of robes and that since it would be unkind to allow her to go cold, perhaps they could sleep together. When Ono no Komachi went to talk with Henjō, however, he had already left the temple. Henjō's chastity as a monk is maintained in the stories, but at the same time he is portrayed as a man who was deeply interested in love affairs before his ordination and might well have continued to be so after his ordination. Although the stories may not have historical value, they do suggest that fifty years after his death, Henjō was viewed as a man who had been involved with many women.

Other stories relate Henjō's concern for his favorite wife and children. When Emperor Ninmyō died, Henjō could not bear to tell his family that he had decided to leave them to become a monk. After he had been ordained, his wife and children happened to visit a temple and inquired about him while he was listening from a hiding place. Although he was tempted to call out to them, his commitment to the life of a monk was strong enough that he was able to resist.⁷² The story is indicative of the difficulties that a man of Henjō's background and age must have experienced in living the life of a monk.

Henjō, in fact, did maintain relations with his family and ordained two of his sons, both born before Henjō was ordained, as monks at the Unrin'in. Henjō gave his sons preferential treatment, personally conferring esoteric initiations on them. The older son, Yushō (or Yusei, 841–914) was appointed

70. *Ruiju kokushi*, KT 6:298.

71. Sakakura, *Takekoto monogatari*, *Ise monogatari*, *Yamato monogatari*, 339–340; Tahara, *Tales of Yamato*, 117–122.

72. Sakakura, *Takekoto monogatari*, 335–337; Mabuchi, *Konjaku monogatari shū*, 22:461–468.

supernumerary *Vinaya* master (*gon-nisshi*) in the Office of Monastic Affairs and administrator (*bettō*) at Unrin'in. According to the *Yamato monogatari*, he is said to have been interested in women just as his father had been and to have had a number of love affairs, but it is left unclear whether these occurred before or after his ordination. His younger brother, Soshō (or Sosei, d. 919), had a career similar to that of his father. He served at court for a time and was a well-known *waka* poet. At the urging of his father, he was ordained along with his brother. In 896, when Emperor Uda (867–931, r. 887–897) visited the Unrin'in, Soshō was rewarded with an appointment as supernumerary *Vinaya* master and awarded one yearly ordinand, in other words, the right to ordain a monk every year and the funds to support such monks. In 909 he received an imperial order to paint some screens and present them to the emperor and was rewarded with rice wine. He was also given silks and horses for the *waka* he wrote.⁷³

The evidence suggests that Henjō had a more relaxed attitude toward the precepts than the leaders of the Tendai School on Mount Hiei and strove to establish a form of Tendai at Gangyōji that would suit the needs of nobles. Annen's permissive attitude toward violations of the precepts appealed to Henjō and the monks of Gangyōji.

Annen's Last Years

Most of Annen's major works on Taimitsu were written after he became a master of esoteric Buddhism in 884 and while he was serving as an instructor to Henjō's students at Gangyōji. Hashimoto Shinkichi has noted that an investigation of Tendai bibliographies yields a list of over one hundred books Annen is credited with, most of them works on esoteric Buddhism.⁷⁴ Some of these works may not be authentic or may have been known by several titles; others were probably very short. Still, Annen was a remarkably productive scholar.⁷⁵

The last unquestionably authentic records of Annen's activities date from 889. In the ninth month he appeared at court along with other monks to

73. See *Taizōkai daiinō taijuki*, ND-Suzuki 83:60a; *Honchō kōsōden*, BZ-Kokusho kankōkai 102:145a; Sakakura, *Taketori monogatari*, 340–341; and Tahara, *Tales of Yamato*, 122–123. According to *Yamato monogatari*, one of Henjō's sons, probably Sosei, engaged in a number of love affairs after his ordination and remained a monk. Approximately one-fourth of Sosei's poems are love poems, though many are written from a woman's perspective (McCullough, *Brocade by Night*, 371–375, 452–459).

74. "Annen oshō jiseki kō," 66–73.

75. Etani Ryūkai credits Annen with 117 works in 220 fascicles (Annen no *Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku*, 313). Asai Endō states that he wrote over one hundred works and that approximately forty survive (*Jōko Nihon Tendai honmon shisō shi*, 630–638). Asai's work contains a useful survey of the current state of research on the authenticity of works attributed to Annen. Nara ("Godai'in Annen no chosaku ni tsuite") has questioned the authenticity of some of the most important works attributed to Annen. His study is indicative of the immense amount of work that remains before we can make a critical appraisal of Annen's thought. Nara lists only twenty-six works attributed to Annen as extant.

perform esoteric rituals. Although Annen was one of the younger men and had less seniority than many of the other monks, he was asked to serve as transmitter of the petition (*dōtatsu*).⁷⁶ That same year Annen saw termites swarming at the Unrin'in and reported them to the chancellor Fujiwara no Mototsune (836–891). Mototsune told Emperor Uda about the report, and the emperor regarded it as a serious portent of ill since a similar report had been received shortly before the previous emperor's death.⁷⁷ Annen clearly was highly respected by the court at this time.

Virtually nothing is known about Annen's activities after 889, when he was forty-nine years old. As a result, some scholars have speculated that he may have died around that time. Ōyama Kōjun, for example, has argued that a scholar as productive as Annen would surely have left some trace of his activities in subsequent years if he had been alive.⁷⁸ Two documents suggest that Annen may have lived longer, however. The first is an introduction, dated 902 when Annen would have been sixty-two, for a bibliography of works on esoteric Buddhism, the *Shoajari shingon mikkyō burui sōroku*, which was originally written by Annen in 885.⁷⁹ The second is the lineage for Annen's student Genjō that stated that Annen conferred several esoteric initiations upon Genjō but died before he could give him the certificate (*injin*) that would serve as proof of the initiations. The certificate was subsequently issued by Saien (n.d.). Unfortunately, the date the lineage document was issued is not known. However, Hashimoto Shinkichi has assembled the various documents concerning the initiations received and conferred by Genjō and demonstrated that Genjō must have received the status of master of esoteric Buddhism by 897, indicating that Annen must have died before 897. Since the information from the preface to the bibliography and from Genjō's lineages is contradictory, one of them must be rejected. Hashimoto has suggested that the 902 preface to the bibliography was not necessarily written by Annen and that Annen probably died sometime between 889 and 897.⁸⁰

One possible explanation for the disappearance of Annen's name from records after 889 may be the death of his teacher and patron, Henjō, in 890. Although Henjō conferred the status of master of esoteric Buddhism on both Annen and Yuishu at the same time, he subsequently conferred special initiations on Annen without giving them to Yuishu.⁸¹ However, after Henjō's death, Yuishu was appointed to be the head of Onjōji and then as chief prelate on Mount Hiei. The loss of his most important patron and the possibility of difficulties in his relations with Yuishu have led some scholars to speculate that Annen may have retreated to the provinces to practice religious austerities

76. The *dōtatsu* (transmitter) was one of seven monks who played leading roles at esoteric services. He conveyed the sponsor's petition to the *juganshi* (invoker), who read the petition.

77. *Fuso ryakki*, KT 12:158.

78. Ōyama, "Godai'in Annen," 505.

79. BZ-Kokusho kankōkai 2:110–111.

80. Hashimoto, "Annen oshō jiseki kō," 73–89.

81. *Kongōkai daihō taijuki*, ND-Suzuki 82:251–252.

around 890, but no convincing evidence for this view exists.⁸² Although Annen's dates have been extensively discussed by Japanese scholars, no consensus on the year of Annen's death has emerged.

According to later sources, Annen entered a cave to meditate indefinitely in 915, a tradition that obviously is patterned after similar stories about Kūkai entering a cave to meditate until Maitreya's appearance on earth; however, sources differ about the cave in which Annen is said to be meditating.⁸³ Annen's trenchant criticisms of Kūkai's Shingon School also led to the development of legends that Annen was punished by being so impoverished and hungry that he ate dirt and starved to death in front of the gates of Tōji, the headquarters of the Shingon School. According to other legends, Annen was impoverished and those who supported him, whether lay persons or monks, were said to have themselves been reduced to poverty. Legends that Annen was a violent monk probably arose from similar sources and were partially based on Annen's permissive attitude toward violations of the precepts.⁸⁴

Annen seems to have had relatively few noteworthy disciples, probably because he either died at a comparatively young age or because he went into retirement after Henjō's death. Those monks who are associated with him in biographies or lineages almost all received much of their training with other teachers. Thus, Annen was not a major teacher like Ennin and Enchin. Even so, several of the monks who received advanced esoteric initiations from Annen deserve mention. Genjō had served as a minister at court but decided to become a monk when the retired emperor Seiwa (850–880, r. 858–876) received the tonsure in 879. Genjō received the Kongōkai advanced initiation from Shūei, who had practiced under both Tendai and Shingon monks, and studied the esoteric Sanskrit syllabary under Shūei's disciple Zennen at the Zenrinji monastery. Later, he studied and received a variety of esoteric initiations under Annen, but because Annen died before he could issue the certificate stating that Genjō had received the initiations, Genjō had to complete his studies under Saien. Annen also taught Daie, about whom little is known other than that he taught Miyoshi Kiyoyuki's (847–918) son. Another disciple, Son'i (866–940), went on to serve for fourteen years as the thirteenth Tendai *zasu*.⁸⁵

Conclusion

Despite Annen's importance in the Japanese Tendai tradition, little is known about his personal life, rendering it impossible to determine the extent to which he observed the precepts and making it difficult to ascertain the key influences that led him to argue for a more permissive interpretation of the

82. Terada, "Annen sonjajiseki tokugyō ryōzuihen," 176–178.

83. Annen's traditional date of death as 915 is based on a work by the Tokugawa-period scholar Keikō. For the legends about Annen's meditation in a cave, see *Tendai kahyō*, BZ-Suzuki 41:380c–381a; and Shimizutani, *Tendai mikkyō no seiritsu*, 237–241.

84. *Keiran shūiyōshū*, *Sangoku denki*, DS 1.1:334–339.

85. Ōyama, "Godai'in Annen ni tsuite," 51.

precepts. However, by focusing on several of the teachers who influenced his thinking around 882 when he wrote his major work on the precepts, two of the significant factors that affected his position on monastic discipline can be determined: the increasing activity of nobles in Tendai Buddhism and the growing importance of esoteric Buddhism within the Tendai School.

During Saichō's lifetime, nobles had been important patrons of the Tendai School and had played key roles in his struggle to establish the school. However, nobles did not become monks and did not directly influence the daily lives of Tendai monks very much, although Tendai monks were required to read certain sutras for the protection of the nation. Saichō founded his temple on Mount Hiei primarily as a retreat for meditation and religious practice.

In the years following Saichō's death, Tendai monks came to have closer relations with the court. Increases in the number of yearly ordinands, the expansion of Tendai influence into the capital and the provinces, the dispatch of Tendai monks to China to study esoteric Buddhism, and the construction of additional buildings on Mount Hiei and elsewhere were all dependent on the goodwill of the court and nobles. The Tendai School gradually devoted more and more of its efforts to catering to the needs of nobles. Moreover, by the middle of the tenth century, nobles had begun to receive ordinations, become Tendai monks, and influence the Tendai School from within.⁸⁶

At least two of Annen's most important teachers, Tankei and Henjō, were active at court. Henjō's career demonstrated the possibilities that were open to the sons of nobles if they chose to become monks. Nobles, instead of remaining content to be patrons of Buddhism, could be ordained and live aesthetic and fulfilling lives as monks. Moreover, if they were from noble families, had talent, and were willing to practice assiduously, they might rise to the top of the monastic world just as Henjō had done despite being ordained at a late age. By the late ninth century, when the Fujiwara clan had increasingly come to dominate government and careers in the court were often closed to nobles from other families, monastic careers began to attract nobles. Elements of the lifestyle of nobles were gradually introduced into the monasteries. Henjō, for example, lived in Kyoto at a former detached palace that had been used by two emperors; he also wrote *waka* and was active in administrative and political affairs. In many ways, his lifestyle was probably not too different from his earlier life as a layman, particularly if the stories about his amorous affairs have any basis. Henjō's sons also wrote *waka* and attained high administrative posts in the Office of Monastic Affairs, suggesting that Henjō believed that monastic careers offered good opportunities to his descendants. Tendai School training was gradually evolving in a direction that would take it far from Saichō's dream of a strict regimen of twelve years of strenuous training in which young monks would not venture outside the boundaries of the Tendai monastery on Hiei.

86. The influence of the nobility on Tendai is described in Groner, *Ryōgen*.

Annen's attitude toward the precepts was certainly influenced by these changes in the personnel of monasteries, particularly at Gangyōji. Many of the precepts were not being observed at Gangyōji. Rather than requiring monks to adhere to a strict set of rules, Annen argued that it was important to consider the attitudes behind their activities. If their actions were motivated by such concerns as compassion for sentient beings, then violations of the precepts could be tolerated.

The growing importance of esoteric Buddhism within the Tendai School is the second factor in Annen's permissive attitude toward the precepts that is evident from his biography. Annen is usually considered the great systematizer of Tendai esoteric Buddhist doctrine. Although Tendai esoteric ritual continued to develop after his death, it reached its culmination with Annen. The biographies of Annen and his teachers clearly reveal the fascination that esoteric Buddhism held for Tendai monks in the late ninth century. Although Tendai exoteric doctrine was still studied, it did not attract as much interest as esoteric Buddhism until the doctrinal developments of original enlightenment (*hongaku*). Both on Mount Hiei and at Henjō's Gangyōji, the numbers of yearly ordinands studying esoteric Buddhism were greater than those studying Tendai texts such as the *Mōhe zhiguan*.

Saichō, in contrast, had been more successful teaching Tendai than esoteric Buddhism. Although he had argued that Tendai and esoteric Buddhism had the same purport and were both one-vehicle teachings, he himself had never mastered esoteric teachings and practice. For Saichō, monastic discipline provided the basis for Tendai meditation. However, as esoteric Buddhist doctrine and practice came to assume the preeminent position in the Tendai School, the role of the precepts needed to be redefined. Questions arose concerning the relative value of the monastic discipline defined in exoteric sutras as compared to the practices described in esoteric texts. The impressive esoteric rituals with their promises of both this-worldly benefits and realization of buddhahood in this very existence (*sokushin jobutsu*) did not necessarily require either long years of practice on Mount Hiei or strict observance of the precepts. Thus, Tankei had continued to be a respected teacher of esoteric Buddhism even after he was defrocked for violating the precepts on sexual intercourse. Henjō had shortened the number of years that young monks were to remain within the monastery from twelve on Mount Hiei to six for Gangyōji. The full implications of esoteric Buddhism for monastic discipline had not been sufficiently considered by earlier Tendai esoteric exponents such as Ennin and Enchin. Annen was the first monk to interpret ordinations and the precepts in light of the growing importance of esoteric Buddhism within the Tendai School.

Japanese Tendai Perfect-Sudden Precepts and the Vinaya

WHEN SAICHŌ PROPOSED using the Mahāyāna bodhisattva precepts to fully ordain monks instead of the 250 precepts from the *Vinaya*, he seemed to be rejecting the *Vinaya*. Completely rejecting the *Vinaya* led to serious ambiguities in the details about many issues of monastic life, such as how the differences between lay and monastic bodhisattvas should be defined, how ordinations should be conducted, and how the precepts should be enforced. In this chapter, I explore some of these issues. The chapter is divided into two parts. I consider in the first part statements that would seem to completely reject the *Vinaya* precepts; in the second, I look at some of the efforts to reintroduce aspects of the *Vinaya*.

The Rejection of the *Vinaya*

A number of passages written by and about Saichō do appear to completely reject the *Vinaya* precepts. Note, for example, passages in *Sange gakushō shiki* (Rules for Tendai students); Saichō's earliest biography, the *Eizan daishiden*; and a later commentary attributed to Saichō, the *Sange gakushō shiki mondō* (Questions and answers on the rules for Tendai students). All of these completely reject the *Vinaya* as Hīnayāna; the Mahāyāna precepts, in other words, were to be used in place of the *Vinaya* precepts. In addition, Saichō argued that the ordination procedures for the two types of precepts were different. In the Mahāyāna ordination, which was based on the *Sutra on the Procedures*

This chapter is based, with substantial additions, on my article "Japanese Tendai Perfect-Sudden Precepts and the Vinaya," which appeared in *Tendai gakuin*, Tokubetsugō dainishū (2018).

for *Contemplating the Practices of the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra*, the precepts were conferred by Śākyamuni, Mañjuśrī, and Maitreya. Whereas ordinations based on the *Vinaya* focused on the vote of the monastic order accepting a candidate into the order, in the *Sutra on the Procedures for Contemplating the Practices of the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra* the candidate was admitted into the order of buddhas and bodhisattvas. Exegetes from the Nara schools raised a number of questions and criticisms against Saichō's proposals and the Tendai School over the following centuries. How could such otherworldly figures often seen as invisible and without a voice audible to ordinary humans conduct ordinations? How would such an ordination relate to admission into an order of monks that governed itself? How were violations of the precepts adjudicated? Moreover, the various Mahāyāna precepts referred to in various scriptures at times seemed to contradict each other or even themselves. For example, the "Course of Ease and Bliss" chapter of the *Lotus Sutra* forbade any consorting with Hīnayānists and the use of Hīnayāna terms. This prohibition could be combined with the precept in the *Brahma's Net Sutra* that proscribed any thought of Hīnayāna.¹ Problems arose from such restrictions, however, particularly as the Mahāyāna precepts often required monks to teach everyone. How was a bodhisattva to spread Buddhism to Hīnayānists if he or she could not speak to them?² This seemed to undermine the universal message of salvation preached in the *Lotus Sutra*. Finally, what specifically was meant by using the *Lotus Sutra* as precepts?

Most of the Mahāyāna scriptures mentioned in early Tendai sources for the precepts did not mention the *Vinaya*. However, the *Nirvāṇa Sutra* at times mentioned the importance of observing all the precepts, from the most grave *pārājikas* to the lightest *duṣkṛtas*, if one wished to discern buddha-nature.³ The sutra is thus described in Tiantai/Tendai documents as "supporting the precepts and discussing the eternal [buddha]" (*buritsu danjō*, also read as *furitsu danjō*). But the *Nirvāṇa Sutra* is voluminous and includes a number of discussions of the precepts besides the importance of observing the *Vinaya*. Moreover, mentions of supporting the precepts do not appear often in Tendai discussions of the *Nirvāṇa Sutra*, though they are common in Chinese sources.⁴

Influences of the *Vinaya* on the Perfect-Sudden Precepts

The above statements, as well as writings by later Tendai monks, have contributed to the sense that the *Vinaya* was irrelevant to Tendai views of the precepts. However, other passages indicate that Saichō still recognized its usefulness. An obvious example is his proposal that Tendai monks could be provisionally

1. *Fanwang jing*, T 1484, 24:1007b21–26.

2. *Pusajie yi shu*, T 1811, 40:576b5–6.

3. T 375, 12:674a. For more on the *Nirvāṇa Sutra* see my forthcoming essay "Interpretation of the Precepts in the Mahāyāna *Nirvāṇa-Sūtra*."

4. Groner, "Interpretation of the Precepts in the Mahāyāna *Nirvāṇa-Sūtra*."

ordained with the 250 “Hinayāna” precepts (*keju shōkai*) after they spent twelve years sequestered on Mount Hiei.⁵ Saichō intended this in order to allow Tendai monks who had completed the twelve years of practice to participate in joint assemblies with Nara monks and to preach to monks of other schools. Against charges that the new ordination would obscure the differences between lay and monastic practitioners, Saichō in the *Kenkai ron* (Treatise revealing the precepts) defended himself by noting that terms like “monastic robes” were mentioned in the *Brahma’s Net Sutra*.⁶ Although a few efforts by such monks as Annen were made to use provisional *Vinaya* ordinations, their efforts generally failed and the practice soon fell into disuse;⁷ after all, such seemingly derogatory terms as “provisional” and “Hinayāna” undermined its attractiveness. Later, Enchin suggested that the Japanese court felt provisional Hinayāna ordinations could not be used.⁸ In the final analysis, the *Brahma’s Net Sutra* contained no details of monastic procedures; Saichō did not specify where such procedures were to be found. In a sense, Saichō undermined his arguments by including documents on his disciple Gishin’s full ordination with the *Vinaya* precepts in China in his supporting compilation for his defense of his proposals, the *Kenkairon engi* (Documents concerning the *Treatise Revealing the Precepts*).⁹

Ganjin and Risshū Positions

Although considerations of Risshū (*Vinaya* School) positions may seem out of place in an examination of Tendai views of the precepts, Risshū views usually relied on the *Lotus Sutra* and Tendai interpretations of teaching of the opening and reconciliation of teachings (*kaie*) to argue that the *Vinaya* precepts could be considered at least partly Mahāyāna. I focus much of my attention in this section on the Chinese monk Ganjin, but this tendency became even more pronounced in the Kamakura period. In addition, when Chinese Tiantai teachings on the *Vinaya*, which relied on writings by the Tiantai monk Yuanzhao (1048–1116), were brought to Japan by the Tendai monk Shunjō (1166–1227), they seemed to support the Risshū view of the relation between the *Vinaya* and the *Lotus Sutra* and to reject the Japanese Tendai position.¹⁰ Yuanzhao’s works were, in fact, squarely in the tradition of Nanshan Daoxuan, the most authoritative figure in the *Four-Part Vinaya* tradition, which was supported by the Nara schools. Shunjō brought back portraits of Daoxuan and Yuanzhao that still survive.¹¹ Because an exhaustive treatment of these issues

5. Groner, *Saichō* 195–205.

6. T 2367, 74:605.

7. Groner, *Saichō*, 195–205.

8. Enchin, *Juketsushū*, T 74:294c15–24.

9. DZ 1:286–287.

10. I began to investigate Jitsudō Ninkū’s response to Shunjō and Yuanzhao in “Hokurei no kairitsu.” For Shunjō’s view of Japanese Tendai, see Groner, “Different Interpretations on the Revival of the *Vinaya* in Thirteenth Century Japan.”

11. Uemura, *Sennyūji kaisan*, 22.

would take considerable space, I focus on several cases that are particularly relevant to Japanese Tendai.

Ganjin brought both orthodox *Vinaya* ordinations and Tiantai texts to Japan, which implies that he must have seen them as being compatible. Because he did not leave any of his own writings behind, his view of the precepts is difficult to ascertain. We do, however, have the observation of others that shed some light on his views. According to Gyōnen (1240–1321), one of Japan’s most respected scholars of the *Vinaya* School, Ganjin placed a reliquary for Prabhūtaratna (Tahōtō) on the ordination platform, thus indicating his use of the *Lotus Sutra* to interpret the precepts. Gyōnen explained that Ganjin interpreted the precepts by considering the 250 precepts from a Mahāyāna perspective. According to Gyōnen,

Ganjin constructed a platform with three levels at the ordination site to reflect the three collections of pure precepts [precepts preventing evil, encouraging good, and benefiting sentient beings]. On the third layer, he placed a Tahōtō reliquary with images of Prabhūtaratna [Many Jeweled] Buddha and Śākyamuni inside to represent the union of wisdom and principle of the profound one vehicle. The preceptor Ganjin perfected Tiantai doctrine and spread the precepts of the *Four-Part Vinaya*. The teachings of the *Four-Part Vinaya* partially extend to the Mahāyāna. Shouldn’t the realization of the teachings and the tenets of Tiantai have led to the establishment of this platform and the spread of the precepts?¹²

Gyōnen presents Ganjin’s views of the precepts as being based on the Tiantai use of the *kaie* (opening and reconciling) approach to demonstrate that the *Four-Part Vinaya* precepts could be considered as Mahāyāna if that fit the recipient’s disposition (*shīngo*).¹³ The inspiration for Gyōnen’s passage may well have been a statement by Zhanran:

You should know that there is no Hīnayāna or Mahāyāna in the precepts. This depends on the recipient’s disposition. This is the middle way in which one extensively enters non-substantiality, the provisional, and the precepts and procedures; this is named fully observing the precepts.¹⁴

In terms of the *Lotus Sutra*, Rishū views would fit in with the oft-quoted prophecy given to Kaśyapa, a *śrāvaka*: “What you are practicing is the bodhisattva way, and as you gradually advance in practice and learning you are all

12. *Sangoku Buppō dentsū engi*, BZ-Suzuki 62:19a.

13. See Zhanran’s *Zhiguan fuxing zhuanhong jue*, T 1912, 46:255a11. Hōchibō Shōshin (late 13th c.) refutes this position in his *Shikan shiki*, BZ-Suzuki 37:116c–117a.

14. Zhanran, *Zhiguan fuxing zhuanhong jue*, T 1912, 46:255a10–12. This passage may well have inspired Saichō’s view that a universal ordination could be combined with separate observances (*tsūju betsuji*) in the *Kenkai ron* (T 2376, 74:605c3–6a5), a proposition that was often ignored by later Tendai thinkers. The various items in Zhanran’s list refer to forms that the precepts might take from being non-substantial to quite specific.

certain to attain buddhahood.”¹⁵ Although Gyōnen’s claim was plausible enough that many modern scholars accepted it, it also reflects his advances on Nanshan Daoxuan’s teachings and Gyōnen’s efforts to demonstrate that Saichō’s position differed from the traditional Tiantai stance on the precepts.¹⁶ As Ōtani Yuka has noted, virtually no early sources indicate that the pagoda on the ordination platform was a Tahōtō. More likely this theme did not emerge until Kakuju’s (1081–1139) time or after and was probably influenced by the doctrines of the Tiantai and *Vinaya* master Yuanzhao.¹⁷ Gyōnen moreover notes that Ganjin only brought Zhiyi’s works to Japan and may not have conveyed a deep understanding of Tiantai; Saichō would eventually bring Zhanran’s commentaries on Zhiyi’s works to Japan, but Saichō may have been so involved with his new order that he had no time to thoroughly understand Tiantai teachings.¹⁸

After a careful analysis of evidence for the spread of Tahōtō worship and its identification with *Lotus* repentance rituals, Ishida Mizumaro concluded that the Tahōtō probably was used on Ganjin’s ordination platform.¹⁹ One of the key pieces of evidence is the mention of two figures in a pagoda by Ganjin’s Chinese disciple Fajin (709–778).²⁰ Because of Ganjin’s problematic position supporting both the *Vinaya* and Tiantai, he is not much cited in medieval Tendai sources. Saichō mentions him in the *Kenkai ron*, noting that he received the bodhisattva precepts first and the *Vinaya* precepts later to benefit others, thus supporting the conferral of provisional Hīnayāna ordinations after the *Brahma’s Net Sutra* ordination.²¹

A few later Tendai monks used Ganjin in fascinating ways. The Kurodani lineage within Tendai attempted to revive monastic discipline by reinstating Saichō’s rule that monks undergo a twelve-year period of seclusion on Mount Hiei. At the end of twelve years, monks would receive a special consecrated ordination, which augmented their earlier *Brahma’s Net Sutra* ordination. The *Keiran shūyōshū*, compiled by Kōshū (1276–1350), mentions Ganjin a number of times, primarily as a forerunner to the innovations made by Gudōbō Ejin (d. 1289), the first monk in the Kurodani lineage to try to re-establish the twelve-year seclusion. Kōshū described Ganjin as the transmitter of the Nara precepts but noted that the actual provisions of the precepts were largely forgotten. Later, the Hossō monk Jōkei (1155–1213) established an institution for the study of the precepts, but monks did not observe them. Eison (1201–1290), who is considered the founder of the Shingon Ritsu tradition, was considered to be a rebirth of Ganjin. After describing the Nara traditions, Kōshū turned to the Tendai lineages, beginning with Saichō. He noted that

15. T 262, 9:20b23; Watson, *Lotus Sutra*, “The Parable of the Medicinal Herbs.”

16. Hirakawa, “Gyōnen no kairitsu shisō,” 10–13.

17. Ōtani, “Tōdaiji kaidan no tō.”

18. *Sangoku Buppō dentsū engi*, BZ-Suzuki 62:20a–c.

19. Ishida, *Ganjin*, 201–211.

20. Tsutsui, *Tōdaiji yōroku*, 326.

21. T 2376, 74:598b28–c20.

Saichō and Ennin had established the Tendai lineage but that the actual provisions of the precepts had been forgotten. Ejin attempted to establish the actual observance of the precepts by reviving the twelve-year seclusion proposed by Saichō; however, the actual revival of the observance of the precepts occurred when Kōen (1262/1263–1317) completed the twelve-year seclusion.²² The role that Ganjin played in the Nara and Tendai lineages seems parallel, though he was more central to the Nara *Vinaya* School. For the Kurodani lineage, the completion of the twelve-year seclusion was tantamount to buddhahood and could thus serve as a way to validate the Tendai ordination tradition.

The argument that Ganjin and Eison, both strong advocates of the *Four-Part Vinaya* ordination, had somehow prepared the way for the Kurodani lineage is also found in the biography of Kōen:

In 753, Ganjin came to Japan; he established an ordination platform in 754. In 822, Saichō's ordination platform was built. Sixty-nine years had elapsed between the two events. In 1236, Eison revived the Nara precepts (*kaihō*). In 1304, Kōen revived the Tendai precepts. In each case [approximately] seventy years had elapsed between the two events; this can certainly be called "inexplicable." In addition, Saichō's lifespan was fifty-six years; Kōen's was fifty-five years. In this time of the decline of the Dharma (*mappō*), Kōen's lifespan had declined by one year [compared with that of Saichō]; this seems natural. Who wouldn't call this wondrous?²³

The advent of *mappō* provided a rationale for the substitution of the Tendai ordination for the *Four-Part Vinaya* ordination.²⁴ The respect for the roles of Ganjin and Eison—even as their efforts to propagate the precepts were deemed as not completely effective—in these passages is striking.

Kōshū advanced another rationale for supplanting Ganjin's ordinations. He noted that Ganjin had established an ordination platform in front of Tōdaiji so that the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts could be conferred on Emperor Shōmu (701–756, r. 724–749) and Empress Kōmyō (701–760). This was a purely Mahāyāna platform, but it had been destroyed so that Ganjin might also benefit those with lesser faculties through the current Hinayāna ordination platform at Tōdaiji, which had been established to the west of the Buddha Hall.²⁵ Kōshū, moreover, identified Ganjin's ordination of the emperor and empress with the Keron period in the Tendai classification of five periods, implying that Ganjin's Mahāyāna platform had only been of use to those who

22. *Keiran shūyōshū*, T 2410, 76:504c.

23. *Denshin kashōden*, ZTZ Shiden 2:415a–b.

24. Also note *Keiran shūyōshū* (T 2410, 76:838b–c), in which Kōshū links the period of the true Dharma to India, semblance Dharma to China, and period of the decline of the Dharma to Japan.

25. *Keiran shūyōshū*, T 76:838c.

already had advanced religious faculties.²⁶ The Tendai platform could thus be seen as superior because it overcame these limitations. Just as the *Lotus Sutra* could be seen as the Buddha's ultimate teaching, one that was available to all, so could the Tendai ordination be seen as the Buddha's ultimate teaching on precepts and ordinations. Kōshū thus enhanced Saichō's claim that Ganjin had served as the forerunner of the expedient Hinayāna ordination. Explanations like these helped make it possible for the Kurodani lineage to adopt such procedures as fortnightly assemblies and rainy-season retreats in the effort to reintroduce sequestration on Mount Hiei.²⁷

The "Course of Ease and Bliss"

These practices from the *Lotus Sutra*, which prohibit any use of Hinayāna terms and consorting with Hinayānists, are cited in Saichō's earliest biography. While they provided much of the impetus for a strict rejection of the *Vinaya*,²⁸ the *kaie* approach allowed practitioners to escape this restriction. When Shunjō, who had gone to China to study the precepts and Tendai for twelve years, returned to Japan, he instituted a liturgy based on Chinese Tiantai and that used Chinese pronunciations. In the daily liturgy, the monks would recite verses on the abbreviated precepts in the morning, that is, the "Verse of Universal Precepts of the Seven Buddhas" (Shichibutsu tsūkai ge): "To do no evil, to do all good, to purify one's mind; this is the teaching of the Buddha." When expanded, the verses were said to encompass all the precepts. Thus, for the Sennyūji monks, the verses would have included the precepts of the *Vinaya*. At noon, the monks recited the verses of the "Course of Ease and Bliss" (Anrakugyō).²⁹ Clearly, then, Shunjō and his followers saw no problem with those verses from the *Lotus Sutra* and their acceptance of the *Vinaya*. Although most Japanese Tendai monks rejected Shunjō's approach and would not accept the *Vinaya* precepts, the liturgical aspects of Shunjō's movement did indirectly influence some of them, particularly those in Ninkū's Rozanji lineage; the recitation of the "Verse of Universal Precepts of the Seven Buddhas" was included in Ninkū's rules for the practice of young monks.³⁰

An instance of a Tendai monk discussing the ramifications of the prohibition of the "Course of Ease and Bliss" on consorting with Hinayānists is found in a question and answer from Ryōe Dōkō (1243–1330), a monk who began with Tendai but eventually followed Hōnen as a figure in the Chinzei lineage of the Jōdoshū (Pure Land School). Because the "Course of Ease and Bliss" would seem to prohibit monks from consorting with Hinayānists, how were Tendai monks to treat such monks? Ryōe answered that there were several branches of the Nanzan tradition (Daoxuan's *Vinaya* tradition) and

26. *Keiran shūyōshū*, T 76:838b.

27. Ōtsuka, *Chūsei Zenritsu*, 135.

28. See Groner, "Lotus Sūtra and the Perfect-Sudden Precepts" and "Lotus Sūtra and Tendai Perfect-Sudden Precept Ordinations" and chapters 4 and 7 below.

29. Tsuchihashi, "Shunjō no Rissei" 28.

30. Ninkū, *Shingaku gyōyō shō*, T 2382, 74:781a25.

that these figures were not the Hīnayānists referred to in the *Lotus Sutra*. One Nanzan tradition relied on Hossō and another, the Sennyūji tradition of Shunjō, relied on the *Nirvāṇa Sutra*.³¹ Although Ryōe rejected both as ultimate teachings, his approach demonstrated a much more nuanced view of the *Vinaya* and its interpretation than more polemical Tendai writings.

Using *Vinaya* Procedures but Not the Precepts

In the following pages, rather than focus on the actual conferral of the *Vinaya* precepts, which most of Tendai firmly rejected, I survey some of the ways in which the *Vinaya* procedures were used by later Tendai monks to augment monastic procedures and ordinations. Even as these monks adopted procedures, they almost never used the actual *Vinaya* precepts for full ordinations, the exception being figures like Eisai and Shunjō, who brought back Chinese Tiantai ordinations to Japan. But even these figures did not have the full contingent of ten correctly ordained monks to conduct orthodox *Vinaya* ordinations and thus had to find ways to work around this problem by at first using self-ordinations (*jisei jukai*).

Doubts about the Tendai ordinations arose almost immediately within Tendai circles. For example, Gishin (781–833), who accompanied Saichō to China and became chief prelate of the Tendai School after Saichō's death, did not mention the precepts in his court-commissioned handbook of Tendai doctrine, the *Tendai Hokkeshū gishū*, even though the controversy over the precepts dominated the last few years of Saichō's life. Gishin's student Enchin (814–891) was very concerned with the decline of monastic discipline after Saichō's death, a worry that must have been particularly acute because he had witnessed the dire effects of the Huichang persecution of Buddhism of the 840s during his stay in China. Enchin assiduously collected more than twenty works on the *Vinaya* while he was in China. During his tenure as *zasu* he tried to reform the ordination procedures by adopting aspects of the *Vinaya*, though not the *Vinaya* precepts themselves. His bitter complaints about the behavior of Tendai monks could have been written by a monk from Nara.³²

Annen, although he would reject Enchin's approach, still had to account for the *Vinaya* precepts, which he did by using the mandala to rank various sets of precepts, placing the *Vinaya* precepts on the lowest level. This probably reflected early Tendai monks' interest, for political reasons, in using the provisional Hīnayāna ordination.³³

The Eshin Lineage

When the Eshin lineage, the dominant branch on Mount Hiei, is considered, relatively little written on the precepts survives. The Eshin lineage generally ignored the *Vinaya*, but a fascinating passage on ordinations is found in the

31. *Bosatsukaigisho kenmon*, BZ-Bussho kankōkai 71:270.

32. Enchin's attitude toward the precepts is described in detail in chapter 3 above.

33. *Shingonshū kyōji gi*, T 2396, 75:400a26–b2; and *Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku*, T 74:764b. Also see chapter 3 above and Ishida, *Nihon Bukkyō ni okeru karitsu no kenkyū*, 1:280–300.

Shuzenji ketsu (Doctrinal determinations from the Xiuchansi), a work written sometime between the late Heian and the mid-Kamakura periods that purported to be the instructions Saichō received while he was in China at the Xiuchan Temple.

As the *Shuzenji ketsu* describes it, the *lathāgatas* recite the ceremonial text: “Obstacles [that prevent one from receiving the precepts] and difficulties [that can be remedied enabling one to receive the precepts] are unproduced [and therefore non-substantial] when one wholeheartedly aspires to the Mahāyāna. Now do you wish to receive the perfectly interpenetrating precepts?” The buddhas respond, “We give you our proxy [enabling you to receive the precepts].” ([to be recited] three times).

The first time, the light of the precepts is like a cloud hovering above the sentient beings and insentient grasses and trees. The second time, the essence of the precepts is like a moon disc hovering in the space above the head of the practitioner. The third time, the essence of the precepts quickly enters the heart of the practitioner. In the *Sarvāstivāda Vinaya*, this is called unmanifested matter. In Mahāyāna, it is called the matter of pure light. It is like a moon disc. As for the essence of the precepts, when one has faith, it enters the practitioner’s heart. If one does not have faith, then the perfect-sudden precepts are not established. Because of faith, one can be ordained. This [part of the ceremony] is concluded.

The [teacher] conferring the precepts says, “Can you hold great compassion as your dwelling or not?” [You should] answer, “I can.” Question: “Can you hold the robes of gentleness and tolerance as your precepts or not?” Answer: “I can.” Question: “Can you hold the non-substantiality of the seat as your precepts or not?” Answer: “I can.” Thus the perfect-sudden precepts are properly from the “Dharma Teacher” chapter of the *Lotus Sutra*. Those who can observe this discipline (*kaigyō*) enter the ranks of the buddhas. Thus, the *Brahma’s Net Sutra* states, “When sentient beings receive the precepts of the Buddha, they enter the true ranks of the buddhas; they are already in the ranks of the great enlightened [ones].”³⁴

A number of elements in this passage reflect procedures borrowed from the *Vinaya*. The three teachers—Śākyamuni, Mañjuśrī, and Maitreya—called down each give their proxies (*yoyoku*, often translated as “consent”) for the procedure, presumably to the chief prelate or the monk who presides over the ceremony, because the Buddha and bodhisattvas cannot be present in a manner in which they can be seen or heard.³⁵ The proxy traditionally was put

34. DZ 5:117–118. For a summary of scholarly thought on this text in English, see Stone, *Original Enlightenment*, 209–214.

35. Japanese Tendai sources rarely mention proxies. An exception can be found in an explanation of the term which appears in Zhiyi’s Hōchibō Shōshin’s subcommentary (*Hokkeshō shūki* (BZ-Bussho kankōkai 21:113b) on Zhiyi’s line-by-line commentary on the *Lotus Sutra* (*Fahua wenzhu*) and one of Ninkū’s sets of temple rules (*Shingaku gyōyō shū*, T 74:781c). Both of these sources might reflect the influence of Shunjō’s importing of Chinese *Vinaya* procedures. However, the term *yoyoku* does not appear in the *Mon’yō ki*’s passages on ordinations, indicating that it was not widely used in Tendai.

into effect when a monk within the monastery's boundaries could not attend a ceremony, such as the fortnightly assembly or ordination, but agreed to follow the decisions of the order. The statement granting the proxy is repeated three times, as are the most important procedures in the *Vinaya*. In the *Shūzenji ketsu*, entry to the order is thus conducted by the presiding monk from the Tendai order, even as Śākyamuni, Mañjuśrī, and Maitreya preside. The ordinee is therefore somewhat passive, while the presiding monk plays an active role. The procedure is reminiscent of *Vinaya* ordinations in which the key aspect is asking the order whether they assent to having the ordinee become a member. It provides a striking contrast to the ordination manuals by Zhanran and Saichō, in which the ordinee assents to receiving the precepts. In early Tendai ordination certificates, the distinction is made between invisible (*fugenzen*) and visible teachers (*genzen denkaishi*).³⁶ Although a distinction is made between Śākyamuni and the bodhisattvas who confer (*ju*) and the visible teacher who transmits (*den*) the precepts and conducts the ceremony, the manuals by Zhanran and Saichō never use the term “proxy” to describe the Buddha's relationship to the presiding official. The use of the term in the *Shūzenji ketsu* provides another way of dealing with the tension between the invisible buddhas and bodhisattvas and the teacher who conducts the ordination, and it does so by going back to a pattern found in the *Vinaya*. In a sense, this procedure restores the authority of the monastic order by giving precedence to the monks who are physically present without eliminating the spiritual, but invisible, presence of Buddhist deities. Finally, the mention of Sarvāstivāda views of the essence of the precepts demonstrates that the author was aware of issues in the *Vinaya*.

Another example of a reference to the *Vinaya* in an Eshin-lineage text is found in a passage by Sonshun (1451–1514):

According to this [Eshin] lineage, there should be no ordination ceremony of the perfect precepts other than the three views in a single instant (*isshin sangan*). This lineage maintains the position that the vehicle and the precepts are identical and that the three trainings are nondual. With the realization of the three views in an instant, meditation and wisdom are replete. The everyday characteristics of phenomena (*jisō*) of the precepts and the everyday sense of observing (*jiji*) them in the realm of phenomena are naturally replete. When we explain the ten modes of contemplation in terms of the identity of contemplative practice with buddhahood (*kangyō soku*), the rules for *pārājika* [offenses requiring expulsion from the order] and *saṅghavāśeṣa* [offenses requiring suspension from the order] precepts are naturally replete. The meditation and wisdom of the ten modes continue each instant, and one naturally obtains and upholds the five groups and seven categories of precepts. There is no other means of transmission.

What is it that we refer to as the true essence of the perfect precepts? It is simply to uphold the *Lotus Sutra*. The three views in a single instant are found in

36. Taira, “Dengyō Daishi sen *Ju bosatsukai gi*,” 42.

the term “wondrous Dharma” [*myōhō*, the first two characters of the sutra’s title]. According to the sutra, “This sutra is difficult to hold. If you hold it even for a short time, we call it holding the precepts.”³⁷

In some later Tendai texts, the three discernments in an instant are sometimes identified with the essence of the precepts.³⁸ In many ways, Sonshun’s passage seems to subordinate the precepts and ordinations to having faith in the *Lotus Sutra*. And yet the references to the precepts of the *Vinaya* being spontaneously replete are noteworthy. Since references are made to adherence to the precepts (*jiji*), they do not seem to simply be empty rhetoric, made not in an abstract manner but according to the five and seven categories of precepts in the *Vinaya*. The statement is reminiscent of views that Śākyamuni spontaneously observed the precepts when he realized enlightenment (*dōgukai*). However, statements that the ordination occurred spontaneously and consisted of adhering to the *Lotus Sutra* suggest that an order played little role in either conferring or administering the precepts. To sum up the evidence for the influence of the *Vinaya* in the Eshin lineage, although some evidence exists that scholars were conversant with aspects of the *Vinaya*, perhaps as a side effect of the revival of the precepts during the Kamakura period, little suggests that the precepts played a key role for the lineage, even though certain procedures based on *Vinaya* texts did influence some monks.

The Rozanji Lineage

The situation is quite different when Jitsudō Ninkū of the Rozanji lineage is considered. Ninkū was an abbot of an important Tendai temple, Rozanji, which was much closer to the capital than Mount Hiei so that women who were barred from the school’s headquarters on Mount Hiei could benefit from Tendai teachings and ceremonies. The temple had a history of combining the study of a number of schools; early on, the precepts, Tendai, Hossō, and Pure Land, are mentioned. Later, as the temple became firmly anchored in the Tendai tradition, Hossō dropped out of the mix and was replaced by esoteric Buddhism.³⁹ The mention of precepts in the list of traditions at Rozanji is particularly significant for our purposes in this chapter. The name of the temple was changed to Rozanji after an early abbot dreamt of Lushan

37. *Nichō goshō kenmon*, TZ 9:225a. The reference to the *Lotus Sutra* is found in T 9:34b. The link between the three views in an instant and the precepts may be based on a passage in Saichō’s *Kenkai ron* (T 74:590c10–11), in which the Tiantai monk Daosui confers the three views in an instant with a single word and the precepts with complete faith. Although the two teachings were not necessarily connected, their proximity in this passage led some to make the connection. The mention of conferral with a single word seems to have had its basis in certain Chinese Tiantai traditions and thus should not be considered a later Japanese original-enlightenment interpolation.

38. For example, see *Isshin myōkai shō*, ZTZ Enkai 1:269b.

39. The source for the Hossō attribution, one that seems unlikely to me, is the *Yamashiro meisshō shi*, compiled around 1705 (see *Koji ruien, shūkyōbu*, 3:545, accessed through JapanKnowledge, 2017).

Huiyuan (334–416), a Chinese monk famed for his careful adherence to the precepts. That emphasis was reflected by the preservation in the temple of a copy of Ryōgen's twenty-six rules for Mount Hiei.⁴⁰ With Ninkū, the emphasis on the precepts becomes pronounced. Although Ninkū never suggested abandoning the use of the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts for the *Vinaya*, he did advocate using the *Vinaya* procedures along with the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts. Thus, he devised a hierarchical series of distinct ordinations that resembled those of the *Vinaya* but substituting the 58 precepts of the *Brahma's Net Sutra* for the 250 of the *Vinaya*.⁴¹

Ninkū was aware that Chinese Tiantai monks used the *Vinaya* for their ordinations, while Japanese Tendai monks did not. Shunjō's arrival in Japan in 1211, after he had studied Tiantai and the precepts for twelve years in China, made this abundantly clear. Ninkū or someone in his lineage commented on the discrepancy in Ninkū's *Bonmōkyō jikidanshō*:

China is a far-off country when viewed from India and it does not conform to the details of monastic discipline. The full text [of the *Brahma's Net Sutra*] was not brought to China. Thus, Zhanran explained, "The faculties of those in this country [China] are inferior, so we use the Hīnayāna restraints to augment the Mahāyāna." The procedures in Mahāyāna texts like the *Dichī* [*Bodhisattvabhūmi*] and the *Adornment Sutra* (*Yingluo*) are many. If there is a problem in the *Brahma's Net Sutra*, they can be used to clarify it. If there is still a problem in how to apply the precepts to the seven or nine groups of Buddhists, the Hīnayāna precepts should be used. One should study them together.⁴²

In the above quotation Ninkū was explaining the terseness of the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts by citing an old tradition that the *Brahma's Net Sutra* was originally a much longer text, which would have been 112 or 120 fascicles in Chinese translation.⁴³ Kumārajīva, however, only translated two of them. By the Tang dynasty the story had been embellished by claiming that Kumārajīva (or more often Paramārtha) had been on a boat caught in a storm. Only when the texts on the bodhisattva precepts had been thrown overboard could the ship advance, indicating that the precepts were not suited for East Asia.⁴⁴ Because the imaginary full text of the *Brahma's Net Sutra* had not been translated into Chinese, Ninkū suggested that other sets of bodhisattva precepts

40. Groner, *Ryōgen*, 345–366. The English translation of this document was done by Nasu Eishō.

41. See chapter 11 below.

42. ZTZ Enkai 2:187; also see 210a-b and the *Endonkai gyōji shō*, ZTZ Enkai 2:420. For passages from Zhanran that support this, note *Fahua wenju ji*, T 1719, 34:343c12–15. A similar point is made in Zhanran's commentary on the *Mohe zhiguan*, T 1912, 46:254a.

43. Ninkū, *Bosatsukai giki kikigaki* (TZ 15:165a). The legend of a longer untranslated text is found in a preface attributed to Kumārajīva's disciple Sengzhaō (*Fanwang jing*, T 1484, 24:997a29–30; Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, 4712b.).

44. This legend is discussed in chapter 3 above.

could be used to augment it, naming the *Adornment Sutra* and *Pusa dichì jing* (*Bodhisattvabhūmi*). In doing so, he ignored the differences between these two texts on whether or not the *Vinaya* precepts were incorporated into the three collections of pure precepts.⁴⁵ If these two texts were not sufficient, then he suggested that the *Vinaya* could be used to augment the precepts in the *Brahma's Net Sutra*.

Ninkū went to great lengths to explore the ramifications of using the *Vinaya* bodhisattva precepts for ordinations. For example, note the following questions regarding topics considered in the *Kaiju shō*, a debate manual:

1. Is the first minor [*Brahma's Net Sutra*] precept requiring respect to others limited to teachers?
2. Does it refer to all seven groups of Buddhists?
4. When we compare drinking alcohol oneself and teaching others to drink, which is more serious?
5. Is drinking alcohol a moral precept or based on cultural norms?
6. In the bodhisattva precepts, if one does not have a serious illness, can meat be eaten?
7. There are differences between the Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna precepts concerning the five pungent herbs, with the Mahāyāna explaining it as more serious. How should we interpret this?⁴⁶

The topic suggested by the first question had implications for how adherents of the *Vinaya* would be treated. Other topics, such as using alcohol and the five pungent herbs, concerned differences between the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts and the *Vinaya*. Such terms as the “seven groups of Buddhists” suggest a familiarity with the structure of the order as defined by the *Vinaya*. The universal ordination used by much of the Tendai School would have blurred such distinctions. In fact, Ninkū carefully distinguished between the precepts conferred for each class of Buddhists.⁴⁷ In doing so, he was conscious that centuries earlier Enchin had attempted similar reforms. Ninkū did not directly confront the Tendai establishment with his reforms, however. Instead, he seems to have composed an alternative ordination that monks could keep in mind as they underwent the ordination at Enryakuji on Mount Hiei.⁴⁸

As the abbot of several important temples in both the Tendai and Seizan lineages of Jōdoshū, Ninkū, along with his followers, was responsible for several sets of rules that reflect a deep interest in *Vinaya* procedures for monastic rituals. One of these, “The Essentials of Practice for New Monks”

45. The same linking of these two texts is found in the *Rikke enshū ryōken*, a text by a second-generation disciple of Shunjō (ND-Bussho kankōkai, Kairitsushū shōsho 2:499a).

46. *Kaiju shō*, ZTZ Enkai 2:220.

47. See chapter 11 below.

48. *Endonkai hi kikigaki*, *Seizan zensho*, bekkon 3. Note the character for *hi* (secret) in the title, indicating that the text was probably not publicly disseminated.

(Shingaku gyōyō shō), begins with a table of contents that clearly reflects the influence of the *Vinaya*:

1. six items to keep in mind (date of one's ordination, where one eats, years of seniority, robes and bowls, eating together, one's health)
2. maintaining the correct number of robes and other items
3. provisionally giving robes to others, but using them
4. proper times for eating
5. fortnightly assembly
6. proxies for meetings
7. rainy-season retreat
8. assembly at end of rainy-season retreat
9. rules for accepting novices
10. preaching to lay believers⁴⁹

Much of the content of the “The Essentials of Practice for New Monks” was based on Nanshan Daoxuan’s *Sifen lü shanbu sui’ji jiemo shu*, a commentary on monastic procedures and rituals.⁵⁰ However, Ninkū always maintained the emphasis on ordinations with the *Brahma’s Net Sutra* precepts, which he insisted should always be called the “bodhisattva precepts” so that a distinction was maintained between these precepts as perfect precepts and earlier interpretations of the *Brahma’s Net Sutra* that called the precepts a mix of “distinct and perfect teachings” (*betsuengyō*).

The polemical writings of Tendai frequently describe the *Vinaya* as a Hīnayāna teaching. However, the rhetoric hides the interactions between the *Vinaya* and the *Lotus Sutra* in both Risshū and Tendai as well as the differences between Chinese Tiantai and Japanese Tendai. Risshū teachings often used the *Lotus Sutra* to argue that the *Vinaya* precepts could be opened and reconciled with Mahāyāna teachings, a tendency that became more pronounced with time. Tendai was introduced to Japan along with orthodox *Vinaya* ordinations by Ganjin, posing a problem for Tendai exegetes about how to interpret Ganjin’s role. They usually responded by ignoring it, but Risshū monks sometimes accused Tendai of ignoring its own roots.

The paucity of detailed instructions concerning monastic discipline in the *Brahma’s Net Sutra* created other problems for Tendai. How were lay and monastic practitioners to be differentiated if both received the *Brahma’s Net Sutra* precepts? How were the precepts to be enforced if they were conferred by the Buddha and bodhisattvas? These problems led some Tendai monks, particularly Enchin and Ninkū, to borrow procedures from the *Vinaya* to fill the void. As they put forth their teachings, however, even such Tendai traditions as the Kurodani and Eshin lineages sometimes made references to *Vinaya* lineages, procedures, or categories. Even so, they did not advocate

49. T 74:779b22–28.

50. Ōtsuka, *Chūsei Zenritsu*, 211.

using *Vinaya* precepts in ordinations. Steps like these would be taken by such figures as Shunjō and Eisai, who went to China and brought back Chinese Tiantai procedures and teachings on the precepts. When Shunjō brought Yuanzhao's subcommentaries on Nanshan Daoxuan's works on *Vinaya*, the influence on the revival of precepts in both Risshū and Tendai became evident.

The Role of Confession in Chinese and Japanese Tiantai/Tendai Bodhisattva Ordinations

CONFESSIONS HAVE BEEN an integral part of Buddhist practice since its inception. One example is the practice of confession before other practitioners to expiate violations of the precepts. However, confession was not a part of the traditional full ordination depicted in the *Vinaya*. The full ordination was essentially a ritual designed to allow the order to consider whether a candidate should be inducted as a full member of the Buddhist order. The candidate was asked a series of questions to determine whether he or she was qualified for induction. Some of the criteria might bar one permanently; others might bar one from ordination temporarily until they were remedied, but no need existed for the candidate to confess as an integral part of the ceremony.¹

Rather than being part of the full ordination ceremony itself, confessions were an integral part of subsequent monastic life.² Monks and nuns were required to attend fortnightly assemblies, before which reflection or confession in front of various numbers of practitioners was required so that one could appear at the assembly purified of wrongdoing. For more serious wrongdoings, suspension or lifelong expulsion from the order was imposed. For a suspended monk or nun to be admitted back to the order, confession in front

This chapter is based on my article “The Role of Confession in Tiantai/Tendai Bodhisattva Ordinations,” in *Sins and Sinners: Perspectives from Asian Religions*, ed. Phyllis Granoff and Kōichi Shinohara (Leiden: Brill, 2012).

1. For detailed charts concerning the full ordinations of both monks and nuns according to the Chinese translations and the Pāli *Vinayas*, see Tsuchihashi, “Jukai reigi no henshen,” 293–306.

2. Wijayaratna, *Buddhist Monastic Life*, 143–150.

of twenty other practitioners was required. Even confession could not obviate lifelong expulsion, with the significant exception of sexual wrongdoing. In such a case, according to all the *Vinayas* except the Pāli *Vinaya*, a monk or nun who seriously repented of their wrongdoing might be allowed to associate with the order as a novice undergoing lifelong penance (Skt. *śikṣādattaka*, J. *yogaku shami*).³ Confessions thus ensured the ritual purity of the order. They did not necessarily excuse one from the karmic consequences of wrongdoing. One might well undergo karmic recompense in his or her current life or in the future.

The instructions in the *Vinaya* for initiating novices or administering the lay precepts were much less detailed than the directions for ordaining monks and nuns, probably because these were often an agreement between a devotee and a teacher. This does not imply that no rules at all applied; a monk was expected to have sufficient seniority (ten years) to be able to train disciples and to report to the order that he had initiated a novice. However, because the ceremony itself was loosely defined, these ceremonies did vary and change over time.

In China, initiation ceremonies developed in new ways; confession services were often added to the ceremonies for novices and laypersons.⁴ This is particularly clear in the case of the conferral of the eight precepts on lay believers for a single day and night. The basic structure of the ceremony is found in the *Da zhīdu lun*, in a passage in which confession for physical, verbal, and mental wrongdoing follows the recitation of the three refuges; the eight precepts are conferred and then a confession ceremony along the lines of a fortnightly assembly is performed.⁵ In several Dunhuang manuscripts concerning the administration of the eight precepts, confession is placed before the recitation of the three jewels. Confession thus comes to purify the practitioner before he recites the three refuges, an action that is frequently related to the receipt of the eight precepts that come from his or her own mind. The contents of the confession preceding the conferral of the eight precepts changed during the Six Dynasties. In the beginning, a recitation of violations of the ten good precepts was used, categorized into physical, verbal, and mental wrongdoing. With Emperor Wu of the Liang dynasty's advocacy of the *Nirvāṇa Sutra*, confession ceremonies associated with the eight precepts became more detailed and included such items as refraining from eating meat, drinking alcohol, eating the five pungent vegetables, and transgressions of filial piety.⁶

Such rituals reflected the popularity of confession ceremonies in Six Dynasties China and were incorporated into many different ceremonies. In contrast, the full ordination of a monk or nun was specified in detail in the

3. Clarke, "Monks Who Have Sex."

4. Tsuchihashi, "Jukai reigi no henshen," 276–278; and Tsuchihashi, "Ju hachisaikai gi no henshen."

5. T 25:159b18–c12.

6. Sakamoto, "Ju hachikaigi ni okeru sangehō."

Vimaya and required the agreement of the order. As a result, this highly structured ceremony was not as subject to change.⁷ However, by the Tang dynasty some strict monasteries were holding confession ceremonies before the full ordination.⁸ In recent decades in China, some monasteries had ordinands perform a night of penance before initiation as novice, full ordination, and receipt of the bodhisattva precepts. The sense of purification was strengthened by following it with ritual bathing and cleaning.⁹

Confession before images of the Buddha appeared early in Mahāyāna texts, with the object of removing bad karma.¹⁰ Moreover, confession was a key part of certain types of ordinations, particularly self-ordinations using the bodhisattva precepts. Around the time Buddhism was transmitted to China, confession of wrongdoing was becoming an integral part of Chinese religious practice and certainly played a key role in Daoist rites of the Celestial Masters.¹¹ In Buddhism, it was used to improve one's karma, with the hope that it would result in this-worldly benefits, such as curing illnesses or improving one's subsequent lives. In Zhiyi's Tiantai texts, practices such as the *Lotus* repentance are among the central practices; in fact, the *Lotus* repentance is said to have been the occasion of Zhiyi's enlightenment. Repentance thus became a key part of the path to buddhahood.

In this chapter, I focus on one type of confession: the one used in bodhisattva ordinations in the Tiantai tradition in China and the Tendai tradition in Japan. Several issues are considered. First, confession was not a traditional part of ordinations. After all, if one had not yet received precepts, one did not need to repent violations of the precepts. Yet it became an integral part of many bodhisattva ordinations, sometimes occupying a larger part of ordination manuals than any other section. How did this come about? Second, what was the content of confession in these ceremonies? Was it the recitation of a set liturgy? Or was it more individualistic? Did meditation play a role? Did it end with a meditation on emptiness, similar to the formulae found in Zhiyi's confession rituals? How was it associated with the receipt of a sign from the buddhas indicating that they had recognized the practitioner's efforts. Third, bodhisattva ordinations sometimes played different roles in China and Japan. In China, they were used to top off the full ordinations of monks and nuns, giving the ordination a "Mahāyāna" feeling. For lay believers, they might indicate initiation into a religious group, perhaps one following Pure Land prac-

7. For a brief survey of the development of full ordinations, see Wijayarātana, *Buddhist Monastic Life*, 118–122.

8. A confession hall was built at the Huichangsi monastery for this purpose (Yoshikawa, *Chūgokujin no shūkyō ishiki*, 108–109).

9. Welch, *Practice of Chinese Buddhism*, 291. J. Prip-Møller (*Chinese Buddhist Monasteries*, 309–310, 313, 316, 370) includes a description of the confession ceremony, which lasts about two hours. It is said to have been based on the *Daily Liturgy of the Meditation School*, the *Chanmen risong*.

10. Hirakawa, *Shoki daijō Bukkyō*, 515–520.

11. Yoshikawa devoted much of his book *Chūgokujin no shūkyō ishiki* to this theme.

tices. In Japan, because the Tendai School replaced the *Vinaya* with the bodhisattva precepts of the *Brahma's Net Sutra*, bodhisattva ordinations frequently serve as a ritual inducting one into a monastic order. Or they might serve as a merit-making device for lay believers seeking a cure for illness. Did these different functions lead to different interpretations of confession in the bodhisattva ordination? Did differing practices or doctrinal stances result in different roles or emphases for the confessions in bodhisattva ordinations? Did shifts in doctrinal stances or the respective social status of the recipients affect the inclusion or the format of the confessions? Because the numbers of documents that would have to be surveyed in a full discussion of these issues would require too much space, I focus here only on some of the most important sources.

Confessions as Part of Bodhisattva Precept Ordinations

Confessions were not always part of bodhisattva ordinations, particularly those that were granted by a qualified teacher (*congta shoujie*). For example, one of the earliest descriptions, included in the *Pusa dichi jing* (*Bodhisattvabhūmi*; T 1582), which eventually provided the pattern for most of the ordinations from a qualified teacher performed in China, did not include confession. It consisted of the following steps:

1. The candidate must develop the aspiration to realize enlightenment.
2. The candidate asks an able and qualified teacher to confer the precepts on him.
3. The candidate pays homage to the buddhas and tenth-land bodhisattvas in the three time periods and ten directions. He then kneels in front of his teacher and in front of an image of the Buddha and requests the precepts. His mind is purified by these actions.
4. The teacher asks the candidate whether he is a bodhisattva and whether he desires to realize enlightenment. The candidate replies affirmatively.
5. The teacher asks the candidate three times if he will adhere to the three collections of pure precepts and to the rules adhered to by bodhisattvas of the three time periods.¹² The candidate replies affirmatively each time.
6. The teacher states that the precepts have been conferred and promises that he will serve as witness. He repeats this three times. In addition, the buddhas and bodhisattvas are asked to serve as witnesses.
7. A sign of approval from the buddhas and bodhisattvas is perceived.¹³

12. The three collections of pure precepts are the restraints that prevent evil, promote good, and benefit sentient beings. The three time periods are past, present, and future.

13. The reference to a sign in the *Pusa dichi jing* (T 30:912c18) is vague; in the *Shanjiējīng* it is said to be a cool wind that blows everywhere (T 30:1014b25). In other sources, it might refer to an auspicious dream or vision.

8. The buddhas and bodhisattvas encourage the newly ordained bodhisattva.
9. The newly ordained bodhisattva and his teacher bow to the buddhas and bodhisattvas and depart.¹⁴

Note that the candidate for ordination is purified by kneeling in front of his teacher and an image of the Buddha and requesting the precepts. Self-ordinations (*jisei jukai*), however, were a different matter. When a qualified teacher could not be found, one might appeal to the Buddha and take the precepts for himself. Brief descriptions of self-ordination are found in several Yogācāra texts. According to the *Pusa dichì jing*, for example, one should simply go before an image of the Buddha and ask three times for the bodhisattva precepts; the rest of the ritual is the same as the ordination from a qualified teacher.¹⁵ The ceremony is essentially designed to admit a person into the order of bodhisattvas. One of the fuller descriptions is found in another translation of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, the *Shanjie jing*; it is outlined below:

1. In a quiet place, the candidate pays obeisance to the buddhas of the ten directions, faces east toward a buddha image, and folds his hands in homage.
2. The candidate states that he or she has already received the precepts for a lay devotee, novice, and a monk (or nun).
3. The recipient meditates on the buddhas and bodhisattvas of the ten directions, visualizing (*guan*) them in his own mind and perceiving them conferring the precepts.
4. The candidate announces that the precepts have been conferred.
5. The candidate receives a sign from the buddhas and bodhisattvas of the ten directions.
6. The candidate announces to the assembly that the precepts have been received and that he or she is a follower of the Dharma (*fadi*).
7. He again pays obeisance to the buddhas and bodhisattvas.¹⁶

The text differs in several significant ways from those found in such sources as the *Pusa dichì jing* and *Yuqie shìdì lun*. It specifically requires that the recipients have already received the full precepts for a monk or nun before a self-ordination is performed; the other sources mention precepts for both lay and monastic practitioners. The *Shanjie jing* asks for a meditation on the buddhas and bodhisattvas but does not specify the details of this practice. None of the texts associated with the Yogācāra tradition require a con-

14. Based on the *Pusa dichì jing*, T 30:912b18–13a. Also see *Shanjie jing*, T 30:1014a–c; *Yuqielun*, T 30:514b–515a.

15. T 30:917a20–27.

16. *Shanjie jing* (one-fascicle version) T 30:1014a5–21. Also see *Yuqielun*, T 40:521b. I have benefited from the summary of the steps of the ordination found in Tsuchihashi, “Jukai reigi no henshen,” 241.

fession for the self-ordination. According to the *Yuqie shidi lun*, self-ordinations could not be employed to confer full monastic ordinations because they would not involve the external institutional strictures on monastic conduct designed to avoid various abuses.¹⁷ However, as will be discussed below, early Japanese monks were able to find a rationale in Yogācāra texts for using bodhisattva ordinations conferred by qualified teachers as full ordinations.

Confession comes to play an important role in self-ordinations described in apocryphal texts on the bodhisattva precepts. The possibility of using self-ordinations to fully ordain monks is found in the only sutra, the *Zhancha shan'e yebao jing* (Divination of the recompense and rewards of good and evil sutra; T 839), which is an apocryphal text. The text was important in Nara-period Japan because it was used in conjunction with the *Yuqie lun* for self-ordinations before Ganjin arrived in Japan with an orthodox full ordination.¹⁸ Although the use of self-ordination in initiating monks and nuns was not permitted in the *Yuqie lun*, the text stated that the three collections of pure precepts were conferred when a qualified teacher conducted bodhisattva ordinations. The collection of restraints that prevented evil were said to include all of the various precepts in the *Vinaya*. After Ganjin's arrival in Japan in 753 with enough monks to conduct orthodox full ordinations, this type of ordination declined, but Japan would still have a variety of Buddhist practitioners with ordinations that did not fit the strict *Vinaya* requirements. Before Ganjin, Japanese monks might well have used the *Zhancha jing* and/or the *Yuqie lun* for full ordinations, ignoring the restrictions on such practices according to Yogācāra texts.¹⁹ We moreover have no way of knowing what precepts were conferred in these early ordinations. For the present discussion the key issue is that bodhisattva ordinations were used to initiate monks early in Japanese history. When Saichō rejected the *Vinaya* as a Hīnayāna text in favor of the Mahāyāna *Brahma's Net Sutra*, his opponents noted that Gyōki (668–749) was an example of a monk who had established the purely Mahāyāna temples that Saichō advocated, further complicating the issue of solely Mahāyāna temples.²⁰

Early examples of self-ordinations relied on the *Zhancha jing*, one of the only scriptures that stated that one could become a fully ordained monastic through self-ordination. Because the passage is important, it is translated here:

If one wishes to practice Mahāyāna, then one should receive the basic major precepts of the bodhisattva (*bosatsu konpon jūkai*), as well as all the precepts for both householders and monastics. That person should comprehensively receive (*sōju*) the precepts that prevent evil, the precepts that promote good, and the precepts

17. *Yuqie lun*, T 30:589c22–28; Satō, *Chūgoku Bukkyō ni okeru kairitsu*, 348–349.

18. The passage concerning this was found in Jianzhen's disciple Situo's collection of biographies, the *Enryaku sōroku*. Although that text is not extant, it is extensively quoted in the *Nihon kōsoden yōmonshō* (BZ-Suzuki 62:52).

19. Ishida Muzumaro, *Nihon Bukkyō shisō*, 1:32–40.

20. T 74:593c.

that benefit others. If one cannot find a good teacher of the precepts who has exhaustively studied the bodhisattva teachings, then one should make offerings in the temple with utmost seriousness and ask the various buddhas and bodhisattvas to serve as teachers and witnesses. One should fervently make vows and ask for a sign [from the buddhas that one's practices are acceptable]. First, the ten major basic precepts should be recited and then the three collections of precepts.

In the future, if both those who wish to become monastics and those who are already monastics cannot find a good teacher and a pure order of monastics . . . , they should study how to develop the highest aspiration to enlightenment and make sure their body, mouth, and mind are pure. Those who are not yet monastics should shave their heads and put on robes and vow to receive the three collections of pure precepts as above. This is said to be the receipt of the *prātimokṣa* of the fully ordained. A person who has received it is called a *bhīku* or *bhīkuni*. . . . A person who becomes a monastic but is not yet a full twenty years should take vows to follow the basic ten precepts and the separate precepts for a male or female novice. . . . If a female novice has turned eighteen years of age, then she can take vows by herself to receive the six rules of the *Vinaya*. She should study the rules for nuns and when she turns twenty years old, vow to comprehensively accept the three collections of pure precepts of the bodhisattva. . . . If these people confess, but do not do so with utmost seriousness and do not receive a sign from the Buddha, then even though they have outwardly received the precepts, they cannot be said to have actually acquired them.²¹

This passage is particularly significant because it specifically states that a self-ordination could be used to fully ordain a person as a monk or nun if the required number of practitioners were unavailable. Other sources for self-ordinations do not clearly state that self-ordinations could be used in place of full ordinations. The text describes a confession ritual that could take between a day and one thousand days until the practitioner obtained a sign from the Buddha that his efforts were accepted.²² Thus, Saichō's follower Ennin would cite the *Zhancha jing* passage in his *Ken'yō daikairon*.²³ Enchin cited this passage in his note on the Tendai ordination to provide scriptural support for the Tendai full ordination.²⁴ At the same time, the term "comprehensive ordination" is a synonym for the term "universal ordination" (*tsūju*), indicating that a single ordination procedure included all three of the sets of pure precepts and could be used for both monastic and lay participants.²⁵ The resultant use of this ritual probably contributed to the presence of privately ordained monks (*shidosō*) in Japan and, as a number of *setsuwa* tales in

21. T 17:904c5–a3.

22. T 17:904a13–28.

23. T 74:681b5–82a1.

24. DZ 1:319.

25. Tokuda, *Risshū gairon*, 52–54, 74–75.

Japanese literature demonstrate, afforded Japanese practitioners considerable latitude in their practice.

These apocryphal texts were composed around the same time that confession rituals were becoming popular in China.²⁶ During the same period, four full *Vinayas* were translated into Chinese, as were several texts on bodhisattva precepts. The result was considerable concern about how Buddhists should be ordained and practice, issues that must have contributed to the rising interest in similar problems during the Nara period. The inclusion of confession that purified one and the requirement of experiencing a sign from the Buddha indicating that the precepts were granted must have contributed to the allure of the self-ordination.

The text that would come to play a crucial role in Tendai was the *Brahma's Net Sutra*, an apocryphal work composed sometime in the fifth century. An ordination from qualified teachers is mentioned in the forty-first minor precept of the sutra:

When one teaches and converts a person, causing a mind of faith to arise in that person, then the bodhisattva should teach and admonish people acting as a Dharma master. When he sees someone who wishes to receive the precepts, he should instruct that person to invite two teachers: a preceptor and a teacher. The two should ask, "Have you committed any of the seven heinous sins during your current lifetime?" If the [candidate for ordination] has done so, the teacher may not confer the precepts. If the candidate has not committed any of the seven heinous sins, then he or she may receive the precepts. If the candidate has violated any of the ten [major] precepts, then the teacher should instruct the candidate about how to confess. The candidate should go before an image of a buddha or bodhisattva and chant the ten major and forty-eight minor precepts for the six periods of day and night. When the candidate pays obeisance to the three thousand buddhas of the past, present, and future, he or she will perceive a sign. Whether it takes one, two, or three weeks, or even a year, the candidate must receive a sign. Among the signs are buddhas coming and touching [the candidate] on the head, seeing lights, or seeing flowers. [When the candidate experiences such a sign,] his or her sins have been eliminated. If there is no sign, then even though confession has been performed, it has been ineffective.

The candidate may receive the precepts anew. In this case, if he or she has violated any of the ten major or forty-eight minor precepts, then the transgressions may be eliminated by confessing in front of another practitioner. This is not the case with the seven heinous sins. The teacher who instructs and admonishes should explain each of these.²⁷

26. For a thorough discussion of this topic, see Williams, "*Mea maxima vikalpa*: Repentance, Meditation and the Dynamics of Liberation in Medieval Chinese Buddhism." Also note the role of confession in the discussion of Six Dynasties ritual in Stevenson, "T'ien-t'ai Four Forms of Samādhi," 328–344.

27. T 24:1008c9–21.

Two uses of confession in the context of ordinations are described in this passage. If a person is undergoing a self-ordination, then intense confession followed by a sign indicating the Buddha's approval is required for a candidate who has violated any of the ten major precepts. This type of confession differs from that of a person who had violated the precepts after ordination. The object is not so much to purify a member of an order, but rather to purify the practitioner by vanquishing the karmic effects of wrongdoing so that he or she can receive the precepts from the Buddha. The practitioner is required to persevere until a sign from the Buddha has been perceived, perhaps a vision of the Buddha himself. Instead of using the ordination as a ceremony marking entry into the religious life, the requirement of a sign marks an advanced accomplishment. But for those unable to receive a sign, reordination preceded by a simple confession is possible.²⁸ In such a case, practice does not mark an advanced stage of realization. The following passage from the twenty-third minor precept of the *Brahma's Net Sutra* reveals two very different aspects of bodhisattva precepts ordinations: admission to an order and the attainment of an advanced stage of practice. It also describes self-ordinations and ordinations by a qualified teacher:

Oh sons of the Buddha. If after the Buddha's death, you have a mind to do good and desire to take the bodhisattva precepts, you may confer the precepts upon yourself by taking vows in front of an image of a buddha or bodhisattva. For seven days, you should confess in front of the buddha [image]; if you see a sign (*kōsō*), then you have acquired the precepts (*tokkai*). If you do not see a sign, you should [practice] for two weeks, three weeks, or even a year; by that time you should surely receive a sign. After receiving a sign, you acquire the precepts in front of an image of a buddha or bodhisattva. If you have not received a sign, then even if you take the precepts, you have not actually acquired them.

If you acquire the precepts directly from a teacher who has, in turn, [properly] acquired the precepts, then it is not necessary to receive a sign. Why? Because the precepts have already been transmitted through a succession of teachers, a sign is not necessary. You should be solemn and obtain the precepts.

If no teacher capable of granting the precepts can be found within one thousand *li*, you should go before an image of the buddha or bodhisattva to acquire the precepts. You must receive a sign [from the Buddha in this case].²⁹

In this ritual, confession is not necessarily used to remedy violations of the precepts because one has not yet received precepts that might be violated. Instead, confession purifies the recipient so that he or she can receive the precepts directly from the Buddha. The length of the ritual varies; one is ex-

28. The possibility of reordination when one failed to get a sign is based on a short and somewhat ambiguous passage in the *Brahma's Net Sutra* and only found in some commentaries (Funayama, *Bonmōkyō*, 405–406).

29. *Fanwang jing*, T 24:1006c.

pected to perform confession until he or she receives a sign from the Buddha, even if this takes a year. But when the precepts are conferred by a qualified teacher, then confession and the receipt of a sign from the Buddha are not required. In such cases, confession need not be so strenuous. Once again, two models of ordination seem to be present: one marking an advanced state of practice and one marking the entry into a religious group.

The *Adornment Sutra* is an apocryphal text closely associated with the *Brahma's Net Sutra*. It lists three types of ordination in a ranked order from the highest to the lowest: (1) receiving the precepts from the Buddha, (2) receiving the precepts from a qualified teacher, and (3) receiving the precepts through a self-ordination by going before an image of the Buddha.³⁰ The self-ordination was probably ranked as the lowest of the three because it opened the door to new interpretations of the precepts and the possibility of undermining established institutions. The ranking reveals a basic tension in how a bodhisattva ordination might be viewed. Directly receiving the precepts and a sign from the Buddha would seem like the best type of outcome, but it undermines the role of an ordination as admitting one into a group. The self-ordination is outlined in the *Adornment Sutra* as follows:

1. The candidate pays homage to the buddhas of the past, present, and future. The formula is repeated three times and then applied to the Dharma and the order.
2. The candidate affirms his belief in the four indestructible objects of faith [the three refuges and the precepts] and declares that he will rely on the four supports. [Recited three times.]
3. He confesses any physical, verbal, or mental violations of the ten wrongdoings committed in the past, present, or future. "When the confession is completed, the three actions [physical, verbal, and mental] are pure, like lapis lazuli, shining both within and without."
4. The ten inexhaustible precepts (*jū mujìn kāi*) are conferred.
5. He pledges to observe the ten major precepts [of the *Brahma's Net Sutra*].³¹

How long did confession take? It would depend on whether the person undergoing self-ordination were alone or part of a group. In the former scenario, the time it would take to confess would to some extent depend on the religious faculties of the person, while in the group situation, confession would go at a set rate. A classic story of undergoing a self-ordination with utmost seriousness is found in Dharmakṣema's biography in the *Gaoseng zhuan*:

30. T 24:1020c4–12.

31. *Yingluojing*, T 24:1020c10–1021b1. The term "ten inexhaustible precepts" is also found in the *Brahma's Net Sutra* (T 24:1009c10); hence most commentators identify them with the ten major precepts of the *Brahma's Net Sutra*.

When Dharmakṣema [Tanwuchen, 385–433] was in Guzang, Daojin³² [d. 444], a monk from Zhangya [in Gansu], wished to receive the bodhisattva precepts from him. Dharmakṣema told him to practice confession for seven days and nights in complete sincerity. On the eighth day, when Daojin went to Dharmakṣema to receive the precepts, Dharmakṣema suddenly became very angry. Daojin thought to himself, “I must still have karmic obstacles.” He gathered his strength and practiced meditation and confession for three years until he saw Śākyamuni and bodhisattvas gather to confer the precepts on him. That night, more than ten monks staying at the same place as Daojin all dreamt that they saw [Daojin receiving the precepts]. When Daojin went to tell Dharmakṣema about it, Dharmakṣema suddenly arose from his seat before Daojin had reached him and exclaimed, “Wonderful! Wonderful! You have already received the precepts. I will be a witness to this. Let us go before an image of the Buddha so that I can explain the precepts to you.”³³

Dharmakṣema was the translator of the *Pusa dichì jing* (*Bodhisattvabhūmi*; T 1581), a text closely associated with the Yogācāra view of the bodhisattva precepts. The self-ordination described in that text did not specify the necessity of a confession, however; the emphasis is on the ceremony as admitting one to an order of those who hold the bodhisattva precepts. Daojin’s self-ordination with its stress on his strenuous practice turns the ordination into recognition of his spiritual achievement. Any sense of entry into a religious order in this case would seem to be limited to a group of very advanced bodhisattvas.

The story of Daojin demonstrates the central role that confession could play in the ritual. All other parts of the ordination ceremony were conducted by reading a script. At times confessions are performed in the same fashion, but even today they might be performed in ways that potentially demand an ever-increasing expenditure of time and seriousness of purpose, though such performances would be rare. When the necessity of experiencing a supernatural sign from the Buddha is specified, the confession ceremony is given a specific goal. In Daojin’s case, this required three years, but it could have been shorter or longer.

The Tiantai patriarch Zhanran (711–782) combined the bodhisattva ordination from a qualified teacher with the self-ordination in his influential manual the *Shou pusajie yi* (X no. 1086), which consisted of the following twelve divisions:

1. preparation
2. three refuges

32. Daojin is also known for offering his own flesh to starving people (Benn, *Burning for the Buddha*, 28–30).

33. *Gaosengzhuan*, T 50:336c19–27. The story is cited in numerous other Tiantai and Tendai sources as a classic tale of the connections between confession and ordination, such as Zhiyi, *Pusajie yi shu*, T 40:568c07–13; Saichō, *Ju bosatsukai gi*, DZ 1:309; Annen, *Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku*, T 74:757c11–18.

3. invitation to teachers
4. confession
5. aspiration to enlightenment
6. questions about obstacles to ordination
7. conferral of precepts
8. witnessing by buddhas
9. manifestation of a sign
10. explanation of ten major precepts
11. dedication of merits
12. exhortation

Certain sections of the ceremony reflect aspects more commonly, but not exclusively, found in self-ordination ceremonies, particularly the invitation to “unseen” teachers (buddhas and bodhisattvas), confession, and the manifestation of the sign. Others suggest an ordination performed by a qualified teacher, particularly the explanation of the precepts and the exhortation. The manifestation of a sign is not nearly as dramatic as in Daojin’s biography and would seem to be optional. By combining the two types of ordinations, Zhanran compiled an ordination manual for the bodhisattva precepts that was performed by a qualified teacher even as it contained the most impressive aspects of a self-ordination and admitted one to an order of buddhas and bodhisattvas as well as an order of ordinary practitioners.

In some bodhisattva ordination manuals, confession occurs earlier in the ceremony. For example, in the Dunhuang document *Chujiaren shou pusajie fa*, confession is part of the second section of a nine- (or ten-) part manual and is combined with preparing a platform. The candidate spends from one to seven days evaluating whether or not he or she is ready to receive the precepts, confessing any wrongdoings from the past, and cultivating the aspiration to enlightenment. In other manuals, these might occupy two sections of the ceremony.³⁴

The Contents of Confessions

What sort of formulae might be recited in confessions? A short recitation might simply enumerate violations of the ten good precepts. Such a formula is found in the ordination manual attributed to Huisi. Even though the ordination manual is for conferring the *Brahma’s Net Sutra* precepts, the ten good precepts may have been listed in the manual because they were so thoroughly identified with good and bad karma:

If wrongdoing is not extinguished, the precepts will not emerge; if the precepts do not emerge, salvation cannot be expected. . . . From the beginningless past to the present, I have physical actions that are not good, including killing, stealing,

34. Tsuchihashi, “*Shukkejin ju bosatsukai hō*, 834–835.

and illicit sexual activity. My verbal actions have not been good and include lying, flattery, duplicitous speech, and slander. My mental actions have not been good and include lust, anger, and wrong views. In this way, I have committed many wrongdoings, either performing them myself or teaching others; they are innumerable. Today, I am ashamed and embarrassed, and so reveal them and confess. I vow to destroy my wrongdoings and create good fortune so that I may see the Buddha, hear the Dharma, and develop the aspiration to enlightenment. (To be repeated three times.)³⁵

The recitation of violations of the ten good precepts is typical of these formulae. The language is usually vague and does not require the practitioner to confess specific offenses unique to him or her. In some other texts, they might list the most serious offenses: the four *pārājikas* or the five (or seven) heinous sins. Another approach that is often found lists wrongdoings classified according to the six senses; a formula that appeared in some Tiantai sources. Confession was then viewed as a ritual that would purify the six senses.³⁶ Bruce Williams has noted that such confessions differed from those found in the *Vinaya*. In the *Vinaya*, a violation of a precept would be confessed to other monks because the violation had affected the purity of the order. But in bodhisattva ordinations, the confession was directed toward the Buddha, who would then signify his acceptance by giving the practitioner a sign. What was the role of the Buddha in such confessions? He was clearly asked to function as both a preceptor and a witness in the ordination. Issuing a sign indicated that he was also a guarantor of the efficacy of the confession. The most problematic aspect of the Buddha's role was, to use Bruce Williams's term, as an "expediter." In other words, he seems to have removed the karmic effects of wrongdoing. However, virtually no speculation as to how he might have done this is found in early Chinese repentance texts.³⁷

The pattern for both bodhisattva precept ordinations in China during the mid-Tang and in Japan during the early Heian was based on the manual by Zhanran; in Japan it was slightly revised by Saichō. In Saichō's revision (sometimes called the *wakokubon*, "Japanese text"), the discussion on confession occupied one third of the manual and was by far the most detailed section.³⁸ The bulk of it consisted of two sets of ten steps: one showed how the practitioner progressed toward greater ignorance and wrongdoing; the other showed how he or she progressed toward salvation. The passage concerning one's descent into evildoing follows:

1. Because of man's basic ignorance, he mistakenly believes he has a soul. . . . Because he wrongly discriminates, desire, anger, and ignorance

35. X 59:351c21–352a5.

36. Williams, "*Mea maxima vikalpa*," 37.

37. Williams, "*Mea maxima vikalpa*," 27.

38. DZ 1:307–319.

arise. Because of ignorance, he [constantly] creates karma. Because of karma, he is caught in the cycles of birth and death.

2. [At this stage] a person is already imbued with defilements. Now he meets malicious friends who incite him to perform evil acts and encourage him to become increasingly self-centered.
3. [In this stage] a person already has evil [inclinations and friends]. Now good thoughts and good actions are extinguished. Moreover, he does not even appreciate the good deeds performed by other people.
4. His physical, verbal, and mental actions are motivated by selfishness. There is no evil that he will not do.
5. Although his [evil] actions are not yet pervasive, his bad thoughts extend everywhere.
6. His evil thoughts continue day and night without cease.
7. He conceals his evil deeds so that others will not know of them.
8. Out of ignorance and stupidity, he no longer fears [the consequences of his deeds].
9. He no longer has a conscience or is ashamed of his actions before others.
10. He is oblivious to any thought of cause and effect and has become an *icchantika*.³⁹

The path to salvation reverses this process and is described in more detail:

1. The practitioner must firmly believe in the inevitability of cause and effect, but one's determination is weak. Karmic seeds are long-lasting and are not readily destroyed. The karmic consequences of a person's actions are not received by another. Thus, one should know what is good and what is evil. One must not have doubts about this. Through deep faith [in cause and effect] he can rid himself of the state of mind of an *icchantika*.
2. One should feel ashamed before others and firmly criticize himself. [Only] the most depraved criminal knows no shame and behaves like an animal. [Only such a person] discards the purest feeling of shame . . . heaven sees the wrongs a person tries to conceal; thus one should be ashamed before heaven. A person's wrongs may be revealed so that others will become aware of them; thus he should be ashamed in front of others. This attitude will vanquish the lack of a conscience and shamelessness.

39. DZ 1:311. The meaning of the term *icchantika* has been the subject of debate among Buddhists. In this case, it can be interpreted as one who has lost all the proclivities that might have led to salvation. In some cases, an *icchantika* would forever be barred from salvation. However, in the usage in these passages, recovery and advancing toward salvation is possible. Note, too, that some texts claimed that an *icchantika* could be saved, and some exegetes argued that a bodhisattva could be termed an *icchantika* because he would postpone his enlightenment until all were saved.

3. A person should fear the consequences of his misdeeds. People's lifespans are short and uncertain. If one fails to draw a breath, one's life ends. The way to hell is long and there are no provisions for the journey. The sea of suffering is deep, but a serious practitioner can easily cross it with a boat or raft. The worthies and sages warn us that there is nothing upon which we can depend. Time passes and the knifelike wind does not dull. How can a person calmly sit and wait for its searing pain? One should be like the jackal that lost its ears, tail, and teeth. This jackal pretended to be dead, hoping to escape, but upon hearing that someone was about to cut off its head, it became very frightened.⁴⁰ Even if birth, old age, and sickness do not seem to be urgent matters, death certainly is. How can one not be frightened of it? When a man fears death, he acts as if he had just stepped in boiling water or a fire. He has no time for the five sense objects or the six desires. He should be like King Aśoka's [younger brother] who heard the *caṇḍāla* ring the bell and announce, "One day has passed; in six more days you shall die."⁴¹ Even though he could have enjoyed the pleasures of the five senses, he did not desire them for even a single moment. Thus, a Buddhist practitioner should be fearful and perform his confessions with utmost seriousness. He should not be sparing of his body or life. He should be like the jackal when his head was about to be cut off. He should be free of [extraneous] thoughts like King Aśoka's frightened [brother]. Thus, he will come to fear the consequences of his evil deeds.
4. A person should reveal his wrongdoings and not hide his flaws. Bandits, poisons, and weeds must be quickly removed. If the roots are exposed, the branches will wither. If the source dries up, the flow will also dry up. If a man hides his errors, he is not a good person. Thus Mahākāśyapa made [Ānanda] reveal his errors in front of the order.⁴² According to Mahāyāna teachings, transgressors usually face another person to confess. But for lesser wrongdoings, a transgressor should

40. A jackal entered a village in search of food but fell asleep. When he was discovered by villagers the next day he pretended to be dead, hoping to find a way to escape. People came to cut off his ears and tail and to pull his teeth, but he endured the pain without giving any indication that he was alive. Finally, when someone was about to cut off his head, he was terrified and jumped up and escaped. Humans are similar insofar as they endure birth, sickness, and old age without turning to Buddhist practices. Only when they are faced with death do they become frightened enough to practice (*Da zhidu lun*, T 25:162c–163a).

41. King Aśoka's younger brother Tissa did not understand how Buddhist monks could refrain from indulging in worldly pleasure when they were supplied with monasteries and food. In order to teach him a lesson, Aśoka told Tissa that he could rule in Aśoka's place for seven days but must die at the end of his rule. When the seven days had passed, Aśoka asked Tissa whether he had enjoyed the opportunity to rule and have access to all the worldly pleasures given the king. Tissa replied that he had not enjoyed them at all because he had been obsessed with his impending death. Aśoka then told Tissa that in the same manner, monks did not enjoy their monasteries (*Da zhidu lun*, T 25:211a15–21).

42. *Da zhidu lun*, T 25:68a–b.

reflect on his misdeeds while facing an image of the Buddha and try to rectify them. In a similar way, if a person covered a carbuncle and did not treat it, he might die. This attitude will enable a person to cease hiding his wrongdoings.

5. People should overcome habitual wrongdoing. If a person has great resolve, he can put an end to deep-rooted bad habits and not develop new ones. This can be done through confession. When a person sins after confession, it is as if he had broken a secular law and been pardoned but nevertheless had gone and broken the law again. The second offense would be very serious. When one first enters the hall [to confess], one can easily put an end to wrongdoings. But if the offense is repeated, then it becomes increasingly difficult to correct. How can one eat [food] that one has already vomited? [Through serious confession] a person can overcome the habit of constantly thinking of evil.
6. People should develop the aspiration to realize enlightenment. If a person had previously threatened everyone for his own selfish ends and caused those around him to suffer, he should now try to save everyone and benefit others all over the world. Using this technique, one can overcome the state of mind in which bad intentions surface everywhere.
7. People should perform meritorious deeds and rectify their wrongdoings. If one's previous actions, words, and thoughts have led to incalculable wrongdoings, one should now strive tirelessly to correct bad actions, words, and thoughts. . . . Thus one can rectify the self-centered state of mind that motivated his actions, words, and thoughts.
8. People should uphold true teachings. If one previously had extinguished one's [good] inclinations, as well as those of others, and took no pleasure in the good deeds of oneself or others, that person should now foster all types of good and use expedient teachings to increase good and ensure that it does not vanish. The *Shengman jing* (*Śrīmālādevīsūtra*) states that "upholding the true teaching and transmitting it is the most [excellent act in the world]."⁴³ A person can thus vanquish the state of mind in which he did not appreciate the good deeds of others.
9. People should contemplate the buddhas of the ten directions. If a person had previously associated with people who had bad intentions and believed their words, he should now contemplate the buddhas of the ten directions. One should reflect on their unobstructed compassion and make them one's "uninvited friends," recalling their unhindered knowledge and considering them to be teachers. Thus, the state of mind that led to the enjoyment of wrongdoers will be vanquished.

43. Paraphrase of the text's discussion of one of the three great vows, which follows a section on ten ordination vows. T 12:218a; English trans. Paul, *Sutra of Queen Śrīmālā*, 15.

10. One should contemplate the non-substantiality of wrongdoing. One should thoroughly understand that the mind of desire, anger, and ignorance is quiescent. How is this so? When desire or anger arise, on what are they based? One knows that desire and anger are based on deluded thought. . . . The view that one has a soul has no basis. Even if one thoroughly searches in the ten directions, one will not find a soul. The mind is non-substantial; there is no [real] self that undergoes punishments and receives rewards. When a person has thoroughly penetrated the nature of reward and punishment, he understands everything in the ten directions. . . . Thus he can vanquish ignorance and confusion.

The descriptions of the path downward and upward suggest the seriousness with which both Zhanran and Saichō approached confession, but they seem verbose when the ordinations of groups are considered. An individual who was sequestered pending a sign from the Buddha might embark on such prolonged reflection.⁴⁴ To explain this issue, three types of confession are described.

In superior confessions, one's whole body is thrown on the ground, like a great mountain crumbling, and blood flows from the hair follicles. Middling confessions with wailing and tears are the revelation of one's transgressions. The lowest level confessions are the recitations following one's teacher's instructions concerning transgressions committed previously. Although we perform the lowest level, we invite the buddhas and bodhisattvas to be our witnesses.⁴⁵

A short passage that describes the variety of wrongdoings, many of them grave, that sentient beings have committed follows the descriptions of the ten stages of practice in the manuals by Zhanran, Mingguang, and Saichō. These short lists of wrongdoings were probably recited as part of a liturgy, while the long section on the ten types of mind was for contemplation. The confession section of these manuals seems to have a dual purpose. On the one hand, they describe a ritual that could be used for a group of practitioners; while Chinese Tiantai might use the ritual to confer the bodhisattva precepts on lay believers and monastics, they never used it when a person moved from lay believer to monastic. Japanese Tendai, on the other hand, did use it that way. In both China and Japan, the awkwardness of having too much included in the confession ceremony would be alleviated by revising or eliminating confessions in ordinations.

44. Zhanran (X 59:355a8) and Saichō (DZ 1:309) both mention Dharmakṣema's confession practice as taking three years. This is undoubtedly a reference to the story of Daojin's practice, which appears in Dharmakṣema's biography (cited above).

45. DZ 1:310; virtually the same passage is found in Zhanran's *Shou pusajie yi*, (X 59:355a19), and in Zhanran's student Mingguang's *Tiantai pusajie shu* (T 40:582b25-c1).

Annen's *Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku* is one of the most influential texts for Tendai views of the precepts. It follows the twelve-part organization found in the manuals by Zhanran and Saichō, but the contents differ in a variety of ways. For example, it emphasizes the efficacy of the ordination as equivalent to realization of buddhahood with this very body, as is apparent when the role of confession is examined. The section on confession consists primarily of quotations from two texts: the *Xindi guan jing* (Contemplation on the mind-ground sutra, hereafter *Mind-Ground Sutra*) and the *Guan Puxian jing* (The procedures for contemplating the practices of the bodhisattva Samantabhadra, hereafter *Samantabhadra Sutra*). The *Mind-Ground Sutra* is a late Mahāyāna text displaying a variety of influences from earlier texts, including the *Lotus Sutra* and Yogācāra works. The lengthy citation from the *Mind-Ground Sutra* explains the value of confession, by classifying it into two categories—detailing the actual wrongdoings that have been done in various lifetimes (*ji*, the aspect of phenomenon) and confession in Principle (*ri*): namely, looking at wrongdoing as being inherently non-substantial. Confession based on wrongdoings is then divided into three levels.⁴⁶ To give a sense of the text, I quote just a small portion of the sutra, which is found in Annen's manual. "If one confesses in accord with the Dharma, then he should rely on two forms of contemplation. The first is contemplating actual wrongdoings; the second is contemplating Principle to eliminate the [wrongdoing]. Three types of contemplation of the actual wrongdoing exist: superior, middling, and inferior. If one has superior religious faculties and seeks the pure precepts, then with great effort he will not backslide. He cries tears of blood, and blood emerges from every pore of his body."⁴⁷

The classification of two types of confession, one based on actual wrongdoing and the other on discerning the non-substantiality of wrongdoing, merit, and karma are hallmarks of Zhiyi's use of these practices in the four types of *samādhi*.⁴⁸ The noteworthy part of incorporating this type of confession in Principle in an ordination ritual is mixing a ritual that requires considerable focus and an advanced level of practice with an initiation ceremony for new practitioners, both lay and monastic.

The *Samantabhadra Sutra* is the capping sutra for the *Lotus Sutra* and played an important role in the ordination manuals of Zhanran and Saichō by being the basis of a section in which Śākyamuni is invited to serve as preceptor, Mañjuśrī as the instructor who reads the liturgy, Maitreya as the instructor for the bodhisattva precepts, the various buddhas as witnesses, and the bodhisattvas as fellow practitioners.⁴⁹ In Annen's work, this part of the

46. T 3:303b24–304b7. The quoted passage from the sutra has been rearranged at a few points, but generally follows the text from the *Taishō*.

47. T 3:303c10–14; T 74:770b5–8.

48. A number of studies of confession in Tiantai exist; among the best are Shioiri, *Chūgoku Bukkyō no senbō no seiritsu*, 516–582; and the discussions found in the context of meditations in Donner and Stevenson, *The Great Calming and Contemplation*.

49. T 9:393c22–23.

ordination is identified with confession based on the principle of non-substantiality. Thus, all karmic obstacles can be swept away. After the quotation, Annen comments, “Through this confession, each is able to realize buddhahood. After the Buddha has entered nirvāṇa, if his disciples wish to speedily realize supreme enlightenment, they should think of the ultimate meaning of non-substantiality. In the time it takes to snap one’s fingers, the wrongdoings of myriads of eons of samsara are vanquished. One is called a holder of the full bodhisattva precepts. Even if one does not perform the ritual, one naturally attains this.”⁵⁰

Annen’s interpretation could lead to at least two developments permitting loose monastic behavior that typified much, but not all, of later Tendai. First, the emphasis on the realization of a contemplative Principle as vanquishing eons of bad karma is repeated in many original-enlightenment (*hongaku*) texts; careful observance of the precepts is not particularly important. Second, equating the receipt of the precepts or the performance of confession with the realization of buddhahood collapsed traditional path structure. The ordination was sometimes interpreted as realization of buddhahood and identified with the realization of buddhahood with this very body or the six degrees of identification, which ranged from ignorant people to fully realized buddhas.⁵¹ Thus, the earlier tension over whether confession in ordinations was for advanced practitioners or for beginners was resolved.

Later Shifts in the Presence of Confession in the Bodhisattva Precepts Ordination

Because the confession ceremony was not specified in the *Brahma’s Net Sutra* as a part of the ordination ceremony when it was conferred by a qualified teacher, not all later Tiantai monks used it. The rationale was that if confession could no longer be performed with the sincerity found in the story of Daojin because it was a period of decline of the Dharma, perhaps it should be eliminated from the ceremony. If successful confession were to result in a sign from the Buddha, how could this be required of groups of people? Such concerns might have been behind the decision of some to de-emphasize or drop it from their ritual manuals. Even so, Zhanran’s manual was so popular and well-organized that the majority of bodhisattva ordinations followed it. Below I survey several examples in both China and Japan where confession is either dropped or is attenuated.

Zunshi (964–1032), a Tiantai monk noted for his insistence on the repentance ritual as a part of his Tiantai and Pure Land practice, did not mention confession in his manual for the bodhisattva precepts ordination, which had the following elements:

50. T 74:771a11–15.

51. See chapter 3 above on Annen’s *Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku*.

1. [requesting] instructions on developing a mind of faith
2. requesting the protection of the deities
3. [reciting] the three refuges
4. inviting the five groups of sagely teachers
5. [the precepts master] descending from his seat, going before the Buddha, and asking for the precepts
6. taking the four bodhisattva vows
7. [posing] questions concerning whether the recipient has temporary or permanent obstacles that prevent the receipt of the precepts
8. [participating in] the threefold rite of receiving the precepts
9. asking the buddhas to serve as witnesses
10. explaining the contents of the precepts⁵²

Note that, as with confession, experiencing a sign from the Buddha is not mentioned. Even so, the structure of the ritual is similar to Zhanran's rite, but with the sections most closely associated with the self-ordination excised. Zunshi was not completely uninterested in combining confession rituals with ordinations, however. In the next section of the *Jinyuanji*, he outlined a lay ordination that conferred the five lay precepts, basing the ritual on passages from Daoxuan's words and the *Youposai jie jing* (Lay precepts sutra).⁵³ The second of the ten sections was a confession ceremony. Later in the text, he described a ritual that combined confession and the recitation of the Buddha's name (*nianfo*).⁵⁴

The case of Jitsudō Ninkū in Japan provides another example of the de-emphasizing of confession. Ninkū was the leading Tendai thinker of his day; he was also one of the figures who established the Seizan lineage of the Jōdoshū. He had his monks ordained on Mount Hiei, where they followed the format of Zhanran's ordination manual, but he radically reinterpreted the ritual. The actual conferral of the precepts came when the ordinand took the three refuges before the confession, not when the candidate was asked whether he would receive the precepts; thus, the precepts were received at the second part of the twelfold ordination before the ordination.⁵⁵ The confession therefore lost much of its rationale because it no longer served as a means to purify the ordinand for receiving the precepts from the Buddha. In his remarks on the confession, Ninkū notes that as worldlings during the final period of the Buddha's Dharma, everyone commits wrongdoing; confession is important even though few do it. Ninkū asks who can perform a

52. *Jinyuanji*, X 57:1a9–14.

53. X 57:4b8–19.

54. X 57:5c22–a9.

55. I have described Ninkū's view of the ordination at greater length in chapter 11 below. As is noted earlier in this chapter, identifying the conferral of the precepts with the recitation of the three refuges was found in ordinations conferring the eight precepts on lay practitioners.

penance in which one cries tears of blood⁵⁶ and prostrates on the ground. Who can perform the confessions based on Principle recommended by Zhiyi that all conclude with a meditation on non-substantiality? All that is left for most of us, Ninkū says, is receiving the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts from Vairocana because they are appropriate for the worldlings of the age of decline and to recite the verses on repentance of Samantabhadra following the lead of the teacher.⁵⁷ The de-emphasis of the role of confession in the ordination led to a shift in the importance of receiving a sign from the Buddha. Instead of emphasizing a sign in the current life, the light from the Pure Land pervading the universe is mentioned. The expectation of a postmortem reward is stressed.

Similar tendencies can be seen in the ordination manual frequently referred to as the *Kurodani-hon*, which was based on Zhanran's twelve-part ordination that may have been used by Hōnen and certainly was used by the Chinzei branch of the Jōdoshū. Although later sectarian emphases in Japanese Buddhism stress the distinction between Tendai and Jōdoshū, most of the Tendai ordination lineages run through Hōnen; as a result, the similarities between some Tendai and Jōdoshū ordinations are not surprising. This manual was used in the Jōdoshū until the Tokugawa period, when it was superseded by the *Shinpon kaigi*.⁵⁸ The confession is abbreviated, there being only a short recitation taught to the recipient: "I confess with utmost sincerity. I and others have committed unlimited wrongdoings from the beginningless past. I repent all of these before the Buddha. Having repented them, I shall not commit them again. The bad karma that I incurred was all due to beginningless desire, hatred, and ignorance. I repent all [of these] that arose from my body, words, and intentions."⁵⁹ This recitation is said to purify the body and mind. However, in comparison with some of the heartfelt confession texts in other sources, it seems formulaic and dry.

Finally, I should mention another ordination manual possibly related to the Tiantai tradition that does not include confession. The author of the *Shou pusajie yi* is identified in the text as Nanyue Huisi (515–577).⁶⁰ If the traditional attribution of authorship to Zhiyi's teacher Huisi is correct, the *Shou pusajie yi* would be the earliest Tiantai ordination manual. A manual by Huisi is mentioned in the bibliography of texts that Saichō carried back from China,⁶¹ but

56. The expression crying tears of blood occurs as a metaphor to indicate the gravity of confession, but a rare medical condition, *haemolacria*, does exist that is similar. Analogous issues occur in Buddhist texts when after long practice the senses are said to be purified so that they can be substituted for each other, for example, seeing sounds, a form of *synesthesia*. I thank my copy editor, Patricia Crosby, for the *haemolacria* reference and hope that she did not suffer from it as she was working on my manuscript.

57. *Endon kaigi hi kikigaki*, in *Seizan zensho*, bekkon 3:608a–b.

58. *Jōdoshū daijiten* 2:214c–215a.

59. *Ju bosatsukai gi*, *Jōdoshū zensho*, Zoku 12:2.

60. X 59:350a5.

61. T 55:1056c10.

stylistic elements, such as the mention of a number of Chinese deities, suggest that it comes from a later period.⁶² The structure of the ritual is as follows:

invitation to a monk who can transmit the precepts (*denju kaishi*)
 explanation of the precepts
 eight superior qualities of the bodhisattva precepts
 five meditations on sentient beings
 three vows
 four bodhisattva vows
 invitation to buddhas and bodhisattvas as precept teachers
 veneration of the Buddha as preceptor (*kai kashō*)
 three refuges
 questions about difficulties in receiving the precepts
 conferral of precepts
 witnessing by buddhas
 transfer of merits
 exhortation to practice

No section labeled “Confession” is found in the manual, but a short confession based on the ten good actions, which are mentioned above, appears in the questions concerning obstacles. It ends with the following statement by a master of ceremonies: “The master of ceremonies should announce, ‘Your confession is complete, the three types of action are purified, just like lapis lazuli. You are able to receive the bodhisattva precepts.’”⁶³

Conclusion

The use of confession ceremonies in bodhisattva precept ordinations probably had its origins in the conferral of the eight lay precepts on lay practitioners. When confessions were used in bodhisattva precept ordinations, several issues became evident. First, confessions frequently served to purify the candidate for ordination so that he or she could go before buddhas and bodhisattvas and directly receive the precepts. Receiving a sign from the Buddha that one’s efforts had been recognized suggested that one was an advanced practitioner. Such a practice might take several years. In some Japanese texts, such as the manual by Annen, receiving the precepts from the Buddha was tantamount to the realization of buddhahood with this very body as interpreted with the six degrees of identification (*roku soku*). According to the *Brahma’s Net Sutra*, receiving the precepts from a qualified teacher did not

62. Tajima Tokuo (s.v., “Ju bosatsukai gi,” in Ono, *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten*, 5:102c–103a) suggests a Song or Yuan-dynasty date. Daniel Getz suggests late Tang (“Popular Religion and Pure Land,” 167–170). Taira Ryōshō (“Den-Eshi hon *Jubosatsukaigi*”) has argued that the text was written by the fourth Tiantai patriarch Huiwei. Although I accepted this position when I wrote my doctoral dissertation, I now believe that the arguments for a later date are much stronger.

63. X 59:352a2–6.

require a sign, but confession and the receipt of a sign were later introduced into bodhisattva precept ordination conducted by a qualified teacher. This was the case in the manuals by Zhanran and Saichō.

Second, when a self-ordination was performed by an individual, that person might spend as much time as necessary in confession. The story of Daojin is cited repeatedly in manuals to illustrate this point. The sutras, particularly the apocryphal texts mentioned above, instruct the practitioner to persevere even if it takes years to receive a sign from the Buddha that the confession has been accepted. However, when the ordination was used to simultaneously initiate a number of people into an order, as was the case in Japanese Tendai and some Tiantai groups during the Song dynasty, a schedule had to be kept. Confession frequently became a matter of reciting a liturgy. The manuals by Zhanran and Saichō use both approaches, including a long passage from Zhiyi's *Mohe zhiguan* on the ten stages of a mind undergoing confession as well as a short liturgy. Later manuals would omit the description of the ten stages because it was too long for use in a ceremony.

Third, the perception of Buddhist history also played a part in these developments. If one lived during a period when the realization of high states on the path of buddhahood were feasible, then confession might be prolonged. If it were the period of the final decline of the Dharma, then confession might be virtually impossible and the only salvation available was post-mortem birth in the Pure Land. In such cases the confession was very simple.

The Lotus Sutra and the Perfect-Sudden Precepts

IN MANY MODERN ACCOUNTS of Saichō's break from using the *Vinaya* to ordain monks, he is described as substituting the precepts from the apocryphal *Brahma's Net Sutra* to ordain Tendai monks. Although this is an accurate view, it does not give enough weight to the role that the *Lotus Sutra* would increasingly play in Tendai descriptions of ordinations and precepts. The *Lotus Sutra* included little that could be called precepts in the sense of rules that were to be followed. Moreover, Tendai could use the *Lotus Sutra* to support a broad array of positions on the precepts, ranging from the careful observance of the precepts of the *Vinaya* to positions in which all precepts, including those of the *Brahma's Net Sutra*, could be ignored. The range of these views is explored in this chapter.

East Asian monks used selective quotations from the *Lotus Sutra* to arrive at a broad set of positions on the precepts. Passages could be cited that enabled monks to give a one-vehicle interpretation of the *Four-Part Vinaya* precepts, thus enabling many Chinese Tiantai monks and Ganjin, the Chinese monk who brought both the Chinese Tiantai texts and orthodox *Vinaya* ordinations to Japan, to seamlessly incorporate them into their practice. For example, the following passage, in which Śākyamuni speaks to *śrāvakas*, could be cited to support this incorporation: "That which you practice is the path of the bodhisattvas. Through gradual cultivation and study, you all shall become buddhas."¹ Ganjin's supposed placement of Prabhūtaratna's pagoda

This chapter is based, with additions, on two of my articles: "The *Lotus Sūtra* and Tendai Perfect-Sudden Precept Ordinations," in *Universal and International Nature of the Lotus Sutra: Proceedings of the Seventh International Conference on the Lotus Sutra* (2013); and "The *Lotus Sutra* and the Perfect-Sudden Precepts," in *Journal of Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* (2014).

1. T 9:20b23–24.

(Tahōtō) on his ordination platform also indicates his view that the *Lotus Sutra* could be used to reveal the Mahāyāna significance of the *Four-Part Vinaya*.² In contrast, other passages from the *Lotus Sutra*, such as the “Course of Ease and Bliss” (Anrakugyō) prohibition on consorting with *śrāvakas*, were cited as a rationale for rejecting the *Four-Part Vinaya* precepts. According to the *Eizan Daishi den*, the earliest biography of Saichō, Japanese Tendai School’s founder, he is reported to have said, “From now on we will not follow *śrāvaka* ways. We will turn away forever from Hīnayāna [strictures on maintaining] dignity. I vow that I shall forever abandon the 250 [Hīnayāna] precepts. The great teachers Nanyue [Huisi] and Tiantai [Zhiyi] both heard the *Lotus Sutra* preached on Vulture Peak. Since then, these [bodhisattva] precepts have been transmitted from teacher to teacher.”³

The conferral of the precepts on Huisi and Zhiyi from Śākyamuni on Vulture Peak is probably based on an episode from Zhiyi’s biography in which Huisi states that they must have met long ago on Vulture Peak, where Śākyamuni is constantly preaching the *Lotus Sutra*. The original story may have been intended to stress that their meeting had karmic connections in the past, but for Saichō it became a lineage. Zhiyi’s biography then continues with the statement that Huisi explained the “Course of Ease and Bliss” to Zhiyi, which was probably a reference to Huisi’s *Fahua jing anlexing yi* (The meaning of the “Course of Ease and Bliss” from the *Lotus Sutra*). This passage probably became the basis for the claim that the Tendai bodhisattva precepts were based on the “Course of Ease and Bliss.”⁴ The “Course of Ease and Bliss” includes restrictions on consorting with Hīnayāna *śrāvakas* (voice hearers); it reads in part, “With regard to voice hearers, he should not refer to them by name and describe their faults, or name them and praise their good points. . . . If he is asked difficult questions, he should not reply in terms of the law of the lesser vehicle. He should explain things solely in terms of the great vehicle.”⁵

The lineage for the precepts is the same as that for the *Lotus Sutra*, beginning with Huisi and Zhiyi hearing Śākyamuni’s sermon on Vulture Peak. The *Brahma’s Net Sutra* precepts are not mentioned in the *Eizan daishūden* passage. In accordance with the “Course of Ease and Bliss,” ordinations would thus be purely Mahāyāna. The emphasis on the “Course of Ease and Bliss” in Zhiyi’s *Fahua sanmei chanyi* (Procedures of the *Lotus samādhi* and repentance) as a practice for advanced practitioners might also have contributed to Saichō’s emphasis.⁶ However, many other early sources stressed the role of the precepts of the *Brahma’s Net Sutra*. Other sources were also introduced into the discussions. In this chapter, I emphasize the role of the *Lotus Sutra* and its relation to the *Brahma’s Net Sutra*.

2. See chapter 5 above for a discussion of the historical veracity of the story of Ganjin’s placement of a Tahōtō on the ordination platform.

3. DZ 5 bekkān:32–33; Groner, *Saichō*, 114.

4. *Sui Tiantai zhizhe dashi biezhuan*, T 50:191c22–23.

5. *Miaofa lianhua jing*, T 262, 9:38a3–4, 6–7.

6. T 46:949c12.

During the Kamakura and Muromachi periods, many Tendai monks argued that the perfect-sudden precepts were based on the *Lotus Sutra*, a claim that raised many questions. What passages in the *Lotus Sutra* could be interpreted as precepts? How should the precepts of the *Brahma's Net Sutra*—the text that Saichō had stated in the *Shijō shiki* (Four-part rules) could be used as a substitute for the *Four-Part Vinaya* precepts—be understood, especially when it was interpreted in terms of the *Lotus Sutra*, which was cited as the source of his rejection of the *Vinaya* in his earliest biography? Would *Lotus Sutra* precepts be available to all regardless of their social or religious status? What would a *Lotus Sutra* ordination look like? How would lay believers and monastics be distinguished? What would infractions of the precepts be like? How could they be expiated? These are some of the questions that will be examined in this chapter.

I begin with a survey of the background of these issues by briefly looking at Saichō, Annen, and the *Gakushōshiki mondō*, a medieval text attributed to Saichō. I then proceed to explain how three medieval Tendai traditions—the Eshin-ryū, Kurodani-ryū, and Jitsudō Ninkū's Rozanji group of scholars, sometimes identified with the Seizan branch of the Jōdo School—interpreted these issues. I conclude this chapter with a discussion of how lineages were constructed to elucidate the differences between the *Lotus Sutra* precepts and other sets. Because I have written about a number of these issues in the past, I will refer to my previous research in passing and focus on aspects of the thought of these figures that I have not written about before.⁷ I give special attention to the position of Ninkū, it being particularly detailed and carefully nuanced.

Saichō

Sancho intended to use the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts to ordain monks. This is clearly stated in the *Shijō shiki*⁸ and the ordination manual he compiled. The manual concludes by asking newly ordained monks whether they can observe the ten major precepts (*jūjūkai*) of the *Brahma's Net Sutra*.⁹ Most of Saicho's *Kenkai ron* (Treatise revealing the precepts) can be understood as a defense of a claim that he intended to use the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts to ordain monks. Note, for example, that Saichō divides his refutation of the position of his opponents in Nara into fifty-eight sections, a number that matches the number of precepts in the *Brahma's Net Sutra*, even though the contents of the *Kenkai ron* usually are not concerned with the contents of the precepts. Saichō's lineage document, the *Naiśhō Buppō sōjō kechimyakufu*, includes a bodhisattva precepts lineage that begins with Vairocana (Rushana) that is clearly a *Brahma's Net Sutra* lineage.¹⁰

7. Some of these questions have also been addressed in chapters 8, 9, and 11 below.

8. DZ 1:17–18.

9. DZ 1:303–334.

10. DZ 1:230–231; Groner, *Saichō*, 255–261.

Few of the writings that modern scholars believe were authentically written by Saichō can be cited to support the view that he intended to use the *Lotus Sutra* as precepts. Even so, references to the connection between buddha-nature and the precepts that are scattered throughout Saichō's writings gave later monks sources they could cite when arguing for the primacy of the *Lotus Sutra* over the *Brahma's Net Sutra*.¹¹ The use of the "Course of Ease and Bliss" in the *Eizan daishi den* to justify the prohibition concerning Mahāyāna practitioners consorting with a *śrāvaka* (in this case a Hīnayānist) indicates the importance of the *Lotus Sutra* in the interpretation of the precepts from the beginning of the Japanese Tendai School.¹² Finally, the *Lotus Sutra's* mention of the Tathāgata's room, robes, and seat, equated with compassion, forbearance, and emptiness, was a formula cited in Saichō's will.¹³

Annen

The interpretation of the scriptural sources of the perfect precepts changed dramatically with the composition of a detailed commentary on the ordination ceremony, the *Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku*, by the influential systematizer of Tendai esoteric Buddhism, Annen.¹⁴ Among the most important aspects covered are Annen's disparaging remarks on the *Brahma's Net Sutra* and his elevation of the esoteric *samaya* precepts. To support this position, Annen related a story about Paramārtha loading the bodhisattva *Vinaya* on a ship to bring to China and how the texts had to be thrown overboard when the ship was about to sink. As soon as they had been discarded, the ship was able to continue on to China. From this, Paramārtha was said to have concluded that the bodhisattva *Vinaya* did not have the proper karmic connections to flourish in China.¹⁵

In a variety of hierarchical schemes, Annen clearly subordinated the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts to the *Lotus Sutra*. For example, in a categorization of nine levels of Mahāyāna texts, the *Brahma's Net Sutra* was said to apply to those with the lowest religious faculties while the *Lotus Sutra* was deemed appropriate for those with the highest faculties. The precepts were considered in terms of the six levels of identity (*roku soku*), a system that described how advanced practitioners were essentially the same as worldlings but that everyone would need to practice to realize their essential nature as buddhas. The *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts corresponded to verbal identity (*myōji soku*), the level on which one had merely heard or read that one was identical to the Buddha but had not yet begun to practice or gain any degree of realization. In contrast, the *Lotus Sutra* passage that stated that to hear the teaching of the

11. Shirato, "Inherent Enlightenment (hongaku shisō) and Saichō's Acceptance of the Bodhisattva Precepts."

12. *Eizan Daishi den*, DZ 5 bekkān:32–33; T 9:37a–b; T 24:1005c–1006b.

13. *Miaofa lianhua jing*, T 9:31c24–27; *Kompon daishi rinjū goyūigon*, DZ 1:299–300.

14. See chapter 3, above.

15. T 74:757c.

Lotus Sutra was to immediately realize enlightenment was cited to demonstrate that the *Lotus Sutra* was the highest teaching, corresponding to the realization of wondrous enlightenment with one's very body (*sokushin myōkaku jōbutsu*).¹⁶ Finally, when the Diamond Realm (Kongōkai) mandala was considered, the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts corresponded to shallow and abbreviated (*senryakumon*) teachings.¹⁷ Annen's views were cited as authoritative by many later Tendai scholars, both those who advocated a more lenient approach to the precepts and those who wished to revive them by advocating a stricter approach.

Questions and Answers on Rules for Students (*Gakushōshiki mondō*)

This text, traditionally attributed to Saichō, has been recognized in the last fifty years to have been compiled by an unidentified medieval Tendai cleric.¹⁸ It took the form of a commentary on Saichō's "Rokujōshiki" (Rules in six parts). The key passage concerns the scriptural sources of the perfect precepts:¹⁹

Question: When we confer the precepts of disciples of the Buddha, what scriptures' precepts should be used?

Answer: We primarily rely on the *Lotus Sutra*, [particularly] the one-vehicle precepts; the three precepts of the Tathāgata's room, robes, and seat; the four courses of ease and bliss of the body, mouth, mind, and vow; and the four types of precepts of Samantabhadra. Next, we rely on the three teachers, the witnesses, and the fellow students described in the *Samantabhadra Sutra* (*Guan Puxian jing*). The precepts are secondarily based on the ten major and forty-eight minor precepts of the *Brahma's Net Sutra* and on the *Adornment Sutra*'s (*Yingluo jing*) teachings of the three collections of pure precepts: the ten grave rules (*pārājika*) of the *Brahma's Net Sutra* that prohibit evil, the teachings on equanimity and compassion that comprise the precepts that benefit sentient beings, and the eighty-four thousand teachings that comprise the precepts that encourage good. [In addition, we rely on such texts as] the *Vaipulya Sutra*, the *Questions of Mañjuśrī*, and the *Nirvāṇa Sutra*. [The precepts] may be expanded or abbreviated in accordance with the faculties of the recipients so that beings will practice and study.²⁰

This list of sources is augmented later by a passage from a commentary by Sonshun (1451–1514) on Zhiyi's *Mohē zhiguan*, the *Makashikan kenmon*

16. T 9:31a; T 74:765b.

17. T 74:764b, 769b.

18. Ishida Mazumaro, "Gakushōshiki mondō no gisen"; Tamayama, "Gakushōshiki mondō (Tōji-hon) no shiteki kachi."

19. DZ 1:363.

20. *Tendai Hokkeshū gakushōshiki mondō*, DZ 1:363.

tENCHŪ.²¹ Sonshun was one of the great exponents of the Eshin lineage, the Tendai tradition that dominated Mount Hiei for much of the medieval period. The one-vehicle precepts refer to the entire *Lotus Sutra*, an interpretation based on the “Expedient Means” chapter that explains how the Buddha used expedient means throughout the text and his career. Even though rules (*kainō*) are not explicitly listed in the *Lotus*, the overall thrust of the scripture instructs people. This claim was based on a passage from the *Lotus Sutra* that equates holding the sutra—practices that include such activities as memorizing, chanting, copying, and disseminating the text—with holding the precepts. It is in this passage that Sonshun emphasizes his discussion of the ordination (see below).²² Next is the mention of the passage in the “Dharma Teacher” chapter that states that one should abide in the Tathāgata’s room, wear the Tathāgata’s robes, and sit in the Tathāgata’s seat.²³ These actions, which are respectively equated with compassion, forbearance, and emptiness, were cited in Saichō’s will.²⁴ In Sonshun’s text, those three aspects of the Tathāgata are equated with the three collections of pure precepts and the three bodies of the Buddha, a theme also found in the *Shūzenji ketsu*. The third passage is from the “Course of Ease and Bliss” chapter and is typified by warnings that one should not go near *śrāvakas*.²⁵ Finally, the four precepts of Samantabhadra are mentioned.

In addition, the *Gakushōshiki mondō* specified that the lineage of the precepts originated in Prabhūtaratna’s pagoda, a structure that appears in the *Lotus Sutra* and in which Śākyamuni sits next to the buddha Prabhūtaratna, thereby demonstrating that he is virtually eternal. Prabhūtaratna’s pagoda was conflated with Vulture Peak, the site where Śākyamuni is said to eternally preach the *Lotus Sutra*. Huisi and Zhiyi, the two de facto founders of the Tiantai tradition, are said both to have heard the *Lotus Sutra* preached and to have received the precepts at this site.²⁶ The connection of the precepts with hearing the sutra preached is probably based on the passage in Zhiyi’s biography that immediately follows Huisi’s claim that they heard the *Lotus* preached; Huisi is then said to have explained the “Course of Ease and Bliss” to Zhiyi.²⁷ Thus, the perfect-precepts lineage is clearly identified with the *Lotus Sutra*.

The *Gakushōshiki mondō* is repeatedly cited by medieval members of almost every Tendai lineage, even by monks who wanted to refute it at least in part.²⁸

21. *Makashikan kenmon tENCHŪ*, BZ-Suzuki 37:331c–332a.

22. T 9:34b.

23. T 9:31c.

24. *Miaofa lianhua jing*, T 262, 9:31c24–27; *Konpon daishi rinjū goyūigon*, DZ 1:299–300.

25. T 9:37a–b.

26. DZ 1:369–70.

27. T 50:191c22–23.

28. ZTZ Enkai 2 includes a number of commentaries and debate texts from both the Kurodani and Rozanji lineages. The question from the *Gakushōshiki mondō* about whether the *Lotus Sutra* or *Brahma’s Net Sutra* is superior appears repeatedly, often near the beginning of the text.

After this work appeared, the *Lotus Sutra* usually took precedence over the *Brahma's Net Sutra*. A number of problems remained, however. Which passages of the *Lotus Sutra* would be emphasized? How would the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts be used? How could passages from the *Lotus Sutra* be used as precepts when the sutra makes no provision for the administration of the precepts or specifies penalties for infractions? How would an ordination with *Lotus Sutra* precepts be conducted? Below, the positions of three Tendai lineages—Eshin-ryū, Kurodani-ryū, and Jitsudō Ninkū's Rozanji order—are surveyed to demonstrate the range of positions held by monks affiliated with the Tendai tradition.

Eshin-ryū

The Eshin-ryū lineage traced its origins through a legend that Ryōgen had conferred *hongaku* (original enlightenment) teachings on his disciple Genshin, also known as Eshin *sōzu*, or Bishop Eshin. Eshin-ryū monks dominated many of the institutions on Mount Hiei. Perhaps because some of them were concerned with the administration and protection of large tracts of Tendai property, they may have supported a more lenient approach to infractions of the precepts than lineages on the peripheries of power that focused on stricter and more ascetic practice.

Monks in the lineage often emphasized the connection of the precepts with buddha-nature and identified the precepts (and buddha-nature) with such positions as the realization of the *jissō* (true aspect) of phenomena, a teaching fundamental to Tendai thought on enlightenment. Because the term *jissō* also appears in the *Lotus Sutra*, it was identified with realizing the essence of that text. Teachings on original enlightenment also contributed to the interpretation that the essence of the precepts was innate and could not be lost. Such interpretations placed little emphasis on actual rules and the treatment of violations, thereby leading to laxer interpretations of the precepts. However, the Kurodani lineage used original enlightenment to strengthen monastic discipline.²⁹

The *Shuzenji ketsu*, an Eshin lineage *hongaku* text said to have consisted of teachings given to Saichō while he was in China at the Xiuchansi, contains an ordination ceremony that rewrites part of the traditional *Brahma's Net Sutra* ordination ceremony used by both Zhanran and Saichō. Like the ordination manuals by Zhanran and Saichō, in the *Shuzenji ketsu* the precepts are conferred by Śākyamuni as preceptor, Mañjuśrī as master of ceremony, Maitreya as teacher, the buddhas of the ten directions as witnesses, and bodhisattvas as fellow students. Because these are invisible teachers, they give their proxy (*yoyoku*) to monks conducting the ordination, strengthening the position of the monastic establishment. The emptiness of all disqualifying and restraining conditions (*sha'nan*) for ordination is announced and then the assembly

29. See chapters 8 and 9 below.

is asked to assent to conferring the precepts. When the candidate is asked three times to accept the precepts, the essence of the precepts is compared to light and a moon disk (*gachirin*) that steadily approaches and finally enters the candidate's heart, imagery that is reminiscent of esoteric initiations. The candidate is then asked whether he can observe the actual precepts. In the manuals by Zhanran and Saichō, the ten major precepts of the *Brahma's Net Sutra* are specified, but in this ceremony, the candidate is asked whether he will maintain the Tathāgata's room, robes, and seat, a formula from the *Lotus Sutra*. In the *Shūzenji ketsu*, the ritual is said to be from the "Course of Ease and Bliss" chapter of the *Lotus Sutra*, but it actually is from the "Dharma Teacher" chapter.³⁰ The ceremony ends by citing a passage from the *Brahma's Net Sutra* stating, "If sentient beings receive the precepts of the Buddha, they enter the ranks of the buddhas, with the same rank as the great enlightened ones."³¹ This passage was cited often by monks from a number of different lineages; it is typical of a tendency to emphasize the spiritual benefits of receiving the precepts over any actual observance of specific rules. Note that the ten major precepts from the *Brahma's Net Sutra* are not mentioned. The ceremony also contains elements from the *Vinaya* (see chapter 5 above).

A different interpretation of the ordination is taken by Sonshun, one of the great exponents of Eshin-ryū positions, in the following passage:

According to this [Eshin] lineage, there should be no ordination ceremony of the perfect precepts other than the three views in a single instant (*isshin sangan*).... What is it that we refer to as the true essence of the perfect precepts? It is simply to uphold the *Lotus Sutra*. The three views in a single instant are found in the term "wondrous Dharma" [*myōhō*, the first two characters of the sutra's title]. According to the sutra, "This sutra is difficult to hold. If you hold it even for a short time, we call it holding the precepts."³²

This passage was based on the following from the *Lotus Sutra*:

This sutra is difficult to uphold; if one can uphold it even for a short while, I will surely rejoice and so will the other buddhas. A person who can do this wins the admiration of the buddhas. This is what is meant by valor, this is what is meant by

30. Tada Kōryū, *Tendai hongaku ron*, 78–79. The editors (Tada, *Tendai hongaku ron*, 449) note that Zhiyi's *Fahua wenzhu* equates the Tathāgata's room, robes, and seat with the "Course of Ease and Bliss" (T 34:118a).

31. T 24:1004a20–21.

32. *Nijō goshō kenmon*, TZ 9:225a. For a fuller citation of the passage, see chapter 5 above. The reference to the *Lotus Sutra* is found in T 9:34b. The link between the three views in an instant and the precepts may be based on a passage in Saichō's *Kenkai ron* (T 74:590c10–11) in which the Tiantai monk Daosui confers the three views in an instant with a single word and the precepts with complete faith. Although these two teachings were not necessarily connected, their proximity in this passage led some to make the connection. The mention of conferral with a single word seems to have had its basis in certain Chinese Tiantai traditions and thus should not be considered a later Japanese *hongaku* interpolation.

diligence. This is what is called observing the precepts and practicing *dhuta* [austerities]. In this way one will quickly attain the unsurpassed Buddha way.³³

The precepts would thus naturally be called forth by “holding the *Lotus Sutra*,” a nebulous term that referred to memorizing, reciting, propagating, and living the instructions of the text. This interpretation is reminiscent of views in which the precepts are spontaneously held when a person is in deep meditation (*jōgukai*) or has realized buddhahood (*dōgukai*). The insistence that the essence of the precepts is mental rather than based on verbal and physical actions accords with this view. Simply having the correct attitude is an ordination.

Sonshun argued that with original enlightenment many of the issues traditionally applied to the precepts were obviated, including whether the precepts were upheld or broken and whether the path was cultivated or not. In Sonshun’s *Nijōshō kenmon* (A record of what I have seen and heard about the commentary on the two booklets), compiled in 1501, a question is asked concerning the order in which the precepts and the three views in an instant are conferred. A traditional presentation would have placed the ordination first because morality, considered to be a cause, laid the foundation for further practice that led to realization, considered the effect. After considering this possibility in terms of how causes lead to effects, Sonshun then suggested the following alternative:

Now as for considering whether the perfect-sudden precepts are held or not, we do not argue in terms of cultivating the cause or realizing [the effect]. Wherever the precepts are, the myriad practices are established because their myriad merits are perfectly complete. . . . When we speak of the bodhisattva who directly goes [to the goal], we refer to those who realize buddhahood with their [current] bodies.³⁴

The text goes on to cite the *Pusajie yi ji* (Commentary on the meaning of the bodhisattva precepts, also known as *Puajie yi shu*), attributed to Zhiyi, to support its position. The *Pusajie yi ji* was organized on the basis of the threefold profound meaning (*sanjū gengi*) of the text, which differed from the fivefold profound meaning found in Zhiyi’s other texts. According to the *Nijōshō kenmon*, the two missing exegetical elements represented cause and effect.³⁵ The result is that the perfect-sudden precepts are elevated to the status of realization, transcending any consideration of cause and effect. By

33. *Miaofa lianhua jing*, T 9:34b15–18.

34. *Nijōshō kenmon*, TZ 9:229b. This text is Sonshun’s (1451–1514) comments on the *Nijō goshō*, a work on the “seven great matters” of the Eshin-ryū (see Stone, *Original Enlightenment*, 176–177). The connection between the three views in an instant and the precepts is based on a passage in the *Kenkai ron* (T 74:590c10). The passage also played an important role in Kōen’s biography, but with a different interpretation (chapter 8 below).

35. *Nijōshō kenmon*, TZ 9:229b. For the five elements of Zhiyi’s commentaries, see Groner, *Saichō*, 231.

making the precepts absolute, the possibility of violating them seems to be virtually obviated. In the following passage, Renjitsubō Shōhan (996–1077), an Eshin-ryū monk who became *zasu* in 1070, is said to analyze this view of the impossibility of violating the precepts in an oral transmission that leaves little room for the serious consideration of specific acts of wrongdoing, but a difference in approach between conventional teachings, which would allow for ethical differences, and ultimate teachings, reflected in the following passage, is recognized:

With one commission of evil, the ten realms are all evil. With a single adherence to the precepts, the ten realms are all good. The commission of evil in the three-thousand realms realized in an instant is the object. Adherence to the precepts in the three-thousand realms realized in an instant is wisdom [the subjective aspect]. Object and subject are non-dual. How can one argue about adherence and violation?³⁶

Even the *Lotus Sutra* was not exempt from explanations that obviated some of its prescriptions of behavior. Later Tendai exegetes, such as the ordained prince Ryōjo (1268–1318) in his *Endonkai myakufu kuketsu* (Oral determinations of perfect-sudden precept lineages), relegated the “Course of Ease and Bliss” to an inferior position, noting that the “Course of Ease and Bliss” was the causal precepts (*inbun kai*) or trace precepts (*shakumon kai*); if the four categories of the “Course of Ease and Bliss” were expanded, the result would be the precepts of the *Brahma’s Net Sutra*. In a sense, the more concrete “precepts” from the *Lotus Sutra* and from the *Brahma’s Net Sutra* were relegated to a lesser status. Thus, even the categories of the *Gakushōshiki mondō* have been left behind in this record of oral transmissions. The essence of the precepts (*kaitai*) was to be found in more abstract terms such as the middle path of the true aspect (*chūdō jissō*) of phenomena or the “beginningless innate three bodies of Vairocana in the adamant realm (*Kongōkai Dainichi mushi honnu sanjin*), the Dharma-body of the mind of original enlightenment (*hōngakushin hosshin*).”³⁷ The precepts of realization, a category superior to the causal aspect, was the inconceivable life span of the Tathāgata (*honmon juryō*), in other words, the virtually infinite Buddha. Some of the descriptions indicate the eternal and undefinable qualities of the category.

Ryōjo added two new lineages that were important to the interpretation of the precepts to those mentioned in works by Saichō: namely, the lineage from Vairocana and the lineage from Śākyamuni in Prabhūtaratna’s pagoda. The first of these additional lineages was called the direct conferral on Mount

36. *Nijōshō kenmon*, TZ 9:225a. A similar passage is found in TZ 9:256a. The same statement in a fuller form, again attributed to Renjitsubō, is found in Sonshun’s *Maka shūkan kenmon tENCHŪ*, BZ-Suzuki 37:338a. The passage reflects the interpenetration of the ten realms.

37. Kōdera Bun’ei, “Tendai kuden hōmon to enkai,” 878. This is based on the woodblock edition of Ryōjo’s *Endonkai myakufu kuketsu*.

Dasu (Daiso *jikiju*) and referred to Zhiyi's enlightenment on Mount Dasu when he practiced the *Lotus samādhi* under Huisi. The second lineage was called the direct conferral that is appropriate to the recipient's religious faculties (*tōki jikiju*); this was based on the conferral by Śākyamuni and bodhisattvas described in the *Samantabhadra Sutra*, the capping sutra of the *Lotus Sutra*.³⁸ The two new lineages added other dimensions to the emphasis on the *Lotus Sutra*.

The Eshin-ryū position subordinated concrete rules to abstract principles, frequently emphasizing direct realization of the Principle underlying everyday existence as the goal. The use of *hongaku* thought appears in many passages concerning the precepts from the Eshin-ryū. Consider this passage from the *Hongaku san shaku*, an early original enlightenment text attributed to Genshin:

Monastic discipline is likened to a float. When one crosses the deep ocean, evil demons may call to one. Women with their weak minds will sink to the bottom of the ocean when confronted with this. But those with firm minds will peacefully cross the ocean without needing a hand. . . . Now the five categories of precepts and the seven categories of Buddhist practitioners are represented by the float. The defilements are like the female demons. When all the floats are given to the female demons, this is like violating the four *pārājikas*. When only half [the floats] are taken, this is like violating the thirteen precepts requiring suspension from the order. If one gives one hand to a female, this is a *duṣkṛta* [misdeed requiring reflection or confession to a single monastic]. If the Hinayāna precepts are considered, when they are violated, one sinks to the bottom of the sea of birth and death.

There are two types of precepts: those precepts based on phenomena and those on Principle; between these two, Principle is superior. Thus, according to the *Nirvāṇa Sutra*, "When one studies the Mahāyāna, one adheres to the precepts."³⁹ According to the *Lotus Sutra*, "This is called adhering to the precepts."⁴⁰ When one realizes Suchness, then how could this not be the karma of adhering to the precepts? Even if one made a mistake and fell into Avīci hell, one would still encounter the aid of the buddhas and bodhisattvas.⁴¹

The passage above from the *Hongaku san shaku* reveals that the author was familiar with the *Vinaya's* precepts but rejected them in favor of Mahāyāna texts, specifically the approaches found in the *Nirvāṇa Sutra* and *Lotus Sutra*. The realization of Suchness or the *Lotus Sutra* was sufficient for adhering to the precepts. The next paragraph in the above quotation categorizes precepts and confessions into the categories of those based on phenomena, such as

38. Ryōjo, *Endonkai myakufu kuketsu*, 64–66, sec. 55.

39. T 12:689c.

40. T 9:34b.

41. Tada Kōryū, *Tendai hongaku ron*, 116–117.

the actual rules and confessions expiating infractions; the *Vinaya* rules and the expiations for violations would be an example. Confessions for expiations were sometimes called *sahō sange*, literally confession based on the rules of behavior. Such confessions to expiate infractions of the precepts could involve prostrations, verbal confession, and reflection on one's actions, thus including the three types of karma or actions (*sangō*): bodily, verbal, and mental. Expiation would be determined by the order.

Because an individual's action might not be sufficient, the aid of buddhas and bodhisattvas might be called upon until the individual received a supernatural sign from the Buddhist deities indicating that the wrongdoing was vanquished; this type of confession was referred to as *shūsō sange*, literally confession for obtaining a sign of a buddha. A variety of degrees of effort might be required to expiate wrongdoings with this type of confession. It might take weeks or years to receive a sign from the Buddha indicating that the karmic obstructions had been removed. Self-ordinations often fit into this category.⁴² Finally, *mushō sange* (confession based on the uncreated or non-substantial) or *musō sange* (confession based on the absence of marks), both forms of *nisan* (confessions based on the Principle of non-substantiality), often began with confessions in the realm of phenomena but then progressed to contemplations on the non-substantiality of the rules and the karma resulting from actions. Although considerable effort was required in Chinese Tiantai,⁴³ in medieval Japanese Tendai, that effort was lessened or even eliminated.

Although the Japanese views on confession were based on Chinese forms, particularly the *Lotus* Repentance Rite, Japanese Tendai monks began to require much less effort from individual monks and sometimes virtually no effort. Recitations of *dhāraṇī* and the *nenbutsu* also offered quick salvation and the vanquishing of bad karma. At the same time, the path to buddhahood was shortened, sometimes to the extent that ordinary, ignorant people were seen as virtually identical to buddhas. The following passage from the *Hongaku san shaku*, which is also referred to in Genshin's *Ōjō yōshū*, demonstrates how easily bad karma might be eliminated:

According to a Huayan biography,⁴⁴ there was a person named Wang in the first year of the Wenming era [684] of the Tang dynasty. He did not practice any monastic discipline and in the past had not done a single good act. When he was on the point of death from illness, he was led by two demons to hell. He saw a monk standing before the gate [of hell] who proclaimed to Wang, "During your life you loved evil and performed no good. At some point you can escape the suffer-

42. See chapter 6 above on confessions.

43. See the extensive research by Shioiri, *Chūgoku Bukkyō ni okeru senbō no seiritsu*. See Stevenson, "Four Kinds of Samadhi," for descriptions of the effort that went into Chinese Tiantai's contemplations on non-substantiality.

44. T 51:167a.

ing of hell. If you wish to do so, then recite this verse. ‘If a person wishes to thoroughly know all of the buddhas of the three time periods, he should contemplate in this way: The mind creates the tathāgatas / I am the bodhisattva Jizō.’” Having said this, Wang died. But because he had chanted the verse, Yamarāja [the king of the dead] released Wang. . . . After three days he was reborn and always remembered the verse and sometimes preached it to groups of monks. To corroborate this verse, see the thirteenth fascicle of the *Huayan jing*, the chapter on “How Yama Preached to Innumerable Bodhisattvas in His Palace.”⁴⁵

The story with its origins in China was cited in several Japanese works. With virtually no effort, the protagonist escapes hell with the help of Jizō (Kṣitigarbha), the bodhisattva who presides over hell and helps the dead.

Hongaku themes are found in passages that ask only for faith or knowing that one is Suchness. According to the *Shimnyo kan*,

Whether we drop in Avīci hell or are reborn in the Pure Land depends on our mind at this time. We are Suchness. If we do not believe this, then we will definitely drop into hell. If we profoundly believe it without doubts, then we will be reborn in the Pure Land.⁴⁶

Or,

We are reborn in the six realms through our good and bad actions and karma. When good can only be performed with difficulty, rebirth as a god or human is very difficult. Bad actions are easy to perform and rebirth in the three bad realms is frequent. According to one source, each person in each day will have innumerable thoughts. The actions during each thought will result in the karma of the three [bad] realms. . . . But if we view bad karma as Suchness, the multitudes of wrongdoing quickly vanish like frost or dew in the sunlight. According to the *Samantabhadra Sutra*, “All the oceans of karmic obstacles arise from deluded thought. If one wants liberation, one should sit and think of the mark of reality (*jissō*).” The mark of reality is another name for Suchness.⁴⁷

Another example, relevant to understanding the actions of warrior monks (*akusō*), is from an important source that relates the beliefs of Tendai monks who had burned down Kiyomizudera in Kyoto, a branch temple of Kōfukuji. In a passage from the Enkyōbon version of *Heike monogatari*, one *akusō* was said to have recited, “The karma from wrongdoing originally does not exist;

45. Tada Kōryū, *Tendai Hongaku ron*, 117–118. A slightly different version is found in Gen-shin’s *Ōjō yōshū* (T 84:73c05–14), which may account for its usage in the *Hongan san shaku*. The story with few changes also appears in Chengguan’s *Dafangguang fohuayan jing suishu yangyi chao*, T 36: 116b18–29; and 324b5–18.

46. Tada, *Tendai hongaku ron*, 123.

47. Tada, *Tendai hongaku ron*, 131. The citation from the *Samantabhadra Sutra* is a paraphrase of T 9:393b.

it arises from wrong thought and delusion. If one's inherent mind is pure, then sentient beings are buddhas."⁴⁸ The original-enlightenment text *Kankō ruijū* follows that statement with the comment, "When there is no abrogation of the Principle of the three-thousand realms in an instant, then there is no obstacle to good and bad. Kannon could appear as a fisherman who kills fish and birds."⁴⁹

As is implied in some of the quotations above, the precepts were sublimated to claims of realization, particularly in terms of the three views in an instant and the three-thousand realms in an instant. According to the *Kechimyaku sōjō shikenmon* (What I have seen and heard about transmission lineages), the ordination is based on the innate precepts.⁵⁰ The physical ordination platform is simply a manifestation as phenomenon of the Principle that underlies all; the physical platform, moreover, is for people of inferior faculties. "For those who can directly perceive the true characteristics of their mind, the platform is of no use."⁵¹ The *Kechimyaku sōjō shikenmon* says further, "The perfect-sudden precepts are present in the three views in an instant. If one practices that meditation, then there is no separate ordination. . . . Ordination does not refer to the ritual procedures of ordination. [Rather] receiving is transmitting; transmitting is realizing. . . . It is understanding the true characteristics of one's own mind."⁵² The precepts not only could be subordinated to meditation, they could also lose their practical effectiveness when the path structure was collapsed. Instead of constituting a practice that laid the foundation for meditation and wisdom, the ordination was sometimes identified with higher stages on the path. The identification of the ordination with realization of buddhahood with this very body is such a teaching. By identifying the conferral of the precepts with buddhahood, the practitioner no longer needed to perfect morality. Whatever the practitioner did was the action of a buddha.⁵³

Wordplay was important in these interpretations of the precepts. In the following passage, seemingly unrelated categories are equated with each other simply because they have the same number of elements. The practical sense of such a passage is not clear; perhaps it implies that simply being a member of the Tendai order was sufficient to uphold these abstract precepts. As Sonshun writes in the *Nijōshō kenmon*,

48. Akamatsu, "Akusō."

49. Tada, *Tendai hongaku ron*, 220. Perhaps a reference to Gyoran (Fish-Basket-Carrying) Kannon.

50. See chapter 13 below for other examples of doctrinal rationales of lax monastic discipline.

51. ZTZ Kuketsu 1:500b. This text is a collection of teachings of the Eshin-ryū, probably from the fourteenth century; some of the teachings on the precepts reveal Danna-ryū and Kurodani influences (Ōkubo Ryōshun, "Kaidai," in Tendai shūten hensanjo, ed., *Shōzoku Tendai shū zensho mokuroku kaidai*, 186–187). This is a development of Annen's distinction between inner and outer ordination platforms (*Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku*, T.74:760b).

52. ZTZ Kuketsu 1:500a.

53. See chapters 3 and 8 for developments of this theme.

According to Eshin's interpretation, "My mountain is a single mountain divided into three pagodas. The one mountain is the treasury of the one-mind precepts. The three pagodas are the three collections of pure precepts. The nine halls are three squared, the ordination place of the nine collections [of precepts]. The three thousand practitioners [on the mountain] are the essence of the precepts as seen in the three thousand realms in a single instant or the three thousand elements of monastic dignity."⁵⁴

Scholarly Tendai monks were aware that their views of the precepts differed from more traditional views, not to mention from each other. They sometimes dealt with these issues by arranging teachings into hierarchies; for example, the top two categories in a system used by Annen were the precepts of bodhisattvas and the precepts of buddhas.⁵⁵ This system is used by subsequent exegetes. According to the *Tendai sōden hiketsu shō* (Secret compilation of Tendai transmissions),

Question: Are the perfect-sudden precepts of the Buddha and the perfect-sudden precepts of the bodhisattva different?

Oral transmission: In the case of the perfect-sudden precepts of the Buddha, observance and violation are not considered; seniority is not reckoned. In the case of the perfect-sudden precepts of the bodhisattva, seniority is reckoned; observance and violation are considered. This is the ordination ceremony performed on Mount Hiei's platform.⁵⁶

The passage would not seem remarkable if it were not for the frequent citations in medieval texts of the *Brahma's Net Sutra* passage that ordinations involved entering the ranks of buddhas.⁵⁷ Annen, moreover, had equated ordination with realization of buddhahood with this very body.⁵⁸ Such statements made it possible to claim that monks held the precepts of the Buddha and thus might transcend issues of adherence and violation.

A similar passage is found in the *Hachijōshō kenmon* (What was seen and

54. *Nijōshō kenmon*, TZ 9:232a. The meaning of the ordination place of "nine collections [of precepts]" is not clear, although it may refer to the various ways in which the three collections interpenetrated. The other elements in the passage were well-known in descriptions of Mount Hiei. The mountain was divided into three major areas, each with a pagoda at its center. Only the term "nine halls" appears in early Tendai texts, but detailed lists of the nine halls do not appear until later (see Groner, *Saichō*, 111). By the tenth century, Mount Hiei was said to have three thousand monks (for two examples of stories in which Mount Hiei is characterized as having three thousand monks, see Groner, *Ryōgen*, 242, 294).

55. T 74:766a. See chapter 13 below.

56. ZTZ *Kuketsu* 1:525b. The *Tendai sōden hiketsu shō* is a compilation on Tendai lineages, particularly the Eshin-ryū with some Danna lineage elements, by Myōben (1317–1381).

57. T 24:1004a21.

58. Groner, "The *Fan-wang ching*," 266–268.

heard concerning the compilation of the eight booklets), where a hierarchy of three types of practitioners, based partly on the *Mohe zhiguan*,⁵⁹ is described:

A practitioner with superior faculties wears deerskin, sits under a tree, and eats the [products] of evergreen trees to bolster his energy. Because he sits under a tree, lodging would be useless. Because he wears deerskins, the three robes would be useless. Because he eats sweet grass,⁶⁰ he does not need a [begging] bowl. This is because he understands that the Dharma Realm functions as his clothing, seat, and lodging. A person with these faculties does not adhere to perfect-sudden precepts other than the three views in an instant. A person with middling faculties needs the three robes. A person with lower faculties needs the 101 items that assist him physically. People with middling and lower faculties must hold the precepts of wondrous discernment of the middle way.⁶¹

The passage is based on a passage in the *Mohe zhiguan* concerning food and clothing, but the Japanese commentator has added the comments on the precepts. The mention of clothing, seat, and lodging echoes the abovementioned passage in the *Lotus Sutra* in which the practitioner takes on these items from the Tathāgata. However, even the precepts for those with middling and lower faculties are abstract as opposed to the specific rules of the *Vinaya* and *Brahma's Net Sutra*.

Many of the abovementioned positions were sometimes called precepts of Principle (*rikai*). In contrast, the lineages discussed in the following two sections—Kurodani and Ninkū's Rozanji (similar to his Seizan temples) lineages—stressed adherence to concrete precepts, sometimes called the precepts of phenomena (*jikai*), as the primary way for practitioners to master the Principle and gain realization.

Kurodani-ryū

The Kurodani lineage was located on Mount Hiei but at sites separate from the centers of economic and political power on the mountain.⁶² In the beginning, its founders emphasized monastic discipline and a return to Saichō's twelve-year seclusion on Mount Hiei, so much so that the lineage was sometimes viewed as giving the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts precedence over the *Lotus* precepts. In fact, the Kurodani lineage used the rules of the *Brahma's Net Sutra* to master the more abstract precepts of the *Lotus Sutra*. Many of these arguments are made explicit in the *Ōwakizashi* (The large text tucked

59. T 46:41c–42a. The passage from the *Mohe zhiguan* concerns the food and clothing of practitioners. In it the three robes are compared with the three views, but no reference is made to precepts.

60. Sweet grass refers to a variety of the licorice plant found in China.

61. *Hachijōshō kenmon*, TZ 9:325b–326a.

62. Chapter 8 below.

under one's arm).⁶³ Texts such as Saichō's *Shijō shiki*, *Kenkai ron*, and *Kechimyakufu* are cited to prove that he emphasized the *Brahma's Net Sutra*. The ordination manuals by Zhanran and Saichō transmit the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts. In fact, Zhanran's commentary on Zhiyi's *Fahua wenzhu* (a line-by-line commentary on the *Lotus Sutra*) stated that for the perfect precepts the *Brahma's Net Sutra* should be used.⁶⁴

Despite the *Ōwakizashi's* robust defense of the place of the *Brahma's Net Sutra*, its authors would eventually come down on the side of the *Lotus Sutra* as taking precedence. For example, according to one position mentioned in the *Ōwakizashi*, there existed a mythical untranslated 120- (or 112-) fascicle version of the *Brahma's Net Sutra* that could be classified as a mix of separate and perfect teachings, but the "Shinjibon" (Mind-ground) chapter that Kumarājīva was traditionally said to have translated was a perfect teaching.⁶⁵ A shorter version of the *Naishō Buppō kechimyakufu* (which in fact probably never existed) was said to have represented Saichō's ultimate position. The ordination platform, following the *Samantabhadra Sutra*, the capping sutra for the *Lotus Sutra*, had Śākyamuni as its main image, indicating that the *Lotus Sutra* took precedence over the *Brahma's Net Sutra*.

The *Ōwakizashi* presents arguments for taking either the *Lotus Sutra* or the *Brahma's Net Sutra* as the primary source for the perfect-sudden precepts, and it was probably intended to train monks in debate. It accounts for the origin of the two positions on the way that Saichō conferred the precepts. In section 5 of the fourteenth fascicle of the *Ōwakizashi*, Saichō is said to have conferred the bodhisattva precepts on two of his major disciples—Kōjō and Ennin—on separate occasions.⁶⁶ When he bestowed them on Kōjō, he conferred the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts, but for Ennin, the *Lotus Sutra* precepts were bestowed. According to the *Ōwakizashi*, the lineage of *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts

63. Fasc. 14, pt. 6.3. The provenance of this text is not clear to me, but Shimaji Daitō (*Tendai kyōgaku shi*, 439) suggests that it is an Eshin-ryū document from the Sengoku period or after. It seems to present debate arguments from several perspectives. In this study, I use two sections discussing the sources for the precepts. The first section (14.5) seems to be more consistent with Eshin-ryū arguments, while the second (14.6) seems more consistent with the Kurodani-ryū. I thank Nomoto Kakujo and the members of the Tendaishū Seiten Hensanjo for making this text available to me in an edition probably printed in 1657.

64. *Fahua wenju ji*, T 34:319b.

65. In the traditional Tendai system of four levels of content in Śākyamuni's teachings, the two highest are the distinct and perfect teachings. The distinct teaching is usually associated with texts such as the *Huayan jing* and *Brahma's Net Sutra*. One use of the term "distinct" is that the stages on the path to buddhahood are distinct. Although Tendai recognized the teachings as being profound, it criticized them for only being applicable to a distinct group of advanced bodhisattvas and not readily available to those of lesser abilities. In contrast, perfect teachings were available to all and were not characterized by a long path with distinct stages. The mixture of distinct and perfect teachings indicated that the perfect aspects of the Buddha's teaching were still not easily available to all.

66. The text actually notes that he conferred the precepts first on Jakkō Daishi (the honorific title of Saichō's student Enchō), but then it seems to confuse him with another of Saichō's students, Kōjō, perhaps because of the character for *kō* (light) that the two names had in common.

was continued by such monks as Ryōnin out of a compassionate feeling that it should not be abandoned, but Tendai monks are said to have always realized that the perfect-sudden precepts primarily relied on the *Lotus Sutra* and only secondarily on the *Brahma's Net Sutra*. Both the *Brahma's Net Sutra* and *Lotus Sutra* precept lineages were eventually conferred on Hōnen.⁶⁷ However, Hōnen conferred the *Brahma's Net Sutra* lineage only on Shōkū, the de facto founder of the Seizan-ha. This account thus explained how both the Kurodani lineage and Shōkū received the precepts from Hōnen and stressed the *Pusajie yi ji*; it further explained how they radically differed from each other in interpreting it, with Shōkū's lineage clearly interpreted as inferior or incomplete because of its supposed emphasis of the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts.

In creating the two lineages, Saichō was said to have had two different objectives. The *Brahma's Net Sutra* lineage and the teachings associated with it reflected his efforts to counter criticisms from the Nara schools; they served as expedient teachings (*kyōmon*) that were tailored to the recipient. In contrast, the *Lotus Sutra* lineage consisted of the ultimate meaning (*jitsugi*) of the precepts, which explained how matters of dignity and propriety (*igi*) of sentient beings (in other words, the ordinary behavior of plants, animals, humans, and other sentient beings) were to be maintained as they passed through the six realms of rebirth.⁶⁸

The *Ōwakizashi* account is sloppy at times, one example being its account of lineages. Although Kōjō is said to have received the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts lineage from Saichō, a close reading of his *Denjutsu isshin kaimon* (Records of the transmission of the document on the one-mind precepts) reveals that he was primarily interested in using Yixing's commentary on the *Darijing* (*Mahāvairocana Sutra*) to interpret the precepts, a factor that the *Ōwakizashi* does not mention. The emphasis on the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts is found in a number of texts associated with Saichō, including the *Ke-chimiyakufu*, *Kenkai ron*, as well as the *Ken'yō daikairon* (Treatise clarifying and extolling the Mahāyāna precepts); however, the last work is by Ennin. According to the *Ōwakizashi*, the texts by Saichō reflect arguments designed to counter the arguments of the Nara schools rather than revealing Saichō's ultimate position on the precepts as the primacy of the *Lotus Sutra*.

67. According to sec. 14.5 of the *Ōwakizashi*, Ninkū's Rozanji lineage argued that the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts were primary, a characterization that is refuted in Ninkū's writings. Most lineages for the bodhisattva precepts included Ennin and Hōnen in the same lineage. For an example, see Tamayama, "Gakushōshūki mondō (Tōji-hon) no shiteki kachi," 758–760. Other Tendai groups made similar claims about secret transmissions. For example, Ninkū argued that Shōkū, founder of the Seizan-ha, had heard Hōnen's explanation of Zhiyi's *Pusajie yi ji* three times but that other monks had heard only a line or two (*Seizan shōnin engi*, in Washio, *Kokubun Tōnō Bukkyō sōsho, denki* 1:339). Of course, this view of Hōnen runs counter to Pure Land views of him as rejecting the precepts for the exclusive practice of the nenbutsu, but Tendai and the Seizan tradition of the Jōdoshū consistently trace precept lineages through Hōnen.

68. *Ōwakizashi*, fasc. 14, sec. 5. A similar point about the practice and realization of trees and grasses is made in the *Sōmoku hosshin shugyō jōbutsu ki* (BZ-Suzuki 41:141b–142a), a text attributed to Ryōgen but actually dating from the twelfth century.

A slightly different view is found in a Tendai Kurodani document, *Endon kaitai shikishin no koto* (On whether the essence of the precepts is physical or mental). This text explains how the *Lotus Sutra* lineage, which is primary, merged with the *Brahma's Net Sutra* lineage, which is secondary, during the time of Huisi.⁶⁹ According to the Kurodani document, the *Lotus Sutra* lineage is primary and reflects Zhiyi's true views; the *Brahma's Net Sutra* lineage is secondary and a mere expedient to refute other interpretations. The two lineages were then conferred separately by students of Eikū (d. 1179). The Seizan (Ninkū's) lineage transmitted the *Brahma's Net Sutra* lineage while Hōnen (through the Nison'in lineage) conferred the *Lotus Sutra* lineage. These lineages are said to reflect the differences in the emphasis placed on the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts by the two groups.

One of the clearest statements of the Kurodani-ryū position on the relation between the *Brahma's Net Sutra* and the *Lotus Sutra* is found in *Bosatsukai giki chiken besshi shō*, a text by one of the lineage founders, Kōen, in which he enumerates a threefold categorization of the precepts:

In the first, the text and its meaning both are concerned with the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts; these are a mix of distinct and perfect precepts. They are related from the perspective of before the *Lotus Sutra* was preached. On the second level, the text is based on the *Brahma's Net Sutra*, but the meaning is based on the *Lotus Sutra*. It thus follows the basic meaning of the *Lotus Sutra*. Although it explains how a bodhisattva studies and practices according to the *Lotus Sutra*, because the text [of the *Lotus Sutra*] is abbreviated [when the precepts are considered], it must rely on the *Brahma's Net Sutra* to explain the behavior of the bodhisattva. Thus, the bodhisattva precepts rely secondarily on the *Brahma's Net Sutra*. On the third level, both the text and meaning are from the *Lotus Sutra*. At that point, they are solely purely perfect bodhisattva precepts.⁷⁰

The *Bosatsukai giki chiken besshi shō* passage goes on to note the difference between explicating the text from the perspective of one of the four teachings in the Tendai exegetical system (*tōbun*) and explicating it from the perspective of the entirety of the Buddha's life (*ichidai*); the second approach focuses on the Buddha's overall purpose, an approach that opens up the perfect meaning of the other teachings (*kasetsu*). In the former case, the precepts are referred to as *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts and are interpreted as a mix of distinct and perfect teachings (*betsuenkyō*); in the latter, they are referred to as bodhisattva precepts and are called purely perfect (*jun'en*).

According to Kurodani documents, the title of Zhiyi's commentary did not include the title *Brahma's Net Sutra*, but instead took the title *Pusajie yi ji*, indicating that it described the perfect precepts and surpassed the distinct and perfect teaching mix that characterized the *Brahma's Net Sutra* and

69. ZTZ Enkai 1:398b–399a.

70. ZTZ Enkai 2:5b; also see ZTZ Enkai 2:11b.

Huayan jing.⁷¹ Thus, although Zhiyi's commentary would seem to analyze the *Brahma's Net Sutra*, the underlying meaning was said to reside in the *Lotus Sutra*.

The primacy of the *Lotus Sutra* over the *Brahma's Net Sutra* is also reflected in the Kurodani-ryū's consecrated ordination (*kai kanjō*), originally performed after the completion of a twelve-year retreat, but later after a significant but unspecified period of practice during which one was to uphold the precepts. This tradition is explained in detail in chapters 8 (Kōen) and 9 (Embodying the *Lotus Sutra*) below. The structure of this ceremony clearly indicates that the *Brahma's Net Sutra* was secondary to the *Lotus Sutra*. Even so, the early Kurodani lineage emphasized adherence to the precepts as a means to gain access to the Principle found in the *Lotus Sutra*, as is indicated by Kōen's completion of the twelve-year retreat on Mount Hiei before receiving the consecrated ordination.

The Rozanji Lineage

Ninkū was a skilled administrator, serving as abbot of both the Tendai temple Rozanji in Kyoto and the Seizan headquarters at Sangoji in the western foothills outside of Kyoto. Sangoji was the headquarters of the Seizan-ha, a branch of Jōdoshū that was close to Tendai. Rozanji was an important center of Tendai in Kyoto. Ninkū was also one of the most prolific authors of his time. As the leader of two temples that engaged in lecturing and debate, he and the monks surrounding him were vitally interested in educational and administrative issues, including the rules for monastic discipline; they accordingly compiled texts on a variety of topics including the precepts. Because his administrative activities are discussed in chapters 10 and 11 below, the highlights of his thought about the *Lotus Sutra* and precepts are presented here.

Ninkū rarely cited the sort of apocryphal sources favored by Eshin-ryū advocates in his discussions of the precepts. In fact, he was keenly aware of the history of Tendai discussions of the precepts and cited them with accuracy and a sense of their historical value and practical consequences. One of the few exceptions to this was the *Gakushōshiki mondō*, a text that Ninkū, like virtually everyone of his time, believed was by Saichō. The text did not have many of the *hongaku* elements that marked many works as being later productions. Even so, Ninkū was clearly critical of the *Gakushōshiki mondō*'s subordination of the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts to the *Lotus Sutra*.⁷²

Two major issues concerning Ninkū's interest in how the *Lotus Sutra* and precepts were related should be pointed out here. First, Ninkū carefully

71. ZTZ Enkai 2:25a.

72. Note the issue of the relationship between the *Lotus Sutra* and *Brahma's Net Sutra* appears at the beginning of the *Gyōjishō* (ZTZ Enkai 2:364–368) and close to the beginning of the *Kaiju shō* (ZTZ Enkai 2:227–232). These sources cite the *Gakushōshiki mondō* prominently in order to refute the denigration of the *Brahma's Net Sutra*.

focused on distinguishing between the bodhisattva precepts, Tendai, esoteric Buddhism, and Pure Land. This enabled him to emphasize monastic discipline, although he was much more interested in the *Pusajie yi ji*, the commentary attributed to Zhiyi, than he was in the *Brahma's Net Sutra*. Second, Ninkū considered the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts to be a perfect teaching equal to the *Lotus Sutra*. By distinguishing the precepts from the first fascicle of the *Brahma's Net Sutra*, he was able to call them “bodhisattva precepts” rather than referring to the two-fascicle *Brahma's Net Sutra*, which Tendai usually argued was a mix of distinct and perfect teachings and inferior to pure perfect teachings. Ninkū argued that this distinction was based on the *Pusajie yi ji*, an idiosyncratic interpretation.

Ninkū and his lineage were critical of the abovementioned Kurodani view of lineage. In the *Bosatsukai giki kikigaki*, he mentioned two lineages that had developed after Saichō's death.⁷³ The first was called the Ōhara lineage and had its origins with Kōjō. (The second lineage, explained below, demonstrates how Ninkū tried to adopt his own view of the Kurodani lineage.) The first, the Ōhara lineage, was eventually passed on to Ryōnin, who conferred the precepts on Hongaku Shōnin (n.d.).⁷⁴ However, Ninkū noted that by his time, this lineage had weakened and had very few adherents. Did an Ōhara lineage going through Ryōnin exist? Unpublished documents from Saikyōji, head temple of the Shinsei branch of Tendai, indicate that several ordination lineages with significantly different interpretations, including the Kurodani lineage described above, also traced themselves back to Ryōnin, but an analysis of these will have to wait for another opportunity.⁷⁵ Because Ninkū was ordained at the Raigōin in Ōhara, a site associated with Ryōnin, he probably was familiar with many of the lineages that existed during his time.

Ninkū referred to the second lineage that he wished to emphasize in the *Bosatsukai giki kikigaki* as the Kurodani lineage, perhaps indicating that he wished to challenge Kōen's use of the name. Ninkū claimed that the name originated with Ennin, just as Kōen's lineage had, but Ninkū's interpretation of Ennin's lineage was different from the *Owakizashi* lineage described above. Ennin had cited a variety of exoteric texts in his *Ken'yō daikairon* but died

73. Other views of lineage existed. For a significantly different perspective, Eson's *Tendai Engyō bosatsukai sōjō kechimyakufu*, compiled in 1272, lists two major lineages: Kōjō and Enchin, with Ryōnin participating in both; see Shirato, “Ryōnin Shōnin to Manshūin-hon *Shukke saihō*,” 92. Other exegetical approaches to the precepts that traced their origins to such early Tendai figures as Eryō (802?–860) and Chōi (836–906) are known, but little detail about them remains (Fukuda, *Tendaigaku gairon*, 662).

74. See *Bosatsukai giki kikigaki*, *Seizan zensho*, bekkān 3:28b. Hongaku Shōnin, also known as Ennin (not to be confused with the Tendai patriarch Ennin, famous for his travel diary of his journeys in China), was the second abbot (*chōrō*) of Raigōin at Ōhara. Little is known about Hongaku Shōnin, but Yoshida Tsunefusa (1143–1200) reported meeting him and being impressed (Sugizaki, “Yūzū nenbutsushū no kechimiyaku,” 155–156; Tsunoda, *Heian jidaishi jiten*, 2:2674d).

75. Kodera Bun'ei, “Ryaku fusatsu shidai”; Shirato, “Ryōnin Shōnin to Manshūin-hon *Shukke saihō*”; Sugizaki, “Yūzū nenbutsushū no kechimiyaku.”

before he could complete the work by adding his own comments; Ennin's student Anné asked Sugawara no Michizane (845–903) to compose an introduction to the text. The *Ken'yō daikairon* had not been cited often in early Tendai works, probably because Ennin had not lived long enough to provide a guide to the interpretation of the voluminous quotations in it. For Ninkū, Ennin's position coincided with a position that Ninkū himself sometimes articulated, that is that the precepts should be emphasized and not be mixed with other traditions that might undermine them.⁷⁶ Evidence for the high regard that the Seizan lineage had for Ennin is found in a list of woodblock texts published (*inban*) by Shōkū, the founder of the Seizan lineage. Among them was Ennin's *Ken'yō daikairon*.⁷⁷ At one point, Ninkū cited a passage from the *Sutra on Perfect Enlightenment* (*Yuanjue jing*) and noted that it had also been cited by Ennin in the *Ken'yō daikairon*.⁷⁸ Finally, one of Ninkū's last works, composed in 1386, was the *Daikai shinanshō* (A compass for the Mahāyāna precepts) in one fascicle. This text is a detailed interpretation of the introduction to Ennin's *Ken'yō daikairon*.⁷⁹ Ninkū's is quite different from the treatment of the *Ken'yō daikairon* found in the *Ōwakizashi* that relegated it to a secondary role as a refutation of Nara schools' positions, sometimes wrongly attributing it to Saichō.

According to Ninkū, Ennin's lineage was passed down to Eikū, who in turn conferred the teachings on Hōnen. However, Eikū and Hōnen had a fundamental disagreement about the concept of the essence of the precepts. Eikū argued that it should be identified with the true aspect of the mind (*jissōshin*), basing his view on Mingguang's commentary, which is close to the interpretation found in the *Mohe zhiguan*.⁸⁰ Hōnen argued that this term was not found in the *Pusajie yi ji* and that Eikū's views did not correspond with those of Zhiyi. The impasse was finally resolved when Eikū went to Hōnen and praised his views, suggesting that they make a pact that they would be each other's teachers.⁸¹

In the *Gyōjishō*, Ninkū suggested that Hōnen gave these teachings to Shōkū as a secret teaching and that they were unknown to Hōnen's other students, in particular Hōrenbō Shinkū (1146–1228) and the other members

76. *Kōin gakudō tsūki*, T 83:534c. However, elsewhere Ninkū sees the precepts as initiating people into Buddhism and Pure Land teachings as leading them to their final goal (*Bonmōkyō jikidanshō*, ZTZ Enkai 2:167b, relying on a mention of the Pure Land in the *Pusajie yi ji*, T 40:563b11).

77. *Jōdo sōkeizu*, DS 5:23:178.

78. *Da yuanjue jing*, T 17:921a24; Ennin, *Ken'yō daikairon*, T 74:712a; Ninkū, *Shingaku bosatsu gyōyōshō*, T 74:782a.

79. The *Daikai shinanshō* has not been published, but I was able to obtain a copy of a manuscript from Kitano Tenmangū with the help of Wakazono Zensō, who at that time was affiliated with Ryūkoku University.

80. *Tiantai pusajie shu*, T 40:581a23–24, 587b3; *Bosatsukai giki kikigaki*, *Seizan zensho*, bekkān 3:28b.

81. *Bosatsukai giki kikigaki*, *Seizan Zensho*, bekkān 3:28b.

of the Nison'in lineage.⁸² As Ninkū wrote in his biography of Shōkū, “The precepts of the saint, Hōnen, are divided into two traditions: the Nison'in of Saga and the Seizan lineage, which has been transmitted since Shōkū. Shōkū is widely known to have been Hōnen's prized disciple and to have received his true teaching. When Hōnen lectured on the *Pusajie yi ji*, others might only hear one chapter or one section, but Shōkū heard him lecture on the entire text two or three times.”⁸³

This account is strengthened by Ryōe Dōkō's *Tendai bosatsukaigisho kenmon*. Ryōe (1243–1331) had received the precepts from a lineage that included Hōnen's disciple Tankū, who belonged to Shinkū's lineage. According to a passage close to the beginning of the text,

Shin[kū] answered, “Our teacher Gen[kū, also known as Hōnen] primarily studied the Pure Land teachings and did not study the commentary on the precepts. . . .” But he [Hōnen] would say that there were precepts of phenomena (*jikai*) and precepts of Principle (*rikai*). When precepts of phenomena were considered, adherence and breaking of the precepts existed. When precepts in Principle were considered, only adherence existed, but breaking the precepts did not. When the precepts were received, one had them forever and could not lose them. When he conducted ordinations, [Hōnen] would say in the introduction these precepts eternally abide through the three time periods. Although one can receive them, one cannot abandon them. Although one breaks them, one does not lose them. They abide through the future.⁸⁴

Thus, Ninkū's view that significant differences existed between the positions of Shinkū and Shōkū on the precepts was shared by monks from rival lineages, even if they did not agree on their evaluations of those interpretations.

Did Ninkū's view that the bodhisattva precepts were a perfect teaching actually reflect Shōkū's position? Shōkū was so vitally concerned with the precepts that he discoursed on them even on his deathbed. As he lay dying, he told a visitor that the path to rebirth in the Pure Land consisted of the four precepts and three encouragements (discussed below), the visualization of the Buddha (*kanbutsu*), and the recitation of the Buddha's name (*nenbutsu*) according to the *Guan wuliangshou jing* (Sutra on visualization of the Buddha of Immeasurable Life). Thus, Ninkū portrayed Shōkū as closely associating the observance of the precepts and Pure Land practice. Two days later, Shōkū discussed the interpretation of passages in Zhiyi's *Pusajiejing yi ji* concerning the stages and the four teachings, a topic that was vital to the classification of the *Bodhisattva Precepts Sutra* as a purely perfect teaching. Shōkū's conversation partner was Myōkan (n.d.), abbot of Sennyūji.⁸⁵ Myōkan, also known as

82. *Gyōjishō*, ZTZ Enkai 2:424; *Bonmōkyō jikidanshō*, ZTZ Enkai 2:158b–159a.

83. *Zen'e shōnin e*, DS 5.23:227.

84. BZ-Suzuki 16:66a; see *Yingluo jing*, T 24:1021b.

85. *Honchō kōsoden*, BZ-Suzuki 63:99a, 339c; *Kihigaki, Seizan zensho*, bekkān 3:68.

Chikyō, had studied under Shunjō, a Tendai monk who had studied the precepts in China. Myōkan himself traveled to China in 1238 to study the precepts, Chan, and Pure Land. Upon his return, he was named the fourth abbot of Sennyūji. Because Myōkan would probably have adhered to a more traditional Chinese interpretation of the *Pusajie yi ji*, it is likely that the two monks would have disagreed on many points. Even so, they seem to have been good friends. Despite evidence that Shōkū was concerned with the precepts and how the bodhisattva precepts should be classified, he did not write much about them; in contrast, Ninkū was involved in the composition of numerous texts on the precepts. Significant differences between the positions of Shōkū and Ninkū on the precepts may have existed, but Shōkū's stance is not clear enough to delineate this issue in detail.⁸⁶

Ninkū considered still another interpretation of precepts lineage, a continuous and unbroken lineage from the Buddha to a series of patriarchs, comparing it with Zen and Tendai views of lineages. Except for Zen and some esoteric practitioners, no other school argued for such an unbroken lineage. Earlier Chinese Tiantai and Japanese Tendai monks had argued that such a lineage had been broken with the death of Śiṃha (Shishi), last in a putative line of Indian patriarchs accepted by the Tiantai School. Ninkū did not accept the Zen tradition's interpretation of its unbroken lineage, but he was also critical of traditional Tendai critiques of it. He instead developed his own argument for a continuous lineage (*fuhōzō sojō*). He began by suggesting that the traditional Tiantai view of a lineage that was interrupted by Śiṃha's death was a provisional and Hinayāna view; he then offered a new interpretation of a patriarchal lineage: "The twenty-three patriarchs [up to Śiṃha] all lived during the thousand years of the True Dharma (Shōbō) and were all sages. But when the period of the True Dharma turned into the periods of the simulated and end of the Dharma, then the proselytization by teachers who are worldlings (*bonsūi*) changed its spiritual means. After Śiṃha's death, the True Dharma was hidden, but this did not mean that there were no men who transmitted it; the transmission continued."⁸⁷ Ninkū added that Zen, too, clung to a Hinayāna and provisional conception of lineage and then confused it with their teachings of "a separate transmission outside of the teachings."

Instead of an unbroken Zen lineage, Ninkū suggested that the unbroken transmission of the Buddhist teachings could be found in the bodhisattva precepts lineage, which went from Vairocana to Śākyamuni in Prabhūtaratna's pagoda and then to more than twenty bodhisattvas. The vague expression "more than twenty bodhisattvas" included Mahākāśyapa and Ānanda, two figures at the beginning of the Zen lineage. For Ninkū, the key figure was Kumārājīva, who supposedly translated the *Brahma's Net Sutra* and then spread it, resulting in an unbroken transmission of the Buddhist teachings.

The doctrinal basis for Ninkū's lineage lay in two teachings mentioned

86. Asai Jōkai, "Seizan Shōkū shi no shōgai," 123.

87. *Kaiju shō*, ZTZ Enkai 2:283b.

in both the *Pusajie yi ji* and Mingguang's commentary; these were called respectively "the four precepts and the three encouragements" (*shikai sangon*).⁸⁸ The teaching of the four precepts refers to how the precepts have been transmitted in an unbroken lineage from (1) Vairocana to (2) Śākyamuni to (3) bodhisattvas to (4) sentient beings.⁸⁹ Although the precepts when transmitted from Vairocana to Śākyamuni were at such a high level that only a buddha could understand them, by taking those same precepts and conferring them on bodhisattvas and then on sentient beings, they were made accessible even to worldlings (*bonbu*) in an obscure country (Japan) during the decline of the Dharma.⁹⁰ The three encouragements refer to how sentient beings are urged to receive the precepts, observe them, and chant them. The power of the perfect precepts is such that it can affect the faculties of the ignorant during the decline of the Dharma.⁹¹ Moreover, the distinction between bodhisattva precepts and the precepts of the Buddha, a position used by some Tendai scholars to argue for a hierarchical difference between the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts and *Lotus Sutra* precepts, was overcome.

What were the practical consequences of this unbroken lineage for worldlings? If the precepts were perfect, then they should apply to everyone, just as the teachings of the *Lotus Sutra* were universal. Ninkū's approach to such issues can be seen in a discussion in the *Kaiju shō* concerning whether people whose capacities were suited to any of the four teachings could receive the bodhisattva precepts. Ninkū argued that if the precepts were classified as a mix of distinct and perfect teachings, they could not be received and observed by everyone. The *Huayan jing*, the scripture traditionally associated with the mix of distinct and perfect teachings, had been criticized by Tiantai scholars as being too difficult to understand for all but advanced practitioners. In a similar manner, one might argue that the *Brahma's Net Sutra* (a scripture considered to be the capping sutra for the *Huayan jing*) precepts were suitable for advanced practitioners, whereas the Hinayāna precepts were more suited for those of lesser ability.⁹² Although Saichō had argued that Japanese religious faculties had matured and were perfect, heightened awareness of the advent of the period of decline of the Dharma might have called this into question. Ninkū adamantly argued that anyone could hold the bodhisattva precepts; all that was required was the ability to understand the teacher's words. Moreover, the ordination ceremony could be conducted by worldlings. The teacher conducting the ceremony need not be a sage or free of defilements. Ultimately, the buddhas and bodhisattvas conferred the actual precepts while worldlings conducted the ceremony.

88. T 40:569c8 and 584b21.

89. *Kaiju shō*, ZTZ Enkai 2:283a.

90. *Cyōjishō*, ZTZ Enkai 2:400a–402b.

91. *Bonmōkyō jikidanshō*, ZTZ Enkai 2:165b.

92. The argument contains abstruse discussions about the stages on the path involving descriptions from the first fascicle of the *Brahma's Net Sutra*, but these will not be discussed in detail here.

Lotus Sutra Ordinations

A variety of texts contributed to Tendai views on ordinations, with the *Lotus Sutra* being a major influence. However, no passages from the *Lotus Sutra* refer specifically to precepts or ordinations in the traditional ways in which those terms were used. How would *Lotus Sutra* precepts be defined, interpreted, and enforced? What other texts, if any, could be used to explain its interpretation of the precepts? How would infractions be expiated? Would serious infractions result in losing the precepts?⁹³ Because a variety of ordination lineages and interpretations are found in Tendai during the medieval period, no consistent position emerges. The use of the *Lotus Sutra* in ordinations is further complicated by Saichō's death before he could explain the role the sutra might have played in ordinations. A variety of views on the *Lotus Sutra* and the precepts thus emerged during the medieval period. I briefly highlight these below. If I have already mentioned them in this chapter, I do not add a footnote, but for new issues, I indicate sources.

The *Samantabhadra Sutra* was used in the ordination manual composed by Zhanran and then rewritten by Saichō. In this, Śākyamuni was the preceptor, Mañjuśrī the master of ceremonies, Maitreya the teacher (*ajari*), the various buddhas were the witnesses, and the bodhisattvas the fellow students. How could such an order be used to enforce monastic discipline? Several approaches were used. A distinction was made between the buddhas and bodhisattvas who conferred (*ju*) the precepts and the monks who transmitted (*den*) them.⁹⁴ In the *Shuzenji ketsu*, the Buddha and bodhisattvas give their proxy (*yuyoku*) to the monks who performed the ordination. Such approaches might have combined the claim that buddhas and bodhisattvas were the source of the precepts while giving authority to enforce them to the monastic leaders of the order.

An impressive number of passages from the *Lotus Sutra* were said to comprise the precepts by various Tendai lineages, sometimes combining them with elements from the *Vinaya* or *Brahma's Net Sutra*. According to the *Eizan daishi den*, Saichō relied on the "Course of Ease and Bliss," particularly its prohibition on consorting with Hīnayānists. Annen used the realization of buddhahood with this very body, a theme based on the story of the Nāga girl in the "Devadatta" chapter of the *Lotus Sutra*, in his analysis of the ordination.⁹⁵ The *Shuzenji ketsu* used the metaphor of the Tathāgata's room, robes, and seat, equating them with compassion, forbearance, and emptiness as precepts. Sonshun had equated holding the *Lotus Sutra* with adhering to the precepts. In the "consecrated ordination" of the Kurodani lineage, the scene in which

93. See chapter 13 below.

94. Groner, "Saichō and the Bodhisattva Precepts," 277–345. This work is my PhD dissertation and contains a detailed description of the ordination ceremony that I have never published. The section on the invitation to the Buddha and bodhisattvas is found on pp. 311–315. For the confession ceremony that purified one before receiving the precepts, see chapter 6 above.

95. See chapter 3 above.

Śākyamuni entered Prabhūtaratna's reliquary was used to dramatize identifying the ordinee as a "new" buddha and giving him permission to create new rules and doctrines. Various passages from the *Lotus Sutra* were chanted throughout the ceremony, including some that mentioned *gasshō* in passing but were given new emphasis in the ceremony.⁹⁶ Ninkū raised the bodhisattva precepts to the level of the *Lotus Sutra* by calling them a perfect teaching.⁹⁷ The various exegetes sometimes criticized each other.

Finally, such terms as "buddha-nature," "Suchness," and "the true aspect" were used in medieval discussions of the precepts. Frequently, these terms, all based on the *Lotus Sutra*, were used in arguments that the precepts could not be violated or lost. At other times, they might be used to argue that the precepts were primordial, not mere expedients set to deal with specific problems as the *Vinaya* seemed to be.

Conclusion

Saichō's early death, before he could clarify his proposals to use a new set of precepts to ordain monks, left Tendai monks in a quandary about which sources of the precepts to use and how to organize them into a set of coherent precepts and ordinations. The result is that significant differences exist within the Tendai School on monastic discipline and the interpretation of ordinations. The wide disparity in treatments of the relationship between the precepts and the *Lotus Sutra* was further complicated by the use of the *Brahma's Net Sutra* for ordinations by some in the Japanese Tendai School. The exegetes of the Eshin-ryū, on the basis of the apocryphal *Gakushōshiki mondō*, identified several passages from the *Lotus Sutra* with the precepts and gave the *Brahma's Net Sutra* little, if any, role in the precepts. The result was an emphasis on vague and abstract principles by the Eshin and Danna lineages with little or no consideration of concrete rules and their enforcement.

The monks from other Tendai lineages organized precepts and texts into hierarchies or devised lineages, either integrating the *Lotus Sutra* and *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts or discarding the precepts for more abstract principles.⁹⁸ The Kurodani lineage used a hierarchical structure to explain the relation between the two sutras. Its "consecrated ordination" ritual was a virtual reenactment of a key passage from the *Lotus Sutra*, but the *Brahma's Net Sutra* seemed to play a much more elementary role in the training of monks. In the Rozanji lineage, Ninkū and his students reconciled these scriptures in a series of lectures and debates based on the *Pusajie yi ji* by arguing that the precepts from the *Brahma's Net Sutra* should be considered an independent text embodying the perfect teaching that was equal to the *Lotus Sutra*. For both of these lineages, the importance of observing concrete

96. Chapter 9 below.

97. Chapter 11 below.

98. For more on such hierarchies, see chapter 2 above.

rules was emphasized as an essential step in mastering the Principle (*nī*) of Buddhism.

Doctrinally, all of these lineages emphasized the universal access to buddhas or to buddhahood itself. Passages from the *Brahma's Net Sutra* promising realization of buddhahood with the ordination were cited more than any other passage from that text, including the precepts. These were combined with the ever-present predictions and promises of buddhahood for all found in the *Lotus Sutra*, resulting in the use of ordinations to call forth the realization of buddhahood with this very body. The emphasis on the *Lotus Sutra* as the ultimate teaching is found in most Tendai texts on the precepts, giving the precepts a universal or authoritative quality, sometimes encompassing a variety of specific precepts and sometimes excluding them. Thus, Tendai treatments of the precepts of the *Four-Part Vinaya* and the *Brahma's Net Sutra* differed according to which lineage discussed them. Passages from the *Lotus Sutra*, often cited out of context, were frequently used to justify the various positions. The commentary on the *Brahma's Net Sutra*, *Zhiyi's Pusajie yi ji*, was used to give the precepts a Tendai interpretation. But in this case, too, the text was cited in a variety of ways to support both lax and strict interpretations of the precepts. The great variety of positions should not, however, be seen as resulting from a lack of attention to the precepts; it rather reveals the urgency that at least some serious Tendai monks felt in interpreting them and understanding what it meant to be a practicing Buddhist.

Kōen and the Consecrated Ordination

THE JAPANESE TENDAI SCHOOL of the late Heian and Kamakura periods is often stereotyped as a monolithic institution that persecuted the newly emerging schools of Kamakura Buddhism. Terms such as “secularization” are used to characterize its interest in political, economic, and military power. Doctrinal traditions such as original enlightenment (*hongaku*) and a complex institution of exoteric and esoteric Buddhism (*kenmitsu taisei*) are said to have provided the intellectual foundations for these developments. In this chapter, I focus on one monk, Kōen (1262/1263–1317), who served as a counterexample to many of these stereotypes. Many of the documents considered in this chapter were more prescriptive than descriptive. Kōen probably wished to make his reforms to Tendai more broadly based and perhaps apply them to large monasteries. They may have been followed when their author was the head of a monastic institution, but because Kōen’s movement was always a small one, they never applied to all of the Tendai School and were probably altered or abandoned after their author died.

Kōen was an important member of the Kurodani lineage of the Tendai School, a group that traced its lineage back to Hōnen, traditionally regarded as the founder of the Pure Land (Jōdo) School but until late in his life a Tendai monk concerned with the precepts. By Kōen’s time the Kurodani lineage was clearly strengthening its ties with the Tendai School rather than that of Pure Land. Kōen and the Kurodani lineage present a significant counterexample to stereotypes of the usual image of medieval Tendai for several reasons. The first reason is that the Kurodani lineage was an example of a

This chapter is primarily based on my 2009 article “Kōen and the ‘Consecrated Ordination,’” in James Alexander Benn, Lori R. Meeks, James Robson, eds., *Buddhist Monasticism in East Asia: Places of Practice*.

Tendai group that stressed adherence to the precepts; it thus differed from Tendai groups that interpreted the precepts in such an abstract fashion that they ceased to be relevant to the everyday lives of monks. Other monks within the Tendai tradition also stressed the importance of monastic discipline, among them were Eisai, Shunjō, and Jitsudō Ninkū.

Second, the arguments on the precepts within the Kurodani lineage are based on teachings of original enlightenment, a tradition that is often thought of as contributing to the laxity in monastic discipline. Because this lineage stressed the importance of monastic discipline, it serves as an example of the complexity and multifaceted nature of medieval Tendai thought. Kōen's biography illustrates some of the mechanisms used by Tendai monks to arrive at a variety of interpretations of the precepts. The documents from the Kurodani lineage can often be dated and are usually attributed to their actual authors, thus providing scholars with benchmarks in their efforts to date other texts that have been attributed to past figures. The emphasis on dreams and revelations from major figures of the past that is found in Kōen's biography stands in stark contrast to the approach of other Tendai monks who emphasized monastic discipline and stressed a careful analysis of authentic documents by major Tendai thinkers. Among the latter type are Hōchibō Shōshin (1131?–1215?) and Jitsudō Ninkū. Instead of using dreams to establish or locate monasteries, Kōen used them to justify the revival of traditions that he traced back to Saichō.

Third, the Kurodani lineage of the Tendai School differed from other precepts revival movements because the Kurodani monks looked back to Saichō, the founder of the Tendai School, rather than to Indian and Chinese models.¹ The monks of the Kurodani lineage are noteworthy for another reason: Tendai *hongaku* thought is often explained as providing a rationale enabling Tendai monks to abandon monastic discipline because it suggested that people are enlightened just as they are and had little or no need for practice. The fact is that *hongaku* thought included a variety of positions on religious practice.

The Kurodani lineage represents one of the most conservative positions in the *hongaku* tradition because of its emphasis on the importance of the precepts, a position that is highlighted in a discussion of the “precepts in Principle” (*rikai*) in some of the medieval texts cited below. The concept of precepts in Principle can be thought of as an extension of ideas that have been present in Buddhism since its earliest times. The Buddha was said to embody the precepts even before they had been specified. In other words,

1. For a study of Saichō and the precepts, see Groner, *Saichō*. However, the Kurodani lineage did not regard Saichō in the manner I have described in that study because they believed Saichō was the author of several texts that have proven to be apocryphal, most notably the *Tendai Hokkeshū gakushōshiki mondō*, a text mentioned in chapter 7 above, which argues for the primacy of the *Lotus Sutra* over the *Fanwangjing* in the interpretation of the precepts. The *Mondō* is cited in Ejin's *Endonkai kikigaki*, in ZTZ Enkai 1:205. For a study of the *Mondō*, see Tamayama, “*Mondō* no shiteki kachi.”

realizations of enlightenment or the attainment of profound meditative states indicated that the practitioner might naturally embody the precepts. Similar ideas are found in medieval Tendai, but with the difference that such natural embodiments of the precepts were believed to occur in people with low levels of religious attainment by virtue of their inherent nature. Such ideas are exemplified in an Eshin-lineage text dated 1501, the *Nichō goshō kenmon*, by Sonshun (1451–1514). Sonshun begins by describing his own lineage’s position, one that subordinated any adherence to the precepts to realization of certain teachings.

According to the Eshin lineage, there should be no ordination ceremony of the perfect precepts other than the three views in a single instant (*isshin sankan*). This lineage maintains the position that the vehicle and the precepts are identical and that the three trainings are non-dual. What is it that we refer to as the true essence of the perfect precepts? It is simply to adhere to the *Lotus Sutra*. The three views in a single instant are found in the term “wondrous Dharma” (*myōhō*, the first two characters of the sutra’s title).²

A member of the Eshin lineage need only follow the *Lotus Sutra*. The Kurodani lineage’s position was based on *hongaku* positions like those of the Eshin lineage. For example, both groups argued that the three learnings (*sangaku*) were non-dual; in other words, any one of the elements of morality, meditation, and wisdom could be identified with the other two. They differed, however, over which of the three learnings should be emphasized. The Kurodani lineage stressed the importance of decorum and the precepts. In Sonshun’s description of the Kurodani position, “The precepts and meditation are not confused. The three views in an instant is a discernment of the realization of one’s nature (*naishō no kanmon*). The precepts are identical with the decorum found in their details and their maintenance. Even if one’s meditation and wisdom of inherent nature is clear, without the decorum that arises from the precepts, the Principle of Buddhism will not be manifested.”³ Thus, the Kurodani lineage also argued that the precepts arose from one’s inherent nature, but the Kurodani differed from the Eshin lineage in stressing the importance of adhering to the precepts so that the Principle of Buddhism might be manifested. Kurodani monks argued, moreover, that Saichō had included separate lineages for the transmissions of the precepts and teachings in his *Naishō butpo kechimyakufu* to indicate that the precepts should not be subordinated to an abstract Principle.⁴

The fourth reason that the Kurodani counters stereotypes of the usual image of medieval Tendai is that it offered important insights into how *hongaku* ideas were used ritually. The “consecrated ordination” (*kai kanjō*)

2. TZ 9:225.

3. TZ 9:224.

4. For Saichō’s lineages, see Groner, *Saichō*, 257–259.

ritual for which the lineage is famous is informed by *hongaku* ideas. Because many *hongaku* texts are attributed to earlier figures in Tendai history, modern scholars frequently have no clear idea of the social and ritual context in which these views were circulated. The Kurodani lineage's use of *hongaku* views is not typical of most Tendai groups in that it emphasizes the importance of adherence to the precepts, enabling us to investigate the ritual context for some of these medieval views, thereby providing a more complex and nuanced view of medieval Tendai.

The Kurodani lineage can be traced back through several Tendai figures, including Hōnen. The monk Kōen, the focus of this chapter, represents the Kurodani lineage when it had begun to define itself as a Tendai movement through the consecrated ordination ritual. The chapter is divided into three parts, beginning with a biography of Kōen. Next is a consideration of Kōen's plan to reinstitute the twelve-year confinement and establish rules for monasteries controlled by the Kurodani lineage. Finally, the consecrated ordination, the ritual that gave the Kurodani lineage its unique place in Tendai, is introduced.

Kōen's Biography

The Kurodani lineage is based on a Tendai ordination that runs from Saichō through various monks up to Hōnen. Because Hōnen was originally a Tendai monk but considered the founder of the Jōdo School at the end of his life, the sectarian affiliations of several generations following him have been ambiguous. Two generations before Kōen, Gudōbō Ejin (d. 1289) had combined Pure Land and monastic discipline early in his life. When the Tendai establishment on Mount Hiei pressed Ejin to clarify his sectarian affiliation, he chose to demonstrate his loyalty to Tendai by re-establishing Saichō's plan for a twelve-year retreat on Mount Hiei. Although he only remained in the retreat for six years, his attempt and attitude were an important inspiration for Kōen. The Kurodani lineage continued with Ejin's student Egi (d. 1301), who was Kōen's teacher.

Kōen, also known as Denshin kashō, was born in Ōshū and was a descendant of the Taira clan.⁵ In 1276 Kōen entered a temple and in 1278 was initiated as a novice.⁶ His initial interest in the precepts is recorded as occurring in a meeting with his teacher Enson Shōnin⁷ in the summer of 1287. According to Kōen's biography, the *Denshin kashōden*,

When Kōen received the teaching of the wondrous tenet of the three views in a single instant, he asked, "According to Saichō's explanation, 'The three views in

5. *Denshin kashōden*, ZTZ Shiden 2:410a; The *Denshin kashōden* was compiled by the disciple of Kōen's student Enkan, a monk named Kōshū (Shikii, *Nyūmonteki kenkyū*, 9).

6. *Denshin kashōden*, ZTZ Shiden 2:410a.

7. Nothing is known of Enson's biography.

a single instant are transmitted with a single word; the perfect bodhisattva precepts are transmitted with the ultimate mind (*shishin*).⁸ I have already heard about the three views in a single instant and have attained their original sudden import, but why have I never heard of the interpretation (*ketsu*) concerning the phrase ‘the perfect bodhisattva precepts are conferred with ultimate faith (*shishin*)?’”

His teacher replied, “The profundities of the three views are transmitted by our lineage, but I have not heard Saichō’s original intention concerning the perfect precepts. I have heard that in Kurodani there is an illustrious teacher named the Saint Who Seeks the Way (Gudō shōnin).⁹ He is a master of the perfect precepts who understands the *Vinaya* and preaches its teachings. You should go ask him.”¹⁰

Around 1287 at the Konkaiin in Shin-kurodani, Kōen studied under Egi both esoteric and exoteric Buddhism as well as the precepts. Kōen then went to Kyoto and traveled to Kiyomizudera, where he performed an abbreviated reading (*tendoku*) of the *Guanyin jing* (*Avalokiteśvara Sutra*) 333 times each day for a thousand days. Eventually he had a dream on the day he completed the practices (*ketsugan*) in which the three thousand realms appeared before his eyes and the ten thousand realms were understood in a single instant.¹¹ The dream, of course, indicates that Kōen had realized enlightenment. Kōen spent the next eighteen years at Shin-kurodani.¹² During that time, Kōen asked Egi what the basis of the precepts should be; Egi answered the *Lotus Sutra*. Further questioning revealed that it all came down to the sutra’s chapter on “The Lifespan of the Buddha” (Juryōbon).¹³ Kōen’s differences with Egi are clearly revealed in the following dream recorded in Kōen’s biography:

Around the same time, Kōen had a dream. In the guest’s quarters of the old lodgings, there was a mat with a small pattern; on it sat Egi, an unidentified elder, and himself [Kōen]. The three of them sat in a triangle facing each other. The [older] monk asked, “What is the essence of the precepts?”

Egi answered, “As for the precepts, they are primordial and innate (*rigu honbun*); make no mistake about this. Your very body is the observance of the precepts (*jikai*).”

8. *Kenkai ron*, DZ 1:35. The *Kenkai ron* has the term “ultimate faith” (*shishin*), which is a homonym of “ultimate mind” (*shishin*) that appears here; however, the passage later includes the term “ultimate faith.” The switch gives the passage a more metaphysical sense. The *Kenkai ron* passage refers to the teachings that Daosui conferred on Saichō in China. The claim that Saichō received a teaching about the three views in a single word became a major topic in medieval Tendai.

9. The reference is to Ejin.

10. *Denshin kashōden*, ZTZ Shiden 2:410a–b. Some scholars have questioned whether Kōen actually met Ejin. Shikii (*Nyūmonteki kenkyū*, 8) has convincingly demonstrated that they did meet.

11. *Denshin kashōden*, ZTZ Shiden 2:410b.

12. Shikii, *Nyūmonteki kenkyū*, 10.

13. *Denshin kashōden*, ZTZ Shiden 2:411b.

The monk said, “This view is not the same as my original view.”

Next, he asked Kōen, who replied, “The significance of the precepts lies in using the phenomenal to master Principle; it is the observance of the prohibitions on no killing and no stealing. If one focuses on the letter of the rules and their observance, then one will master the origins of the Principle and will return to the direct path (*jikidō*) to enlightenment.¹⁴ Thus the Buddha compiled the ten major and forty-eight minor rules.” The old monk agreed with Kōen.¹⁵

This dream marked the beginning of Kōen’s efforts to follow the precepts. Afterward, he went to Saichō’s mausoleum (*gobyō*) and made vows to follow the precepts. In this passage from his diary Kōen revealed his penchant for emphasizing the literal meaning of the precepts instead of subordinating the precepts to an abstract teaching or Principle. His understanding, different from Egi’s, is confirmed by the old monk, who is identified in a note following the passage as none other than Saichō. The importance of dreams in Kōen’s spiritual life is noteworthy. In fact, his decision to differ from his teacher was based on a dream, which made him confident that his view was in accord with Saichō.

In his writings on the consecrated ordination, Kōen discussed the significance of each item that a monk received in the ordination, an example of moving from the concrete aspects of monastic discipline to Principle. Kōen’s decision to go to Saichō’s mausoleum to make his vow is typical of the tendency of Kamakura Buddhist traditions to emphasize the founders. In the case of the Kurodani lineage, that emphasis extended to the production of apocryphal traditions and texts concerning Saichō.¹⁶

Kōen’s biography, the *Denshin kashōden*, frequently seems like a diary with very specific dates. On 11/22/1288 Kōen received from Egi the perfect precepts at the Konkai kōmyōji (Light of the Adamantine Precepts Temple) in Shin-kurodani. Egi said he had conferred the precepts often but had never seen the type of faith exhibited by Kōen; Kōen would surely spread the precepts in the future. Egi said that Kōen reminded him of Saichō’s disciple Enchō.¹⁷ On 10/20/1305 Kōen embarked on the twelve-year confinement at the Non-Retrogression Quarters (Futaibō) in Kurodani with Enkan (aka Echin, 1281–1356). Less than one month later, on 11/15/1305, Kōen vowed

14. The term “direct path” is found in the beginning of the commentary on the *Brahma’s Net Sutra* attributed to Zhiyi; it became one of Saichō’s favorite terms (T 40:563a10; Groner, *Saichō*, 185–189).

15. *Denshin kashōden*, ZTZ Shiden 2:412a.

16. Nomoto, “Saichō no kaikanjō.”

17. *Denshin kashōden*, ZTZ Shiden 2:414b. Enchō may have been mentioned in such a positive light because he was one of Saichō’s closest disciples and the victor in the dispute with Enshu (n.d.), Gishin’s (781–833) disciple, over who should be chief prelate (*zasi*) of the Tendai School; in addition, he played a major role in the establishment of the Western Pagoda (Saitō) section of Mount Hiei, where Kurodani was located (*Denshin kashōden*, ZTZ Shiden 2:420b). Finally, he was originally a disciple of Dōchū (n.d.), who had studied the precepts under Ganjin. Enchō was one of the first Tendai monks to receive the bodhisattva precepts from Saichō.

not to eat after the hour of noon (*chōsai*) for eons to come. During this time, when Egi was about to confer on Kōen the lineage of the three views in an instant of the precepts lineage (*kaike sōjō*), Kōen, without waiting for oral instructions, began to expound his understanding of the three views. The teacher scolded him for not waiting for the lineage's views but then came around to thinking that it was due to the excellence of Kōen's innate knowledge (*shōchi shūzai*).¹⁸

The teaching of the three views in an instant was the subject of many of the lineages of medieval Tendai. This is in part because its importance had been indicated by the statement that Saichō had received a teaching concerning the three views in a single word from Daosui.¹⁹ In this story, Kōen seems to know the teaching from the outset and Egi only confirms his understanding. The story does more than glorify Kōen's understanding, however; it also reflects Tendai debates over whether such teachings (which are tantamount to enlightenment) must be conferred by a teacher or whether they come from one's own mind with a teacher serving only to confirm the understanding.²⁰

In the fifth month of 1307, Egi dreamt about Ejin, who appeared just as he had in life, but in the dream Ejin looked angry and scolded Egi for not conferring the consecrated ordination on Kōen sooner.²¹ The dream may well reflect the tension that seems to have been present in the relationship between the two men. Finally, on 6/11/1307, at the age of 44, Kōen received the consecrated ordination from Egi in the Non-Retrogression Quarters at Kurodani.²² Kōen received a number of items used by Ejin that authenticated his succession to the lineage: one mirror, one box for incense, and a robe used by Zhanran that had been brought to Japan by Saichō.²³

On 2/17/1308, Kōen directed his disciple Enkan to move to Jinzōji, a dilapidated temple in the Tōdō (Eastern Pagoda) area of Mount Hiei to continue the twelve-year seclusion alone.²⁴ The move back to Mount Hiei may have signaled Kōen's desire to establish his tradition firmly within the Tendai tradition rather than in the emerging Jōdo School.²⁵ With members of his group based in the heart of Mount Hiei, the actions of Kōen and his disciples led to criticisms from Tendai monks. Ejin, Egi, and Kōen had worn robes prescribed by the monastic rules (*ritsue*). In contrast, the Tendai monks from much of the rest of Mount Hiei wore robes that might be made of raw silk,

18. *Denshin kashōden*, ZTZ Shiden 2:414b–415a.

19. Groner, "Rationales for the Lax Adherence to the Precepts."

20. Nomoto ("Hongaku shikaku funi") demonstrates that many of these issues are found around the time when the *kai kanjō* movement flourished; they are particularly evident in Kōshū's *Keiran shūyōshū* (T 2410).

21. *Denshin kashōden*, ZTZ Shiden 2:412b.

22. *Denshin kashōden*, ZTZ Shiden 2:415a.

23. *Denshin kashōden*, ZTZ Shiden 2:417b–418a.

24. *Denshin kashōden*, ZTZ Shiden 2:422b–424a. Jinzōji was somewhat removed from the center of the Tōdō area, being located near the junction of the Ōmiyadani and Hidendani roads; only ruins survive today (Take, *Hieizan santō shodō*, 100–101; for a map, see p. 245).

25. Terai, "Kurodani ni okeru kairitsu fukkō," 285.

died with primary colors, and have elaborate patterns. Although the *Vinaya* had not prohibited silk, Chinese monks beginning with Nanshan Daoxuan (596–667) had argued that silk should not be worn because sericulture resulted in the death of so many silkworms.²⁶ Monks' robes, furthermore, were to be dyed bland colors and have some discoloration so that they had no value. Silk robes (*soken no koromo*) are said to have been worn by Tendai monks since the time of Ryōgen, but their origins may be as late as the middle of the thirteenth century.²⁷ If this is the case, then the new style of robes would have appeared around the same time that the Kurodani monks went back to an earlier and simpler style. Mainstream Tendai monks used primary (or pure) colors because they performed rituals for the emperor and for *kami* that required purity. As a result, Kōen's group was criticized by other Tendai monks, but on 3/15/1309 an elder of the group of Chroniclers (Kike) on Mount Hiei, the master of esoteric Buddhism Gigen²⁸ (fl. 1289–1351), sent a letter supporting Kōen's efforts to revive the precepts. Later, on 10/25/1309, Archbishop (*daisjō*) Chōjin, a master of esoteric Buddhism in the Sanmai lineage, also sent a letter sympathizing with Kōen's efforts to revive the precepts.²⁹ The types of robes and the decorum with which they were worn were hallmarks of Buddhist monasticism.

From the first to the twelfth day of the seventh month of 1308, Kōen wrote a short text, the *Commentary Concerning the Observance of the Ten Major and Forty-Eight [Lesser] Rules of the Perfect-Sudden Bodhisattva Precepts* (*Endon bosatsukai jūjū yonjūhachi gyō gishō*). It is a straightforward discussion of the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts, going through the details of how each was to be practiced. Rather than a scholarly treatise discussing the differences in interpretations of the precepts, Kōen wrote the text as a guide for practice, relying primarily on the commentary on the *Brahma's Net Sutra* attributed to Zhiyi with occasional references to Mingguang's commentary.³⁰ Kōen did not call for absolute adherence to the letter of the precepts, but rather asked that his followers

26. Shunjō had rejected silken robes for cotton ones as soon as he decided to carefully follow the precepts. In contrast, Ninkū, following Yijing's travel diary, allowed silk robes (Kieschnick, *Chinese Material Culture*, 98–100).

27. Toriimoto, "Jie Daishi no hōe," 293. The *soken no koromo* also had changes in style from earlier robes; for a picture, see *Ninon kokugo daijiten*, 12:366a.

28. *Denshin kashōden*, ZTZ Shiden 2:418b; Nomoto, "Gigen." Gigen received and conferred initiations concerning esoteric Buddhism and the teachings of the "Chroniclers" on a number of members of the Kaike (precepts) lineage.

29. *Denshin kashōden*, ZTZ Shiden 2:418a.

30. The *Pusajie yi ji* (also known as *Pusajie yi shū*) is a commentary attributed to Zhiyi; its authenticity has been questioned because some of its positions differ from those found in other works by Zhiyi (Satō Tatsuei, *Tendai daishi*, 412–415). For a discussion of Mingguang's commentary and its importance for Saichō, see Groner, *Saichō*, 229–236. The use of the commentary by Kōen and his disciples indicates that the commentary continued to be an important source for Tendai monks. See chapter 13 below for the role the text played in debates and other genres on Mount Hiei. For a summary of the scant information available concerning Mingguang's life, see Penkower, "T'ien-t'ai during the T'ang," chap. 5.

observe them to the extent that they were able. If they were motivated by compassion, the inability to completely observe each precept did not constitute a violation. Although Kōen's attitude may seem lax, in the context of his times (believed by him to be the final age of the Dharma), he was asking for serious and careful adherence to the precepts. Possibly because Kōen's flexibility might have opened his students to criticism, he cautioned that the text was to be kept secret from those who had not received the precepts, a prohibition not unlike those found in the *Vinaya* prohibiting laymen from participating or witnessing monastic rituals or the fortnightly assembly.³¹ A number of Kōen's texts contain additions by his student Enkan, but serious research analyzing the similarities and differences between the thought of the two men has still not been conducted.³²

One indication of the seriousness of Kōen's practice can be gained by a comparison with another text on the precepts compiled around the same time, Enrin's *Subcommentary on the Bodhisattva Precepts* (*Bosatsu kaigisho shō*), completed in 1237. Enrin's text is based on the commentary on the *Brahma's Net Sutra* attributed to Zhiyi. The subcommentary devotes considerable space to a learned discussion of the essence of the precepts, taking a serious attitude toward monastic discipline. Although it is a more academic text than Kōen's work, it lacks the practical immediacy of Kōen's commentary.³³

On 10/25/1309, Kōshū (1276–1350) went to Jinzōji to join Enkan's twelve-year retreat. Kōen then invited Kōshū to Kurodani and on 11/6 bestowed the precepts on him.³⁴ Jinzōji was designated as a place for the practice of the precepts. Finally, on 4/5/1310, two years after he sent Enkan to Jinzōji, Kōen moved to Jinzōji, joining Enkan to complete the twelve years of seclusion. The move to Jinzōji may have reflected the difficulties that Kōen experienced with his teacher Egi and other monks. As was noted above, Egi seems to have been hesitant to confer the consecrated ordination on Kōen. Perhaps Egi resented Kōen's attitude toward the precepts, which seemed more assiduous than his own. Egi had spent much of his time at the Konkai kōmyōji in Shin-kurodani completing the construction of the monastic complex and did not seem particularly enthusiastic about strict adherence to the precepts. He may also have resented Kōen's determination to complete the twelve-year retreat, a task that Egi's teacher Ejin had abandoned during his own retreat. In addition, Kōen's single-minded emphasis on the precepts may have bothered monks who were more comfortable with Shin-kurodani's traditional

31. The *Endon bosatsukai jūjū shijūhachi gyōgi shō* was in the Saikyōji library and not published until 2016 when Terai Ryōsen included it in his *Endonkai shisō*, 587–661; I rely on the analysis by Kubota (“*Jūjū shijūhachi gyōgi*”). Kubota was kind enough to give me a copy of the text. In addition, a subcommentary on Zhiyi's commentary on the *Fanwang jing* is extant at the Hōmyōin at Miidera, but no one has published any research on the text. For the *Vinaya* restrictions on lay believers, see Upasak, *Dictionary*, 51.

32. Terai, “Kurodani ni okeru kairitsu fukkō,” 282–283.

33. For information on Enrin, see Nakao, “Enrin,” and “Enrinsho ni okeru Shōshin.”

34. ZTZ Shiden 2:424a.

stance combining Pure Land and the precepts. Finally, in a vow made at the beginning of the establishment of the rainy-season retreat, Kōen seems to be defending himself against possible charges that he was not loyal to Egi in his vow concerning his twelve-year retreat. In the end, Egi left the leadership of Kurodani to one of his other students, Ninkū, rather than to Kōen; Kōen only took over Kurodani in 1314.³⁵

On 4/16/1310, several days after Kōen arrived at Jinzōji, an order of five monks³⁶ was formed and the observance of the rainy-season retreat, long ignored, began. A vow or pledge by Kōen from this time, the *Kōen kishōmon* (Kōen's pledge), survives.³⁷ The vow contains a passage suggesting that some sort of dispute had occurred between Kōen and Egi leading to the move to Jinzōji. Among those participating in the summer retreat were Kōshū, Enkan, Junkan, Tsūen, and Kōen. On the thirtieth of the month, those five monks revived the fortnightly assembly. Later, four other monks—Rikan, Gyōen, Dōkū, and Zen'a—participated in a latter rainy-season retreat that began and ended one month after dates of the former retreat.³⁸

As he progressed through the twelve-year retreat, Kōen's practices seem to have become more intense. He did not go through the carefully measured practices of monks in traditional monasteries regulated by the *Vinaya*, but instead followed the intensity of monks engaged in a long, uninterrupted period of religious austerities. The pilgrimages that he undertook near the end of his life, the conch shell that was conferred in the consecrated ordination, and the emphasis on dreams and visions all seem more reminiscent of the search for visions of a mountain ascetic than the practices of a person committed to the administration of monastic discipline. The descriptions of the locations on Mount Hiei found in his biography reflect a sacred geography interpreted both in terms of the *Lotus Sutra* and esoteric Buddhism. The significance of mountain practices for Sakyamuni, Huisi, Zhiyi, Saichō, Ennin, and Ryōgen are mentioned.³⁹ From 10/10/1311 to 7/5/1314, Kōen performed a thousand-day uninterrupted practice of the *goma* (burnt-offerings ritual) with a group of twelve monks who took turns so that someone would always be performing the ritual. Other practices conducted during this time included two periods of sitting meditation and three periods of chanting (*nenju*) each day. Kōen carved various images at this time, probably for use in some of the rituals he performed. During the eleventh month of 1312, an image of Daikokuten (Mahākāla), the deity for whom Kurodani was named,

35. Kubota, "Jūju shijūnachi gyōgi shō," 206; Shikii, *Nyūmonteki kenkyū*, 10.

36. Five monks were the minimum required to hold the *pravāraṇa*, a ceremony in which each monk asks whether he has incurred any faults during the rainy-season retreat. Because the successful completion of the retreat as a full order required that this ceremony be held, Kōen managed to assemble the bare minimum needed to hold the retreat (Upasak, *Dictionary*, 147–149).

37. ZTZ Enkai 1:202–203.

38. *Denshin kashōden*, ZTZ Shiden 2:418b.

39. *Denshin kashōden*, ZTZ Shiden 2:420a–421.

was carved and dedicated by Kōen. In the fourth month of 1313, he refurbished the Nyohōdō (Hall in Conformity with the Dharma), the chapel where Ennin's copy of the *Lotus Sutra*, which served as the spiritual center of Yokawa, was kept. Later that year, he carved and dedicated images of Mañjuśrī and the Medicine Buddha (Yakushi Nyorai). Near the end of this period of intensive activity, in 1316, Kōen composed the *Jūrokujō kuketsu* (Sixteen articles of oral transmission), a text that serves as an authoritative source for the early consecrated ordination.⁴⁰ On 1/8/1316, Kōen completed his twelve-year retreat. For the following seven days, he sequestered himself in the Konpon chūdō, the central building for esoteric practice on Mount Hiei. Beginning on 1/16, he went to the Seiryūji at Kurodani and sequestered himself there for three days.⁴¹ From 1/19, he made a pilgrimage to the three main areas of Mount Hiei (Santō). On 1/21, he descended Mount Hiei to the Hie Shrine. He sequestered himself in the Nenbutsudō (Hall for the Recitation of the Buddha's Name) with ten monks who spent seven days chanting every line (*shindoku*) of the six hundred-fascicle *Greater Perfection of Wisdom Sutra* (*Da bore jing*).⁴² In the tenth month of 1316, Kōen went to the former palace (*nyōin gosho*) of the imperial lady Kita-shirakawa Fujiwara no Nobuko (1173–1238), where he lectured on the *Mohe zhiguan*. This is an important event because it demonstrates the interest of laywomen in a meditation text. The building was later turned into Gennōji, an important Kurodani temple. During this time, he also strove to rebuild a variety of structures on Mount Hiei.

During the first month of 1317, Kōen announced that he was fifty-five years old and would not live much longer, noting that Saichō had died at about the same age.⁴³ The years of intense practice had clearly taken their toll. Shortly thereafter he conferred the consecrated ordination on Enkan. During the third month of 1317, he prepared the platforms for the transmissions of the three advanced Taimitsu consecrations (*sanbu kanjō kyōka dan*) for Shōzu and others. In the fourth month of 1317, he performed the Yūgi consecration, an advanced consecration initiating his students into the teaching that the Womb and Diamond Realms were non-dual. He then went on a pilgrimage, during which he lectured at Taishakuji on 4/25 and died the following day.⁴⁴

40. *Denshin kashōden*, ZTZ Shiden 2:424a-b. Several versions of the text exist with major differences in the order of the sixteen chapters; see the chart in Tendai shūten hensanjo, *Mokuroku kaidai*, 216–218; see also Shikii, “*Jūrokujō kuketsu*.”

41. Seiryūji has the same name as a famous esoteric Buddhist temple in China. Because it was located in a deep valley in Kurodani, it served as a site for serious practice and was particularly associated with Hōnen's Pure Land movement and later with the Tendai Shinsei lineage. It was part of a complex of five subsidiary temples (Hieizan *go bessho*) located on Mount Hiei. One of these was the Jinzōji mentioned elsewhere in this chapter (*Nihon Rekishi chimei taikei*, s.v. “Kurodani Seiryūji” accessed through JapanKnowledge, March 31, 2021).

42. *Denshin kashōden*, ZTZ Shiden 2:425a. Xuanzang's massive translation of Perfection of Wisdom literature had traditionally been chanted to bring such benefits as protecting the state.

43. *Denshin kashōden*, ZTZ Shiden 2:425b.

44. *Denshin kashōden*, ZTZ Shiden 2:425–427. Taishakuji was probably located in Imurodani in Yokawa (Take, *Hieizan santō*, 177).

The *Denshin kashōden* included a consideration of his activities concerning the precepts in the light of other efforts to revive the precepts:

In 753, Ganjin (Ch. Jianzhen, 699–763) came to Japan; he established an ordination platform in 754. In 822, Saichō's ordination platform was built. Sixty-nine years had elapsed between the two events. In 1236, Eison revived the Nara precepts (*kaihō*). In 1304, Kōen revived the Tendai precepts. In each case seventy years had elapsed between the two events; this can certainly be called "inexplicable." In addition, Saichō's lifespan was fifty-six years; Kōen's was fifty-five years. In this time of the decline of the Dharma, [Kōen's longevity] has declined by one year [compared to that of Saichō]; this seems natural. Who wouldn't call this wondrous?⁴⁵

Ganjin had brought the first Tendai texts to Japan and had probably interpreted the precepts with teachings from the *Lotus Sutra*. Even though Saichō rejected the ordination system that Ganjin had brought to Japan, Ganjin had been respected by the Tendai tradition. The comparison of Ganjin and Eison reveals a certain respect for Eison and perhaps indirectly the influence of Shunjō's efforts to restore monastic discipline, even though Kōen and his followers did not accept his interpretation of the precepts. In particular, Eison's self-ordination and the emphasis on dreams and special signs from the Buddha must have impressed Kōen and his followers. Eison's autobiography reveals a number of dreams and experiences that contributed to his self-confidence; similar experiences are found in Kōen's biography. The earnestness of Eison's practice and proselytizing must also have impressed Kōen and his followers.

Kōen's Plan for the Twelve-Year Confinement

In 1309, during the fourth year of his retreat on Mount Hiei, Kōen wrote the *Collection of Rules Concerning the Rise of Solely Mahāyāna Temples* (*Ikkō daijōji kōryū henmoku shū*) in one fascicle. Kōen discusses in this text monastic life for the students under his supervision, clearly relying on the rules Saichō had propounded several centuries earlier. Because few detailed collections of rules for Tendai monasteries survive from this period, the text provides insight into how some Tendai monasteries might have been structured at that time; however, little evidence exists demonstrating that the plans were carried out. The text is divided into the following seven sections:

Because solely Mahāyāna temples are appropriate for the latter period of the Dharma, they should be established in Japan and propagate the Mahāyāna precepts.

An image of Mañjuśrī as a monk should replace Piṇḍola as the chief prelate (*jōza*) of a solely Mahāyāna monastery.

45. *Denshin kashōden*, ZTZ Shiden 2:415a–b.

The reasons why the bodhisattva precepts are superior to the Hīnayāna precepts and details concerning their practice.

The full bodhisattva precepts should be conferred at the beginning of the twelve-year confinement.

A description of the daily life and practices of those studying Tendai and esoteric Buddhism.

A description of the officials and their duties at the temple.

A chart of the layout of the monastery and a list of the images to be installed at the various halls.

The text is primarily based on Kōen's teachings, with additions by his disciple Enkan. The first four sections of the text take the form of comments on Saichō's *Rules in Four Articles* (*Shijō shiki*). At times, the text also refers to Saichō's *Rules in Six Articles* (*Rokujo shiki*) and *Treatise Revealing the Precepts* (*Kenkai ron*). However, while Saichō's works focused on defending his proposals for a purely Mahāyāna ordination against the attacks of his Nara critics, Kōen's text has a very different emphasis: reviving and adapting Saichō's plan to explain the practical aspects of having monks sequestered on Mount Hiei for twelve years. Thus, the last three sections concern the ritual life and administrative structure that Kōen wished to establish on Mount Hiei, issues that Saichō had not considered in sufficient detail because of his early death. The text therefore represents one of the first attempts to revive Saichō's plans for Mount Hiei. It fits in with Matsuo Kenji's statement that one of the characteristics of "new Kamakura Buddhism" was the veneration of the founders of the schools and a renewed interest in their teachings.⁴⁶ In this sense, Kōen's movement differs from that of many other medieval monks who compiled new texts that they attributed to Saichō or who ignored much of what Saichō wrote even though they might honor him in the abstract as a patriarch of the school.

Kōen's text differs from Saichō's position even as it claims to return to his system in several noteworthy ways. Kōen, like many of his contemporaries, believed that he was living during the final Dharma age (*mappō*). Saichō, in contrast, had believed that he lived during the last part of the "semblance of the Dharma age" (*zōmatsu*). For Kōen, *mappō* was a time when only the teaching of Tendai meditation remained; no one practiced or realized enlightenment. Although ordinations might be conducted, no one actually observed the precepts themselves. People were lazy in their religious observances, with the result that both Buddhism and the state declined.⁴⁷ Like Saichō and numerous Tendai monks after him, Kōen linked Buddhism to the protection of the state. Kōen's solution to the religious and secular problems of *mappō* lay in the revival of the three trainings: morality, meditation, and wisdom. Because morality was the foundation of the three trainings, the precepts were to be emphasized above the other two. As Kōen wrote, "Because we have entered

46. Matsuo Kenji, *Kamakura Shin-Bukkyō*, 252–256.

47. ZTZ Enkai 1:167a, 168a.

the final Dharma age, the three trainings (*sangaku*) of the perfect school should flourish. They are the direct path to buddhahood for sentient beings and teachings by which the times and the faculties of sentient beings can be brought into accord. Without the resplendent power of the purely perfect three trainings, how will sentient beings during this period of the five pollutions be able to avoid endless eons [of suffering and practice] and realize buddhahood with this very body?⁴⁸

Saichō had made a provision in his *Rules in Four Articles* that Tendai monks might take a provisional Hinayāna ordination (*keju shōkai*) to benefit sentient beings and enable them to participate in assemblies with the Nara monks after they had completed their training on Mount Hiei. Kōen goes to considerable lengths to explain that a provisional Hinayāna ordination should not be used. Moreover, Tendai monks should not live in “mixed” temples where both Hinayāna and Mahāyāna practices and doctrines are present; in other words, they should not stay in monasteries together with those who followed the Hinayāna precepts. The result was a thorough and complete repudiation of the Hinayāna precepts that went beyond that proposed by Saichō.⁴⁹ With few exceptions, the Tendai School had not adopted Saichō’s proposal to allow “Hinayāna” ordinations, and the issue had ceased to be an issue for most Tendai monks in the Heian period. The effort Kōen expends in criticizing the Hinayāna precepts was probably a response to the Tendai monk Shunjō’s adoption of the Hinayāna ordinations at Sennyūji in Kyoto.⁵⁰

The longest section of the *Collection of Rules Concerning the Rise of Solely Mahāyāna Temples* concerned the bodhisattva precepts that fully ordain a monk (*bosatsu daisōkai*). The section begins with a consideration of the precepts used to initiate novices. Saichō had simply stated that the *en jūzenkai* (perfect ten good precepts) should be used. However, this ambiguous term had allowed during subsequent centuries various interpretations, notably, the *jūzenkai* (ten good precepts), the *jū shamikai* (ten precepts in the *Vinaya* traditionally used to initiate novices), and the *jūjūkai* (ten major precepts of the *Brahma’s Net Sutra*). Kōen noted that other precepts were also used, for example, the five lay precepts and partial sets of the ten major precepts. He concluded that the ten good precepts were the set that should be used. However, a note (*uragaki*), possibly by Enkan, argued that a follower of the perfect teaching need not even pass through the stage of being a novice and should simply become a monk.⁵¹

48. ZTZ Enkai 1:167b–168a.

49. ZTZ Enkai 1:168–171; for an analysis of Saichō’s proposal for provisional Hinayāna ordinations and the Tendai School’s immediate rejection of them, see Groner, *Saichō*, 195–205.

50. For Ninkū’s rejection of Shunjō’s position, see Groner, “Ninkū on Ordinations,” 66–68, also chapter 11 below.

51. ZTZ Enkai 1:173–174. For a study of the term “perfect ten good precepts,” see Kodera Bun’ei, *Enkai gaisetsu*, 188–202. Kodera notes that eminent Tendai monks held a variety of views on the issue. Kōjō argued that the ten major precepts of the *Brahma’s Net Sutra* should be used to initiate novices. Ennin and Enchin both used the ten good precepts. Ninkū argued that when

The precepts for a full-fledged monk consisted of the “Course of Ease and Bliss” (Anrakugyō) from the *Lotus Sutra*, the three collections of pure precepts (*sanju jōkai*), and the *Brahma’s Net Sutra* precepts.⁵² Kōen thus followed the tradition that combined the *Lotus Sutra* and *Brahma’s Net Sutra* but emphasized the importance of actually following the provisions of the *Brahma’s Net Sutra* precepts rather than subordinating the specific requirements of the precepts to abstract Principle, the approach that was used when the *Lotus Sutra* was given prominence in the interpretation of the precepts. This emphasis is developed in Kōen’s discussion of fasting after the hour of noon. After reviewing the various practices followed by both lay and monastic believers, options that required fasting on certain days or certain months, Kōen concluded that the monks should always fast after noon. He noted that because some pious lay believers do so, monks should not refuse to follow this practice. Moreover, he added that because both the lay donor and the monk would incur a karmic penalty if the monk ate after noon, the monk should take pains to protect his lay patron by following this rule. Thus, for Kōen, the fast between noon and the following morning was one of the hallmarks of monastic practice.

Kōen followed the *Brahma’s Net Sutra* in requiring his followers to possess the following eighteen items, a list found only in the *Brahma’s Net Sutra*: a stick for cleaning their teeth, cleansing powder, three robes, a pot, a bowl, a cloth for sitting or lying down, a staff, a censer, a net for filtering water, a cloth for wiping hands, a razor, implements for lighting fires, tweezers for removing nose hair, a stool for sitting, sutras, rules, Buddha images, and bodhisattva images.⁵³

The schedule of events at the monastery was divided into three lists: daily, monthly, and yearly. The daily schedule at the monastery was as follows:

One should ceaselessly (*judan*) perform the three extensive lectures⁵⁴ and recite the secret mantras in the inner sanctum (*naijin*) of the main hall (*hondō*) in order to protect the nation.

novices were initiated in a universal ordination (*tsūju*), they received the three collections of pure precepts, but when they underwent a series of distinct ordinations (*betsuju*), they received the ten good precepts (Groner, “Ninkū on Ordination,” 56). Later, Keikō argued that the *Vinaya* precepts for novices should be used.

Discussions of whether a single ordination could include initiations for all the various groups of Buddhists, including lay believers, novices, and monastics, or if the various statuses required distinct rituals, may reflect the influence of Shunjō in both China and Japan (Ōtani Yūka, “The Controversy over the Principal Doctrine of the Nanshan *Vinaya* School in the Southern Song and Japan”).

52. The serene and pleasant activities are discussed in Groner, *Saichō*, 207–210; the three collections of pure precepts are described on pp. 219–220. For a description of the *Brahma’s Net Sutra* precepts, see chapter 2 above.

53. The list of eighteen items is based on the *Fanwang jing* (T 24:1008a).

54. The contents of the three lectures are not clearly defined. Two possibilities exist: the three sutras composed of the *Lotus Sutra* and its opening (*Wuliangyi jing*) and capping sutra (*Guan Puxian pusa xingfa jing*) or the three sutras associated with protecting the nation (*Lotus Sutra*, *Sutra of the Benevolent King*, and the *Sutra of Golden Light*). Because the passage is a commentary on a passage in Saichō’s *Rokujōshiki*, the latter seems more likely.

- 5–7 a.m. [is the time] for sitting meditation in the refectory (*jikidō*);
 when light appears in the east, gruel is eaten;
 after the gruel has been eaten, confession and vows are recited.
- 11 a.m.–1 p.m. [is when] rice is eaten.
- 1–3 p.m. [is the time when] the great discussion of doctrine (*daidangi*) is held in
 the lecture hall.
- 5–6 p.m. [is the time for the] concluding service (*shūweiji*), [usually consisting of
 the recitation of the *Emituo jing* (*Amitābha Sutra*) and the *nenbutsu*].
- 7–9 p.m. [is for] sitting meditation in the refectory.

After sitting meditation, those who seriously practice should enter study halls to ponder exoteric and esoteric doctrines. Practitioners should remain in the refectory for [additional] sitting meditation. The amount of time for rest is left to the needs of the individual.⁵⁵

The monthly calendar specified that fortnightly assemblies be held. In addition, each month was divided into three periods. During the first period, lectures dedicated to the main image (*honzon*) were held, with three questions being asked for each lecture. The second period included lectures and questions dedicated to the guardian deities of Mount Hiei (Sannō); and the third period had sets of lectures and questions dedicated to the founders of the school. Face-to-face debates (*tsugai rongi*) were scheduled during these three periods.⁵⁶ Debate thus played a major role in the training of the monks and was frequently conducted throughout the year. In addition, other debates were scheduled on certain days throughout the year, such as the anniversaries of the deaths of Ennin and Saichō.⁵⁷ The annual calendar included a number of lectures and debates dedicated to figures that had played major roles in Tendai history. They are listed below with the dates on which they were held:

- 1/8: assembly for the benevolent king (Ninnōe), consisting of one
 hundred monks⁵⁸
- 1/14: offerings to the mandala in honor of Ennin; examinations
- 2/15: nirvāṇa [sutra] assembly
- 4/8: the Buddha's birthday
- 4/16: beginning of summer retreat
- 6/4: assembly in honor of Saichō, consisting of lectures with five questions
 for each lecture (*ichiza gomon*), two one-on-one debates, and offerings
 to the *mandala* at night

55. ZTZ Enkai 1:183a–b.

56. ZTZ Enkai 1:183b.

57. ZTZ Enkai 1:183b–184a. For more information on the Tendai examination system, see Groner, *Ryōgen*, chap. 8.

58. This assembly was begun by Amoghavajra and introduced to the Tendai School by Saichō; see Groner, *Saichō*, 177n26.

- 7/8: week-long observance of the assembly of the primordial vows (Hongan-e), consisting of lectures with five questions for each lecture (*ichiza gomon*), two one-on-one debates, and offerings to hungry ghosts (*segaki*) at night
- 7/15: dissolution of summer retreat, accompanied by elementary esoteric consecrations (*kechien kanjō*) and a summer fortnightly assembly (*ge fusatsu*)⁵⁹
- 10/16: beginning of winter retreat (*tō ango*; ends on 1/15)⁶⁰
- 11th month: four days (eight lectures) in honor of Zhiyi⁶¹

In the sixth section of the text, Kōen outlined a detailed administrative structure consisting of seventeen men. The abbot (*chōrō*) was the head of the monastery in both secular and religious affairs; two attendants assisted him, one who aided him in secular affairs and one who helped him with religious issues. Seven men were classified as directors (*shijin*), as follows:

- vice-abbot (*gon-chōrō*): received orders from the abbot and carried out Buddhist services at the monastery, aided the abbot in carrying out duties, encouraged the monks in their religious practices and studies
- principal (*daigakutō*): administered the annual religious observances and the monthly lectures, recorded the results of the examinations and the debates, and deposited those records in the library (*hōzō*)
- vice-principal (*shōgakutō*): administered the daily lectures (*dangi*)
- chief librarian (*zōsu*)
- precentor (*ina*): in charge of the fortnightly assembly and other religious ceremonies (*tsutome*)
- guest prefect (*shika*): in charge of arrivals and departures of guests and the travels of resident monks
- verger (*densu*): oversaw the adornments in front of the images at such major halls as the Golden Hall and Lecture Hall, coordinated the offerings of incense and flowers

The following seven administrators (*chiji*) are listed:

59. The term “summer fortnightly assembly” is unusual. A survey of dictionaries, indices, and encyclopedias turned up virtually no other mentions of the term. However, there is a note in the text that indicates the inclusion of the *pravāraṇa* ritual, wherein all monks ask their compatriots whether they committed any infractions of the rules during the rainy-season retreat (ZTZ Enkai 1:184a). The retreat is officially over when this procedure has been concluded.

60. The winter retreat is mentioned in the *Brahma's Net Sutra* (T 24:1008b). Winter retreats are not mentioned in Indian literature, but such a practice is mentioned by Xuanzang in his travel diary as being held in Tukhāra in modern Afghanistan (Xuanzang, *Daitō saiki ki*, 32); however, in most cases, monasteries seem to have practiced either a summer or a winter retreat. The system of two retreats came to Japan with Zen practices. Eisai mentions that Chinese monks practiced both retreats (Ichikawa, Iriya, and Yanagida, *Chūsei zenke no shiso*, 83).

61. ZTZ Enkai 1:182b–184b; such occasions as the assemblies for Saichō and Zhiyi were used to hold examinations and debates.

1–2 functionaries, in charge of collecting rents from temple lands and receiving offerings from lay believers, which would then be distributed by these monks in accordance with need

head cook (*tenzo*)

administrator, in charge of construction and clearing land (*eizōshi*)

bathhouse administrator (*yokusu*)

water steward (*chisui*), in charge of filtering water and ascertaining that no insects are found in it

sanitation steward (*jinjū*), oversight of the latrines⁶²

Debate played a major role in promotion to the various offices. For example, the vice-principal, the fourth-ranking official in the monastery, oversaw the daily lectures on doctrine. As a requirement for assuming the position, the vice-principal was required to have held the post of lecturer at the lecture hall one time. After that, he was to hold positions as lecturer at several of the major events on Mount Hiei (*suigō*).⁶³ After serving as vice-principal, he could be appointed principal, and finally after serving one term as principal, he could be appointed vice-abbot. During his service as vice-abbot, he oversaw the affairs (*sata*) of the monastery. He was to ascertain that Tendai and Shingon (Tendai esoteric) texts were copied and transmitted without omission. No one who was not a master of both exoteric and esoteric Buddhism was to be appointed abbot or principal of the monastery.⁶⁴

The seriousness with which the monks were to observe the rules of propriety is reflected in a text entitled *Digest on the Realization of Buddhahood with This Very Body* (*Sokushin jōbutsu shō*).⁶⁵ The subtitle of the text is *Daily Procedures* (*Ichinichi ichiya gyōji shidai*). Kōen's disciple, Enkan, compiled the text in 1337 based on Kōen's instructions. As the title indicates, the text associates the daily activities of the monk with the realization of buddhahood during one's current existence. Rather than focusing on the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts, the text concentrates on the daily rules of propriety that monks were to follow when they performed such daily activities as taking meals, using the toilet, and entering the halls to participate in religious assemblies. The import of the text is captured in the following statement:

The rules for each day and night are generally like this. . . . They are precisely the rules for the realization of buddhahood with this very body. Sentient beings all

62. ZTZ Enkai 1:184b–185b. In determining the pronunciation of the titles of the various offices, I have relied on Zen sources. Medieval Tendai monks may have used other pronunciations.

63. The term *suigō* is not defined in Kōen's text but may refer to serving as lecturer at an assembly of thirty lectures in the Tōdō and twenty-eight in the Saitō areas of Mount Hiei (Ishida Mizumaro, *Bukkyōgo daijiten*, 641a). The numbers of lectures were based on the twenty-eight chapters of the *Lotus Sutra*, sometimes including the introductory and capping sutras to make thirty.

64. ZTZ Enkai 1:185a.

65. ZTZ Enkai 1:191–198.

fully embody the three uncreated bodies [of the Buddha]; furthermore, they are not worldlings who transmigrate in ignorance. However, throughout the day, they are constantly attacked by the three poisons and five desires so that they forget that their minds are innately pure. But now they fortunately have encountered a single issue [of doctrine] or a single precept. Each precept can be the central aspect of the Dharma Realm. They are at once actions that daily prevent evil and promote good. They are the practices that result in non-retrogression during a lifetime. How could they not be the causes for the mastery of the meditative concentrations? Moreover, whether it is a single action or all actions, the four meditations are constantly cultivated. Whether it is a single form or all forms, the three collections of precepts are constantly encouraged. These are the wondrous actions of both the three bodies [of the Buddha] and the single body [of the practitioner]. They are the keys to the three thousand realms realized in an instant. In other words, one must strive for accomplishment in the duties and rituals of the realm of phenomena and should not make light of [these rules].⁶⁶

This passage is based on original-enlightenment (*hongaku*) views that sentient beings are already buddhas but still insists on the value of assiduous practice. In fact, Kōen found ultimate value in the correct performance of the simplest and most basic of everyday actions, from eating to excretory functions.

Kōen's rules were influenced by the traditional practices outlined in the "Hīnayāna" *Vinayas*, such as the *Four-Part Vinaya*, to some extent. Monks were required to have three robes, a cloth to sit on, a begging bowl, cleanser, a hand towel, a pot for water, and even a water strainer.⁶⁷ Although many of these items were specified in the *Brahma's Net Sutra*, Kōen frequently cited such sources as the Chinese master of precepts Nanshan Daoxuan in his analysis of them.⁶⁸ Although he was willing to relax some of the rules, requiring these traditional accoutrements in a Japanese monastery was unusual and an indication of how serious the monks were.

Consecrated Ordinations

The ceremonial hallmark of the Kurodani lineage was its usage of a ritual called the consecrated ordination (*kai kanjō*), a ceremony that is still performed today. This ritual differs radically from traditional ordinations. Some Kurodani sources trace the ritual back to a text titled the *Kaidan'in chūdai shōgon no ki* (Record of the adornment of the central altar of the ordination platform) that was attributed to Saichō.⁶⁹ The earliest date suggested by modern scholars for the origins of the consecrated ordination relies on a text

66. *Ichimichi ichiya gyōji shidai*, ZTZ Enkai 1:197a–b; also see Terai, "Chūsei Tendaiki no Eizan," 84–85.

67. ZTZ Enkai 1:178–182.

68. For an example, see ZTZ Enkai 1:178b–179a. The use of Daoxuan's texts may have been influenced by Shunjō's importation of these procedures.

69. Included in the *Kaidan'in ki*, ZTZ Enkai 1:126–127.

on the precepts attributed to Ryōgen's disciple Jinzen (943–990).⁷⁰ However, this attribution is clearly a later attempt by Tendai monks to make the ritual more authoritative by attributing it to earlier Tendai masters. A text attributed to Jinzen, the *Ju ichijō bosatsu kanjō jukaihō* (Procedures for the one-vehicle bodhisattva consecrated ordination), is included in the *Zoku Tendai shu zensho* (Continuation of Tendai works),⁷¹ but no corroborating evidence exists for such an early date for the consecrated ordination.

Many modern scholars believe that the consecrated ordination began with Ejin. However, the first clear evidence for the appearance of the ritual occurs in a text by Kōen titled *Sixteen Chapters on the Perfect Precepts* (*Enkai jūroku jō*). This text refers to the transmission of a ritual from Egi, but no textual evidence for the ritual survives in any document written by him. Moreover, as has been noted above, Egi occupies an ambiguous place in the ordination lineage; thus scholars such as Shikii Shūjō have argued that the actual origins lie not with Egi, but with his teacher Ejin.⁷² Much of the argument has been based on the colophon for the text on the consecrated ordination attributed to Jinzen that was copied by Egi; the colophon refers to Egi's teacher, presumably Ejin.⁷³ In 1980, Ōkubo Ryōjun argued that direct evidence for Ejin's involvement with the consecrated ordination ritual could be seen in his concern with the *gasshō* (the joining of the hands together), a key element in the consecrated ordination ritual.⁷⁴ In a comment in the *Isshin myōkai shō* (Compilation on the wondrous precepts of the one mind), Ejin likens the ten fingers to the ten realms; because the fingers touch in a standard *gasshō*, each realm contains the other nine.⁷⁵ Thus the *gasshō* becomes a metaphor to help explain the three thousand realms. However, Ejin's discussion is not nearly as complex and developed as the typology of four *gasshō* that appear in the later consecrated ordination, which is discussed below. Ejin's participation in several lineages from the Eshin and Danna lineages of Tendai suggests that he may have used elements from these traditions in developing the consecrated ordination. Nomoto Kakujō has clarified how elements of the consecrated ordination probably depended on medieval Tendai rites from the Danna lineage of the Tendai School, specifically the consecration of the profound tenet (*genshi kanjō*), a ritual used to confer oral teachings about the three views in an instant, a teaching that appears in the teachings on the precepts described by Saichō in a brief entry in the *Kenkai ron*.⁷⁶ Even though the consecrated ordination has elements based on traditional Tendai ordinations, it also is based on *hongaku* teachings.

70. Ninomiya and Asukai, "Enkai gisoku no hattatsu," 56.

71. ZTZ Enkai 1:29–37.

72. Shikii, *Shinzeishū shūgaku hanron*, 188–193.

73. *Ju ichijō bosatsukai kanjō jukaihō shiki*, ZTZ Enkai 1:38b; for other evidence, see Ishida Mizumaro, *Nihon Bukkyō ni okeru karitsu*, 479–481.

74. Ōkubo Ryōjun, "Jūju kaikanjō."

75. *Isshin myōkai shō*, ZTZ Enkai 1:260–261.

76. Nomoto, "Genshi kanjō," 718–722.

Ishida Mizumaro has suggested that the origins of the consecrated ordination could be pushed back further to Ejin's teacher Tankū (1176–1253). While Ishida acknowledges the force of arguments that Ejin had performed the ceremony, he notes that none of the documents indicate that Ejin originated the consecrated ordination. Based on admittedly slender evidence, Ishida argues that Tankū might have initiated the consecrated ordination. At the same time, he notes that the consecrated ordination could not be earlier because Eisai, a Tendai monk vitally concerned with the precepts, was unaware of the consecrated ordination.⁷⁷ Although the origins of the consecrated ordination may lie with Ejin, the ritual assumes a form close to its modern configuration in the writings of Kōen, indicating that Kōen played a key role in standardizing the ritual. Such elements as the three types of *gasshō*, two interpretations of the mirror and its images, and the use of the Onmyōdō (Way of Yin-Yang) techniques of shutting out misfortune and inviting fortune (*hanbai*) in establishing the ritual boundaries (*hekkai*) for the ceremony are found first in Kōen's writings.⁷⁸

Because the consecrated ordination developed over time, the various ritual texts describing it are difficult to date and often have been emended. Moreover, the ritual undoubtedly depended on oral instruction, resulting in incomplete descriptions. Instead of attempting to isolate an early version of the ritual, I follow a highly developed version of it. According to Shikii Shūjō, the *Kaikan denju shidai* is the most clearly organized of the approximately ten ritual manuals that have survived. The text was compiled by Ganchō around 1693 when he was appointed abbot of Hosshōji,⁷⁹ but various parts of the ritual appear in early works by Kōen and Iken (1289–1378), suggesting that most of the ritual as described would have been recognizable to Kōen and his disciples. I refer to the high points of the ritual below, emphasizing historical connections with other texts rather than describing the entire ceremony in detail. In the next chapter I describe the *Kaikan denju shidai* in much more detail, arguing that at least that version of the ritual is primarily based on the *Lotus Sutra* and *hongaku* teachings.

The term *kanjō* (Skt. *abhiseka*), translated as “consecration” or “initiation,” is usually considered to be an esoteric Buddhist term. In fact, because the origins of the practice lie in ceremonies to install a new ruler, the term need not be limited to esoteric Buddhist rituals. In medieval Tendai, the term was used in both esoteric and exoteric rituals; for example, a *kanjō* might indicate

77. Ishida Mizumaro, *Nihon Bukkyō shisō*, 483–487.

78. Nomoto, “Genshi kanjō,” 719.

79. “Kaidai,” ZTZ Enkai 1:1; the text is found on pp. 12–28. My descriptions have been aided by Shikii's description of the ritual in *Nyūmonteki kenkyū*, which is particularly valuable because he has presided over the ritual. Until very recently the secrecy surrounding the *kai kanjō* was maintained. An important break in the tradition came with the publication of several documents by Uesugi Bunshū (*Tendai shū zoku*, 897–912). In recent years Shikii has published several articles and a book about the tradition; he was also instrumental in the publication of a number of manuscripts in the ZTZ Enkai 1.

that a monk had mastered material used in debates, a usage that is primarily exoteric. The distinction between esoteric and exoteric uses of the ritual are blurred when *kanjō* are utilized to mark the transmission of oral teachings (*kuden*) that are only to be given to a single person. The consecrated ordination evolves out of this type of ceremony.⁸⁰ Both medieval and modern scholars have differed on the importance of esoteric influence in the consecrated ordination. Although the term *kanjō* was used to describe the ritual, some Kurodani writers argued that the consecrated ordination was not based on esoteric Buddhist teachings even though the structure and name of the ritual sometimes reflected esoteric influence.⁸¹ One possible explanation of this position is that it may have been a response to the Nichiren tradition's criticisms of the esoteric influence on Tendai. In contrast, Nomoto Kakujo has argued that the Kurodani lineage may have been defending itself against criticisms from within the Tendai School that it had simply "stolen" elements of esoteric Buddhist ritual.⁸²

The revival of the twelve-year period of seclusion (*rōzan*) spent on Mount Hiei played a significant role in the early formation of the consecrated ordination tradition, but no evidence exists of the direct association of *rōzan* and consecrated ordination during Kōen's seclusion. Kōen did, however, receive the consecrated ordination as a mark of his advanced practice. According to Shikii Shūjō, the consecrated ordination took place twelve years after the practitioner's initial ordination qualifying him to be a monk. During that twelve-year period, he was to perform *shūdo kegyō*, the four-part set of initial practices required for an advanced esoteric consecration. Although such an esoteric course did not require twelve years of seclusion on Mount Hiei, the twelve-year period reflects the *rōzan* tradition proposed by Saichō. Thus, in the early Kurodani tradition, two ordinations differing in function can be distinguished, with the first being an ordination conferring the status of monkhood on a person and the second, the consecrated ordination, marking the attainment of a particular level of spiritual advancement resulting from twelve years of seclusion.

The consecrated ordination is an impressive ceremony filled with fascinating symbolism. After Kōen's time, it gradually came to reflect a decline in rigor of monastic discipline from the ascetic ideal of Kōen and his followers. The twelve-year seclusion was too stringent a requirement to last for more than a few generations at most. Moreover, as the ritual became more elaborate, it was easy to place less emphasis on rigorous adherence to the precepts and more on the details of the rituals.⁸³ In other words, the ritual could be interpreted both as requiring adherence to monastic discipline as a prereq-

80. Nomoto, "Genshi kanjō."

81. For an example of a statement that the ritual is not esoteric and yet is the ultimate of secret rituals, see *Chingoku kanjō shūki*, ZTZ Enkai 1:1a.

82. Nomoto, "Saichō no kaikanjō," 687–688. Such criticisms were made by Ninkū; see Groner "Ninkū on Ordinations," 66–68.

83. Ishida, *Kairitsu no kenkyū*, 475.

uisite for conferral of advanced initiations and also as an expression of the recipient's innate precepts that required minimal ascetic practice. The historical balance between these two tendencies has not been traced, however.

Three types of ordinations are enumerated in Kōen's *Sixteen Chapters on the Perfect Precepts*.⁸⁴ The first is the ordination used to confer the status of monks. The second and third are performed after twelve years of practice on the outer and inner platforms, also known as the platforms for conferral (*denju dan*) and realization of enlightenment (*shōkaku dan*); these last two correspond to elements of the consecrated ordination. Scholars have not determined whether the rituals on the two platforms developed simultaneously.⁸⁵ The ritual on the initial platform is similar to the ordination in which the precepts are transmitted from teacher to student that occurs in a traditional ordination making one a monk. However, on the platform of conferral, the precepts are not bestowed by an outside source but called forth from within the student. The teacher sits in a superior position and the student in an inferior position. The practice is seen from the perspective of following the causes to the effect, or acquired enlightenment (*shikaku*).

In the third type of ordination, the ordination on the platform of realization is seen from the perspective of innate enlightenment (*hongaku*); it expresses the manner in which the precepts are innately found in the true aspect of phenomena (*jissō*). Consequently, the teacher and student sit next to each other and are equal in rank in this ordination.⁸⁶

A variety of participants are involved in the ritual, including a number of monks who chant and play three types of drums to mark the sections of the ceremony. They do not actually enter the inner and outer platforms, however. That role is reserved for the teacher who transmits the precepts (*denkai shi*), the student, and those who assist them. The teacher is assisted by a master of ceremonies (*katsumaajari*); the student is instructed by an instructor (*kyōjuajari*). The teacher transmitting the precepts was traditionally expected to have performed various roles in the ceremony before he assumed the central office in the ritual. Today he is also expected to be the abbot of Saikyōji.⁸⁷ Below, I examine the rituals conducted on the two platforms in more detail.

The Platform of Conferral

The sense of conferral is conveyed in the site (in present-day Saikyōji this is a temporary area used for the ceremony) through the presence of pictures

84. *Enkai jūvokujō*, ZTZ Enkai 1:88b–89a.

85. Shikii Mizumaro, "Nihon Bukkyō shisō," 278.

86. The three aspects of the precepts mentioned here are described in Annen's *Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku* (T 74:773c–74a) as (1) the precepts transmitted through a lineage of teachers (*denju kai*), (2) the precepts called forth from within the candidate through the ordination ceremony (*hottoku kai*), and (3) the precepts that are innate and based on one's unchanging nature (*shōtoku kai*). Shikii identifies them with the three types of ordinations in Kurodani literature ("Kurodani Hosshōji-ryū," 276).

87. Shikii, "Jūju kaikanjō," 27.

of the various Tendai patriarchs in the lineage of the bodhisattva precepts, beginning with Zhiyi.⁸⁸ In the center of the platform is a representation of a golden mountain (*konzan*); on its peak is a pagoda with a relic of the Buddha. In addition, several key texts for the ordination are placed on the platform; these may include the *Lotus Sutra*, *Brahma's Net Sutra*, the commentary (*Pusajie yi shu*) on the *Brahma's Net Sutra* traditionally attributed to Zhiyi, or a text with the title *Guanxin shi'erbu jing yi* (The meaning of discerning the mind in the twelve divisions of the scriptures).⁸⁹ In front of these texts are placed five medicines, five jewels, and five types of grain for use in the consecration. The platform itself represents the three thousand realms that are realized in an instant in enlightenment; in some texts, the platform is said to be Vulture Peak, the site where Sakyamuni eternally preaches the *Lotus Sutra*.

The ritual on the platform for conferral focuses on the consecration (*kanjō*), which involves five vases. Consecrations were used to enthrone kings, with four of the five vases used for the waters of four major Indian rivers. These waters were then combined in the fifth vase and the water used to anoint the new king. In a similar manner, when the student is anointed, he is told that he is about to become a buddha, a status equal to that of a king (the correlation between kingship and buddhahood is found in a number of traditional descriptions of paths leading to buddhahood). The five vases can also be interpreted as representing the five aggregates, with the central vase symbolizing consciousness, the aggregate upon which the other four depend.⁹⁰ In this interpretation the emphasis is on the origins of the precepts in the student's own consciousness. When the consecrated ordination is considered in terms of the twelve-part ordination ceremony outlined by Zhanran, it corresponds to the seventh section, the "conferral of the precepts."⁹¹

88. For a diagram of the platform, see Shikii, *Nyūmonteki kenkyū*, 80. A description of the platform is found on pp. 84–85, 140.

89. For a list of the texts installed on the platform according to various sources, see Nomoto, "Saichō no kai kanjō," 690. The actual texts installed on the altar varied over the years. In some versions of the ritual, only the *Lotus Sutra* or parts thereof were installed. The *Brahma's Net Sutra* and the commentary attributed to Zhiyi appear in six of the nine texts surveyed.

The *Guanxin shierbu jingyi* is attributed to either Zhiyi or his disciple Guanding (561–632). The forty-one-page manuscript that exists today begins with one and a half pages that were composed in China. Although the authorship is not clear, it did exist during the Tang dynasty. The following forty pages were probably composed in Japan by the late Heian period to elucidate the first page and a half. The text was used by the Kurodani lineage as an outline of Tendai doctrine and chosen for several reasons. The study of twelve divisions of the canon was mentioned in a variant text of the *Brahma's Net Sutra* (Ishida Mizumaro, *Bonmōkyō*, 177). The text focuses on discernment of the mind (*kanjin*), the three truths, and the single essence of the three refuges, doctrines that played roles in the *kai kanjō*. See Nomoto, "Kanjin jūnibu kyōgi"; and Satō Tetsuei, *Tendai daishi*, 280–284. The text has been published in ZTZ Enkai 1:334–364.

90. This interpretation is found in the Gennōji version of the ritual (*Kaikan juhō*, ZTZ Enkai 1:7b) but is not found in many of the other ritual manuals. However, because many of the ritual manuals refer to other texts for the details of the ritual, this issue requires further investigation.

91. For a list of the twelve parts of Zhanran's ritual manual, see Groner, "The *Fan-wang ching*," 261; for a discussion of Annen's views on conferred and innate precepts, see pp. 269–270.

Later ritual texts in the Kurodani lineage discuss the ritual in terms of two sites: an outer (*ge dōjō*) and an inner (*nai dōjō*). In some texts, the outer site is the ordination platform on which the traditional ordination takes place, while the inner consists of the platform of realization. Thus, the two sites help the recipient of the precepts understand that more than the conferral of the precepts by an outside source is being discussed, that, in fact, the precepts are called forth from within the practitioner himself. Through the ordination the practitioner realizes his own inherent buddhahood.⁹² A key aspect of this interpretation is the statement that the true ordination platform is not an external site, but the practitioner himself.⁹³ The *gasshō* played a key role in traditional ordination rituals, with the practitioner using *gasshō* when he performed such actions as kneeling and asking for the precepts. In the consecrated ordination, the type of *gasshō* used becomes more complex and the explanations more detailed. In some of the ceremonies, only three *gasshō* are used,⁹⁴ but in the following, more complex ceremony, two sets of four *gasshō* are used. In the outer ceremony on the platform for conferral, the four *gasshō* are equated with the following four phrases from the *Brahma's Net Sutra* that are cited repeatedly in medieval Tendai literature on the precepts:

Sentient beings receive the precepts of the buddhas,
 And enter the ranks of the buddhas.
 Their rank is the same as that of the great enlightened.
 Truly they are sons of the Buddha.⁹⁵

The conferral of the precepts and the realization of buddhahood (the essential identity of the student and teacher) are symbolized by the type of *gasshō* done as each phrase is uttered. As the first phrase is recited, the teacher of the precepts (*kaishū*) and the student each make a standard *gasshō*. With the recitation of the second phrase, the teacher's left hand and the student's right hand are joined to make a *gasshō*. When the third phrase is recited, a

For statements regarding the relation of the consecration of the five vases to the conferral of the precepts, see *Chingoku kanjō shūki*, ZTZ Enkai 1:2a; *Kaikan juhō*, ZTZ Enkai 1:7b.

92. Shikii "Kurodani Hosshōji-ryū."

93. This theme is found in Annen's *Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku* (T 74:761a) and many subsequent texts on Tendai precepts.

94. For an example of a ceremony using a simple set of three *gasshō*, see *Chinkoku kanjō shūki*, ZTZ Enkai 1:2b. The basic structure in this ceremony is not very different from the more complex arrangement of two groups of four described in this chapter. The three *gasshō* are: (1) the teacher and student each performs his own *gasshō*; (2) the teacher and student perform a *gasshō* in which the palms of the hands, soles of the feet, and forehead of the teacher touch those of the student; (3) the teacher and student each performs his own *gasshō*. In the last phase, the two participants return to their original posture, representing the re-establishment of duality, but this time on the basis of nonduality and the interpenetration of the ten realms. Only three *gasshō* are specified in Kōen's *Enkai jūroku jō* (ZTZ Enkai 1:102b–105a).

95. *Fanwang jing*, T 24:1004a; *Kaikan denju shidai*, ZTZ Enkai 1:20a. The numbers of the phrases are my own.

similar *gasshō* is performed with each using the opposite hand. Finally, when the fourth phrase is uttered, the previous two *gasshō* are combined. Thus, both of the teacher's hands are joined with both of the student's hands, symbolizing the conferral of the precepts. The teacher concludes this part of the ceremony by tracing a reverse swastika, an auspicious symbol denoting divinity or buddhahood, on the chest of the student.⁹⁶

Little explanation of the meaning of the four *gasshō* transmitted on the outer platform is included in the ordination manuals. However, because the four passages recited on the outer platform are all included in the second *gasshō* of the ritual conducted on the inner platform, the meaning of the outer platform can be deduced. The entire ritual on the outer platform corresponds with what is called "verbal identity" (*myōji soku*) in the hierarchical process known as "the six degrees of identity" (*roku soku*).⁹⁷ In other words, the outer platform rituals are designed to verbally inform the practitioner that he has the inherent nature that is buddhahood. A deeper realization of what this means must await the ceremony on the inner platform, the platform of realization.⁹⁸

The Platform of Realization

The ceremony then moves to the inner area where a platform of realization (*shōkaku dan*) has been established. In the outer area, several students are allowed to enter the platform at the same time. However, in the inner area, only one may enter at a time. "Conferral on only a single person" (*yūiju ichinin*) is a phrase that traditionally referred to the rule allowing only one transmission of a teaching in a lifetime. Limiting entrance to the platform to one student at a time is thus a radical reinterpretation of the traditional rule.⁹⁹ The teacher and the student sit on the inner platform facing each other with an ornamental canopy (*tengai*) hung above the platform. Because such canopies are normally placed above the heads of images of the Buddha, the use of the canopy clearly indicates that the ordination teacher and the student are buddhas. For a Tendai monk, two buddhas sitting side by side is a clear reference to the Tahōtō (Prabhūtaratna's) stupa that appears in the *Lotus Sutra*, and this is clearly indicated in the text. This scenario might have led monks to recall how Saichō traced his bodhisattva precepts ordination back to a transmission in the Tahōtō when Huisi and Zhiyi together listened to the Buddha preach in a past life.¹⁰⁰

The master of ceremonies sits beneath the platform on the teacher's side. The teacher (*kyōju*) sits beneath the platform on the student's side. The con-

96. *Kaikan denju shidai*, ZTZ Enkai 1:20a.

97. For the classic Chinese exposition of the six degrees of identity, see Donner and Stevenson, *Great Calming and Contemplation*, 206–218.

98. Shikii, *Nyūmonteki kenkyū*, 237.

99. Shikii "Kurodani Hosshōji-ryū," 278n4. Other Tendai teachers such as Ninkū, who noted that Tendai ordinations had traditionally been conferred on several people at one time, criticized this aspect of the ceremony; see chapter 11 below and Groner, "Ninkū on Ordinations," 68.

100. Groner, *Saichō*, 259.

secration with the five vases performed on the platform of conferral is not repeated on the inner platform; rather, the ceremony on the inner platform focuses on the transmission of the four *gasshō*, symbolic of the transmission (or calling forth) of enlightenment. Various interpretations of the four *gasshō* are found in the Gennōji and Hosshōji transmissions; the Gennōji tradition has remained stable, but Hosshōji documents reveal changes in the *gasshō* over the centuries.¹⁰¹ I follow the later Hosshōji traditions here because they are the most developed and include more explanation enabling the outside scholar to interpret some of the symbolism in the ritual.

The four *gasshō* are preceded in some ordination manuals by a statement that the precepts are the correct way to enter the true and the essential way to leave delusion behind.¹⁰² The four *gasshō* are interpreted in an even more profound manner than in the outer platform rituals by describing them as corresponding to all six degrees of identity of worldlings and buddhas. The first *gasshō* consists of the teacher and student each making an ordinary *gasshō* as they recite a phrase from the *Brahma's Net Sutra*, "You shall realize buddhahood."¹⁰³ This scriptural passage and *gasshō* in the consecrated ordination represents the first of the six degrees of identity, identity in Principle (*risoku*), in other words, the Principle that each sentient being is inherently the Buddha even though he or she may not be aware of it. The ordinary *gasshō* is interpreted with the five fingers of the left hand representing the inherent nature (*shōtoku*) of the five elements while the five fingers of the right hand represent the five elements acquired through cultivation (*shutoku*). The two hands joined represents the eternal coincidence of the inherent and cultivated. In other words, the *gasshō* represents the essence of the precepts (*kaitai*) both that is called forth from the practitioner himself and that is conferred. At the same time, the interpretation of the *gasshō* suggests that the practitioners of this tradition are aware of the importance of maintaining a balance between practice and beliefs about their innate nature. The teacher confers the essence of the precepts with a *gasshō* and the student receives it with a *gasshō*. In addition, the five fingers on each hand are interpreted as representing the five elements (*godai*), and the ten fingers of the two hands coming together signify the ten realms (*jikkai*), ranging from denizens of hell to buddhas. The *gasshō* used at this point is thus called the sign, or mudra, of the true characteristic of phenomena (*jissōin*), a title that reinforces the sense that everyone and everything is inherently a buddha.

The second *gasshō*, performed along with recitation of all four of the *Brahma's Net Sutra* phrases used in the ritual for the outer platform, corresponds to verbal identity, the stage when one hears about the teaching that one is the Buddha, or in this case, when a person hears about the buddha-nature precepts and states that he accepts them. The *gasshō* consists of hori-

101. Shikii, *Nyūmonteki kenkyū*, 221–238.

102. Shikii, *Nyūmonteki kenkyū*, 228; ZTZ Enkai 1:21a.

103. *Fanwang jing*, T 24:1004a.

zontal and vertical hand positions. The terms “horizontal” and “vertical” refer to the orientation of the hands while the fingers point in other directions. Thus, when the palms are horizontal, the fingers cross and point up and down. The *gasshō* are interpreted in Gancho’s text as referring to the five elements. However, in other texts, the vertical *gasshō* represents the three times (past, present, and future) in a single instant, while the horizontal *gasshō* represents the ten directions in a single instant.¹⁰⁴ These *gasshō* are called “the mudra of responding to the faculties of sentient beings” (*fukiin*), emphasizing how the Buddha responds to the needs of beings by preaching in various ways.

The third *gasshō* corresponds to the third through the fifth degrees of identity, those of practical (*kangyō soku*), seeming (*sōji soku*), and partial (*bunshō soku*) identity. These are the stages in which practice would normally occur. The teacher’s right hand is placed over the student’s left arm with student’s and teacher’s palms joined; and the teacher’s left hand is placed over the student’s right arm with the student’s and teacher’s palms joined, as figure 2 illustrates. The foreheads of the two monks then touch, and the soles of their feet are placed together with an alteration of the mudra so that the hands rest on the partner’s arms, which adds distance and allows the joining of feet and foreheads; this mudra is called “the mark of the essential and mysterious unity of buddha-nature and delusion” (*honpō kijō myōgōin*) and embodies the perfect fusion of subjective and objective aspects of both the teacher and student. The name of the mudra is not found in any dictionaries of Buddhism or esoteric Buddhism and may be unique to the Kurodani tradition.

The third *gasshō* is also interpreted as representing a further identity of teacher and student based on the union of the subjective and objective aspects affirmed in the second *gasshō*, in which the teacher and student are in union as is indicated by the five points of their bodies that touch. Doctrinally, this is called “the unity of the three bodies of the Buddha.” The teacher represents Tahō Buddha (Prabhūtaratna), the *dharmakāya*; the student represents Śākyamuni Buddha, the *saṃbhogakāya*. When they are unified, together they produce the *nirmanakāya* buddha (presumably the student). In addition, the teacher is said to represent the buddha of the past while the student represents the buddha of the present.

The fourth *gasshō* represents the degree of ultimate identity (*kukyō soku*) and consists of the teacher’s right palm and the student’s left palm both being raised but not touching each other.¹⁰⁵ This represents the essential identity of worldlings and sages. While the earlier *gasshō* emphasize the non-dual nature of the relationship between such categories as worldlings and sages or between Principle and phenomena, this stage teaches that duality is established on the basis of that non-duality. Thus, although the practitioner is inherently a buddha, he is still a worldling who must realize buddhahood. One

104. *Kaikan denju shidai*, ZTZ Enkai 1:22; Shikii, *Nyūmonteki kenkyū*, 229–230.

105. *Kaikan denju shidai*, ZTZ Enkai 1:23; Shikii, “Kurodani Hosshōji-ryū,” 277.

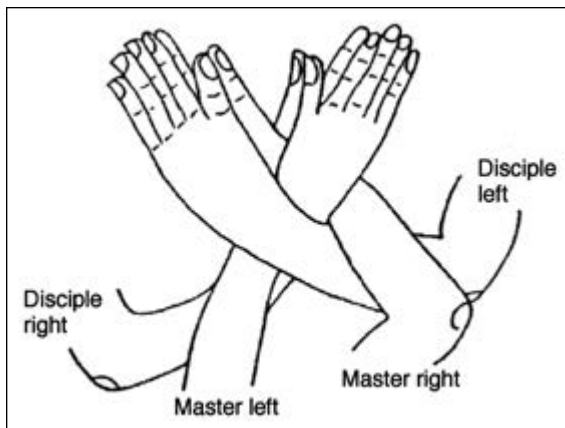


Figure 2. Consecrated ordination *gasshō*: an illustration of the positions of the hands from an ordination manual. Reprinted from Shikii Shūjō, “Kai kanjō to gasshō,” 12.

text emphasizes the affirmation of things as they are with the quotation “Willows are green and flowers are red.”¹⁰⁶

The teacher then admonishes the student to observe the precepts, but his words clearly subsume the actual provisions of the precepts to the abstract Principle that the student has realized. Good and evil vanish into non-substantiality and the practitioner is given permission to reformulate the teachings, precepts, and rituals as needed. As a result, the student is not asked, as he was in the previous ordinations, whether he will observe the precepts. The admonition gives the practitioner permission to develop the ritual in new ways. Although Kōen’s emphasis on trying to observe the precepts as closely as possible has probably been weakened, for the serious student, the ritual enables him to realize the true significance of the *Brahma’s Net Sutra* statement that the recipient of the precepts has entered the ranks of the buddhas. According to the manual,

The water of the mind of the Buddha has been used to consecrate your mind. . . . Buddhas of the past stated, “Refrain from doing evil, perform good. The mind will be naturally purified. This is the teaching of the buddhas.”¹⁰⁷ You should follow this. If you can purify your mind, then all good will be uncreated (*musa*). How much more so evil? One is freed without depending on others. Thus, it is called “natural.” There are no phenomena that are defiled; thus it is called “pure” You have appeared in the world only for the great purpose [of saving

106. Shikii, *Nyūmonteki kenkyū*, 227, 236. The explanation of duality established on the basis of non-duality comes from the *Kaikan denju shūtai* by Shinshū, a version of the manual not included in the *Zoku Tendai shū zensho*. The TZ version has a statement about affirming duality in the third *gasshō* (p. 21b). For comments on the “willows are green, the flowers are red” in Tendai texts, see Misaki Gisen, “Ryūroku kakō to chūsei no hongaku shisō.”

107. This formula is repeated throughout Tiantai/Tendai literature as epitomizing the precepts.

sentient beings]. Various paths are preached for the one buddha vehicle. Teachings are established in accord with people's religious faculties. When one knows the illness, one can administer the medicine. If a precept that has not been formulated by a previous buddha is needed, then one should formulate it. If a practice [is needed] that has not been used by previous buddhas, then one should enact it.¹⁰⁸

Because only a buddha changes and formulates new precepts, the newly ordained person is clearly seen as essentially a buddha. At the same time, the power to change and formulate precepts endows him with a defense against any charge that he is weakening the precepts.

The ritual proceeds with the ordination teacher and student exchanging robes. A number of ritual objects used in ordinations are then given to the student and the special meaning of each is explained. These objects are not treated simply as the implements the new buddha will need, but as the ornaments of Mahāvairocana himself. The objects, along with explanations, are given to the new buddha in the order given here. First are the three robes, which are worn by those who have realized salvation; they are the skin and flesh of the three bodies of the buddha, with each robe representing one of the bodies of the buddha. In addition, each robe is identified with a specific virtue of the buddha: the five-part robe with compassion and the abandonment of selfishness, the seven-part robe with wisdom and the abandonment of wrong views, and the nine-part robe with forbearance and the abandonment of hatred. The begging bowl is conferred next along with citations to traditional explanations treating the bowl as an indication that the practitioner should be satisfied with whatever he receives. Other interpretations are also advanced: its shape is round, revealing the perfect (literally "round") and replete characteristics of Principle and wisdom; it is empty within, expressing the absence of any characteristics of the land of quiescence and light. Next to be bestowed on the student are, in order, a cloth to sit on (*zagu* or *nishidan*), mirrors (*myōkyō*), a conch shell (*hōra*), and a water pot (*hōbyō*). The explanation of the mirrors is particularly detailed because they have been used in rituals conferring teachings about the three views realized in an instant. When the various implements have been conferred, the teacher and student again exchange robes, returning them to their original owners.

Conclusion

Medieval Tendai monks are often stereotyped as ignoring the precepts and lacking in monastic discipline. Although such a view is accurate when applied to certain monks or lineages, it certainly could not be applied to all Tendai monks. Because ordinations served as initiation rituals into the Tendai order and because the precepts were traditionally seen as being the basis of prac-

108. *Kaikan denju shidai*, ZTZ Enkai 1:24a.

tice, Tendai monks could not ignore these topics. If they chose to subordinate them to an abstract Principle or to the *Lotus Sutra*, they had to explain their position. In fact, a variety of theories explaining the relation between the *Lotus Sutra* and the precepts circulated among Tendai monks; some fostered lax adherence to monastic discipline and others supported strict adherence to monastic ideals. Below, I look at several aspects of Kōen's significance for medieval Tendai monasticism by placing him in a wider context.

First, the Tendai School was not as monolithic as scholars have sometimes thought after reading about Tendai power and Tendai persecutions of some of the new traditions of Buddhism during the Kamakura period. Although the term "exoteric-esoteric establishment" (*kenmitsu taisei*) might seem to imply a monolithic organization, Mount Hiei tolerated a number of different interpretations of the precepts as well as a variety of attitudes toward practice. Although the laxer interpretations of the precepts favored by groups such as the Eshin-ryū seem to have dominated the central establishment on Mount Hiei, some of the Tendai temples on the peripheries of the central establishment were occupied at least temporarily by monks who favored stricter interpretations. Kōen's Kurodani lineage was one such. Another was the tradition of Ninkū, abbot of both Sangoji in the western hills outside of Kyoto and Rozanji in Kyoto, which was also known as Mount Hiei in the capital. Shunjō's tradition at Sennyūji in Kyoto might also be added, even though few Japanese Tendai monks accepted his use of Chinese Tiantai interpretations of the precepts. Hōchibō Shōshin lived on Mount Hiei, but his scholarly demeanor placed him on the periphery of Tendai power. Although these monks offered interpretations of the precepts that could have been interpreted as criticisms of the establishment on Mount Hiei, they remained within the Tendai fold. The one exception was Shunjō, who advocated a return to the "Hinayāna" *Four-Part Vinaya*, a proposal that seemed to directly criticize the founder of the Tendai School, Saichō, and affirm the views of the Nara schools. An understanding of these varied positions yields a view of Tendai as a vital tradition, a marked departure from the view that the medieval Tendai School lacked vitality and was easily displaced by the new Kamakura schools.

Another aspect of Kōen's significance can be seen in his biography. It provides insight into how new interpretations arose in lineages that utilized so-called *hongaku* thought. The frequent references to dreams in Kōen's biography and the way some of them were taken to be authoritative suggest a mechanism for introducing new interpretations of doctrine and the precepts. As Kōen's biography shows, these new interpretations did not all lead to a decline in the rigor of monastic discipline and scholarship. Instead, they sometimes pointed to a renewed commitment to strict adherence to the precepts. Kōen's mode of argumentation can be contrasted to that of other Tendai scholars such as Ninkū and Hōchibō Shōshin. These two scholars relied on sources that modern scholars generally regard as authentic as opposed to apocrypha. Dreams did not play a significant role in the arguments of Ninkū and Hōchibō Shōshin. The variety of interpretations suggests

that at least some Tendai monks were well aware of the different approaches to doctrinal exegesis.

Kōen's biography also helps explain the importance of lineage for monks interested in the precepts. Everyone had to trace their tradition back to some authority and argue that they were part of an unbroken lineage. Kōen relied on Saichō as his authority. Saichō appeared in Kōen's dreams, and Kōen commented on Saichō's writings. In addition, Kōen emulated Saichō's practices by reviving the sequestration on Mount Hiei. Other Tendai monks relied on other sources: Eshin-ryū monks used fabricated texts attributed to Tendai patriarchs; Shunjō relied on the traditions used by Chinese Tiantai monks during the Song dynasty; Ninkū relied on the *Pusajje yi ji*, the commentary on the *Brahma's Net Sutra* attributed to Zhiyi, and a secret transmission that he traced through Hōnen.

Another aspect of Kōen's significance is his role in developing the consecrated ordination, which is indicative of the importance of ritual in identifying positions on the precepts. The consecrated ordination differentiated the Kurodani lineage from other groups. Holding fortnightly assemblies to recite the precepts, observing rainy-season retreats, and the confession ceremony marking the conclusion of the retreats all suggested a strict attitude toward the precepts. Monks interested in the precepts sometimes relied on traditions and rituals found in the *Vinaya*, indicating that some Tendai monks had a complex relationship with the *Vinaya*.¹⁰⁹ In contrast, some of the Eshin-ryū advocates so de-emphasized the ordination ritual, replacing it with adherence to the *Lotus Sutra*, that the ordination seemed to disappear.¹¹⁰ Another perspective can be found in Ninkū's writings that differentiated between the various levels of ordination by specifying different precepts for different levels while still striving to reflect Saichō's position. A completely different approach is found in Shunjō, who returned to the *Four-Part Vinaya* for full ordinations, thereby rejecting Saichō's approach.

The detailed descriptions of administrative structure and ritual calendars found in Kōen's writings are yet more evidence of his influence. These can be seen as an attempt to rationalize and reform the monastic establishment on Mount Hiei. How much they reflect actual practice remains to be seen. Ample evidence for certain practices such as the lectures and debates held on the death anniversaries of Zhiyi and Saichō can be found in a variety of sources. Other issues, such as the administrative structure and structures available for advancing in rank on Mount Hiei, still need research. With the growing importance of the sons of nobles on Mount Hiei, monastic organization clearly changed over time.¹¹¹

109. For an example, see Groner, "Ninkū Jitsudō's View of the Hinayāna Precepts," and chapter 6 above.

110. See chapter 7 above and chapter 13 below.

111. See Groner, *Ryōgen*, for discussions of the increasing power of nobility, the evolution of such posts as *zasu* (chief prelate), *jūzenji* (ten meditation masters), the debate system, and other topics.

Finally, the Kurodani lineage's use of the consecrated ordination suggests the difficulty that Tendai lineages had in maintaining strict monastic discipline over long periods of time. The consecrated ordination gave leaders added prestige, virtually turning them into buddhas. A person was given the authority to alter or create new precepts when he underwent the consecrated ordination. As a result, the twelve-year sequestration soon ceased to be a requirement for receipt of the consecrated ordination. The consecrated ordination thus became a hallmark of one Tendai lineage rather than an indication of adherence to monastic discipline. Although most Tendai lineages returned to the lax adherence of monastic discipline that had been prevalent throughout its history, other reform movements, such as the movement by the monks of Anrakuritsu Hall on Mount Hiei, subsequently arose.

Ritually Embodying the Lotus Sutra

An Interpretation of the Consecrated Ordination in the Kurodani Lineage

THE CONSECRATED ORDINATION (*kai kanjō*) was originally a ritual conducted in the Japanese Tendai Kurodani lineages after a long period of practice. In some cases, such as that of Kōen discussed in the previous chapter, it marked the conclusion of twelve years of seclusion on Mount Hiei. The twelve-year seclusion was rarely put into practice, however, because it prevented the practitioner from participating in some of the ceremonies performed by monks that repaid obligations to lay patrons and families.¹ The consecrated ordination soon became associated with seniority and was considered distinct from ordinations that admitted one to the order of Tendai monks; it was sometimes referred to as a reordination (*jūju*), a term that sometimes signified a variety of ordinations used after major wrongdoings or other events to readmit people to the order.²

The Author of the *Kaikan denju shidai*

Because I have written about the early background of the Kurodani lineage and the consecrated ordination elsewhere,³ I will limit this chapter to a detailed consideration of several aspects of the actual ritual by focusing primarily on the *Kaikan denju shidai* (Procedures for the conferral of the consecrated ordination).⁴ This text is attributed to Ganchō, who served as the preceptor (*kai kashō*) in 1693. I have chosen this manual for several reasons. First, al-

This chapter is based on my article “Ritually Embodying the *Lotus Sutra*: An Interpretation of the Japanese Tendai Kurodani Lineage Consecrated Ordination (*kai kanjō* 戒灌頂),” in Fabio Rambelli and Ori Porath, eds. *Rituals of Initiation and Consecration in Premodern Japan: Power and Legitimacy in Kingship, Religion, and the Arts*, edited (Berlin: De Gruyter). Forthcoming.

1. Take, “Jūninen rōzan no henshen”; and Terai, *Endonkai shisō*, passim, but esp. 74–90.

2. Teramoto, “Jūju kai kanjō ni okeru sanmaya kai.”

3. See chapter 8 above.

4. The *Kaikan denju shidai* (ZTZ Enkai 1: 12–28) is one of approximately ten manuals that have been published in *Zoku Tendai shū zensho*, Enkai, vol. 1.

though it is a late compilation, Shikii Shūjō, the most authoritative scholar on the *kai kanjō*, has argued that it is one of the best-organized descriptions of the ritual.⁵ Although this manual requires some oral instruction from a master to be fully understood, it is more thorough and understandable than most of the others. A second consideration is that this manual has a full description of a series of *gasshō* that typify the Hosshōji-Saikyōji tradition. These can be compared with a different set of *gasshō* used in earlier manuals, particularly those in the Gennōji lineage of the Kurodani tradition.

Very little is known about Ganchō. What information I have been able to find is in the chronology of the Shinzei sect of Tendai, *Tendai Shinzeishū nenpyō*, where he is mentioned only once and even then is called Denchō, clearly a mistake for the mention of him in the colophon of the *Kaikan denju shidai*, which has Den Ganchō, suggesting that the work was attributed to Ganchō.⁶ He is identified with the Chikurinbō lineage, also known as the Aguiin lineage within Tendai, founded by Chōken (d. 1203), and known for elegance in preaching and in composing the statements for the intentions of rituals (*hyōbyaku*).

A monk named Shinshū was appointed the eighteenth head of the Shinzei sect in 1693, the same year that Ganchō served as preceptor. Shinshū appears in Shinzei documents until 1715, when he retired.⁷ Shikii Shūjō in his *Nyūmonteki kenkyū* identifies the compiler of the *Kaikan denju shidai* as Shinshū,⁸ but in the “Kaidai” of the *Zoku Tendaiishū zensho*, he identifies the compiler as Ganchō.⁹ Nakane Chie has shed a little light on this issue in his survey of colophons mentioning the Hosshōji lineage in which both Ganchō and Shinshū are credited with single-fascicle works on the *kai kanjō*; Shinshū’s work, however, is entitled *Jukai sahō* (Procedures for ordination).¹⁰ The distinction between the two works is not clear.

The *Kaikan denju shidai* was compiled in a period of change for the Shinzei sect. In a dispute about whether Saikyōji should be controlled by Hieizan or Kan’eiji, the Rinnōji no monzeki Dharma prince Kōben (1669–1716; “Dharma prince,” *hōōji*, is the stage right before buddhahood), the de facto highest authority for Tendai, declared that Saikyōji would be a branch temple of Kan’eiji and that the Shinzei sect should be called the Tendai Risshū (Tendai-*Vinaya* School). Kan’eiji, which was established after Mount Hiei was razed by Oda Nobunaga, was located in Ueno, in modern-day Tokyo. Known as the Eastern Mount Hiei (Tōeizan), Kan’eiji protected Edo from evil

5. “Kaidai,” ZTZ Enkai 1, “Kaidai,” 1.

6. Tendai Shinzeishū shūgaku kenkyūjo, *Nenpyō*, 112; ZTZ, Enkai 1:28b. Shikii (*Nyūmonteki kenkyū*, 68) refers to him as *sōjō* (archbishop).

7. Tendai Shinzeishū, *Nenpyō*, 112–118.

8. Shikii, *Nyūmonteki kenkyū*, 227.

9. For the colophon, see ZTZ Enkai 1:28b. For the *kaidai*, see ZTZ Enkai 1, “kaidai,” 1.

10. Nakane, “Mokuroku okugaki ni mirareru Hosshōji,” 5–6. Also see the bibliography, *Shōhen mokuroku* (ZTZ Enkai 1:436a). Shikii mentions several other works by both Ganchō and Shinshū in the *Nyūmonteki kenkyū*, 67.

geomantic forces, much as Enryakuji on Mount Hiei had protected Kyoto during the medieval period. At about this time, some Tendai monks wished to reform the Tendai School by claiming that the *Four-Part Vinaya* should be used together with the perfect-sudden precepts, a movement centered on a hall called the Anrakuritsuin. When they secured the support of the Dharma prince Kōben, their movement became important.¹¹ At the same time, efforts to end or diminish Tendai's reliance on *hongaku* (original enlightenment) theories and esoteric Buddhism became prominent. The *Kaikan denju shūdai* would have been compiled around this time, which may account for its lack of references to esoteric Buddhism. Although omissions such as this are not particularly unusual in these manuals, references to *hongaku* remain.¹² The one exception to this is the usage of a *gasshō* in which two people are entwined that is found in some esoteric Buddhist rituals, which will be mentioned below.

Finally, a key role was played by Shinchō (1596–1659), who had belonged to the Honmon Hokke sect of the Nichiren tradition and had risen to be the sixteenth chief abbot (*kanju*) of the headquarters of that sect at Myōrenji in Kyoto. Although he had written several works about Nichiren's teachings, Shinchō had developed doubts about those teachings, and so, after considerable thought and prayer, he had converted to Tendai when he was forty. Soon thereafter he was appointed to serve as fifteenth abbot at Saikyōji, where he wrote a number of texts attacking Nichiren and defending Tendai.¹³ Although I have found nothing that suggests that he directly influenced consecrated ordinations, the questioning that would have occurred during his lifetime and afterward might have provided the environment for a reevaluation of the ritual. While, without further proof, none of this is sufficient to explain the position taken in the *Kaikan denju shūdai*, it does point toward a background in the text of an increasing emphasis on the precepts based on the *Lotus Sutra* in Tendai and a move away from esoteric Buddhism. Moreover, nothing in the *Kaikan denju shūdai* suggests that the *Four-Part Vinaya* was being used.

In the next section, I investigate the role of esoteric Buddhism in the consecrated ordination and then describe the ritual in detail as it is presented in the *Kaikan denju shūdai*.

The Consecrated Ordination and Esoteric Buddhism

The “*kanjō*” (Skt. *abhiṣeka*) of *kai kanjō* (consecrated ordination) suggests to many that the ritual is related to the various consecrations used in esoteric Buddhism. Kōen practiced esoteric Buddhism intensively around the time he conferred the *kai kanjō* on Enkan (1281–1356), and elements of esoteric

11. Mochizuku and Tsukamoto, *Mochizuki Bukkyō daijiten*, 9:250; 10:699.

12. Note Terai Ryōsen's discussion of the *kai kanjō*, which emphasizes the influence of *hongaku* (original enlightenment) themes over esoteric Buddhism (*Tendai endonkai shiso no seiritsu to tenkai*, 139–162).

13. Terai, “Shinchō ni miru Mikkyō-kan.” Terai has written a number of useful articles about Shinchō.

Buddhism are found in some of the works attributed to Kōen on the *kai kanjō*.¹⁴ But the issue of whether the *kai kanjō* incorporated or was influenced by esoteric Buddhism is introduced in a passage from the *Sixteen Chapters on the Perfect Precepts* (*Enkai jūroku jō*, hereafter *Sixteen Chapters*), a collection of oral transmissions and other information traditionally attributed to Kōen but containing additions by later participants.¹⁵ Shikii Shūjō considered the following section of the *Sixteen Chapters* to be the central part of that work:¹⁶

[Part] 3. Consecrated Ordinations

Question: What scriptures are the basis of the consecrated ordinations?

Answer: The *Lotus Sutra* and the *Brahma's Net Sutra*.

Inquiry: The term “consecrated ordination” does not appear in either text. Why?

Answer: Although the term “consecrated ordination” is not explained, the significance is clearly explained.¹⁷

The emphasis seen in this exchange on the *Lotus Sutra* and the *Brahma's Net Sutra* as being central to the ceremony reflected a long-standing discussion in materials on the perfect-sudden precepts regarding which scripture was superior, with the *Lotus Sutra* being given the central role in most medieval Tendai sources on the precepts.¹⁸ The *Kaikan denju shidai*, as will be shown below, follows this pattern. One of the most severe critics of the *kai kanjō*, the Tendai monk Jitsudō Ninkū from the Rozanji lineage, took a different position, arguing that the fascicle on the precepts from the *Brahma's Net Sutra* should be considered an independent text in the perfect teaching and thus equal to the *Lotus Sutra*.¹⁹ Discussions of the relation between esoteric Buddhism and the precepts are not found in Saichō's writings but appear in his student Kōjō's *Denjutsu isshinkai mon*, though not in a very coherent fashion, and later in Annen's *Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku*. There is, however, little evidence of influence of these works on the *Kaikan denju shidai*. According to the *Sixteen Chapters*,

When Tendai and Shingon were transmitted to Japan, the commentaries on the scriptures, verbal explanations, and titles (*kuketsu daimoku*)²⁰ were not propagated, and most people do not know about them. As a result, the transmission of

14. Groner, “Kōen,” 186. For works attributed to Kōen that contain esoteric elements, see *Kaiki chi fukuro* and *Kaidan'in honzon insō*, ZTZ Enkai 1.

15. Shikii, “*Jūrokujō kōyaku kaidai*,” in *Nyūmonteki kenkyū*, 191–206.

16. Shikii, *Nyūmonteki kenkyū*, 201.

17. ZTZ Enkai 1:81a.

18. Groner, “Japanese Tendai Views of the Precepts.” See chapters 2 and 7 above.

19. See chapter 11 below.

20. The significance of the use of the term *daimoku* here is not clear because it is almost never found in *kai kanjō* documents. In Tendai works on debates on the precepts in ZTZ Enkai 2, it refers to the title of the text, but probably not to the recitation of the title, as it does in the Nichiren traditions.

consecrated ordinations is not known. However, the consecrated ordination is found at the beginnings of our tradition in the essentials of the transmission of the three trainings, the core of the *Lotus Sutra* and *Brahma's Net Sutra*, and the direct path to liberation from samsara. From the distant past, verbal instructions were conferred on only one person [in a generation] and not on others. . . . Not even the disciples and fellow students were to know about it.²¹

Such passages place in perspective the problem of whether or not the consecrated ordination was esoteric. If “esoteric” simply means secret, then surely the ordination was esoteric. In that sense, Ennin called the *Lotus Sutra* and other texts “esoteric texts in Principle” (*rimitsu*). However, the consecrated ordination was more than esoteric in Principle because it included practices and thus could have been called “esoteric in both Principle and practice” (*jirikumitsu*).²² If this had been the case, then the term “esoteric” could have been defined as encompassing the three mysteries (*sanmitsu*), in which the practitioner realizes union with a divine being through mental, verbal, and physical activities. This is the central issue in considering whether the consecrated ordination as it is presented in the *Kaikan denju shidai* is esoteric. The fact is that the repetition of *dhāraṇī*, the use of mandalas in visualization, and a unified presentation of the three mysteries are not found in the text, nor are various esoteric deities. One of the very few mentions of the three mysteries arrays them according to a passage in the *Lotus Sutra* in which Śākyamuni says to Śāriputra, “I say to you, Shariputra / this Dharma seal of mine **physical mystery** / I preach because I wish **verbal mystery** / to bring benefit to the world **mental mystery**.”²³ The boldface represents an addition to the sutra identifying each of the three mysteries. The text in which the statement appears is attributed to Kōen and written down by Kōshū and is unusual for its inclusion of esoteric terms. Even so, it is difficult to see how this would give rise to an esoteric interpretation of the ritual. In a sense, the issue could be framed as the difference between discovering one’s own buddhahood or enlightenment (original en-

21. ZTZ Enkai 1:81a–b.

22. Ōkubo, *Taimitsu kyōgaku*, 95, 201; Dolce, “Reconsidering the Taxonomy of the Esoteric.”

23. *Kaike chi fukuro*, ZTZ Enkai 1:132b. *Miaofa lianhua jing*, T 9:15b07–8. An extended quotation from the *Lotus Sutra* is given below to show the context in the sutra with the portion cited in the *Kaike chi fukuro* in boldface. The author has expanded the reference to the Dharma seal to encompass the three mysteries.

I am the Dharma King,
 free to do as I will with the Dharma.
 To bring peace and safety to living beings—
 that is the reason I appear in the world.
I say to you, Shariputra,
this Dharma seal of mine
I preach because I wish
to bring benefit to the world. (Watson, *Lotus Sutra*, 99)

lightenment) or physically and mentally embodying the Buddha, an esoteric interpretation. For the most part, the consecrated ordination usually seems closer to the *hongaku* position.

According to the *Sixteen Chapters*, although many consider the ceremony to be an esoteric ceremony, the origins of the consecration are found in the coronation of kings and the realization of buddhahood in exoteric scriptures:

Zhiyi explained that there were two types of consecration: (1) consecration in terms of phenomena [such as the secular realm], namely, when the prince of a world-ruler ascends the throne; and (2) consecration in Principle, when a bodhisattva of the tenth ground is anointed with the wisdom-water of the previous buddha. When we investigate this, we find transmissions through the three countries from long ago. After the later esoteric transmission, why would we have stolen esoteric teachings to establish this [consecrated ordination]. [Such a claim] is the height of stupidity. . . .

Consecrations are found in the various teachings, but the provisional and ultimate senses are not the same. Consecrations should be Mahāyāna, not Hīnayāna, and yet in the *Sutra on Curing the Illnesses of Meditation*, consecrations are explained. This text is included as Hīnayāna but should be Mahāyāna.²⁴

The extensive use of the consecrations in a variety of Buddhist works to mark the realization of buddhahood is well-known. In the *Mahāvastu* and some early Mahāyāna texts, the stage right before buddhahood is referred to as “Dharma prince” (*hōōji*) and the term “consecration” (*kanjō*) refers to attaining buddhahood.²⁵ By tracing the *kai kanjō* back to such figures as Zhiyi, this section of the *Sixteen Chapters* criticized the view that the term *kanjō* was based on esoteric Buddhist rituals. Finally, the influence of *hongaku* thought must be considered. Certain aspects of this tradition share much with esoteric Buddhism, particularly the tendency to designate some of the teachings as secret. However, the presence or absence of an emphasis on the three mysteries, mandalas, and the repetition of *dhāraṇī* are significant issues in deciding how to categorize the consecrated ordination. With such issues in mind, I describe the *Kaikan denju shidai* in the next section.

Ganchō’s Procedures for the Conferral of the Consecrated Ordination (*Kaikan denju shidai*)

The consecrated ordination is still conducted today in secret at Saikyōji, but in recent decades important documents have been printed and scholarly

24. ZTZ Enkai 1:81b–82.

25. For example, these usages are found in the *Da zhidu lun*, one of the most important sources for Tendai doctrine; see Hirakawa, *Shoki Daijō Bukkyō*, in *Hirakawa Akira chosaku shū* 3:293, 419, 460. Note the comparative chart on p. 419 that demonstrates how these usages were found in the *Avataṃsaka Sutra* (*Huayan jing*) and in presentations of the ten abodes (*jūjū*), both of which influenced Tendai thought. Also see, Suzuki, “Daijō kyōten ni okeru juki to kanjō.”

work on the ritual has begun. The first documentation was published by Uesugi Bunshū in the supplementary volume of *Nihon Tendai shi* (History of Japanese Tendai) in 1935.²⁶ With the publication of Shikii Shūjō's *Kai kanjō no nyūmonteki kenkyū* (Introductory research into the consecrated ordination)²⁷ and the publication of the first volume of the perfect-precepts (*enkai*) section of the *Zoku Tendaiishū zensho*, both in 1989, our sources and knowledge of this fascinating ritual have become clearer. The explanations (*kaidai*) of the ritual manuals in *Zoku Tendaiishū zensho* reveal that approximately ten manuals existed and that these were often rewritten and emended. In focusing on Gancho's *Kaikan denju shidai*, I am guided by Shikii's evaluation that, among all of the manuals, it is particularly well organized.²⁸

The Hosshōji-Saikyōji lineage deserves some brief comments.²⁹ Hosshōji was founded by Emperor Shirakawa in 1075 and was one of the Six Victory Temples (Rokushōji). It consisted of numerous buildings where important rituals presided over by Tendai monks were held. The architecture of the temple included a *Lotus Sutra* Hall and a Constantly Walking Hall, the two main halls for exoteric practice, but also a number of halls devoted to Tendai esoteric practice, including the Hall for the Five Protective Deities (Godaidō), a hall for the Big Dipper mandala (Hokuto mandara dō), a hall for Aizen (Aizen dō) with ten altars, as well as a hall for Amida.³⁰ The range of buildings were probably specifically designed for the variety of practices encompassed within Tendai, including the precepts. Also conducted there were serious doctrinal debates that involved monks from a variety of schools.³¹

Echin (also known as Enkan), a disciple of Kōen, eventually was appointed abbot of two temples: Hosshōji and Gennōji, the latter of which was established with an ordination platform, a significant move in reviving the precepts. The name Gennōji was bestowed by Emperor Go-daigo (1288–1333, r. 1318–1333), who named the temple after one of his era names, Gen'ō (1319–1321), read as Gennō, following Buddhist pronunciation. Echin bestowed the abbacies of these two temples on two of his disciples: Kōshū, the author of the *Keiran shūyō shū*, who founded the Gennōji lineage, and Iken, who established the Hosshōji lineage. After Gennōji was destroyed in 1468, it was combined with Raigōji. The differences in the *kai kanjō* performed by the two lineages have not been adequately studied, but most of the published documents are from the Hosshōji lineage.

Saikyōji, a temple in Ōtsu revived by Echin, was named a branch temple of Hosshōji. After the decline of Hosshōji, it was combined with Saikyōji in 1590 by order of Emperor Go-Yōzei (1571–1617, r. 1586–1611). Saikyōji became the site of the *kai kanjō*, which is still performed there today. It is also

26. Uesugi, *Tendai shi zoku*, 897–912.

27. Shikii, *Nyūmonteki kenkyū*.

28. *ZTZ Enkai* 1, "Kaidai," 1.

29. For a detailed analysis, see Shikii, *Nyūmonteki kenkyū*, 17–74.

30. Tomishima, "Hosshōji no garan keitai to sono tokuchō."

31. See the special edition of *Nanto Bukkyō* 77 (1999) for a set of articles on these debates.

the headquarters of the Shinzei branch of Tendai, named after Shinzei Shōnin (1443–1495), whose tradition stressed the joint practice of the *nenbutsu*, based on Genshin's *Ōjō yōshū*, and the precepts. The important aspect of this brief survey is that Hosshōji particularly valued the *Lotus Sutra*, though esoteric rituals were also conducted there.

The use of the term “precepts” deserves attention because Kurodani-lineage scholars were aware that their usage of the term differed from many sources. Echin, in his *Jikiō bosatsukai kanmon* (Report on the bodhisattva precepts that go directly [to buddhahood]), presents a useful four-level hierarchy of how the term was used.³² The first, or lowest, level consists of the precepts in their traditional sense based on the relevant documents (*tōbun kai*), in other words, the Hinayāna precepts from the *Vinaya* and treatises and the Mahāyāna precepts in such texts as *Brahma's Net Sutra* and *Adornment Sutra*. The second, the *eshō nyūdai kaihō*, consists of the precepts when one first receives the Hinayāna precepts and then the Mahāyāna precepts. This typifies the position of the Nara schools, in which a *Four-Part Vinaya* ordination was followed by a bodhisattva precepts ordination; thus, Nara monks firmly rejected Tendai's claim that the Nara schools only followed the Hinayāna precepts. The third consists of the precepts that when the provisional are unpacked (or explained) they reveal the ultimate (*kaigon kenjitsu kaihō*). This approach uses the Chinese Tiantai approach of opening and reconciling (*kaie*) the precepts of the *Vinaya* to reveal that they are actually Mahāyāna precepts. Echin identifies this as the Northern Capital (Hokkyō, i.e., Kyoto) position; in other words, this was advocated by Shunjō when he returned from China with a Tiantai interpretation of the precepts and founded Sennyūji in Kyoto; it was primarily based on the *Nirvāṇa Sutra*.³³ One of the few times Shunjō's views are explicitly mentioned is in the *Kikigaki* by Shin'yū (d. 1609), a text from the Gennōji lineage that is more concerned with outside views of *kai kanjō* than are most of the Kurodani sources. The *Kikigaki* notes that Shunjō's tradition argued that the precepts were neither Hinayāna nor Mahāyāna and that their interpretation depended on the intentions of the practitioner.³⁴ This position was based on Zhanran's commentary on the *Mohe zhiguan*.³⁵

The fourth (highest) level of Echin's hierarchy was the bodhisattva precepts that went directly to buddhahood (*jikiō bosatsu kaihō*). The term *jikiō bosatsukai* appeared in Ennin's *Ken'yō daikairon*, though in a different way than

32. ZTZ Enkai 1:377–380.

33. For more on Shunjō's position, see Groner, “Interpretation of the Precepts.”

34. ZTZ Enkai 1:423b.

35. *Zhiguan fuxing zhuan hongjue*, T 46:255a10–11. This statement played a role in several works that pointed out the discrepancy between Japanese Tendai and the position held by one of Chinese Tiantai's most authoritative monks. For example, see the Hossō-Risshū monk Kakujiō (1194–1249), *Bosatsukai tsūbetsu nijū shō*, T 74:57c04–5; and the Tendai-Zen monk Eisai (1141–1215), *Kōzen gokoku ron*, T 80:13b18–19.

that used by the Kurodani lineage.³⁶ As described in the Kurodani lineage, sentient beings and buddhas were the same; the provisional and ultimate were not distinct. This category left behind all sense of “opening and reconciling” the Hīnayāna precepts to reveal their Mahāyāna sense and consisted only of the bodhisattva precepts that enabled one to directly go to buddhahood.³⁷ The thrust of the description is that these precepts were not a sequential (*fushidai*) practice but rather that the entire path was encompassed in a single practice (*ichigyō*). Japanese Tendai exegetes could thus explain why they differed from Chinese Tiantai monks.

The *Kaikan denju shidai* cites the abovementioned *Sixteen Chapters* when, in fact, the *Kaikan denju shidai* was compiled several centuries later than the first manuals and reflects the ritual as it was performed at Hosshōji. One of its important characteristics is that virtually all references to esoteric Buddhism are absent and that it was primarily based on the *Lotus Sutra* and the *Brahma’s Net Sutra*, with occasional influence from the *Vinaya*. My main objective in the following pages is to give a “thick description” of the ritual based on this manual with occasional references to other manuals.

The Procedures for Entering the Outer Hall³⁸

The ritual, which is still performed today in a form close to what is described here, consists of four parts: (1) procedures for entering the hall, (2) procedures for the outer hall, (3) procedures for the inner hall, (4) procedures for exiting the hall. The first part includes comprehensive ritual procedures conducted before entering the hall. Many of these are so brief that they must have been difficult to follow without the verbal instructions of a teacher and experience in performing the rituals. A separate chart with the adornments for the hall is mentioned in the *Kaikan denju shidai*, but it is not included in the text; however, such charts are found in other texts, though they are not always easy to follow. Little in the way of a platform for esoteric Buddhist practice is found in these diagrams; in other words, the esoteric deities are not portrayed. The five vases represented in some manuals were used in both esoteric and exoteric rituals; but note that they were even used in some Jōdoshū ordinations without any sense of esoteric Buddhism.³⁹ According to the *Kaikan denju shidai*, the seating is carefully arranged with preceptor and the superior (*jōza*) in the center. The teacher (*ajari*) is to the left in the highest position, with the group intoning praises seated (*sanshu*) behind him in an order based on seniority. The attendants (*jisha*) and those who will receive the precepts (*jusha*) sit below them.

36. T 74:672c5. It also appears in Annen’s *Futsū jubosatsukai kōshaku* (T 74:764b19). The term *jikiō bosatsu* appears in works from a variety of sources. The use of it in Saichō’s *Kenkai ron* (T 74:613b14) probably contributed to the Kurodani claims that the *kai kanjō* had been handed down as an oral tradition from Saichō’s time.

37. ZTZ Enkai 2:81a.

38. ZTZ Enkai 1:12a–14a.

39. See, for example, ZTZ Enkai 1:39–42. Jōdoshū kaishū happyakunen, *Jōdoshū zensho Zoku*, 12:17.

The ritual instructions mention serving noodles (*nyūmen*) and drinking fragrant infusions (*kōtō*), followed by spraying perfumed water (*kōsui*). A verse equates the perfumed water with cleansing oneself of defilements.⁴⁰ The fragrant infusion, equated in some texts with purifying the verbal actions, is drunk, while the perfume is applied externally and purifies one's physical actions. Finally, according to some texts, the chanting purifies one's mental actions, an interpretation that would suggest that the three mysteries were being employed, a view not explicitly set forth in the *Kaikan denju shidai*.⁴¹ Paying obeisance is choreographed with the leader bowing first, followed by the assembly (*sōrai*). Instructions for instruments mention the *nyō* and a *shin no hachi*, both terms seem to describe types of cymbals. Finally, the administration of the perfumed water and infusions are highly choreographed, though the exact movements of the participants are somewhat difficult to track without seeing the ritual, which even today is not open to the public.

The invocation to the deities (*kami*) calls on them to express sympathetic joy (*zuiki*) at the taste of the Dharma that is partaken in the “reordination” ceremony, a term that reflects that the ordinee had already received an ordination to mark his entry into the Tendai order. The extensive list of *kami* who are present begins with deities in the Buddhist tradition, including Brahma, Indra, the four wisdom kings, the eight groups of superhuman beings such as deities and nāgas; the various deities of the three realms (desire, form, and formless) and their retinues; the sun, moon, and five planets; the various constellations; and the stars that govern life spans. It then continues with Japanese deities such as Amaterasu, Hachiman, the deities that guard them, the triads of deities of two shrines associated with Mount Hiei (*ryōsho sanshō*), the deities that guard the one vehicle, and so forth, but without specifically calling on esoteric deities or constructing a mandala.

This list of *kami* differed from the discussion of *kami* found in other Kurodani-lineage documents. The *kami* Jūzenji is identified as the essence of the precepts in the *Isshin myōkai shō*, which uses a device found in many *hongaku* sources of playing a sort of word game to explain the connections between two concepts, in this case between the perfect-sudden precepts and the *kami* Jūzenji (literally the “ten good teachers”).⁴²

The character for “ten” (*jū*) signifies the ten realms without any diminution, which in turn refers to perfect repletteness. The character for “sudden” [*ton*, used in the term “perfect-sudden precepts”] refers to how the ten realms are all the buddha-realm. The term “meditation” (*zen*) signifies stopping, which in turn refers to stopping wrongdoing and adhering to the good. . . . The character for “teacher” (*shi*) signifies the teacher of the precepts, who guides all sentient beings; these are the precepts that benefit sentient beings. When we say that the *prātimokṣa*

40. ZTZ Enkai 1:12a.

41. Shikii, *Nyūmonteki kenkyū*, 82–83, 163.

42. Stone, *Original Enlightenment*, 159–163.

is our teacher, we refer to our mind. If this is the case, then the Jūzenji is the teacher of the perfect-sudden precepts.⁴³

According to a note identifying the essence of the precepts with the *kami* Jūzenji in the *Kaike chi fukuro* that considers the roots and traces,⁴⁴ the root bodhisattva is Jizō and the trace (or manifestation) is En'ō (Skt. Yamarāja). Both are important after death. In this passage they are arrayed according to the three collections of pure precepts. En'ō is identified with the collection stopping wrongdoing and is said to become angry when wrong is committed. Jizō is identified with the other two collections: precepts that encompass good and precepts that benefit sentient beings. Thus, Jūzenji is responsible for both punishing those who transgress the precepts and for rewarding those who adhere to them. However, in the *Kaikan denju shidai*, Jūzenji is not mentioned, perhaps reflecting an increased focus on the *Lotus Sutra* and a move away from the more extravagant varieties of medieval thought.

The invocation to the ancestors included the figures who played key roles in the transmission of the consecrated ordination, ranging from Vairocana, Śākyamuni, Mañjuśrī, Maitreya, Huisi, Zhiyi, down to Kōen and his disciples.

The Procedures of the Outer Hall

The outer hall is also called the “altar of conferral” (*denju dan*), a term indicating that the precepts are conferred by the teacher on the student. The conferral procedure is different from that of the inner hall, in which the precepts will be considered inherent and called forth from the student. This distinction is mentioned in Annen's *Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku*, where he delineates a threefold classification of the precepts: transmitted precepts, precepts called forth, and inherent precepts.⁴⁵

This part of the ceremony includes the consecration using five vases (*gobyō kanjō*), where four vases are placed in the cardinal directions with a fifth in the center. The waters from the four are poured into the central vase and used to anoint the practitioner. The cardinal directions and the center were used in secular coronation ceremonies to indicate dominion over the country. Thus, as was emphasized in the *Sixteen Chapters*, the term “consecration” did not necessarily indicate a close connection with esoteric Buddhism. Even so, in esoteric Buddhism consecrations were used to initiate practitioners into various levels of teachings and rituals. In the *Kaikan denju shidai*, the conse-

43. *Isshin myōkai shō*, ZTZ Enkai 1:263b. I have relied on Funata Jun'ichi, who argues that the Jūzenji played a role in enforcing the precepts (*Shinbutsu to girei no Chūsei*, 327–333). Note the exposition of Jūzenji with the character for the number “ten” (*jū*) embodying the sense of “perfect-sudden,” the character for “meditation” (*zen*) embodying the first two collections of pure precepts (based on the sense of *shū* in *shūkan* having the sense of stopping), the character for “teacher” embodying the sense of the third collection.

44. *Kaike chi fukuro*, ZTZ Enkai 1:137a.

45. T 74:773c2–4.

cratation using the five vases is performed on the outer platform,⁴⁶ suggesting that esoteric Buddhism was not the focus of the ritual. Several students could undergo that part of the ceremony at the same time, but only one student could participate in the ceremony in the inner hall.⁴⁷

A series of detailed movements with the five vases, five jewels, five grains, and five medicines then ensues; these are typical of the “play” with numerical correspondences found in some medieval Tendai texts.⁴⁸ Although the movements of the vases are similar in most manuals, the comments in the *Kaikan denju shidai* are significant in announcing that consecration indicates that the realization of buddhahood by the teacher and student is like that of Śākyamuni sitting in Prabhūtaratna’s reliquary, which is described in the *Lotus Sutra*. In addition, passages from the *Lotus Sutra* are recited right before each mudra is conferred; for example, immediately before the five medicines are conferred, the teacher and student recite three times, “The sons born from the Buddha’s mouth press palms together, gaze upward, and wait.”⁴⁹ The passage may have been chosen because of the mention of a *gasshō*, but it fits the situation very well because Śāriputra is asking for the Buddha’s ultimate teaching. When the five jewels are about to be conferred, the teacher chants in a low voice, “All press their palms and with reverent minds wish to hear the teaching of perfect endowment.”⁵⁰ Once again, Śāriputra’s request for instruction is being cited from the “Expedient Means” chapter. The second part of the citation, “From the Buddha’s mouth immeasurable light shone,” is not from the *Lotus Sutra*, though no mention of this is made, but from the *Brahma’s Net Sutra*.⁵¹ Then, before pouring the water, the teacher in a low voice recites, “Today I have finally realized that I am truly the heir of the Buddha, born from the mouth of the Buddha, incarnated from the Dharma, and that I have inherited a part of the Buddha-Dharma.”⁵² This passage reflects Śāriputra’s realization that he receives the Buddha’s ultimate teaching. Also mentioned are the five unseen teachers or groups of spiritual beings specified in the *Samantabhadra Sutra* (*Guan Puxian jing*), the capping sutra in the *Lotus Sutra* triad and the basis of the Tendai ordination. The five groups consist of Śākyamuni as preceptor, Mañjuśrī as master of ceremonies, Maitreya

46. Shikii, “Kai kanjō to gasshō,” 11. Note, however, that the arrangement of the five vases is found in several diagrams in the *Kaikan denju shidai*, ZTZ Enkai 1:16; *Ju ichijō bosatsu kanjō ju kaihō*, ZTZ Enkai 1:32.

47. *Enkai Jivokujō*, ZTZ Enkai 1:113a.

48. Stone, *Original Enlightenment*, 160–162.

49. ZTZ Enkai 1:17b. This is based on Śāriputra’s statement in the “Expedient Means” chapter of the *Lotus Sutra* (T 9:6c1). Watson’s *Lotus Sutra* translation (p. 35) reads (with a fuller passage to provide context for the passage with the quotation in the *Kaikan denju shidai* in bold-face): “**The sons born from the Buddha’s mouth press palms together, gaze upward and wait.** We beg you to put forth subtle and wonderful sounds and at this time explain to us how it really is.”

50. T 9:6c6.

51. T 24:1004a25–26.

52. T 9:10c13–14. This is from the “Similes and Parables” chapter. The translation is from the translation of the *Lotus Sutra* by Kubo and Yuyama, 47.

as teacher, the various buddhas as witnesses, and the bodhisattvas as fellow practitioners.⁵³ Then the student is anointed with the “water of the precepts” (*kaisui*) that purifies him. At the conclusion of these procedures, the teacher reads a long statement that includes these words: “When we sprinkle the water of wisdom that has been conferred by these buddhas, you succeed to buddhahood. As when a warrior (*setsuri*) is about to accede to the throne, to ensure that the lineage is not interrupted, the legitimate heir is consecrated by taking the waters from the four rivers and filling four jeweled vases. . . . And so we anoint you as prince.”⁵⁴

Next, the teacher and student each *gasshō* and recite this verse from the *Lotus Sutra*:⁵⁵ “The seeds of the Buddha come from dependent origination, and thus [the buddhas] proclaim the one vehicle. The essence of Dharma eternally abides in the world. . . . I always think about how I can cause sentient beings to enter the supreme way and quickly realize the body of a Buddha.”⁵⁷ The verses thus come from the two most important chapters of the *Lotus Sutra*, summarizing its most important teachings. The more difficult aspect of the passage is the identification of phenomena with the abiding Dharma, in other words, with Suchness. This led to a number of fascinating developments in Tiantai/Tendai exegeses. Hōchibō Shōshin, for instance, cited it in defending the position that the Tathāgata was inherently evil

53. T 9:393c; for the relevant passage in Saichō’s ordination manual, see T 74:626a.

54. ZTZ Enkai 1:18b–19a.

55. ZTZ Enkai 1:19b.

56. The first two lines appear in the “Expedient Means” chapter of the *Lotus Sutra* (T 9:9b9–10). An extended quotation from Burton Watson’s *Lotus Sutra* translation of the passage (p. 54) to provide the context in the sutra with the section recited in the *Kaikan denju shidai* in boldface follows:

The Buddhas, most honored of two-legged beings,
 know that phenomena have no constantly fixed nature,
 that **the seed of Buddhahood sprouts through causation,**
and for this reason they preach the single vehicle.
 But that **these phenomena are part of an abiding Dharma,**
 that the characteristics of the world are constantly abiding—
 this they have come to know in the place of practice
 and as leaders and teachers they preach expedient means.

Or alternatively, Jacqueline Stone translates the lines as “The dharmas dwell in a Dharmaposition, / and the worldly aspect constantly abides” (*Original Enlightenment*, 29).

57. The last two lines of this verse are close to the final lines of the “Life Span of the Tathāgata” chapter of the *Lotus Sutra* (T 9:44a3–4), translated by Burton Watson (*Lotus Sutra*, 59) as

At all times I think to myself:
 How can I cause living beings
 to gain entry into the unsurpassed way
 and quickly acquire the body of a Buddha?

(*shōaku*) because Suchness included everything.⁵⁸ This controversial teaching did not indicate that the Buddha actually committed evil deeds, but rather that he was inherently conversant with evil and could preach to anyone. In medieval Tendai, the passage could be used to support esoteric or *hongaku* interpretations by identifying phenomena with the ultimate.⁵⁹

The teacher takes the water in the four vases in the corners and pours it into the central vase and then places the four vases on the right side of the platform, followed by the central vase, all in a line. Then the teacher with his left hand takes the student's *gasshō* and with his right hand inserts the sprinkling stick in the central vase and sprinkles the water on the student's head three times. He places the stick back in the central vase.⁶⁰ The teacher then draws the seal (*inmon*; Skt. *mudrā*) of a reverse swastika on the student's chest: "As for the meaning of firmness (*ketsujō*) and resoluteness (*inji*), earlier practitioners said that this secret essence (*hiketsu*) was that of this platform. Whether you receive it or not, whether your realization is profound or shallow, will be determined by following the teacher."⁶¹ Then the teacher places the cover on the central vase and returns the vases to their original places.

Next, the teacher conducts the seventh part of the twelve-part ordination, transmitting the precepts (*denju kai*) and the precepts called forth from within a person (*hottoku kai*).⁶² The first six of the twelve parts are presumably performed earlier; they are: (1) introduction, (2) three refuges, (3) inviting the three (invisible) teachers (Śākyamuni, Mañjuśrī, and Maitreya), (4) confession, (5) aspiration to enlightenment, and (6) asking about obstacles. This is not explained, probably because the teacher would follow the instructions in the ordination manual by Saichō. Different lineages of the consecrated ordination incorporated the twelve-part traditional Tendai ordination with the *kai kanjō* in a variety of ways. According to the *Jū ichijō bosatsu kanjō jūkaihō shiki*, the consecrated ordination was conducted after the twelve-part ordination was concluded, perhaps reflecting the *kai kanjō*'s position as a reordination following an earlier ordination initiating the ordinee as a Tendai practitioner.⁶³ The Gennōji and Saikyōji lineages incorporated the consecrated lineage once the seventh stage, the conferral of the precepts, had been completed. The early Hosshōji manuals placed the consecrated lineage at the

58. Matsumoto Tomomi, "Shōshin no jissōron," 601.

59. Jacqueline Stone, *Original Enlightenment*, 29.

60. *Kaikan denju shidai*, ZTZ Enkai 1:15–16. The arrangement of the vases is diagrammed in the manual, the only point where such a diagram is given in the *Kaikan denju shidai*, perhaps indicating which parts were considered to be more public. Diagrams of the *gasshō* generally were not included in the ZTZ.

61. ZTZ Enkai 1:19b.

62. According to Annen, three types of precepts existed: those that were passed through a lineage, those that were called forth from within the ordinee through a ritual, and those that were inherent (*Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku*, T 74:773c2–3).

63. ZTZ Enkai 1:30–31. Although the text is attributed to Ryōgen's disciple Jinzen, the son of Fujiwara no Morosuke (908–960), this seems doubtful.

beginning of the seventh stage.⁶⁴ By placing the more traditional ordination first, the consecrated ordination could be called a reordination.

The number and types of *gasshō* vary significantly in the manuals, with earlier manuals and those in the Gennōji lineage using a set of three *gasshō*, which I hope to deal with in a future essay. I focus here on two sets of fourfold *gasshō* specified in the *Kaikan denju shūdai* in the Hosshōji lineage, four in the outer hall and four in the inner hall. Other major advances in the *Kaikan denju shūdai* lie in arraying the fourfold *gasshō* in the inner hall according to the six degrees of identity (*roku soku*): (1) identity in Principle, (2) verbal identity, (3) identity in contemplative practice, (4) seeming identity, (5) identity in partial realization, and (6) ultimate identity. More than one *gasshō* can be used to compose what would have seemed a single level of *gasshō* in the inner hall; this is seen in the use of both the vertical and horizontal *gasshō* in the inner hall. In the *Kaikan denju shūdai*, in the outer hall, the seventh part of the ordination is said to begin with the conferral of the four *gasshō*.

This part of the ritual is much shorter than the procedures with the vases, probably because it is simpler. Each *gasshō* is accompanied by the recitation of one line from the most commonly recited set of four lines from the *Brahma's Net Sutra* in Japanese Tendai.⁶⁵ First, the teacher and student each make an ordinary *gasshō* and recite "Sentient beings receive the Buddha's precepts." Second, the teacher's left hand is joined to the student's right hand, and they recite "Immediately enter the ranks of the Buddhas." The third *gasshō* is the teacher's right hand joined to the student's left hand, accompanied by the recitation "And their ranks are the same as the enlightened one." The fourth *gasshō* consists of the teacher's and student's hands entwined in a *gasshō* and jointly reciting "They are truly disciples of the Buddha." The complicated *gasshō* of the last part is not explained in the text, probably because it was taught orally.

In the eighth part of the twelve-part ordination, the verses concerning the witnessing by buddhas and bodhisattvas are recited, followed by the performance of the rest of the twelve-part traditional Tendai ordination: (9) the manifestation of a sign (from the Buddha), (10) explanation of the precepts, (11) transference of merits, and (12) exhortation.

The procedures of the outer hall end with invocations to Śākyamuni and Kannon, which are called "corrections or addenda" (*hoketsu*).⁶⁶ The choice of these two figures is significant because it reflects the overall emphasis on the *Lotus Sutra* over the *Brahma's Net Sutra* in the *Kaikan denju shūdai*, even though the outer hall's procedures are primarily based on the *Brahma's Net Sutra* and its Tendai ordination procedures as outlined by Saichō. Thus, the name Shana, short for Vairocana, the source of the *Brahma's Net Sutra*, is rarely found in this manual. When he is mentioned, it is in the context of the *Brah-*

64. Shikii, *Nyūmonteki kenkyū*, 164.

65. ZTZ Enkai 1:20a; *Fanwang jing*, T 24:1004a19–20.

66. ZTZ Enkai 1:20a.

ma's Net Sutra, not as the figure who is prominent in esoteric texts,⁶⁷ even though he is mentioned in other manuals. The student spreads a cloth and prostrates himself before the teacher, indicating the difference in status between the two. This concludes the rituals of the outer hall.

The Procedures of the Inner Hall⁶⁸

The teacher and the student ascend to the high seats (*kōza*) at the same time. The preceptor faces east and the student faces west; there is a canopy above both and the two are seated as befits buddhas. On a table before them are a jeweled vase, a conch shell, round and eight-lobed mirrors, three robes, and a begging bowl; these will be given to the student after he has received the precepts. Then the preceptor says,

Precepts are the correct path for entering the ultimate (*shin*) and the essential path for freeing oneself [from defilements]. When the preceptor confers them, he demonstrates this with a *gasshō*; when the student receives them, he uses a *gasshō* to show that he has surely received them. Because the ten fingers are together, it is called the essence of the precepts, the seal of the Dharma (*hōin*), or the seal of preaching the true aspect of reality (*setsu jissō in*).⁶⁹

The fourfold *gasshō* representing the six degrees of identity (*roku soku shūjū*) are then conferred.

The first *gasshō* is the usual one, with both the teacher and student separately placing their hands together in propriety. Then, only the teacher recites “Or through only a *gasshō*.”⁷⁰ This is explained as follows:

The [fingers of the] left hand are the inherent five elements and the right, the cultivated five elements. When the left and right palms are joined, it shows the unity of innate nature and cultivation. This is the basis of the Dharma without beginning or end. When we speak of phenomena, we mean the ten realms, which are represented by the ten fingers. These are the innate ten realms, in which the worldly and sage are clear, and each is the apex of reality (*jissai*). Before one has received the precepts, this is the essence of the precepts. This is the seal of

67. ZTZ Enkai 1:15b, 17a.

68. ZTZ Enkai 1:20b.

69. ZTZ Enkai 1:21a.

70. This is a quotation from the “Expedient Means” chapter of the *Lotus Sutra* (T 9:9a19). An extended quotation from Watson’s translation (*Lotus Sutra*, 52) appears below to provide the context for the *Kaikan denju shūdai* quotation that is boldfaced.

Or if a person should bow or perform obeisance,
or should merely press his palms together,
 or even should raise a single hand,
 or give no more than a slight nod of the head,
 and if this were done in offering to an image,
 then in time he would come to see countless Buddhas.

the essence of the precepts of the basic teaching. This is the *gasshō* of identity in Principle.⁷¹

The manual then has a private (*shi*) comment:

The bodhisattva's perfect precepts are the one-vehicle buddha-nature, the essence of the Dharma (*hottai*). As for the platform of supreme enlightenment (*shōgaku dan*), it is the assembly on Vulture Peak in which rituals of the jeweled reliquary and the [bodhisattvas] welling up [out of the earth] are held. The teacher and the student represent the buddhas Śākyamuni and Prabhūtaratna. When they sit together, they are the Dharma and reward bodies of the Buddha in which wisdom and its object are joined. The *gasshō* [of the teacher] conferring the precepts is the single seal of the true aspect of reality. When the two palms are placed together, they express the non-duality of meditation and wisdom, the fusion of wisdom and its object. The ten fingers are the ten realms. When they are joined into one, they reveal the non-duality of worldly and sage, of ignorance and enlightenment. The true aspect of reality is necessarily all phenomena, and all phenomena [are endowed with] the ten such-likes, and the ten such-likes are the ten realms. The ten realms are explained as the bodies and lands [of the Buddha]. Thus, the true aspect of reality, the three bodies [of the Buddha], and the four lands [of the Buddha] are all gathered up in the single *gasshō*. This is the essence of the consecration of those who study the precepts (*kaike*).

We call this the *gasshō* of identity in Principle. Our school categorizes this according to the six degrees of identity. Because there are six [degrees], the beginning and end are not confused. Because [they are explained as] identities, the beginning and end are non-dual. Thus, the station of identity in Principle is fully endowed with the essence of the precepts of the buddha-nature.⁷²

The second level of *gasshō* introduces two *gasshō* not found in earlier manuals from the Gennōji lineage, which stressed only three levels of *gasshō*. The vertical and horizontal *gasshō* are simply standard *gasshō* performed with the hands aligned vertically and horizontally. The vertical *gasshō* represents the three time periods (past, present, and future) in a single instant, and the horizontal *gasshō* represents the ten directions in a single instant.⁷³ There are verbal instructions for the seal. According to the sutra, the teacher describes the students “reverently pressing their palms together, bowing, and begging me to turn the wheel of the Dharma.”⁷⁴ And elsewhere it says, “All press their palms and with reverent minds wish to hear the teaching of perfect endowment.”⁷⁵

71. ZTZ Enkai 1:21a.

72. ZTZ Enkai 1:22b.

73. ZTZ Enkai 1:22b. The explanation in the *Kaikan denju shidai* is very brief but is clarified by short mentions in such texts as the *Endon kaijō zu*, ZTZ Enkai 1:50a; and the *Endon kaitai shūki-shūin no koto*, ZTZ Enkai 1:408b.

74. Watson, *Lotus Sutra*, 57; T 9:9c12.

75. Watson, *Lotus Sutra*, 36; T 9:6c6.

Only the teacher recites these short passages.

Both passages are from the “Expedient Means” chapter of the *Lotus Sutra*. They share several aspects, which explains why they were chosen. Both mention *gasshō*, and both are passages in which Śāriputra asks Śākyamuni to preach the Dharma. In choosing passages from Śāriputra rather than Śākyamuni, the verses fit in well with the theme of this section of the ceremony: the degree of identity through words (*myōji soku*). In other words, one hears about the Dharma through a request from a “good friend in the Dharma,” in this case Śāriputra.

Next is the horizontal *gasshō*, which is also conveyed through verbal instructions. It is described as follows:

This is called the seal that is appropriate to another’s faculties (*fukūin*) and is the seal for verbal identity. . . . One hears the term “buddha-nature precepts,” climbs the [ordination] platform, and says he will observe [the precepts]. In that instant, the essence of the precepts is called forth and he recites the words of realizing the Way. According to the *Brahma’s Net Sutra*, “When sentient beings receive the Buddha’s precepts, they immediately enter the ranks of the buddhas, and their rank is the same as the great enlightened [ones].” When you can understand the pervasiveness of the essence of the precepts of buddha-nature, then the horizontal and vertical of the three time periods and ten directions are no different from the present instant. Thus, we confer the horizontal *gasshō*. With the *gasshō*, the five elements—earth, water, fire, wind, and space—are horizontally aligned.⁷⁶

The third level is called “the seal of the matching of the primordial teaching and sentience” (*honpō kijō myōgō no in*); this is equivalent to the *gasshō* of identities in practice (*kangyō soku*), seeming identity (*sōji soku*), and partial identity (*bunshin soku*).⁷⁷ The six levels of identity with the repeated character for *soku* (identity) were paired with realization of buddhahood with this very body (*sokushin jōbutsu*) by Annen in the *Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku*. The connection between the six degrees of identity and the realization of buddhahood with this very body is not emphasized in the ritual manuals, but a long disquisition on the topic appears in Gudōbō Ejin’s *Endonkai kiki-gaki*. Ejin’s text is primarily based on lectures on Annen’s text on ordinations but includes a number of themes used in consecrated ordinations without actually using the term *kai kanjō*.

The instructions for the *gasshō* are explained verbally and with a brief description that, though not completely clear, has the hands entwined, with the left hand of each person resting on the facing person’s right arm or wrist (*shuwan*). The soles of their feet and foreheads touch. The description in the manuals is often abbreviated and the arrangement of the mudra is often

76. *TZ Enkai* 1:22a–b.

77. *TZ Enkai* 1: 22b. The term *bunshin soku* would seem to be a variant of *bunshō soku*, the identity of partial realization.

obscure. Shikii, who has done the most work on *kai kanjō*, published an article with a diagram of the *gasshō* in 1982, but in his 1989 book the *gasshō* in which the two men are intertwined has been dropped, and he notes that the mudra is difficult to interpret.⁷⁸ Could deleting the diagram be due to the necessity of preserving the secrecy of the ritual? At any rate, this *gasshō* would seem to count as two seals because each participant is performing a *gasshō*. When the fingers of the two participants are matched, it represents the ten realms encompassing each other, and yet the dualistic differentiations (*nimi*) remain.

The *Lotus Sutra* is quoted: “pressed their palms and the nails of their ten fingers together.”⁷⁹

This is explained as indicating that, in addition to mysterious matching (*myōgō*), there is still [an additional level of] mysterious matching. The left is meditation (*jō*) and also the object. The right is variously defined as sagacity (*e*), cognition (*chū*) or the subject.⁸⁰ When the left advances, the right emerges (*hotsu*); in other words, the object calls forth cognition (*chū*) as its result (*hō*). When the right advances, the left matches it, just as cognition matches the object as sensation. Now when the nails and palms match, the object and cognition simultaneously perfectly match, resulting in wisdom; both are called forth and both are mysterious (*myō*) and so are wondrous.

[The compiler’s] private comment: In the phrase “perfect matching of the object and cognition,” the character *gō* (matching) is important and should be explained as identity (*soku*). So, we explain it as perfectly matching above perfectly matching. . . . You should ask a renowned teacher whether you have this or not so that you will be convinced.

Further explanation: The previous *gasshō* with two hands demonstrated the nonduality of meditation and wisdom in the matching of object and cognition. Now this *gasshō* has perfect matching on top of perfect matching. The object and cognition of the teacher and student perfectly match. When we apply the object and cognition [to the left and right], the right is cognition and the left is object. Thus, this is called the seal of the perfect matching of object and cognition [subject]. The teacher’s left palm meets the recipient’s right palm, and the object is called forth. The recipient’s (*jusha*) right palm meets the teacher’s left palm, and cognition fuses with the object. This is the perfect matching of object and

78. Shikii, “Kai kanjō to gasshō,” 12; Shikii, *Nyūmonteki kenkyū*, 225.

79. T 9:59c14, 60a1. An excerpt from Watson, *Lotus Sutra*, 344, follows to provide the context for the quotation in the *Kaikan denju shidai*, which is boldfaced: “At that time that Buddha, wishing to attract and guide King Wonderful Adornment, and because he thought with compassion of living beings, preached the *Lotus Sutra*. The king’s two sons, Pure Storehouse and Pure Eye, went to where their mother was, **pressed their palms and the nails of their ten fingers together**, and said to her, ‘We beg our mother to go and visit the place where the Buddha Cloud Thunder Sound Constellation King Flower Wisdom is.’”

80. The term *chū* is usually translated as “wisdom,” a meaning that is reflected when the term is used in reference to buddhas. I have translated it as “cognition” here (following entries in various Buddhist dictionaries for *kyōchū*) when it seemed to refer to states before it is unified with the object. After it is unified, I translate it as “wisdom.”

cognition of the Dharma and [the Buddha's] reward bodies within Prabhūtaratna's reliquary. This is revealed in the *gasshō*s of the teacher and student. The assembly on Vulture Peak has not yet dispersed. You should understand this well.⁸¹

A diagram of the *gasshō* is found in chapter 8, figure 2. This complex *gasshō* and its explanation reflect several aspects of the ceremony.⁸² The repeated references to cognition, which eventually becomes wisdom (*chī*), being perfectly matched to the object (*kyō*) indicates the meditative practice that occurs at identity in practice; however, no specific practices are mentioned in the manual. The physicality of the identity of partial realization, referred to in this manual as the identity of the partial physicality (*bunshin soku*), is reflected in the *gasshō* being analyzed into left and right palms. The variations in the description of the *gasshō* with some passages mentioning the joining of hands and others describing the hands resting on the partner's arm (*shuwan*) probably reflect the differences in whether feet and foreheads are also matched. When the arm is mentioned, the feet and foreheads are matched. Thus, the use of the arms would give the participants more space to complete the *gasshō*. In the "Life Span of the Buddha" chapter of the *Lotus Sutra*, the term *bunshin* also refers to the manner in which Śākyamuni manifests innumerable bodies and how they return to him. This provides the basis for the teacher and the student physically re-creating the scene in Prabhūtaratna's reliquary.

The fourth level of *gasshō* is identified with ultimate identity (*kukyō soku*). The verbal instructions are that the teacher raises his right hand and the student raises his left hand. No mention is made of whether they are joined or separate (*gōsan*). The teacher alone recites the following sentence from the *Lotus Sutra*: "Others who do no more than raise one hand have all already realized the Buddha's path."⁸³ The explanatory material builds on earlier passages, noting that it clarifies the realization of buddhahood through the six degrees of identity and the emergence of the essence of the precepts. Moreover, worldlings and sages have the same essence; meditation and wisdom are replete, as expressed in the *gasshō*. Several plays on numbers are then explained. The five elements (symbolized by the five fingers) are complete in the one fist, and the ten perfections (*jūdo*) with the pair of hands. "If one can understand this, then realization is like turning one's hand over, but later students should not dare be irresponsible in this."⁸⁴ A private note in the manual adds that the *gasshō* is the basis of all seals.

Next, the teacher and student engage in seated meditation. The length

81. ZTZ Enkai 1:23a.

82. The diagram of the *gasshō* is taken from Shikii, "Kai kanjō to gasshō," 12a. However, when Shikii published an expanded version of the essay in *Nyūmonteki kenkyū*, 221–237, it was not included. Perhaps the demand that the form of the *gasshō* remain secret was responsible for the change.

83. T 9:9a20, 25; Hurvitz's translation of the *Lotus Sutra* is from his *Scripture of the Lotus Blossom*, 40 (with slight changes); cited in *Kaikan denju shidai*, ZTZ Enkai 1:23b.

84. ZTZ Enkai 1:23b.

of time may vary. The compiler comments that “seated meditation cuts off the brushes and ink.”⁸⁵ In other words, it cuts off the written or spoken word, which is dualistic. The laconic attention paid to meditation in this passage is striking when compared to the visualization exercises found in esoteric Buddhist manuals. Hence, I believe that the ritual is primarily based on *hongaku* thought. The fourth level of *gasshō* transcends both matching and separate identities. The realization through the six degrees of identity is based on the concept of the realization of buddhahood with this very body.

The teacher and student exchange robes, which they will return later to each other, demonstrating both their identical nature and their individual identities. The teacher holds a white fly whisk (*byakuhotsu*) and says,

The Tathāgata’s water-mind⁸⁶ (*suishin*) has already been used to anoint the protuberance⁸⁷ of your mind (*shinchō*). From now on, the restraints on the mind will be correct and the mental faculties will not be lax. As previous buddhas have said, “Do no wrong / practice good / purify your mind / This is the teaching of the buddhas.”⁸⁸ You too must follow this. If you purify your consciousness, performing good will be without any intention (*musa*).⁸⁹ How much more so in the case of wrongdoing? We do not depend on others for liberation and thus call it spontaneous. No phenomena can stain it and thus we call it pure. This is the wondrous mind of the inherently pure, true aspect of reality, the adamant precepts that are not destroyed by the myriad phenomena. “The three realms are only the one mind. There are no phenomena other than the mind.”⁹⁰ One should truly know one’s mind, truly discern one’s mind. This is called the Buddha’s knowledge and vision. This is like the buddhas of the three periods who go out into the world to reveal and signify the Buddha’s teachings so that sentient beings will understand and enter the wisdom and vision (*kaishi gonyū*).⁹¹ You too should go out into the

85. ZTZ Enkai 1:23b–24a. According to the *Ju ichijō bosatsu kanjō jukaihō* (ZTZ Enkai 1:33b), the meditation is simply the usual form of sitting and focusing the mind.

86. A metaphor for the purity of the mind, possibly from the *Darījīng* (translation of the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra*, T 18: 3a15–16).

87. The character for *chō* probably refers to the protuberance on a buddha’s head that symbolizes his wisdom.

88. ZTZ Enkai 1:24a. This verse is said to be from Śākyamuni and the previous six buddhas. It is found in several *Vinaya* texts, the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*, as well as Zhiyi’s *Fahua xuanyi* and *Fahua wenju*.

89. *Musa* could also be translated as “unmanifested,” a usage found in the commentary on the *Fanwang jīng* attributed to Zhiyi (T no. 1811). Later translations of Abhidharma texts used the term *mūhyō* in place of *musa* for unmanifested.

90. These phrases with this specific wording are found in Japanese Buddhist texts from a number of sources, particularly those associated with Huayan and esoteric texts, but also in later Hossō and Zen texts.

91. The four elements in this phrase are said to encapsulate the *Lotus Sūtra*’s objective; they are not found in the sutra with this precise phrasing, but rather are based on T 9:7a22–27. They summarize why Śākyamuni preached to sentient beings. They are repeatedly cited in many Tiantai/Tendai texts and glossed in a variety of ways. Paul Swanson summarizes the phrase as “from the *Lotus Sūtra* connoting that the one great purpose of the Buddha in appearing in this world is to expose and signify the Buddha Dharma, thus helping sentient beings to become

world with the single great objective of [the Buddha to save others].⁹² You should preach the various paths of the one vehicle and establish teachings to respond to the faculties of sentient beings, just as medicines are given for illnesses. If there are precepts that previous buddhas did not formulate, then you may formulate them as you see fit (*hoshimama*). If there are teachings that previous buddhas did not preach, you may teach them as you see fit. If there are practices that previous buddhas did not cultivate, you may put them into practice as you see fit. If there are benefits, you should not hesitate. If you can save beings with a buddha-body, then you should display that body. If you can save beings with a body from the other nine realms, then display that body. At all times, compassion should be your room, forbearance your robes, and emptiness your seat.

The teacher then takes the whisk and brushes the student's left and right shoulders.⁹³

The exchange of robes between the teacher and student marks in a concrete way the student's identification as a buddha. The teacher's remarks to the student rely primarily on the *Lotus Sutra*, with quotations of some of the most important phrases. Esoteric Buddhist terminology is infrequent and can be interpreted in secular terms as referring to the coronation of a king. The last instructions in this statement are particularly striking, with the teacher instructing the new buddha, formerly the student, that he is empowered to create any new teachings or practices as he sees fit. His new status is also reflected in a four-character phrase from the *Lotus Sutra* that is mentioned in a number of manuals: "[The true entity of all phenomena] can only be understood and shared among buddhas."⁹⁴

Following the completion of the fourth level of *gasshō*, the teacher confers the various accoutrements required for a monk. When a monk was ordained following the *Vinaya*, he was required to have a similar set of items, but they were not conferred during the ordination. In this case, each item is explained with an emphasis on how these are the trappings of the Buddha that various ancestors have possessed and are now the adornments of the student, who is a buddha. For most of the ritual, the teacher gives the student the object and then repeats three times a short verse explaining it.

Perhaps reflecting the requirement in the *Vinaya* that a monk be formally entrusted with his robes and begging bowl, this part of the ceremony begins

awakened to and enter or realize the Buddha Dharma" ("Glossary of T'ien-t'ai/Tendai Terms," in Swanson, *Clear Serenity, Quiet Insight*, 3:1950).

92. This is cited in the *Lotus Sutra* (T 9:7a21–28) and Tiantai/Tendai texts as the Buddha's objective.

93. *Kaikan denju shidai*, ZTZ Enkai 1: 24a–b. The formula at the end of this passage, based on the *Lotus Sutra* (T 9:31c23–27), is mentioned in Saichō's will. It was used for the precepts in an ordination described in the *Shuzenji ketsu*, an apocryphal text said to have been conferred on Saichō during his studies in China (see chapter 7 above).

94. T 9:5c10–11; Watson, *Lotus Sutra*, 29. The phrase occurs once in the *Kaikan denju shidai* (ZTZ Enkai 1:18b) but is frequently cited in such texts as the *Enkai jūroku jō*.

with their conferral.⁹⁵ The ratios of the panels sewn together to make up the robes are specified with such terms as *ryōchō ittan*, that is, two long panels and a short panel. Such terms are found in the *Vinayas*, indicating the compiler's familiarity with some of the traditional procedures. The teacher recites the following lines from the beginning of the "Entrustment" chapter of the *Lotus Sutra*: "For immeasurable hundreds, thousands, tens of thousands, millions of *asamkhyā kalpas* (innumerable eons), I have practiced this hard-to-attain Dharma of *anuttarā-samyak-sambodhi* (supreme enlightenment). Now I entrust it to you. You must single-mindedly propagate this Dharma throughout the world, causing its benefits to spread far and wide."⁹⁶ The passage, which ends with the teacher patting "the bodhisattva mahasattvas on the head," comes late in the scripture, when Śākyamuni entrusts the teaching to various bodhisattvas, much as the teacher in the consecrated ordination entrusts it to the student. The teacher repeats this passage three times, each time patting the student on the head (*machō*), a gesture used when the Buddha verifies that a person has realized buddhahood. In fact, in the *Lotus Sutra*, Śākyamuni pats the bodhisattvas on the head three times after entrusting the Dharma to them. Once again, the selection of a passage from the *Lotus Sutra* is perfectly appropriate. The other sense of head patting is that it was used as a sign (*kōsō*) from the buddhas in self-ordinations that the practitioner had succeeded in obtaining the precepts; this was a distinct part of the twelve-part Tendai ordination and immediately followed the conferral of the precepts.

The three robes are made up of certain numbers of pieces of cloth that have been sewn together. Each of the three robes is then associated with positive virtues that are explained together with the Sanskrit transliteration and Chinese translation of their names. The virtues are the five-panel robe associated with constant compassion and abandoning selfish desires, the seven-panel robe with constant wisdom and not allowing wrong views to arise, and the nine-panel robe with constant forbearance and not allowing anger to arise. The numbers of panels in the robes are equated with the expedient means of the five vehicles (*gojō no hōben*),⁹⁷ the seven expedient means (*shichū hōben*),⁹⁸ and the nine realms (*ku hokkai*).⁹⁹ These three virtues correspond to virtues associated with the Tathāgata's room, seat, and robes mentioned in

95. Not all *Vinayas* required that the robes be conferred in the ordination, but this was frequently done in East Asia; Hirakawa, *Genshi Bukkyō no kenkyū*, 112, 466; Tsuchihashi, *Kairitsu no kenkyū*, 297, 332–333, 351.

96. T 9:52c05–9.

97. Various sets of five vehicles are found in the canon, but Tendai usually uses the vehicles of humans and gods, *śrāvakas*, *pratyekabuddhas*, bodhisattvas, and buddhas. Through these, unconditioned compassion is given to the various beings, with the expedients constituting the adornments of the *nirmāṇakāya* (see *Enkai jūroku jō*, ZTZ Enkai 1:100b).

98. According to the *Enkai jūroku jō* (ZTZ Enkai 1:100b), this is the wisdom of reality without characteristics, which does not allow the wrong views of samsara to arise. This constitutes the personal-enjoyment body of the buddha.

99. The nine Dharma realms are the ten realms specified in Tendai minus the realm of the Buddha). The buddha's forbearance as he uses expedients for these realms is equated with the

the “Dharma Teacher” chapter of the *Lotus Sutra*. In addition, the three robes are compared with the skin and flesh of the three bodies of the Buddha. Finally, other correlations are suggested, matching the robes with a variety of sets of three including, functions (*kunō*), consciousnesses, and compassions; but the explanations of these are complex, so they are skipped. Ultimately, they are equated with the three views (*sangan*) and three thousand realms in an instant, two classic Tendai formulations of enlightenment.

Conferral of the begging bowl symbolizes being satisfied with little and not giving rise to desires; thus, the bowl represents begging to support one’s life even though Tendai monks rarely begged for food. The bowl’s round shape represents the perfection and repletion of Principle and wisdom (*richi enman*); the empty interior indicates the lack of characteristics (*musō*) of the Land of Tranquil Light (Jakkōdo), the Pure Land associated with the Dharmakāya of the Buddha in Tendai. The conferral of the sitting cloth embodies the discernment of how all phenomena are empty and do not give rise to clinging. It is the essence of the opening and reconciling of the Land of Tranquil Light, the characteristics of the identity of the three bodies as a single body, the non-duality of the wisdom and Principle, and the ultimate teaching of the identity of the exoteric and esoteric.

Next is the conferral of two mirrors (*nikyō no men*), one with eight petals or lobes (*hachiyō*) around it and the other with a round shape. The teacher takes the mirrors and has the student view them and explains the symbolism. The round mirror is the *Lotus Sutra*, the true essence of reality (*jissō entai*), and the lobed mirror is the *Huayan jing* (*Avatamsaka Sutra*). Thus, the two mirrors represent the way in which the precepts primarily depend on the *Lotus Sutra* and secondarily on the *Brahma’s Net Sutra*.¹⁰⁰ The images in the mirror represent the perfect interpenetration of the three views in an instant. The mirror transcends subject and object (*kyōchi no nimen*). The eight petals of the lotus represent the eight consciousnesses and the center of the mirror the ninth consciousness. The student is made to look up at the mirror in the canopy as he holds a mirror in his hands; this, following the *Sutra of the Benevolent King* (*Renwang jing*), is called the “mirror of heaven and earth,” one of the epithets for the Perfection of Wisdom found in that sutra.¹⁰¹ A note in the manual explains that the truly round mirror, representing heaven, is above, and the square platform, literally Dharma palanquin (*hōkoshi*), which is below, represents the earth that holds all things. The ritual reflects some of the Chinese geomantic symbolism still found today in the Temple of Heaven in Beijing. The private notes conclude by explaining that the mirrors of heaven and earth are the true aspect of reality (*jissō*) and that this is the essence of the

dharmakāya. The nine are also equated with the nine consciousnesses, the usual eight consciousnesses plus pure consciousness (*Enkai jūroku jō*, ZTZ Enkai 1:100b).

100. ZTZ Enkai 1:25b.

101. T 8:832c26. The Perfection of Wisdom helps to repair the deficiencies due to the absence of the Buddha (Orzech. “A Buddhist Image of (Im)Perfect Rule,” 150).

precepts. Finally, the manner in which the mind reflects (or does not reflect) the multitudinous objects is mentioned.¹⁰² As the manual describes a variety of meanings that are elicited from the mirror(s), it employs the term “five buddhas” (*gobutsu*), one of the only times an explicitly esoteric term is used.¹⁰³

Next is the bestowal of the conch shell on the disciple. A passage from the *Lotus Sutra*, “Blow the Conch of the Great Dharma” is recited.¹⁰⁴ First, the teacher blows the conch three times then hands it to the student, who blows it three times. The meaning is then given, with both shallow and profound interpretations. The three types of action in accord correspond to verbal actions. When the preceptor in the ordination ceremony speaks, it is the turning of the Dharma wheel of the wondrous teaching of the one vehicle with a sound that has no obstacles. The dharma and reward bodies perfectly match. In a shallower interpretation, the sound without obstacles refers to the sounds of the world, but in a more profound interpretation, the cessation of the sounds refers to the realization of the three views in an instant.¹⁰⁵

A water jug (*hōbyō*) is conferred next. The use of the jug evolved over the centuries, and it eventually was used to hold scented infusions and perfumes in fortnightly assemblies. The water is compared to conferral of the teachings and the water of the precepts.

A variant text, the *Jū ichijō bosatsu kanjō jūkaihō* (The conferral of the one-vehicle bodhisattva consecration and ordination), is attributed to Ryōgen’s disciple Jinzen (942–990), with notes (*okugaki*) by Egi (d. 1301) dated 1287 and a revision by Keikō in the eighteenth century. The attribution to Jinzen seems questionable, but according to the text, once the student has left the inner hall, eighteen items are conferred on him.¹⁰⁶ Shikii notes that the influence of the *Vinaya* is evident, particularly when the student is asked about obstacles to ordination such as whether he has shed the blood of a buddha and whether he will depend on the four requisites (*shie*): namely, relying on rags for clothing, begging for food, residing under trees, and using such items as cow’s urine for medicine.¹⁰⁷ In addition, the manual brought the ritual closer to the *Brahma’s Net Sutra* by conferring the eighteen items that are enumerated in that text as being a practitioner’s necessary accoutrements.¹⁰⁸ No other *kai kanjō* manual mentions these eighteen items, but Kōen stated that a practitioner should possess them.¹⁰⁹

102. ZTZ Enkai 1:26a. The interpretation of the mind as both reflecting and not reflecting phenomena may be based on the *Awakening of Faith in the Mahāyāna* (*Dasheng qixin lun*), a major source of the *hongaku* thought that pervades the consecrated ordination.

103. ZTZ Enkai 1:26b.

104. The exact phrase is found twice in the *Lotus Sutra*: T 9:3c13, 24b6. Similar phrases are found in other places in the text.

105. ZTZ Enkai 1:26b.

106. ZTZ Enkai 1:36a.

107. ZTZ Enkai 1, “Kaidai,” 2.

108. T 24:1008a.

109. *Ikkō daijōji kōryū henmoku shū*, ZTZ Enkai 1:178a–b; see chapter 8 above.

The teacher takes the fly whisk and recites the Chinese text of congratulations and auspiciousness (*kikkyō*). The fly whisk originally was used to brush away flies and mosquitoes without killing them, but in East Asia it became an implement used by monks presiding over lectures and rituals. Eventually conferral of the whisk became a sign that one had succeeded to an office. Words of auspiciousness in Chinese are recited and then the “new buddha” is brushed with the fly whisk.

Procedures for Exiting the Hall

The chanters praise the new buddha. The teacher (*kyōju*) asks for the thirty-two marks of the Buddha. Verses to that effect are chanted. A lineage document is made with both the teacher and the student putting their handprints on it, after which the student places it within his robe. The compiler of the manual comments, “While the new buddha is praised, both the teacher and student sit in meditation. I have heard that each of the thirty-two marks of the Buddha is explained by the teacher and that this would take until day-break . . . , and so now we abbreviate this, praising the thirty-two marks as the special characteristics of the new buddha and an indication of his realization of the path.”¹¹⁰ A variant text states that the robe of Huisi is conferred on the student.¹¹¹

The student descends from his seat and circumambulates the platform, followed by the teacher. Then the student leaves the outer hall and waits for the teacher.

Conclusion

The ritual described in the *Kaikan denju shūdai* is clearly based on a *hongaku* interpretation of the *Lotus Sutra*. It includes repeated passages from the *Lotus Sutra*, often carefully chosen to fit the context of the ritual, but when these repetitions occur, they are limited to three times, not the many used in reciting *dhāraṇī*. The text also reflects the claim that the *Lotus Sutra* was the primary text for the perfect-sudden precepts and the *Brahma’s Net Sutra* was secondary. The ritual includes little terminology that is clearly esoteric. The absence of the three mysteries and esoteric deities is particularly striking. Even so, certain elements were almost certainly influenced by esoteric Buddhism.¹¹² The most noteworthy are some of the *gasshō*, particularly the *gasshō* in which

110. ZTZ Enkai 1:27b–28a.

111. ZTZ Enkai 1:28a.

112. For other examples of the relatively infrequent use of esoteric Buddhist themes, see *Kaike chi fukuro*, ZTZ Enkai 1:136 (references to the names of the *gasshō*, but with a note that the emphasis on the practical aspect of the precepts makes them more interesting than esoteric interpretations); *Roku kekkaishiiki*, ZTZ Enkai 1:63b (note the use of seed syllables); *Endonkai kikiigaki*, ZTZ Enkai 1:234b (references to the *samaya* precepts and the fivefold practice of realizing Vairocana, both based on Annen’s *Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku*). However, none of these passages includes an extended discourse on the esoteric aspects of the *kai kanjō*.

the teacher and student are entwined. In addition, the stipulations that the ritual is secret and should be conferred on only one person on the platform could be said to reflect esoteric Buddhist influence. The basic problem in analyzing this issue is that many of the same qualities are also found in medieval rituals influenced by *hongaku* views. The categories of esoteric Buddhism and original enlightenment are sometimes vague, this perhaps being one instance. The problem is reflected in the Tendai view that the *Lotus Sutra* is esoteric in principle but does not include esoteric practices. Although the student in the consecrated ordination is repeatedly told that he is a buddha, nowhere does he visualize himself as identical with the Buddha using the three mysteries. Instead, the various *gasshō*, exchange of robes, and recitation of *Lotus Sutra* passages seem designed to instill faith that the student is a buddha in terms of the six degrees of identity, thereby realizing his true nature as a buddha.

The Kurodani refutation of charges that the consecrated ordination is simply the theft (or more politely, the repurposing) of esoteric Buddhist ritual should be taken seriously. Jitsudō Ninkū, a medieval Tendai scholar with a fine sense of history and the ability to distinguish apocryphal texts from trustworthy ones, was adamant in his critique of the consecrated ordination, rejecting claims that it had originated in early Tendai. Because I have discussed this elsewhere, I will not repeat it here, other than to note Ninkū's argument that the consecrated ordination was designed to instill faith in the student.¹¹³ The *Kaikan denju shidai* text may be a reaction to these criticisms. The issue of esoteric Buddhist influence in some of the earlier manuals remains as a topic for future research.

113. Chapter 11 below.

Training through Debates in Medieval Tendai and Seizan-ha Temples

THIS CHAPTER FOCUSES on the debate system formulated by monks surrounding Jitsudō Ninkū, a figure who played an important role in both Tendai and Jōdoshū Seizan-ha. A large amount of doctrinal literature from this group has been published in recent years, including debates and extensive lectures on the Tendai, esoteric Buddhism, Pure Land, and Mahāyāna *Vinaya* (*Brahma's Net Sutra*) traditions. By focusing on sets of monastery rules and the colophons written by these monks, details emerge of a training system that focused on doctrinal study, lecture, and debate. The care with which these texts were composed and revised indicates the vitality of their tradition.

From the beginning of the Japanese Tendai School in the early ninth century, the issue of how to train monks in the tradition has been a major concern. Frequently this issue was associated with the requirements for ordination, the contents of the ordination, or with practices immediately following ordination. For example, at the time the school's founder, Saichō, became a monk, candidates to become the annual officially recognized monks (*nenbundosha*) were required to be able to recite a certain number of scriptures and to live a pure or celibate life. The emphasis was clearly placed on training monks to perform rituals that would produce karmic merit transferrable to protecting the nation and its ruler. In 798, the court's emphasis shifted so that candidates for ordination had to be able to demonstrate their mastery of doctrine.¹ As a result, candidates from all schools were supposed to pass a test demonstrating their mastery of their school's teachings. This requirement

This chapter is based on my 2011 article "Training through Debates in Medieval Tendai and Seizan-ha Temples," which appeared in *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*.

1. Mochizuki and Tsukamoto, *Bukkyō daijiten*, 5:4162c.

was further emphasized when in 824 each school was asked to submit a text outlining its teachings.

When Saichō tried to establish an independent ordination on Mount Hiei, he proposed two tracks for monks: a meditation course (*shikangō*) that emphasized Tendai teachings and an esoteric course (*shanagō*) that focused on the *Darijing* (*Mahāvairocana Sutra*) and other scriptures. In both cases, recitation of texts and the performance of rituals were combined with doctrinal studies. Evidence for this can be seen in the early descriptions of the halls established on Mount Hiei and the lectures and debates held on such days as the Shimotsuki-e, the anniversary of Zhiyi's death. Perhaps the most remarkable aspect of Saichō's proposals was the requirement that monks be ordained on Mount Hiei rather than at Tōdaiji in Nara and then spend the next twelve years sequestered on Mount Hiei.² Although Saichō's plans to train monks continued to influence later generations, they were impractical. For one, there was the period of twelve years on Mount Hiei, which was so idealistic that it was abandoned almost immediately.³ Monks, after all, had obligations to their parents and patrons that drew them away. A second major concern was the precepts that were received at ordination. Saichō had rejected the *Four-Part Vinaya* precepts traditionally used to ordain monks in East Asia. Although virtually no monks followed all of these rules, they did provide a model of how monastic life should be conducted. In their place, Saichō used the *Brahma's Net Sutra's* set of precepts, which were found in a Chinese apocryphal text. Because they traditionally had been conferred on both lay and monastic practitioners, the penalties for violations of the precepts and the administrative procedures for enforcing adherence were vague. As a result, the interpretation of the precepts has been an important focus of disputes in the Tendai School. Despite this preoccupation, the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts rarely served as a direct guide for training monks. They were simply too terse,⁴ and they often focused on prohibitions as much as on recommendations about how to practice.

Monastery rules sometimes contain insights into how monks were trained; the petitions that Saichō submitted to the court take the form of rules for the monastery on Mount Hiei. Shortly before he died, he wrote rules that were not subject to court approval. The prohibition on hitting young boys (*dōji*),⁵ for example, was one such rule that reflected the monastery's autonomy, which would grow as time passed. One of the most extensive sets of rules was a set of twenty-six composed by Ryōgen for Mount Hiei; they explain such issues as how monasteries were governed, what ceremonies were held, and whether all monks were required to attend. Some of Ryōgen's rules—for example, limiting the celebrations that accompanied some rituals, control-

2. Groner, *Saichō*, 134–135.

3. Groner, *Saichō*, 8, 28, 59–60.

4. Chapter 13 below. Also see Groner, "Rationales for the Lax Adherence to the Precepts."

5. Groner, *Saichō*, 159–160.

ling the growing threat of violence among monks, and instilling a strict system of debates—were expected to apply to all of Mount Hiei.⁶

Other sets of rules, which applied to specific areas, halls, or to certain rituals, might sometimes be set by a major donor or by a court member concerned with the effectiveness of ritual performances. Some rules had an official or semiofficial status, particularly if they concerned the administration of manors or rituals used in protecting the state. Such sets cover a variety of topics, including the performance of rituals and participation at assemblies, monastic dress, how monks were feted and treated at assemblies, the number of attendant monks of different ranks who were permitted to attend, the requirements for appointment to monastic offices, when monks were permitted to leave the confines of Mount Hiei, prohibitions on raising horses and oxen on the mountain, prohibitions on the possession of weapons, and prohibitions on women and alcohol.⁷

Rules written by individual monks that were intended to be applied to their followers at specific temples are perhaps one of the richest sources for insights into training. At times, these rules were concerned with making sure that monks in the same lineage would be appointed to administer temples and properties; examples of these are found in instructions left by Ennin and Ryōgen.⁸ Still other sets of rules were formulated by the leaders of a particular monastic movement and intended to guide the training and practice of monks. The Tendai monk Kōen's rules, for example, describe such features as an administrative system and a calendar of rituals and reflect efforts to reinstate a period of seclusion, but this only applied to the Kurodani lineage.⁹ A question that always arises when such rules are investigated is how long they were observed and whether they were enforced. The twelve-year period of seclusion is a good example of the problem. Because records indicate admiration when a monk did fulfill the twelve years, it clearly was unusual. Does a rule specifying that monks should refrain from a particular activity indicate that some were breaking it? For example, does a rule prohibiting the drinking of alcohol indicate that many monks were doing so, or is it simply carried over from earlier codes such as the *Vinaya* or *Brahma's Net Sutra*?

Jitsudō Ninkū's Lineage and Temple Rules

This chapter focuses on a specific monk, Jitsudō Ninkū, who was abbot of two important temples, Rozanji and Sangoji, both near Kyoto. He was a consummate educator and formulated several sets of rules he intended as guidelines for the training of monks. Under his guidance, the monks who surrounded

6. Groner, *Ryōgen*, 236–239, 345–366.

7. Okano, “Enryakujū no naibu kōzō.”

8. See Groner, *Ryōgen*: pp. 307–308 for Ennin's rules, and pp. 345–366 for Ryōgen's rules.

9. Groner, “Kōen”; chapter 8 above.

him produced many documents on monastic discipline belonging to several genres: commentaries, lectures, ritual manuals, and temple rules. A list of the sets of temple rules and when Ninkū compiled them helps reveal the extent of his concern with this genre:

- 1356/8/4: *Kyōin zōji ryaku mondō* (Brief questions and answers about miscellaneous matters of the doctrinal halls), one fascicle. Compiled at Nishiyama by the monk Ninkū at the Mahāyāna temple (Daijōji). T 2362. Revised at Rozanji, 1371/5/25.
- 1357/10/26: *Shūngaku bosatsu gyōyō shō* (Essentials of practice for bodhisattvas who have just begun studying), one fascicle. Compiled by the provisionally named monk E'nin (an alternative name for Ninkū) at Binmanji in Ōmi. Ninkū notes that he had begun the compilation of the text a year earlier at Nishiyama, where Sangoji was located. T 2382.
- 1358/9/11: *Zaushō* (Compilation to be kept at the right side of one's seat), one fascicle. Compiled in honor of the thirteenth anniversary of the death of his teacher Jidō Kōkū (1286–1346). T 2641.
- 1367/8/11: *Kōin gakudō tsūki* (Comprehensive rules for the study halls at lecture temples). Compiled by the old abbot of Nishiyama Nin(kū) at Sangoji. T 2643.
- 1373/7/14: *Shoshūn gyōgoshō* (Rules for beginners to practice and observe) at Rozanji; edited later that month at Sangoji. Recorded by the bodhisattva monk Nin(kū). T 2642.

I am concerned here with the rules for the intellectual training of monks in order to describe the academic system Ninkū established. Other rules—for example those regarding such issues as clothing, eating, bathing, using the toilet, and ritual—were dealt with in sufficient detail to indicate that monks were to be mindful of how they conducted themselves, but Ninkū's attention was clearly on the monks' education and intellectual training.

One final issue should be noted: Ninkū was affiliated with both the Tendai School and the Seizan lineage of the Jōdoshū, a tradition that went back to Shōkū, Hōnen's disciple whose affiliations with nobility and Tendai monks saved him from exile. In fact, Ninkū, referred to as Ninkū Jitsudō in the Seizan tradition, wrote the earliest extant biography of Shōkū and played an important role in organizing Seizan temples. At the same time, Ninkū lectured on Mount Hiei and required his monks to be ordained there. Few important distinctions between Tendai and the Seizan-ha appear in the rules that he composed for the temples he oversaw, and the two traditions enjoyed close relations during Ninkū's lifetime. Many Tendai monks in fact traced their ordination lineages through Hōnen. Ninkū claimed that his views on the bodhisattva precepts were based on a special transmission of teachings that were in turn based on the commentary on the *Brahma's Net Sutra* attributed to Zhiyi, the *Pusajie yi ji* (Record of the meaning of the bodhisattva precepts; T 1811) that had come from Hōnen through Shōkū.

Ninkū and the Lecture Temple Tradition

The *Comprehensive Rules for the Study Halls at Lecture Temples* (*Kōin gakudō tsūki*), compiled at Sangoji, offers an overview of Ninkū's objectives. The year after this text was compiled, Ninkū became abbot of Rozanji. Because both Sangoji and Rozanji were called doctrinal temples (*kyōin*), the rules were probably applicable to both the Tendai and Pure Land temples under Ninkū's supervision, though with some differences in emphasis explained below. According to the *Kōin gakudō tsūki*,

Tendai, Shingon, the perfect precepts (*enkaï*), and Pure Land are the four traditions that we study. As for daytime lectures, invited people give some of them; other lectures are given by people when it is convenient. Each of the four teachings should be expounded, but they should not be mixed. At night, we study; this consists of quiet reflection on the meaning of the texts and should be conducted so that neighboring monks are not bothered. Whether esoteric or exoteric, whether the way of sages (*shōdō*) or Pure Land, students should study what they wish; they also may study in groups. However, as for provisional and Hīnayāna teachings, even though they may be considered aids to the path, students should not even get a whiff of other such traditions in this room.¹⁰

The four traditions mentioned were used by both the Rozanji Tendai tradition and the early Seizan lineage of the Jōdo School. The admonition against mixing traditions is significant. One of the reasons for the decline of monastic discipline in Japan had been the use of esoteric Buddhist and Pure Land teachings that promised through *dhāraṇī* or the *nenbutsu* to obviate the bad karma from violations. The tension between Pure Land and the "path of the sages" found in many Pure Land traditions is rejected by affirming the validity of each. A similar approach is used in discussing esoteric and exoteric Buddhism; the name Shingon in this rule refers to Tendai esoteric Buddhism (Taimitsu), not to Kūkai's Shingon School, a usage of the term frequently found in Tendai materials. Ninkū's refusal to interpret the traditions in terms of each other also helped him maintain an intellectual integrity that was unusual in his day. His careful choice of which texts to read and his appreciation of the historical development of Tendai stand in marked contrast to the free-wheeling interpretations of doctrine found in many *hōngaku* texts. At the same time, each of these traditions used classification of doctrines to make claims about the validity of doctrine, practice, and training. Ninkū recognized these but did not allow such claims to obviate or diminish the study of the four traditions he recognized. The rule did not literally mean that monks were completely free to study whatever they wished. The prohibition on Hīnayāna and certain Mahāyāna traditions gave monks guidelines. The questions used in the Tendai and precepts

10. T 83:534c2-8.

debate manuals that Ninkū and the monks around him produced focused on works by Zhiyi and Zhanran, two of the most authoritative figures in the Chinese Tiantai tradition. Texts from the *hongaku* tradition were cited rarely, if at all.

The above passage from the *Kōin gakudō tsūki* may seem like a vague encouragement to study, but Ninkū employed debate and lecture as the focus of his educational system. Although a debate system is not mentioned in the preceding quotation, many of the texts compiled by Ninkū and his followers were clearly intended as debate manuals. Terms such as *rishsha* (a candidate in debates or examinations) and *tandai* (a judge in debates) are found in the colophons to texts, indicating that debate was undoubtedly used along with lectures. Because Ninkū frequently presented a vigorous defense of the positions he criticized, the debate texts provide a valuable record of the breadth of opinions held by Tendai and Seizan monks. There was also the period of questioning that accompanied some of the lectures and in which questioners responded to lecturers covering a variety of topics used in debates, further developing debate topics. These procedures would have been used to sharpen and test the academic quality of students. The debate tradition was strenuous and would have required intense memorization, reading, and concentration. Although there are scholars today who make a distinction between intellectual activities and practices such as meditation and ritual performance, for Ninkū, intellectual study clearly shaped the monk.¹¹ A monk would focus on a small number of significant texts, memorizing key passages that pertained to preset topics. He would learn how to explain the topic and both defend and attack a position. In formal debates, the topic on which he would be questioned was probably chosen by lot, so that the monk would not know ahead of time the subject he would speak on. (This differs from modern reenactments of debates.) The candidate was faced with the stress of a public performance at the monastery by being required to recite from memory a variety of passages concerning his topic, some of which might seem to be contradictory.¹² The monk was allowed a certain degree of creativity in resolving these apparently contradictory issues. Thus, while he could not adopt a Hossō position, he could take a variety of positions within the Tendai or Seizan-ha traditions. The process of memorization of the relevant passages to an issue and defending one's views served as a form of indoctrination as the monk incorporated the views he studied into a worldview and interpretation of Buddhist teachings.

According to Ninkū, the training at these lecture halls consisted primarily of attending lectures in the daytime and studying at night. The lectures were to be enlivened with discussions and debate: "In the daytime, the head of the assembly (*hossu*), preceptor, or knowledgeable elder should discuss the

11. I find the work by Robert Sharf on the modern emphasis on religious experience particularly useful in this regard (see Sharf, "Buddhist Modernism").

12. Take, "Hokke daie kōgaku ryūgi."

teaching. Or people from the assembly should draw lots and take turns asking questions of the lecturer.”¹³ Other practices, such as meditation, were considered to be worthwhile as long as they did not interfere with study.¹⁴ Ninkū’s rules should not be interpreted as excluding the rituals and meditations that monks had traditionally performed to gain patronage from the state and powerful nobles; in fact, the rules applied specifically to the study hall, not the entire monastery. More information on Ninkū’s biography would help determine the place of ritual in his activities. He did consent to perform prayers in 1374,¹⁵ but otherwise his biography seems to lack much involvement with prayers for the nobility. At times, Ninkū was involved with establishing the institutional basis of his temples,¹⁶ but most of the snippets of biographical information we have portray him constantly lecturing and educating monks. The primacy of study is demonstrated in the following entry: “At night, each [monk] should bring his books and gather [with other monks] in the study hall (*gakushitsu*). They should sit quietly and open their books. Activities such as reciting the sutras, chanting *dhāraṇī*, reciting the Buddha’s name, and practicing meditation are all good, but go against the rules of this room because they prevent the advancement of learning. One should strive and be careful of heresy (*itan*).”¹⁷

No provision was made for regular meditation periods in any of Ninkū’s sets of rules; the rituals typical of Chinese Tiantai, such as the constantly sitting or constantly walking *samādhi*, are not mentioned, though Ninkū does recommend meditation if one awakes early.¹⁸ Neither is a calendar of rituals included in the rules; this is in contrast to the rules used in the Kurodani lineage, another Tendai lineage with detailed rules that competed with Ninkū’s tradition.¹⁹ Finally, a short history of Rozanji, compiled in 1559, begins with a statement that when it was founded, Rozanji practice consisted of “the *Lotus samādhi* and the discernment of the sudden-perfect single reality in the morning and the *nenbutsu samādhi* and wanderings in the nine degrees of rebirth in the Pure Land in the evening.”²⁰

The formula of combining *nenbutsu* with recitation of the *Lotus Sutra* is found frequently in Tendai writings.²¹ However, when the history of Rozanji touches on the lecture system, the regular recitations of the *Lotus* and *nenbutsu* or any other ritual are not mentioned, though offerings to the Medicine

13. T 83:534b26–27.

14. Centuries earlier, Ryōgen had also tried to establish a balance between study and ritual. A set of twenty-six rules for Mount Hiei written by Ryōgen (translated by Nasu in Groner, *Ryōgen*, 345–366) was preserved at Rozanji and quoted by Ninkū.

15. *Yanaginara-ke kiroku*, DS 6.41:109.

16. *Rozanji monjo*, DS 6.30:1.

17. *Kōin gakudō tsūki*, T 83:534b–c.

18. *Shoshin gyōgo shō*, T 83:534a15.

19. Groner, “Kōen,” 190, and chapter 8 above.

20. *Rozanji engi*, BZ-Bussho 117:457a.

21. Kiuchi, “Asa daimoku.”

Buddha do appear.²² A fuller description of the halls at doctrinal temples would help in determining the activities of monks, but I have found no detailed descriptions.²³ One more clue to the relation between study and ritual performance is found in the instructions that Jien (1155–1225), one of the most eminent Tendai monks of his day, imparted when he gave Sangōji to Shōku. Because Ninkū wrote Shōkū’s earliest extant biography and respected him as the founder of the Seizan tradition, Ninkū probably agreed with the general guidelines found in the biography. He described Pure Land practice as having “three major components: (1) uninterrupted *nenbutsu*; (2) praises of Amida during the six periods of the day; and (3) debate, consisting of questions and answers, concerning such topics as the portrayal of the lotuses of rebirth in the three Pure Land scriptures, the resolution of doubts about rebirth in the Pure Land, vows concerning the nine grades of rebirth, and the determination of the efficacy of the *nenbutsu* in both this life and the future.”²⁴ At the same time, Jien instructed Shōkū to preserve the memory of Kanshō (n.d.), who had helped found Sangoji by preserving the mix of Tendai, esoteric, and Pure Land traditions. Images of both the Pure Land patriarch Shandao (613–681) and the de facto founder of Tiantai, Zhiyi, were installed in the temple, reflecting the mix of Pure Land and Tendai that had been favored by Shōkū. Lectures on Pure Land topics, particularly the *Contemplation Sutra*, were to be given each month on the death days of Shandao and Hōnen.²⁵ Thus, debate and study were a central aspect of practice but were combined with ritual practice.

Ninkū contrasts lecture temples with *zenji*, a term that I have translated as “meditation temple” but that also has the sense of “Zen temple,” in other words, temples belonging to the Zen School. In fact, Ninkū’s usage of the term seems at times to include both senses. When I have translated it as “meditation temple” I have tried to reflect the manner in which Ninkū separates meditation from doctrinal study when he considers the three trainings, a usage that allows him to de-emphasize the practice of traditional Tendai meditations. The concluding provision of Ninkū’s *Comprehensive Rules for the Study Halls at Lecture Temples* contains the following passage:

22. A survey of documents concerning Sangoji and Rozanji in the databases of the Historical Institute at Tokyo University also does not indicate the regular performance of such rituals. However, a number of documents are concerned with manors (*shōen*) and the naming of the temples as “prayer temples,” events that probably involved some sort of ritual services; the support of serious academic monks might have been thought to produce significant karmic benefits for the patron.

23. In contrast, a list of rules for Chinese doctrinal temples does name the various halls at the ideal doctrinal monastery, indicating that the list of halls was not too different from those at a Zen temple. The major differences were that the doctrinal temples had a lecture hall and halls for rituals—such as those for repentance and rites for the deliverance of creatures of water and land—that were often associated with Tiantai monasteries (Suzuki, “*Kyōen shingō*”).

24. *Zenne shōnin e*, DS 5.23:242.

25. *Zenne shōnin e*, DS 5.23:241.

Now the ages of the true Dharma and the semblance of Dharma (*shōzō*) have passed. The essentials of the Dharma are scarcely seen in the texts of the teaching. Who would not cling to them? How much more so is this the case at monasteries where the practice has been divided into three areas? Thus, Zen mainly practices meditation. Specialists in the *Vinaya* mainly transmit the precepts. Our group is called the lecturers. If we do not explain and listen, then what will our function be?²⁶

At first, the precepts may seem to be relegated to *Vinaya* temples in Ninkū's system because he distinguished between temples that focused on the *Four-Part Vinaya* and doctrinal temples, but the students and teachers of the doctrinal temples were expected to strictly observe the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts as Ninkū interpreted them.²⁷ Ninkū's interpretation of the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts differed from that found at the Tendai headquarters on Mount Hiei because he argued that the precepts had the same status as the perfect teaching of the *Lotus Sutra*, the supreme scriptural authority in Tendai. In contrast, many of the monks on Mount Hiei subordinated the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts to the *Lotus Sutra*, allowing them to argue that they could ignore the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts as long as they upheld the *Lotus Sutra*.²⁸

A strict schedule for the training of those who stayed at the temple is explained in other rules:

As for those who have been studying for a long time, how could they not have time off? Those between [the ages of] fifteen and twenty should receive one night off out of every ten. (Every month they will receive three days off; but they may not use each other's days off. Everyone [mentioned] below should follow this rule.) Those thirty and over will receive two nights off, and those forty and over will receive three nights off [out of every ten]. If they exceed this number, then they have violated our rules. We shall decide the gravity of their offense in accordance with the number of violations. Some may be asked to provide paper and brushes to the study hall, and others to provide food or lamps for the scholarly monks. If [a person] is absent for more than three nights out of ten and with no excuse, then he is not fit to be a fellow student. When the order discusses and decides on a remedy, they should ostracize him (*bonbō*).²⁹ By order of the assembly (*shūmyō*), corvée labor (*kuyaku*) can be levied. In case a person is ill or has an emergency, then he may ask for leave (*seika*) and [his situation] does not fall under this rule.³⁰

26. T 83:534c24–27.

27. See chapter 11 below.

28. See chapter 7 above.

29. The term *bonbō* refers to *bondan* (platform in Brahma's heaven). A platform was constructed before a shrine to Brahma. A deity who had committed a wrongdoing was forced to stand on the platform and not permitted to speak to the other gods as they passed by. The same type of treatment was given to monks who violated certain rules, resulting in a prohibition on talking to the monk who had committed the offense.

30. *Kōin gakudō tsūki*, T 83:534c.

The first of the *Comprehensive Rules for the Study Halls at Lecture Temples* notes, “When they are over fifty, then they are old, and we should not add rules. Whether they come or not depends on their own will.”³¹ The application of rules therefore depended on the age of the student, with more freedom given to monks as they advanced in age and training. Other sets of rules promulgated by Ninkū display the same strict attitude toward young practitioners that is relaxed for the elderly and infirm; for example, monks are not to nap, but the rule is relaxed for those who are old or sick if they shut the door to their rooms.³² The titles of two of his sets of rules reflect his concern for the education of young monks: *Essentials of Practice for Bodhisattvas Who Have Just Begun Studying* (*shingaku*)³³ and *Rules for Beginners to Practice and Observe* (*Shoshin gyōgo shō*). Ninkū’s rules indicate the assiduousness of study at his temples, with the details concerning possible punishments with which infractions were treated. If the *Brahma’s Net Sutra* precepts were followed, most infractions could be expiated by a simple confession, a policy that had led to lax adherence at some Tendai temples. Ninkū clearly felt the need for more serious remedies and mentioned as penalties fines, ostracism, and labor.³⁴ The reference to decisions by the assembly further indicates the presence of an administrative structure that would decide on the application of punishments. Ninkū was influenced by monastery rules formulated by some of his predecessors, particularly Ryōgen’s twenty-six rules, which were preserved at Rozanji.

Although other temples reserved study for a smaller group of monks who qualified either through family connections or academic ability, Ninkū argued that everyone should study. For example, the *Compilation to Be Kept at the Right Side of One’s Seat* included a rule with the title “One should not make distinctions between the bright and the dumb; all should study.” Ninkū argued that those who were not academically gifted should simply redouble their efforts. The rule continues, “However, some will have received orders to attend to administrative duties or will have made separate vows to perform obeisance, confession, or *nenbutsu*. Such people are exempted from this rule.”³⁵ Thus, this rule recognized the contribution that might be made by monks who were engaged in ritual rather than study but clearly gave study the primary place. Ninkū’s rules, furthermore, do not reflect unalterable social classes in the monastery. Monks presumably moved from study to other activities and back: “From within the order, the elders should take turns serving as administrators

31. *Kōin gakudō tsūki*, T 83:534b19–20.

32. *Shoshin gyōgo shō*, T 83:534a10–16.

33. The term *shingaku* is probably a reference to *shingaku bosatsu* (bodhisattvas who have just developed the aspiration to enlightenment) found several times in the *Brahma’s Net Sutra* (e.g., T 24:1004a13).

34. Ninkū laments the difficulties that Tendai monks had in dealing with wrongdoing and notes that his rules are designed to ameliorate the situation (*Zaushō*, T 83:531c17–25).

35. T 83:531a–b; the same admonition—namely, not to discriminate according to academic ability—is also found in the *Kōin gakudō tsūki*, T 83:534b17–18.

for one-year terms (*nen'yo*).³⁶ In the *Comprehensive Rules for the Study Halls at Lecture Temples*, he warned against monks who did not study: “If one person does not study, it will affect others. This will be a sign of the decline of the Dharma. Is this not like the commission of the crime of splitting the order?”³⁷ At the same time, Ninkū recognized the importance of periods of relaxation that would accompany assiduous study, particularly through teas and infusions: “When the lecture is over, powdered green tea (*tencha*) may be served to take away the fatigue brought on by the talk. Around six [in the afternoon], an infusion (*yu*) can be prepared to help with the fatigue of studying. At some temples, the medicinal infusions (*sayaku*)³⁸ are part of the communally owned property. Sometimes those monastics and lay believers connected with the observance are asked to contribute. . . . We should take the provisions of the past as our standard.”³⁹ The tea was prepared with powdered green tea.⁴⁰

Ninkū was a leading monk in both the Seizan tradition of the Jōdo School and the Tendai School. Differences between the positions that he might have taken because he served at a temple belonging to a particular tradition frequently are not clear. Even the location where a set of rules was edited does not always provide much information about what stance Ninkū was taking. The *Brief Questions and Answers about Miscellaneous Matters of the Doctrinal Halls*, for example, was compiled in Nishiyama (the location of Sangoji, Seizan-ha headquarters) but then revised at Rozanji (a major Tendai temple in Kyoto).⁴¹ However, at times, the site of compilation does indicate how Ninkū shaped the rules to reflect the site where he was abbot. Note how the last rule in the *Compilation to Be Kept at the Right Side of One's Seat*, a collection of rules for the Sangoji, contains important information about the balance that he assigned to the various traditions he espoused while at Sangoji. The rule has the title “All the merits from one's practice should be dedicated to (rebirth) in the pure land”:

The periods of true and counterfeit practice have passed. The period of the end of the Dharma is now upon us. We have left the path of the sages far behind us. If we do not entrust ourselves to superior circumstances, then how will we be saved? Amida has vowed to help sentient beings transcend this world and to save those sunk in rounds of birth and death. This is praised by the various teachings and encouraged by the various teachers. Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra vowed to return to the west. Nāgārjuna and Vasubandhu have written verses praising

36. *Kōin gakudō tsūki*, T 83:534c23.

37. T 83:534c28–535a2.

38. I follow Ōtsuka (*Chūsei Zenritsu*, 233) in interpreting the term *sayaku* as referring to medicinal infusions rather than the usage found in some Zen sources as foods accompanying tea.

39. *Kōin gakudō tsūki*, T 83:534c20–23.

40. Ōtsuka, *Chūsei Zenritsu*, 233. The infusion consisted of hot water with unnamed herbs or medicines. Ōtsuka suggests that ginger may have been used.

41. T 74:786c.

the land of bliss. Above, the sages vow to seek it; below, how could worldlings reject it?

Today, Zen teachings do not discuss the Buddha's intentions. They do not follow the sagely instructions. Some of them are lost in their dark realizations (*anshō*),⁴² expecting light within three births. Others practice on platforms seeking sudden enlightenment with this very body.⁴³ This is because all of them have not studied very much and their wisdom is shallow; thus, they do not know the purport of the teachings. Saichō, in his vows concerning seclusion on Mount Hiei (*rōzan hotsuganmon*) states, "Although I have lived for half a century, which of the six destinies [I will be reborn into] is not yet certain. Thus, I have returned to the mountain to practice the *nenbutsu* so that I might be reborn in the Pure Land."⁴⁴ When Ryōgen was ill, he wrote a verse expressing his thoughts that included the line "One should only think of the Western Land and should not think of anything else."⁴⁵ Who among the Tendai practitioners can think differently? Thus, within our tradition, although externally we perform exoteric and esoteric rites, internally we do not forget [Amida's] compassionate vow that he will include

42. The term "dark realizations" is found in Zhiyi's texts; it refers to those monks who are so one-sided in their devotion to meditation that they neglect learning.

43. This is a reference to *sokushin jōbutsu* (realization of buddhahood with this very body). The preceding mention of realization within three lifetimes, originally a Kegon teaching, was maintained by some who argued for *sokushin jōbutsu* (Groner, "The *Lotus Sūtra* and Saichō's Interpretation," 62–63).

44. Ninkū claimed that he had found Saichō's vow to remain secluded on Mount Hiei in Saichō's own handwriting. The text, called the *Rōzan hotsuganmon*, is known only from four short quotations in Ninkū's works. The authenticity of the text is not clear. Although its contents are not in conflict with events in Saichō's life, certain elements do differ from Saichō's other works. Among them is the quotation cited here. Saichō was interested in constant walking meditation, a practice with Pure Land elements that culminated in a meditation on emptiness, not in rebirth in the Pure Land. The emphasis on rebirth in this citation thus differs from Saichō's other writings. Although Asada Masahiro has found in one of Saichō's letters a passage like this one about rebirth, that letter concludes with the suggestion that Saichō and the addressee will look forward to seeing Maitreya, not Amitābha, in the future. Although both types of belief could be found in Tendai, the argument for the text's authenticity as advocating Pure Land beliefs is thus weakened.

The text suggests that Saichō embarked on the same twelve-year period of seclusion on Mount Hiei that he required of his students. Although there is no mention of such an action by Saichō in any of his biographies, Asada Masahiro has suggested that the practice might not have been included in biographies because Saichō died before completing it. Finally, the text suggests that the main sources for Mahāyāna precepts were the "Course of Ease and Bliss" (Anrakugyō) of the *Lotus Sūtra* and the three profound precepts (*sanjinkai*), probably an alternative term for the three collections of pure precepts. The term *sanjinkai* is not, however, found in either Saichō's writings or Tiantai sources through the Tang dynasty. Moreover, the *Brahma's Net Sūtra* precepts are not mentioned in the *Rōzan hotsuganmon*, perhaps an indication that it dates from a later time when the influence of the *Lotus Sūtra* on Tendai precepts was greater. For arguments that generally support its authenticity, see Kodera, "Rōzan hotsuganmon"; Asada, "Saichō no ōjō shisō ni tsuite"; and Kiuchi, "Rōzan hotsuganmon." I am inclined to doubt its authenticity.

45. This sentence is found in *Ganzan daishi rishōki*, in *ZTZ* Shiden 2:257a. This is a late work, composed in 1863, though of course it must have had an earlier provenance. The sentence is not found in any of the earlier biographies of Ryōgen included in the *ZTZ*.

everyone. Within our temples, we always create a separate hall solely dedicated to Pure Land practices. In the fields and villages, you should encourage [people to become] acquainted with these teachings and broadly propagate Pure Land [practices]. These are the patriarchs' vows and our teachers' promises. Strive [to follow them] and do not violate them.⁴⁶

While this might have been Ninkū's view while he was at Sangoji, it is difficult to find internal evidence for consistency of this attitude in his writings. Moreover, he notes that externally his monks perform exoteric and esoteric rites even as they focus on Pure Land, an attitude that is consistent with that of many Tendai practitioners but not later Jōdoshū advocates outside of the Seizan-ha.

In contrast to the *Zaushō*, the last rule in *The Essentials of Practice for Bodhisattvas Who Have Just Begun Studying* places the emphasis on Tendai and esoteric Buddhism without even mentioning Pure Land:

Question: We should study both provisional and ultimate teachings at the doctrinal halls. Why do we only spread Tendai teachings?

Answer: The provisional and Hinayāna schools use words as expedients, but ultimately words cannot express the final truth. Thus, according to the *Daji*, "The most profound truths cannot be explained. The ultimate truth is devoid of both spoken and written words."⁴⁷ . . . This can only be found in the ultimate chanting of mantras and [Tendai] *shikan* meditation. These [practices] raise up the perfect sounds of the goal of buddhahood to reveal the words of Suchness. The outlines of doctrines at the doctrinal halls are found in this. How much more is this true for the rules for the great Tendai monasteries! The various schools do not have the same intention. The rules of the great doctrinal halls (*daikyōin*) were established during the Song dynasty. Tendai constitutes the main subject of study. Thus, we follow the patterns of both countries [China and Japan] in propagating the one vehicle.⁴⁸

Ninkū seems to have been able to avoid mixing traditions. Thus, in the *Kaiju shō* (Compilation on the pearl of the precepts) and *Endonkai gyōji shō* (Counsels on the perfect-sudden precepts), two of his major debate texts on the sudden-perfect precepts, neither Pure Land nor esoteric teachings are directly mentioned, a position in keeping with his guideline of not mixing traditions. At the same time, he does constantly stress the role of the precepts for worldlings during the period of the end of the Dharma, themes that seem reminiscent of Hōnen's own practice. Note Ninkū's claim that he was privy

46. *Zaushō*, T 83:531b–c.

47. T 13:13c13.

48. T 74:786c.

to a special teaching that Hōnen had conferred on Shōkū, founder of the Seizan-ha. He did not, however, stress the precepts for most people; for example, long disquisitions on the lay precepts are not found in his corpus.

The Origins of the Doctrinal Temple System in Japan

In his *Kyōin zōji ryaku mondō* (Brief questions and answers about miscellaneous matters of the doctrinal halls), Ninkū described the origins of the lecturing tradition he espoused. He identified the lecturing temples with the solely Mahāyāna temples (*ikkō daijōji*) that Saichō had mentioned in his proposals to the court,⁴⁹ and then traced this tradition back to both India and China.

Question: Can examples of these three types of halls be found in India or China?

Answer: Solely Mahāyāna temples, solely Hīnayāna temples, and mixed temples are found in India. Saichō used the customs of India in writing his rules for Mahāyāna temples. In addition, Emperor Gaozong [1107–1187, r. 1127–1162] classified temples into three types: meditation temples, *Vinaya* temples, and lecturing temples. For each type, he established “five mountains and ten monasteries” (*gozan jissetsu*).⁵⁰ The *Vinaya* temples resembled Hīnayāna temples because they primarily study the Hīnayāna *Vinayaṭīka*. The meditation temples resemble the mixed temples because the monks at them follow a mixture of Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna rules of dignity. The lecture temples resemble the solely Mahāyāna temples because the monks in them primarily transmit the three trainings (*sangaku*) of Tendai.⁵¹

Ninkū’s statement in the above passage traces the tradition of doctrinal temples back to Saichō’s mention of solely Mahāyāna temples, which was based on travel diaries by Xuanzang (602–664) and Yijing (635–713). Saichō, however, used an idiosyncratic interpretation of Xuanzang’s diary. For Saichō, the classification referred to the types of precepts used in the monasteries. Tendai monks were expected to use only the *Brahma’s Net Sutra* precepts, which were unknown in India. Xuanzang, however, used the classification to refer to the types of doctrines studied and rituals performed, not the precepts

49. Groner, *Saichō*, 138–141.

50. Very little information on the Five Mountains system exists in Song documents, but later texts do suggest that the system was subsequently extended to *Vinaya* and doctrinal temples (Huang, *Songdai Fojiao*, 313–314). For a brief discussion of the three types of temples in China, see Yü, *Renewal of Buddhism*, 147–149; and Schlütter, *How Zen Became Zen*, 41, 45, 49. Schlütter suggests that the Tiantai scholar Siming Zhili (960–1028) played a key role in the emergence of doctrinal temples to counter the dominance of Chan temples, a view that Ninkū’s rules indirectly support.

51. *Shingaku bosatsu gyōyō shō*, T 74:785b.

observed. Yijing is said to have placed solely Mahāyāna temples in western India, giving them a specific geographic location. Saichō, however, ignored Yijing's statement immediately following his classification of temples, which said that both Hinayāna and Mahāyāna temples shared the same precepts.⁵² Yijing's travel diary contained detailed descriptions of Indian Buddhist monastic practices that were based on the *Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya*. Ninkū was thus able to use Yijing's descriptions to introduce elements from several *Vinayas* back into Tendai practice, thereby augmenting the terse precepts found in the *Brahma's Net Sutra*.⁵³

Because *Vinaya* temples were said to be affiliated with the lineage of the *Vinaya* master Nanshan Daoxuan (596–667), Ninkū's description of them as being similar to solely Hinayāna temples may seem apt. However, Nanshan *Vinaya* School's exegetes such as Daoxuan and Yuanzhao had argued that the *Four-Part Vinaya* was partially conversant with Mahāyāna (*buntsū daijō*). Subsequent *Vinaya* thinkers like Eison (1201–1290), the founder of the Shingon Ritsu tradition, had interpreted the *Four-Part Vinaya* in Mahāyāna terms. The Shingon Ritsu had gained large numbers of temples and adherents by the time Ninkū was active. In addition, Shunjō's Sennyūji tradition utilized the *Four-Part Vinaya* to ordain monks, following Chinese Tiantai tradition and using commentaries on Daoxuan's works by the Tiantai monk Lingzhi Yuanzhao (1048–1116), a figure responsible for reviving the *Vinaya* tradition during the Song dynasty and perhaps for the redefinition of a *Vinaya* temple from the meaning of a hereditary temple to a temple identified with the *Vinaya* tradition.⁵⁴ The Chinese Tiantai tradition represented by Yuanzhao presented both challenges and opportunities for Japanese Tendai. Ninkū's rules carefully balanced the competing claims of *Vinaya* and Saichō's demand for a new system. Ninkū's doctrinal system, represented by a return to the Chinese Tiantai works of Zhiyi and Zhanran, led him to reject many of the extreme positions of the *hongaku* traditions popular among many Japanese Tendai monks.

Ninkū and his predecessors apparently had heard from travelers' descriptions of the classification system used for Chinese temples. He referred to this classification in his biography of Shōkū, the *Seizan shōnin engi*, noting that although *Vinaya* and meditation temples existed in Japan, a system of doctrinal temples had not been created:

In Song China, temples are divided into three classes: *Vinaya* temples, meditation temples, and doctrinal temples. The observances of the doctrinal temples are patterned after the Mahāyāna temples of western India. Thus, the court petitioned for the adoption of these bodhisattva rules of deportment. The earlier emperor [Go-Daigo, 1288–1339, r. 1318–1339] admired this proposal and issued an order establishing temples to protect the nation. Although *Vinaya* and meditation

52. *Kenkai ron*, DZ 1:55–56; T 54:205c; Takakusu, *Record of the Buddhist Religion*, 14.

53. Groner, "Ninkū Jitsudō's View of the Hinayāna Precepts."

54. Schlütter, "Vinaya monasteries," 157.

temples have long existed in Japan, the rules used in doctrinal temples of China have not yet been propagated [in Japan]. The sage Enkū⁵⁵ traveled to China and met with the scholars Rangtan and Yunxian, thereby receiving the Tiantai Siming traditions. After Enkū returned to this country, he established Daijionji⁵⁶ as a place where the Chinese tradition of lecturing temples could be instituted.

55. In his biography of Shōkū, Ninkū mentions one of Shōkū's students by the name of Enkū; Enkū is identified by being named after his lodgings, Ryūshinbō (*Seizan shōnin engi*, Washio, *Tōhō Bukkyō sōsho*, *Denki-bu* 1.1:363; and Okumura, *Enkū*). Although this monk became the sixth abbot of Sangoji, none of his biographies mentions a trip to China, an episode so important and impressive that it surely would have been included. Ōtsuka Norihiro has resolved the problem by noting that the monk who traveled to China is associated with different lodgings, Ritsuenbō (Ōtsuka, *Chūsei Zenritsu*, 185–187). However, little is known about the monk named Ritsuenbō Enkū, who traveled to China.

56. Rangtan and Yunxian are both mentioned in documents connected with the Shanjia tradition of Siming Zhili; they were associated with the Upper and Lower Indian Temples in Hangzhou, two sites known as doctrinal temples. Shunjō's student Shiju visited the same two figures when he went to China (Ōtsuka, *Chūsei Zenritsu*, 180–181, 185).

Daijionji was a site where Ninkū's teacher Kōkū spent considerable time. Because it is one of the earliest temples identified with the doctrinal temple tradition, information about it is important, but many of the details about the temple are not clear. According to the *Shōji rekudai*, the temple was located on the property at Hachijōin, an appellation that referred to Princess Akiko (1137–1211); because she was a fervent Buddhist and established a number of temples, this explanation seems plausible, but Daijionji is not found in documents associated with her (DS 4.1:154–165). Another document from Sangoji describes Daijionji as the former palace of Kenreimon'in (1155–1213) but then notes that information about the temple is difficult to find (DS 6.9:42). Recent research by Ōtsuka Norihiro indicates that the temple included several buildings that reflected its Chinese heritage, including a lecture hall, hall for Nyoirin Kannon, and an Eastern Chinese Hall (Tōdōdō). The temple is said to have been honored by receiving a plaque calligraphed by Retired Emperor Go-Saga (1220–1272, r. 1242–1246), but other examples of such an honor do not appear during this period, casting doubt on the record. However, because Go-Saga was assiduous in his interest in Buddhism and was curious about customs in China where such plaques were awarded, support of a new movement influenced by Chinese developments would not have been surprising (*Zen'e Shōnin e*, DS 5.23:261; Ōtsuka, *Chūsei Zenritsu*, 186).

Other information about the people associated with Daijionji and Tendai monks with connections in China indicates some of the ways Ninkū might have heard about doctrinal temples in China. The Daijionji property seems to have passed to Ankamon'in (1209–1283) and then to the Kujō clan. During this period, Enkū may have been appointed abbot of the temple, which seems to have been affiliated with the Jimon lineage of Tendai. Several other Jimon monks had connections to China during the thirteenth century, including Keisei (1189–1268), who went to China in 1217 and returned in 1218. Keisei was the oldest son of Kujō Yoshitsune (1169–1206), head of the clan, a famous poet, and skilled political figure. The Kujō was associated with the Daijionji. After returning from China, Keisei retired to the Nishiyama area, where he founded the Hokkesanji, near the area where Ninkū would later reside as abbot of Sangoji. Keisei is the author of a number of works, including *Kankyō no tomo* (A companion in solitude), a text that includes a number of stories about women, which is perhaps the reason the author-nun Abutsu-ni (d. 1283), who had served as a lady-in-waiting under Ankamon'in, would later study under him (For an insightful study of Keisei, see Pandey, "Women, Sexuality, and Enlightenment"). Ankamon'in was connected with the Daijionji temple, where Enkū would later reside. Thus, circumstantial evidence would suggest that Ninkū was aware of Keisei. Ryūben (1208–1283), who sent a letter to Chinese monks at the Upper Indian Temple (Shang Tianzhu si) in Hangzhou, was also associated with Onjōji. Although such connections indicated an interest in China, they apparently did not lead to the importation of the doctrinal temple tradition. Daijionji was at first called a *ritsuji*, or *Vinaya* temple.

A few other examples of earlier Japanese monks who were aware of the existence of doctrinal temples in China can be noted. Shunjō mentioned doctrinal temples as sites where monks studied a variety of teachings.⁵⁷ Shunjō's temple Sennyūji is sometimes called a *ritsuji* (*Vinaya* temple) suggesting the ambiguity that was present in the use of the terms "doctrinal temple" and "*Vinaya* temple" before Ninkū's time; moreover, the sense of the term in China was gradually moving from a hereditary temple to a temple governed according to *Vinaya* principles, the meaning that it had for Sennyūji. The three types of temples in China are mentioned in the *Hōkyōki*, a record of Dōgen's time in China.⁵⁸

In terms of guidance in the training of monks, Dōgen and other monks associated with the Zen tradition brought rules for monastic discipline from China, but no such rules were brought for Chinese doctrinal temples before or during Ninkū's lifetime. Nor did any Chinese monk come to Japan to establish a doctrinal temple during Ninkū's lifetime. Ninkū's knowledge of doctrinal temples therefore probably came from travelers' reports rather than written documents. He never in his monastic rules quoted any rules from identifiable Chinese doctrinal temples. Instead, Chinese influence at the Japanese doctrinal temples seems to have been primarily cultural, expressed by the use of chairs (*kyokuroku*), fly whisks, portraits of masters, the use of Buddhist literary names (*dōgō*), and drinking tea and infusions.

Ninkū's mention of Tiantai Siming refers to Zhili's Mountain Home (Shanjia) tradition of Tiantai; Ninkū's adoption of this tradition served as a counter to the prevailing *hongaku* tradition in much of Tendai. The debate texts associated with Ninkū's groups are primarily based on Zhiyi's works but occasionally refer to *hongaku* texts. In a discussion of the use of silk robes, Ninkū argued in its favor, citing Saichō, Yijing, and Siming to support his criticism of Nanshan Daoxuan's rejection of silk robes.⁵⁹ Ninkū's interest in going back to the texts written by Zhiyi and Zhanran was not, however, a reflection of Siming Zhili's influence. In fact, most Japanese commentators chose not to emphasize the debates between the Shanjia and Shanwai sects of Tiantai that had been so pronounced in Song-dynasty Tiantai. Instead, Japanese monks in Ninkū's tradition were influenced by Japanese discussions of Chinese Tiantai works.⁶⁰ Ninkū, moreover, was not trying to re-create Chinese Tiantai temples, as is clearly seen in his attitudes toward the precepts. He kept the *Brahma's Net Sutra* ordinations used in the Japanese Tendai tradition; at the same time, he developed a new interpretation of them based on the *Brahma's Net Sutra* commentary attributed to Zhiyi. The result is a tradition that looks back for its authority to a combination of Saichō and Zhiyi.

57. Ryōchū's (1199–1287) *Kangyō gengibun dentsūki* (JZ 2:81a) includes a passage that refers to the doctrinal temple at Sennyūji, suggesting that Shunjō identified with Chinese usages of the term for Tiantai temples.

58. Takashi James Kodera, *Dōgen's Formative Years*, 130–133, 244–248.

59. *Shoshin gyōyō shō*, T 74:786a8–17.

60. Kubota, "Myōdō Shōgen" and "Shōgen."

What's more, Ninkū was generally critical of Song-dynasty subcommentaries on Zhiyi's commentary on the *Brahma's Net Sutra*.

Much of the appeal of doctrinal temples was probably due to the need to develop an institution based on Chinese models that could compete with Zen temples and lead to the rejuvenation of the Tendai tradition. Thus, Ninkū used the system to argue that the doctrinal (Tendai) temples should be viewed on an equal basis with Zen and Risshū (*Vinaya* School) temples. Although other differences existed between the various types of temples in China, such as the way abbots were appointed, the monks around Ninkū were primarily interested in the implications of the system for doctrinal affiliation and governmental patronage. In China, the designation of temples as doctrinal halls had implied that certain procedures were to be followed in the appointment of abbots and the performance of rituals; in addition, doctrinal halls had focused on the academic study of Buddhism, especially on Tiantai, Huayan, and Faxiang interpretations. But in Japan, Ninkū focused primarily on their significance for the promotion of the study of Tendai and Pure Land doctrine.

Other Rules for Training

A major theme in Ninkū's rules is the reintroduction of the rules and procedures from the *Four-Part Vinaya* to Tendai and Seizan-ha practice. At the same time, Ninkū substituted the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts for those of the *Four-Part Vinaya*, thereby showing his commitment to the "reforms" instituted by Saichō. As Ōtsuka Norihiro has pointed out, Ninkū was sometimes influenced by Daoxuan's *Sifenlü shanbu sui'ji jiemo shu* (Procedures from the *Four-Part Vinaya* edited in accord with religious faculties; T 1808), a discussion of procedures to be followed in the monastery.⁶¹ This text had also been used by various Kamakura-period figures in their attempts to revive the precepts.

Ninkū used other sources to augment his rules as well, sometimes citing bodhisattva precepts and procedures specified in the Chinese translations of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* and other Mahāyāna texts. Because the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* took a different view from traditional Tendai views of the *Brahma's Net Sutra* on a variety of issues—for example, the inclusion of the precepts from the *Vinaya* in Mahāyāna monasticism and the question of whether and how the essence of the precepts could be lost through violations of major precepts and heinous wrongdoing—this was an unusual step for a monk in the Tendai tradition. Ninkū was interested, moreover, in earlier Tendai monks' usage of monastic discipline. A copy of Ryōgen's twenty-six rules was found at Rozanji. Ninkū consulted the procedures for the fortnightly assembly used by Ryōnin and Jien, but Jien may have been heavily influenced by the Chinese monastic ceremonies brought to Japan by Shunjō.⁶²

61. Ōtsuka *Chūsei Zenritsu*, 211

62. Much valuable research has been conducted on Shunjō by Nishitani Osamu (*Nansō*

Among the topics included in Ninkū's *Essentials of Practice for Bodhisattvas Who Have Just Begun Studying* are such issues as giving a proxy to another monastic when one cannot attend the fortnightly assembly (*yoyoku*), provisionally giving items to others when limits on such issues as the number of robes are exceeded (*setsujō*), and following the procedures for holding the rainy-season retreat and for ending it. Also included were detailed instructions about the size and use of robes. Although some of these practices, such as the rainy-season retreat, were alluded to in the *Brahma's Net Sutra*, the sutra gave few details on how they should be conducted. Ninkū's use of the *Vinaya* was clearly intended to strengthen monastic discipline.

The *Rules for Beginners to Practice and Observe* was written in 1373 at Rozanji when Ninkū was abbot and thereafter revised at Sangoji,⁶³ the provisions in it were thus applicable to both temples. Ninkū wrote about the procedures and decorum to be observed in everyday life, probably basing his discussion on Nanshan Daoxuan's *Jiaojie xinxiue biqiu xinghu lüyi* (Admonitions and teachings for new monks to practice and observe, T 1897). Daoxuan's rules emphasizing the precepts had been printed and distributed to temples, particularly Sennyūji, Kurodani, and Saidaiji, three of the temples that emphasized a revival of monastic discipline.⁶⁴ At times, Ninkū's wording was close enough to Daoxuan's work to indicate that Ninkū must have consulted it. Ninkū was also familiar with the rules being used at Zen temples, as indicated by his fervent rejection of them in several cases.⁶⁵

Ninkū's rules consisted of detailed descriptions of how to enter and leave halls; admonitions not to disturb one's neighbors by making noise, fanning oneself too vigorously, or talking; procedures to be followed when using the toilet and eating; and rules about the decorum to be followed when greeting each other. Monks were only to eat before noon. The rules called for attention to how one carried oneself and thought of others. Monks were warned against private chats and jokes, laughing in a loud voice, and lying down in public. Certain activities that might have been used by overzealous Pure Land practitioners were discouraged as well: "One's own private chanting and reading of scriptures should not be done in the midst of the order. . . . Some will recite in a loud voice as they use the rosary; this is not allowed. One should not take scriptures to another person's quarters or a public place to read them. They should be read in front of the Buddha in a pure place in one's own room."⁶⁶ If a monk was sick or elderly, he was excused from some of the rules. The rules, in short, call for mindful attention to everyday life.

Kamakura Bukkyō bunkashū ron. For evidence that Ninkū was aware of Shunjō's ceremonies, see Groner, "Hokurei no kairitsu."

63. T 83:534b8–11.

64. Ōtsuka, *Chūsei Zenritsu*, 234.

65. T 83:532c9, 533a11–12.

66. T 83:533c6–9.

Doctrinal Temples and the Efficacy of Ninkū's Rules

How long did Ninkū's training system last? Up to this point, I have focused on Ninkū's rules because they provide the clearest picture of this system. The history of debate in Tendai, however, extends back centuries; on a more limited scale, its history at Rozanji and Sangoji extends at least back to Ninkū's teachers.⁶⁷ One of Ninkū's teachers, Myōdō Shōgen (1298–1368), established the study and debate of the four traditions at Rozanji as part of his efforts to revive traditional Tendai studies, specifically referring to the Tendai (*shikangō*) and esoteric courses (*shanagō*) that Saichō had specified. Like Saichō, Myōdō Shōgen dedicated the recitation of scriptures to the protection of the state.⁶⁸ Emperor Go-Daigo supported him, perhaps as part of the same program that led to the establishment of the Five Mountains system for Zen temples.

Ninkū also studied under Jidō Kōkū. As with the name Myōdō, the character for *dō* in his name indicates that Jidō Kōkū belonged to Shōkū's Seizan-ha tradition. Emperor Go-Daigo was a patron, and Kōkū served as his preceptor.⁶⁹ An imperial order from the Karyaku era (1326–1329) appears both in the Sangoji records and in Ninkū's biography of Shōkū. The order refers to Emperor Go-Daigo's establishment of doctrinal temples, probably around the same time he was establishing the Five Mountains system for Zen monks.⁷⁰ The emperor was also interested in *Vinaya* and supported several masters of precepts from both Shingon Ritsu and Tendai. Although Kōkū's rules for doctrinal temples do not survive, they probably served as the basis for many of Ninkū's directives. In addition, Kōkū studied the same four traditions on which Ninkū focused his debates.

Terms such as “doctrinal monk” (*kyōsō*) or “doctrinal temple” were rarely used, in contrast to more commonly used terms such as “Zen monks” or “*Vinaya* monks,” indicating that the identification with the institution of doctrinal temples was not as clear in Tendai.⁷¹ However, the production, editing, and copying of debate manuals and other works by Ninkū and his followers indicate that the lecture and debate system flourished during the fourteenth century at Rozanji, Sangoji, and the temples affiliated with them. The production of a text sometimes went on for decades as the lecturer would appear annually on the anniversary of the death of a major figure in the tradition to continue the series of lectures on that text; the organization of a group of monks to record a lecture, check on sources, polish the text, and confer with a lecturer on the finished product demonstrated that it was the product of much more than a single scholar writing. The site of the lectures and debates varied, indicating a system of lectures and debates among the temples. A trusted student would take notes and then the lecturer would review them.

67. Groner, *Ryōgen*, 128–166.

68. *Rozanji monjo*, *Rozanji engi*, DS 6.29:307–308.

69. DS 6.10:39–43.

70. *Sangoji monjo*, DS 6.10:40; *Shingaku gyōyō shō*, T 74:785b4; *Zen'e shōnin e*, DS 5.23:261.

71. Ōtsuka, *Chūsei Zenritsu*, 243.

Both debate and lecture texts included the names of the monk putting forth a view, revealing a vigorous exchange of ideas and interpretations. By attributing opinions to a specific monk rather than ascribing them to a major figure in the tradition, the freedom to suggest new interpretations was maintained. Proof of the vitality of the tradition is found in the voluminous materials that survive and their existence in various temple archives. The *rodan* (literally discussions at Rozanji) series of debates were copied into the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The publication of the *Shingaku bosatsu gyōyō shō*, compiled by Ninkū at Sangoji, revised at Binmanji, and then published by the Rozanji abbot Shigyoku Myōkū (d. 1406) in 1400, indicates the continuing influence of the rules.⁷² Myōkū also published the *Brief Questions and Answers about Miscellaneous Matters of the Doctrinal Halls*. However, the publication of a woodblock edition of the *Compilation to Be Kept at the Right Side of One's Seat* in 1727 by Kōmyōji, after what the colophon described as a long period of neglect, suggests that even though some monks were aware of the rules, the influence of Ninkū's guidelines had declined.⁷³ Finally, the inclusion of Ninkū's sets of rules in the *Taishō Shinshū daizōkyō* is significant. Although we do not know the reasons for their inclusion in what is probably the most basic canon for modern East Asian Buddhism, virtually no other sets of temple rules from Tendai were included in the *Taishō* canon, a testament to the respect that Ninkū received.

In the following paragraphs, I survey some of the literature pertaining to the lecture and debate system at Sangoji and Rozanji during the fourteenth century to suggest the immense vitality of the system. All four of the traditions mentioned by Ninkū are represented. Extensive records of the debates at Rozanji (*rodan*), have been preserved; there are various versions of these with varying numbers of fascicles.⁷⁴ The records were eventually copied from the library at Nikkō when Tenkai (1536–1643) revived the Tendai School after Mount Hiei had been burned; others were found in Nichirenshū archives.⁷⁵ Several volumes have been published and more are planned for the *Zoku Tendai-shū zensho*; these are based on topics from Zhiyi's three major works (the *Fahua xuanyi*, *Fahua wenju*, and the *Mohe zhiguan*) and cover the years 1314–1367. These documents are of varying quality. Some are carefully kept records that appear to be based on actual debates, while others only present an individual's notes on a topic. The participants and audiences mentioned include monks from a broad variety of temples. Shōgen belonged to a variety of lineages, including some from two of the dominant lines on Mount Hiei, the Danna-ryū and Eshin-ryū, whose opinions are mentioned in the *rodan* literature. At the same time, some important views are not represented,

72. Ōtsuka, *Chūsei Zenritsu*, 211.

73. *Zaushō*, T 83:532a2–6.

74. Biographical information on Ninkū's teacher Myōdō Shōgen and the colophons of many texts associated with the debates are found in DS 6.29:305–317.

75. DS 6.29:313.

including those of the Kurodani-ryū and Kōshū, the author of the voluminous *Keiran shūyōshū* in 116 fascicles.⁷⁶ Even so, the *rodan* literature gives one a sense of intellectual life in much of fourteenth century Tendai.

The *Shanagō anryū* (Considerations of the esoteric course; T 2416) in thirteen fascicles, compiled between 1358 and 1385 under Ninkū's direction, is a record of debates on esoteric topics. The *Sōketsu shō* (Compendium of inquiring and determining; TZ, vols. 10 and 13) is Ninkū's lectures on the first two fascicles of the *Darijing yishi* (Yixing's commentary on the *Mahāvairocana Sutra*; ZTZ Mikkyō 1) from 1379 to 1381; his student Shigyoku Myōkū recorded the lectures and then checked with his teacher the accuracy of his transcription and the quotations.⁷⁷ The twelve-fascicle record of Ninkū's lectures is the most complete commentary on the *Darijing yishi*, the commentary on *Darijing* (*Mahāvairocana Sutra*), considered to be authoritative in Japanese Tendai. Many of Ninkū's comments were based on debate topics. By focusing on the first two fascicles of Yixing's commentary, Ninkū revealed an important aspect of his educational strategy: students began with a relatively short text, but then lectures and debates led them to a variety of other sources.

Several collections of debate topics that focus on *Pusajie yi shu* (T 1811), the two-fascicle commentary on the *Brahma's Net Sutra* traditionally attributed to Zhiyi, are found in the TZ, Enkai 2; an extensive commentary by Ninkū is also found in the TZ, volume 15. Important nuances of Ninkū's warning against mixing traditions are revealed in these texts. Aspects of other traditions that would undermine the precepts are avoided. At the same time, Ninkū interprets Tendai classifications of doctrine in such a way that the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts are considered a perfect teaching, on a par with the *Lotus Sutra*.

For a fortnight in the seventh month of each year from 1342 to 1345, Ninkū's teacher Kōkū lectured on Shandao's commentary at Daijionji; he focused on one fascicle each year, turning his attention to passages that were vital for the Seizan tradition and explaining them in an understandable fashion. At times, questions and opinions from his students are recorded in the text. Ninkū recorded the lectures and edited them into the *Kangyōsho kōeishō* (BZ-Bussho, vol. 12). This text was used as the basis for a number of Seizan commentaries.

Ninkū's *Kangyōsho gujin shō* (Compilation of the profundities in the commentary on the *Contemplation Sutra*) in ten fascicles is a record of his lectures on Shandao's commentary on the *Contemplation Sutra* (TZ, vol. 4); this text includes records of comments on issues by other scholars.⁷⁸ An analysis of the texts cited in the *Gujin shō* reveals that the *Lotus Sutra* is the most frequently cited sutra, clearly pointing to the Tendai origins of many of the positions. Genshin's *Ōjōyōshū*, Hōnen's *Senchakushū*, and the Chinese works that influ-

76. Fujihira, "Myōdō Shōgen to Rozanji-ryū."

77. TZ 10:3.

78. Hirose, "*Gujinshō josetsu*"; Yanagisawa, "Ninkū no *Kangyōsho gujin shō*."

enced them are cited by Ninkū, but Song-dynasty works on Tiantai Pure Land are ignored. Two sets of debate questions and answers on Pure Land issues, the *Rongi shō*, also exist. An eight-fascicle text is a record of debates conducted by Kōkū's disciples that were held on the seventh anniversary of Kōkū's death. Ninkū compiled the six-fascicle version in which he both posed questions and answered them (*jimon jitō*).⁷⁹

The biography of Ninkū's disciple Myōkū reveals that the doctrinal temple system developed further. Myōkū became abbot of Rozanji after Ninkū died in 1388. Rozanji burned down in 1397, but Myōkū was able to rebuild it almost immediately; the next year the shōgun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu (1358–1408) and the head of the *monzeki* (imperial temple) at Shōren'in, Prince Sondō (1332–1403), were able to meet there, signifying Rozanji's importance. In the eighth month of 1402, the Chinese emperor sent two monks to Japan: Tianlun Daoyi (fl. 1402) and Yī'an Yīru (1352–1425), the abbot of the Upper Indian Doctrinal Temple (Shang Tianzhu jiaosi) in Hangzhou. They were "enlighteners" (*zhueyi*), administrators in the Central Buddhist Registry (Senglusi).⁸⁰ This was probably the first direct contact of Japanese monks with a representative of Chinese doctrinal temples in Japan. Yīru brought with him a Chinese compilation of rules for doctrinal temples, the *Jiaoyuan qinggui* (X no. 968), and presented it to Rozanji. The text was not, however, used at Sangoji. The woodblock plates of the original *Jiaoyuan qinggui*, which had been preserved at the Upper Indian Monastery in Hangzhou, were lost in a fire but then augmented (*zengxiu*) around 1347 by Ziqing (n.d.); this is the version brought to Japan.⁸¹

Although several hundred Zen monks from both China and Japan participated in exchanges between the two countries,⁸² contacts with representatives from doctrinal temples were very rare. The Chinese emissary-monks had an audience with the retired shōgun Yoshimitsu at his residence in Kitayama in the eighth month of 1402.⁸³ They went to Mount Hiei with Myōkū, the abbot of Rozanji, showing their interest in the Japanese Tendai establishment.⁸⁴ The next year on 2/19, Myōkū was summoned to Yoshimitsu's residence and appointed as an official emissary (*kenminshū*) to travel to China along with the two Chinese monks and the abbot of Tenryūji, Kenchū

79. Inagaki, "Rongishō"; Itō, "Ryō Rongishō no sōiten."

80. For the Chinese administrative system at this time, see Yū, *Renewal of Buddhism*, 166–167. Daoyi is said to have died while he was in Japan; Yīru wrote a work on the divisions of the *Lotus Sutra* text (Zhenhua, *Fojiao renming dacidian*, 2, 834).

81. Afterword of the *Jiaoyuan chinggui*, X 57:351a9; Ōtsuka, *Chūsei Zenritsu*, 281; Suzuki, "Kyōen shingi."

82. Fogel, *Articulating the Sinosphere*, 25, 28.

83. *Zenrin kokuhō ki* (comp. 1470), DS 7.6:47–51; Verscheur, *Across the Perilous Sea*, 106–116; Tamamura, *Gozan zensō denki*, 324. Bon'un served as abbot of Tenryūji (DS 7.27:6–11). Little is known of Myōkū; Tamamura refers to him as a *rissō*, "precept or *Vinaya* monk" (p. 170), but he seems to mistake him for another monk. Myōkū's major contribution to Tendai literature is recording the *Sōketsu shō*, Ninkū's subcommentary on Yixing's commentary on the *Darijing*.

84. *Kanenobu kōki*, DS 7.6:51.

Keimitsu, and Shōan Bon'un (d. 1417).⁸⁵ This marked the beginning of the revival of official trade with China that featured Gozan monks; Kenchū Keimitsu (fl. 1403) would be appointed head of three of these missions and was eventually appointed abbot of Nanzenji, the head temple of the Gozan system.⁸⁶ Myōkū died on board the ship either to or from China, but the trip was completed by another monk, Shōchin (n.d.).⁸⁷ The effect of these travels on the later history of training and the role of debates in both Rozanji and Sangoji is unclear. In particular, knowing more about the role that the *Jiaoyuan qinggui* might have played at Rozanji would be fascinating. That set of rules was compiled at a time when Tiantai was struggling to assert its identity against Chan and was dealing with the increased popularity of the esoteric traditions from Tibet, issues somewhat similar to those challenging Japanese Tendai.

Conclusion

For many people, the term “training” in Buddhism suggests meditation and ritual as opposed to the more intellectual pursuits of reading, memorization, and debate; however, such an emphasis may reflect attempts to modernize religious training by emphasizing the category of “religious experience.” Ninkū’s rules provide a different perspective by emphasizing the importance of intellectual training. In fact, meditation is deemphasized in a period when the Dharma is in decline, while memorization, reading, and debate become the focus of Buddhist training and practice. The extensive discussion of points of disagreement led monks to gain insights into Buddhist teachings and world-views and to utilize the teachings in their preaching and practice. An extensive debate literature connected with Ninkū’s temples, Rozanji and Sangoji, exists; some of it has been published in collections of Tendai and Seizan-ha materials. These publications indicate that the debate system was vigorous and creative during the fourteenth century, with voluminous records of lectures and debates being copied by various temples.

Records of lectures and debates indicate that monks were trained by focusing on certain texts; these sometimes were selected so that monks might have to explain a seeming contradiction or ambiguity. As monks’ studies progressed, they might rely on a wider variety of texts to clarify doctrinal issues. Doctrinal positions were not completely codified. The names and dates recorded for debates reveal that a variety of positions might be held, though monks could not go so far as to adopt the view of a competing school. Both the format of some lectures and temple rules reveal that considerable thought went into the training of young monks.

85. Their visit is described in several sources; see DS 7.5:666–678; 7.6:47–52. In the *Zekkai roku* the monks are described as a Zen monk (*zensō*) and a lecturing monk (*kōsō*). A number of questions concerning texts were composed to be sent to China following the example of the questions sent by Genshin.

86. Tamamura, *Gozan zensō denki*, 170–171.

87. *Rozanji daidai jūji*, DS 7.6:51.

The institutional history of doctrinal or lecture temples provides insight into the relation between Chinese and Japanese Buddhism. The importation to Japan of Chan models of monastic discipline and practice was conducted through the travels of many Chinese and Japanese monks, but the development of doctrinal temples followed a different pattern. Visits by representatives of doctrinal temples and the importation of Chinese rules for doctrinal temples occurred only late in the process. As a result, the development of doctrinal temples in Japan depended on travelers' reports; the leaders of doctrinal temples relied on a mix of influences from a variety of sources, including Tiantai and Tendai temple rules and *Vinaya* commentaries. Many of the same figures who supported Zen temples, particularly Emperor Go-Daigo and Shōgun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu, were also patrons of doctrinal temples, partly out of a desire to reform monastic discipline and learning at Buddhist temples by importing Chinese Buddhist traditions. Chinese monks from doctrinal temples and a Chinese compendium of rules for them only arrived in Japan after Ninkū's death.

Ninkū's career reveals a different view of the development of Pure Land doctrine than that put forward by many advocates of sectarian Buddhism today. Because Shōkū, the patriarch of the Seizan tradition, was not exiled, his tradition was particularly strong after Hōnen's death and closely allied with Tendai institutions. The use of similar debate topics at both Seizan and Tendai temples and the ordination of Seizan monks on Mount Hiei indicate the closeness of their relationship during the fourteenth century. Ninkū played a key role in the organization of Seizan doctrine and institutions; besides his activities in debate and monastic discipline in both traditions, Ninkū's authorship of the earliest extant biography of Shōkū is noteworthy.

Jitsudō Ninkū on Ordinations

IN 822, the court gave the Tendai School permission to establish its own ordination platform and control its own ordination procedures. In addition, the Tendai School was permitted to use the precepts of the *Brahma's Net Sutra* and the *Lotus Sutra* rather than those from the *Four-Part Vinaya* as the basis for those ordinations. The author of these proposals, Saichō, died in 822, one week before his proposals were approved by the court. In fact, although Saichō had long been one of the most eminent monks in Japan and had enjoyed the patronage of Emperor Kanmu (737–806, r. 781–806), the court might well not have sanctioned his suggestions so as to avoid becoming embroiled in arguments between Buddhist schools. As it happened, Saichō died just at the right time for the court to express its sorrow,¹ thereby explaining the court's indulgence of Saichō as a demonstration of its grief at the death of an eminent monk.

The *Brahma's Net Sutra* was not a particularly good choice for the source of monastic rules. The text had been compiled in China, probably as an attempt to create a religious group that would include both lay and monastic believers.² In both China and Japan prior to Saichō's time, the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts had been conferred on monks often shortly after they had received the full *Four-Part Vinaya* precepts. Thus, Saichō's proposals were unprecedented. In subsequent years, individual Tendai monks made a number of attempts to use other texts to interpret the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts, sometimes augmenting the precepts with additional rules and other times rendering them virtually ineffective. As a result, by the Kamakura and Muro-

This chapter is based on my 2003 article "Jitsudō Ninkū on Ordinations" that appeared in *Japan Review*.

1. These events are described in Groner, *Saichō*.
2. See chapters 2 and 3 above.

machi periods, Tendai monks advanced a wide variety of interpretations of precepts and ordinations.

This chapter focuses on Jitsudō Ninkū's interpretation of the Tendai ordination ceremony. Ninkū made one of the most sustained and serious attempts to adapt and augment the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts as guides for monastic discipline. He discussed the precepts repeatedly in a subcommentary on the *Pusajie yi ji* (also known as the *Pusajie yi shu*), as well as an ordination manual, lectures, debate manuals, and lists of rules compiled as he served as abbot of both Rozanji and Sangoji. I have used a variety of his writings to clarify his position on ordinations in this chapter. Sets of rules for Rozanji and Sangoji have been particularly important for analyzing the specific sets of procedures used in ordinations. My analysis of Ninkū's doctrinal stance on the precepts is based on his extensive commentary on the *Pusajie yi ji*, a commentary on the *Brahma's Net Sutra* attributed to Zhiyi (538–597), who was the de facto founder of the Tiantai School. Two texts, unpublished when I wrote the article on which this chapter is based, have also been invaluable sources; they have subsequently been published in ZTZ Enkai 2. The *Enkai gyōjishō* (Admonishments and instructions on the perfect precepts) is a two-fascicle work composed of discussions on ten topics concerning the precepts.³ The *Kaiju shō* is a two-fascicle debate manual that presents both sides of a number of issues concerning the interpretation of the commentary on *Brahma's Net Sutra* attributed to Zhiyi.⁴

Ninkū's views reflected both the requirements of an administrator and the more theoretical positions of a scholar. The two temples at which he served as abbot played important roles in both the Tendai and the Seizan lineages of the Jōdo School. In fact, Ninkū claimed that his views on the precepts were based on teachings that Hōnen had only conferred on his disciple Shōkū, the founder of the Seizan lineage, in a lecture on the *Pusajie yi ji*.

I have divided the discussion in this chapter into four sections. In the first

3. The author of the *Enkai gyōjishō* is listed as Myōdō Shōgen in the *Honchō taiso senjutsu mitsubu shomoku* (DS 6.29:312). However, Shōgen died in 1368, three years before the colophon for the *Enkai gyōjishō* was written. The author of the colophon was a monk named Kōjō (n.d.) who referred to the author of the text as the "latter saintly teacher" (*kōshi shōnin*). Mori Eijun has suggested that Kōjō might have first studied with Shōgen but then taken Ninkū as his teacher after Shōgen's death. Thus, "latter teacher" might have referred to Ninkū (Mori Eijun *kankōkai, Mori Eijun zenshū*, 48–49). Mori also discussed other issues before arriving at the conclusion that the text is by Ninkū. An investigation of the contents reveals many similarities with Ninkū's other works, but also some differences. At this point, it is not clear whether the differences arise because the author was someone other than Ninkū or reflected a change in Ninkū's views over time. I initially relied on a manuscript from Taishō University; thus, references refer to the fascicle and section number. I thank Nomoto Kakujō and his staff on the editorial board of the Collected Works of the Tendai School (Tendai Shūten hensanjo) for their assistance in finding this and other texts. They later published this text in ZTZ Enkai 2, and I have referred to that text whenever possible.

4. I initially used a copy of the *Kaiju shō* made by Fukuda Gyōei and referred to the text by fascicle and section number. Since I wrote this chapter as a journal article, the *Kaiju shō* has been published in ZTZ Enkai 2, and I have updated the notes to reflect the published text.

section, I investigate the procedures followed in the ordinations by focusing on an argument about whether Tendai monks should be ordained according to procedures called “universal” (*tsūju*) or “distinct” (*betsuju*) ordinations. The second section is an examination of how the ordination ceremony generates the karmic essence of the precepts. In the third section, I consider some of the ways in which Ninkū argued for the suitability of ordinations for worldlings. Ninkū explained the significance of ordinations in two seemingly contradictory ways. On one hand, he insisted that the procedures for conferring the precepts on monks should be tightened. At the same time, he repeatedly claimed that the ordination was appropriate for the ignorant worldling in a country distant from India during *mappō*, his language and approach reflected his participation in Hōnen’s lineage. The fourth section outlines Ninkū’s criticisms of two competing views of the precepts that arose among Tendai monks: (1) the mix of ordinations and the combination of teachings with esoteric consecrations represented by the “consecrated ordination” (*kai kanjō*) tradition that developed within the Kurodani lineage and (2) the use of the 250 precepts of the *Four-Part Vinaya* brought back to Japan by the monk Shunjō of Sennyūji.

Universal and Distinct Ordinations

Saichō had described ordination procedures in both the *Sange gakushō shūki* (Regulations for Tendai monks) and the *Ju bosatsukai gi* (Ordination for the bodhisattva precepts). In his discussion of the precepts, Saichō sometimes had used language that suggested that the ordination could be conferred by virtually anyone on anyone else. For example, he had noted that husbands and wives could ordain each other and that the precepts extended to both lay and monastic believers.⁵ However, such a stance could obscure the difference between lay and monastic practitioners. To eliminate this ambiguity, Enchin tightened the rules by adding notes (*uragaki*) to Saichō’s ordination manual. In doing so, he adopted many of the procedures that had been used in ordinations based on the procedures found in the *Four-Part Vinaya*, the source that Saichō had rejected as being a Hinayāna text.⁶ For Enchin, a clear distinction had to be made between ordinations for lay believers and ordinations for monks. Without this differentiation, Nara monks could argue that because Tendai monks had been ordained with the same precepts used by lay practitioners, Tendai monks were not truly monks, but only novices or laymen. To counter such claims, in his notes to the ordination ceremony Enchin substituted the term *betsugedatsukai* (Skt. *prātimokṣa*, the distinct [sets of] precepts that result in liberation) for terms such as “bodhisattva precepts.”⁷ For Enchin,

5. DZ 1:19, 133, 543.

6. Saichō’s claim that the *Sifen lü* was a “Hinayāna” text was not accepted by the Nara schools and served as the focal point of a continuing set of arguments in Japanese Buddhism. The beginnings of this debate are the focus of my book *Saichō*.

7. DZ 1:306, 308, 309.

ordinations were to be called “distinct ordinations,” a term that referred to the practice of using different sets of precepts for the various religious statuses that a person might hold during his or her lifetime. A good example of distinct ordinations is the way people would receive progressively larger numbers of precepts as they moved from being lay believers to novices to fully ordained monks or nuns. Enchin’s notes on the ordination ceremony are an example of an interpretation of Tendai initiation rituals as distinct ordinations.⁸

Enchin’s contemporary Annen took a different approach. The title of Annen’s major text on the precepts, the *Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku* (Extensive commentary on the universal bodhisattva ordination), indicates that he viewed the same ordination as being applicable to a wide variety of people.⁹ The “universal ordination” mentioned in the title referred to the conferral of a single set of precepts on people regardless of their status. For example, as Saichō had noted, both lay and monastic believers could receive the *Brahma’s Net Sutra* precepts. Annen’s interpretation of the ordination as universal soon became the standard view in the Tendai School regardless of the concerns of Enchin and the disdainful critique of the Nara schools; but the criticisms of it lasted for centuries.

The distinction between distinct and universal ordinations was often discussed by both Tendai and the Nara schools in terms of a basic classification called “the three collections of pure precepts” (*sanju jōkai*): namely, the precepts restraining wrongdoing, promoting good, and benefiting sentient beings. When distinct ordinations were conferred, sets of precepts such as those for lay believers, novices, monks, and nuns were generally classified as restraints that prevented wrongdoing. When people subsequently received the bodhisattva precepts, they received the two other collections of pure precepts: those that encouraged good actions and those that benefited sentient beings. Thus, the ordination qualifying one to be a monk or nun was conducted separately from the ordination conferring the bodhisattva precepts.

Most Tendai scholars eventually followed Annen in arguing for “universal ordinations,” maintaining the position that all of the three collections of pure precepts could be conferred simultaneously on a person regardless of his or her status. Thus, the same ordination ceremony could theoretically be used to bestow on a person the status of becoming a lay believer, novice, or monastic, and to confer the bodhisattva precepts; however, some distinctions were made in the liturgy. In fact, the *Brahma’s Net Sutra* had specified that anyone who could understand the preceptor’s words should receive the precepts.¹⁰ The recipient’s aspirations and certain qualities defining one’s status would automatically determine whether one was a lay believer, novice, monk, or nun.¹¹ Ninkū called

8. For a more thorough discussion of Enchin’s position, see chapter 3 above.

9. See chapter 3 above.

10. T 24:1004b7.

11. In the *Enkai gyōjishō*, Ninkū attributed this position to Annen on the basis of Annen’s *Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku*.

this position “universal ordinations with distinct observances,” or *tsūju betsuji*, a term that also appeared in Saichō’s *Kenkai ron* (Treatise revealing the precepts).¹² However, Nara monks still criticized the Tendai practice of using universal ordinations as confusing the statuses of lay and monastic believers.

Although Ninkū recognized that Tendai monks had traditionally used universal ordinations, he advanced a number of arguments to support the contention that Tendai ordinations could be considered distinct ordinations. For example, in the *Kaiju shō* he suggested that statements conducive to universal ordinations referred to the essence of the precepts (*kaitai*). Everyone had the same essence of the precepts; however, when the actual observance of the precepts (*kaigyō*) was considered, the precepts followed by lay and monastic believers were distinct.¹³ Elsewhere he went on to note that the difference between the essence and observance of the precepts was only provisional.¹⁴ This style of argument was typical of Ninkū. Instead of simply rejecting earlier Tendai views, he usually insisted that they referred only to a limited group of people or to a particular teaching; he then went on to explain how his view was more all-inclusive.

One of the main arguments for universal ordinations had been the declaration in the *Brahma’s Net Sutra* that everyone from kings to animals should be ordained and that those ordained entered the ranks of the buddhas.¹⁵ Ninkū argued that this did not mean that the same ordination ceremony was appropriate for everyone regardless of status. Instead, it should be interpreted as the affirmation of buddha-nature in all who were ordained. Moreover, he noted that a variety of restrictions in traditional Tendai ordinations demonstrated that beings should not all be treated the same and that they did not all attain the same status through the ordination. For example, a precept required that monks wear robes, but animals certainly could not wear robes and thus could not become monks.¹⁶ Saichō had already pointed this out in the *Kenkai ron*,¹⁷ but Ninkū carried the argument further by noting other distinctions between those who could receive the bodhisattva precepts and those who could not. For example, he argued that political restrictions would prohibit slaves from becoming monks; in fact, in the *Vinaya*, one of the questions asked of each candidate for ordination was whether he or she was a slave.¹⁸ Such restrictions as the prohibition of the ordination of slaves had prevented

12. DZ 1:119–121; *Kaiju shō*, ZTZ Enkai 2:271a, 310a–b.

13. *Kaiju shō*, ZTZ Enkai 2:271a.

14. *Kaiju shō*, ZTZ Enkai 2:303b–308a. In this section, Ninkū considered the proposition that the essence of the precepts might be the ten major and forty-eight minor precepts of the *Brahma’s Net Sutra*. The essence of the precepts was not usually considered to have such specific content. In suggesting that the actual contents of the precepts could be identified with the essence of the precepts, Ninkū emphasized the importance of monastic discipline.

15. T 24:1004a20.

16. T 24:1008a24; 1008b25.

17. DZ 1:119–121.

18. Sasaki, *Shukke*, 90.

the Buddhist order from becoming a refuge for those trying to escape their social obligations. Even the very ordination procedures suggested that different statuses were conferred. Only men who were to be ordained as monks were allowed to climb the ordination platform on Mount Hiei; women were not allowed because they were not permitted on Mount Hiei. Ninkū thus argued for a position that he called “distinct ordinations and distinct observance” (*betsuju betsuji*). Distinct rituals and distinct sets of precepts were to mark the beginning of a change in status in a practitioner’s religious life.

Evidence that Ninkū’s lineage did confer distinct ordinations is found in a lineage document dated 1357 discovered at Tōji.¹⁹ The document consists of a lineage of “the transmission of the flame of the Mahāyāna distinct precepts” (*dentō daijō betsugedatsukai*). The lineage begins with Rushana and then progresses to Śākyamuni and a number of bodhisattvas, mentioning six generations in India. The transmission between India and China was handled by positing what must have been a literary relationship between Kumārajīva (344–413), supposed translator of the *Brahma’s Net Sutra*, and Huisi. Because the two men could never have met face to face, the transmission must have been based on Huisi’s reading of one of Kumārajīva’s translations. Eight generations were mentioned in China before the transmission progressed to Japan. The lineage ended with Ninkū’s fellow student Shōgen, who signed his name as the “provisionally designated bodhisattva *bhikṣu* Shōgen” (*kemyō bosatsu biku* Shōgen); the meaning of the term *kemyō* is considered later in this chapter. Although Ninkū’s name does not appear in the document, the lineage agrees with Ninkū’s position on the use of distinct ordinations as revealed by the use of the term *biku*, indicating that the use of distinct ordinations can be traced back at least to Jidō Kōkū (1286–1346), the monk who taught both Ninkū and Shōgen.²⁰

The defense of the Tendai ordination as “distinct” found in the *Kaiju shō* was abstract. In his rules concerning ordinations, Ninkū described the concrete precepts to be taken in both the distinct and universal sets of ordinations. Ninkū followed Yijing in asking that lay believers receive the three jewels and five lay precepts before being taken as disciples (*nyūshitsu*) and that they receive the ten precepts to qualify them as novices.²¹

When lay believers were ordained, Ninkū suggested that they receive the five lay precepts. He noted that when a universal ordination was used, the terms “layman” (*ubasoku*) or “laywoman” (*ubai*) were not to be used to describe

19. The document is reproduced in Kushida, “Seizan kyōdan no bosatsukai sōjō,” 330. The reason why a Tendai document was preserved at a Shingon temple is not clear.

20. A different lineage, that of an unbroken lineage from person to person like that used in Zen lineages, is suggested in *Kaiju shō*, ZTZ Enkai 2:281b–285a; and *Endonkai nikikigakū*, *Seizan zensho* bekkān 3:606a. The difference between that lineage and the one used by Shōgen may indicate that the two monks differed in their interpretation of the precepts’ lineage.

21. *Zaushō*, T 83:528a; *Nanhai jigui neifa zhuan*, T 54:219b22; Takakusu, *Record of the Buddhist Religion*, 95–96. For a discussion of the significance of Ninkū’s use of Yijing’s travel diary, see Groner, “Ninkū Jitsudō’s View of the Hinayāna Precepts.”

the five precepts. This was because those conferring the precepts in a universal ordination did not need to specify distinctions in precepts. However, when the five lay precepts were conferred in a distinct ordination, the terms “layman” and “laywoman” were used to describe the precepts, thereby indicating that distinct ordinations were used for each type of Buddhist.²² Those lay believers who wished to receive a special set of precepts for a day were allowed to take the eight precepts traditionally given to pious lay believers.²³

What precepts were conferred when a novice (*shamī*) was initiated? Ninkū stated that in universal ordinations, the three collections of pure precepts were conferred. According to the ordination manuals by Zhanran (711–782) and Saichō, these were the same precepts that were conferred when a person became a monk. However, Ninkū argued that in a distinct initiation of a novice, the ten good precepts (*jūzenkai*) were to be conferred; thus, the novice received a different set of precepts than the monk when distinct ordinations were used. Ninkū also noted that Enchin had used the ten precepts for novices (*igikyō shamikai*) found in the *Four-Part Vinaya*.²⁴ In arguing for the adoption of the ten good precepts, Ninkū was clearly influenced by Saichō’s statement that the “perfect ten good precepts” (*en jūzenkai*) should be used.²⁵ Many earlier Tendai monks, however, had interpreted this vague term as referring to the ten major precepts of the *Brahma’s Net Sutra*. When referring to the ten good precepts for novices, Ninkū used the term “bodhisattva novice precepts” (*bosatsu shamikai*). Ninkū’s care in establishing a sequence of precepts may seem superfluous to the modern reader, but Ninkū noted, “These days, after the head is shaved, no precepts are conferred and time mounts. This goes against Indian precedents and violates Saichō’s rules.”²⁶ In other words, the initiation of novices had become so lax on Mount Hiei that often candidates simply had their heads shaved and were given robes without any precepts being bestowed. This apparent laxity had come about in part because the initiation of a novice was an agreement between a teacher and student and thus was not as tightly controlled as the full ordination of a monk, which had to be conducted in front of an order of monks. Ninkū also noted that the monk who sponsored a novice should announce to the order that he was taking on a novice. Although a monk did not need the order’s permission to take on a novice, a statement of intent was required by some *Vinaya* texts and helped to avoid misunderstandings.²⁷ However, Ninkū noted that few of his

22. *Shingaku bosatsu gyōyō shō*, T 74:784a.

23. *Shingaku bosatsu gyōyō shō*, T 74:784a–b.

24. *Shingaku bosatsu gyōyō shō*, T 74:783d. According to the *Shingaku bosatsu gyōyō shō*, novices who receive the universal ordination should receive the three collections of pure precepts, not the ten major precepts. Enchin had noted that those who were under twenty years of age should take both the ten basic precepts (probably the ten major precepts from the *Brahma’s Net Sutra*) and the ten precepts for novices specified in the *Vinaya* (*Jubosatsukaigi uragaki*, DZ 1:319).

25. Groner, *Saichō*, 118–119.

26. *Zaushō*, T 83:528a.

27. Sasaki, *Shukke*, 65–66, 254n32.

contemporaries observed this formality.²⁸ Ninkū's criticisms of the ordination standards among Tendai monks were probably not an exaggeration. Other movements to strengthen monastic discipline, such as the Kurodani lineage of Tendai monks and the various Zen lineages of this period, frequently were critical of Tendai failures to observe the precepts.

Ninkū still required the monks under his supervision to climb the ordination platform (*kaidan*) on Mount Hiei for their full ordination. Ninkū indicated the seriousness of the full ordination by a rule that required twenty-one days of confession before ordination. This presumably would have been conducted at the temples he supervised rather than on Mount Hiei. Ninkū did not hold an office on Mount Hiei that would have enabled him to establish his reforms at the Tendai headquarters. In *Four-Part Vinaya* ordinations, no confession was required before ordinations. However, the Tendai ordination had been a mix of elements from a variety of sources including self-ordinations in which confession was used to purify the mind before receiving the precepts. Although Tendai ordinations were not self-ordinations, Saichō's ordination manual contained sections on both confession and the receipt of a sign (*kōsō*) from the Buddha indicating that the confession had been effective and that the precepts had been received directly from the Buddha. These ordinations were conducted by a human teacher and thus could not be called self-ordinations in the strict sense of that term. In Tendai ordinations before Ninkū, the contents of the confession could vary considerably.²⁹ Ninkū began his discussion of the confession ceremony by citing a passage from the *Brahma's Net Sutra* that mentions how a person who has broken a major rule should confess until a special sign from the Buddha is perceived. The appropriate rule states that the confession can last anywhere from one week to a year.³⁰ Ninkū then continues:

This is not the rule from the first time the precepts were conferred [in sources like the *Vinaya*], but we now adopt these rules of confession and use them before the ordination. As for the duration of the confession, the sutra lists three options: one week, two or three weeks, or one year; we have taken the middle option. According to the *Guan Puxian jing* (*Samantabhadra Sutra*),³¹ the confession should be for twenty-one days. Now, we have searched Buddhist sources and found that in accord with the nation's law, the period should be twenty-one days.

As for the format of the confession, if we follow the *Brahma's Net Sutra*, the precepts should be chanted during the six periods of each day.³² Or the thousand buddhas of the three time periods [past, present, and future] should receive

28. *Zaushō*, T 83:528a.

29. See the discussion of confessions in Tendai ordinations in chapter 6 above.

30. *Fanwang jing*, T 24:1008c.

31. T 9:389c.

32. Chanting the precepts six times a day is mentioned several times in the *Brahma's Net Sutra*; see T 24:1008c15. Each day was divided into six periods, three in the daytime and three at night.

one's obeisance. However, this only expresses one's respect, and one should probably vary it according to circumstances. If we follow the instructions of previous teachers, then we should use a single standard. For three periods each day, the *Lotus* repentance should be performed. At set times (*reiji*), one should perform Amida's *nenbutsu*.³³ Every day, one should recite one fascicle of both the *Lotus Sutra* and the *Brahma's Net Sutra*. Offerings of the Dharma should be prepared for the deity Sannō and for Dengyō Daishi [Saichō]. One should pray that no obstacle will be encountered in receiving the precepts. . . .

Before the ordination, one should be taught [the requisite doctrines]. If one does not understand the profound meaning of the threefold exegesis (*sanjū genji*), then it will be difficult to receive the essence of the three collections of pure precepts³⁴ at the time of the ceremony. [If one does not understand this,] then he should visit his teacher again and receive guidance on the platform so that he truly will receive the precepts.³⁵

The twenty-one-day period of confession services preceding the ordination was unusually strict; no such requirement was found in Saichō's *Sange gakuishō shiki* or Ryōgen's twenty-six rules.³⁶ The contents of the confession services were typical of medieval Tendai practice with the combination of *Lotus* and Pure Land practice. The recitation of the *Brahma's Net Sutra* marked it as preparation for the ordination. The term "threefold profound meaning" referred to an exegetical system used in the *Pusajie yi ji*, the commentary on the *Brahma's Net Sutra* attributed to Zhiyi. This text used a threefold system rather than the fivefold system found in many of Zhiyi's other works. For Ninkū, this unique exegetical system indicated the high regard in which Zhiyi held the *Brahma's Net Sutra's* second fascicle, the section that contained the precepts. Thus, Ninkū's major work on the *Brahma's Net Sutra*, the *Bosatsukai giki kikigaki* (Records of what was heard about [Zhiyi's] commentary on the bodhisattva precepts), was actually a subcommentary on the *Pusajie yi ji* attributed to Zhiyi. In addition, two debate texts by Ninkū and his group, the *Enkai gyōjishō* and the *Kaiju shō*, both focused on the interpretation of passages from the *Pusajie yi ji*. The emphasis on the *Pusajie yi ji* in Ninkū's work has been understood in the Seizan sect to derive from Hōnen, who is said to have conferred his teachings concerning the *Pusajie yi ji* only on Shōkū, the founder

33. The references here probably indicate that the *Lotus* confession was to be conducted over the three periods into which the daytime was divided, while Pure Land rituals were to be performed during the set times of the evening.

34. According to the ordination manuals by Saichō and Zhanran, the essence of the precepts was conferred at the instant one agreed for the third time to receive the three collections of pure precepts; see DZ 1:320–322. But note that Ninkū elsewhere argues that the essence of the precepts is received when one recites the three refuges earlier in the ceremony because the three collections of pure precepts are not mentioned in the *Brahma's Net Sutra*.

35. *Zaushō*, T 83:528c–29a.

36. An English translation of the *Sange gakuishō shiki* is included in Groner, *Saichō*, 115–144. An English translation of Ryōgen's twenty-six rules by Eishō can be found in Groner, *Ryōgen*, 345–366.

of the Seizan lineage of Jōdoshū. In fact, Ninkū's works maintained a consistent doctrinal stance on the precepts throughout his life, perhaps indicating that his basic position might have come from his teacher Jidō Kōkū, if not from Hōnen or Shōkū. The description of the twenty-one-day confession period that preceded the ordination thus entailed practice as well as emphasized that the candidates for ordination understand the doctrinal basis behind Ninkū's view of the precepts.

Once the candidate had completed the confession, he was qualified to receive the full ordination. This consisted of the fifty-eight precepts of the *Brahma's Net Sutra*.³⁷ When distinct ordinations were performed, Ninkū reserved these precepts for the fully ordained monk. In contrast, when the universal ordination was conferred, these precepts could have been conferred on anyone.

The Generation of the Essence of the Precepts

The high point of the ordination of a monk was the instant at which the karmic essence of the precepts (*kaitai*) was conferred on or arose in the recipient. Tendai ordination manuals usually were based on the twelve-part ordination manual compiled by Zhanran and later revised by Saichō. The seventh section of this manual, when the precepts were actually conferred, was the high point of the ritual.³⁸ The candidate was asked three times whether he would observe the three collections of pure precepts. As he answered that he would do so, the preceptor told him that the essence of the precepts was approaching him. Finally, the last time he replied, the essence of the precepts entered the candidate.³⁹ At the same time, the essence was said to be called forth from the candidate's own inherent nature.

Two accounts exist of Ninkū's own ordination. He described it in a note at the end of his biography of Shōkū, saying that he had been ordained in front of the two buddhas at the Raigōin in Ōhara at the age of nineteen.⁴⁰ An eighteenth-century commentary on Shōkū's biography offered an alternative version, however, describing Ninkū's ordination as having taken place in front of the three jewels at the same site.⁴¹ Although the two accounts are not mutually exclusive, the difference may indicate that later authors changed the description of the ordination to match Ninkū's insistence that the essence of the precepts arose from the three jewels, not the conferral of the three collections of pure precepts.

37. *Endonkai hikikigaki*, *Seizan zensho* bekkā 3:611.

38. The twelve parts of the ordination ceremony are listed in chapter 6 above.

39. Saichō, *Ju bosatsukai gi*, DZ 1:321–322.

40. *Seizan shōnin engi*, in Washio, *Kokubun Tōhō Bukkyō sōsho*, 1.5:373.

41. *Seizan shōnin engi hōonshō*, cited in Yamaguchi, "Jitsudō Ninkū shi." The location of the ordination at Ōhara rather than on Mount Hiei deserves further study; it probably indicates that Enryakuji might have lost its control over the ordination process as governmental supervision of ordinations weakened and other important Tendai centers emerged.

Ninkū told his followers that they should be ordained on Mount Hiei, where they would have used the twelve-part ordination ceremony mentioned above. His interpretation of the ordination, however, differed from the traditional one. He had noted that the three collections of pure precepts were not mentioned in the *Brahma's Net Sutra*.⁴² Chinese Tiantai monks such as Zhanran and his disciple Mingguang had seen nothing wrong with using teachings from other texts to supplement the *Brahma's Net Sutra*. Thus, they had used passages from texts such as the *Pusa dichì jìng* (*Bodhisattvabhūmī*) that indicated that the three collections of pure precepts were the key to the emergence of the essence of the precepts. In fact, Ninkū, too, had consulted a variety of sources in his subcommentary on the *Pusajie yi ji*. He noted, however, that commentaries on the *Brahma's Net Sutra* displayed no agreement on how the three collections of pure precepts should be integrated with the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts. Ninkū argued that in the case of the actual ordination, the three jewels, which are mentioned frequently in the *Brahma's Net Sutra*, should be considered the source of the essence of the precepts. Six ordination manuals had been listed in the *Pusajie yi ji*, the first of which was based on the *Brahma's Net Sutra*. That manual specified first that the recipient pay obeisance to the three jewels; afterward, the precepts were explained. The order of the ritual indicated that the essence of the precepts arose through the three jewels, not the three collections of pure precepts.⁴³

Ninkū explained that the three jewels could be thought of at three levels. His explanation probably followed that of Mingguang, though he did not identify his source.⁴⁴ The single essence of the three jewels (*ittai sanbō*) was the most profound; it was defined as the perfect Principle of the true characteristic (*jissō enri*). The second level was the three jewels considered in terms of separate characteristics (*bessō sanbō*). The three bodies of the Buddha (Dharma, reward, and manifested) served as the jewel of the Buddha, and the preaching of the various buddhas was the jewel of the Dharma. Those bodhisattvas who had not yet attained supreme enlightenment constituted the jewel of the Buddhist order. The third level was the manner in which the three jewels remained in this world (*jūji sanbō*, or *jōjū sanbō*) after Śākyamuni had passed into nirvana; images of the Buddha served as the jewel of the Buddha, scriptures as the jewel of the Dharma, and monks with shaven heads and robes as the jewel of the order. The everyday sense of the three jewels thus consisted of the material objects that represented the unseen reality of buddhas, bodhisattvas, and their preaching.

At this point, we can return to a discussion of the term *myōji kemyō biku* (provisionally named monks) with which those in Ninkū's lineage signed

42. “*Bonmō jūhō ni sanki hokkai gi aru ya*” (On whether the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts arise through the three refuges), *Kaiju shō*, ZTZ Enkai 2:285a–287b.

43. *Fanwang jing*, T 24:1009a27; *Pusajie yiji*, T 40:568a.

44. Mingguang, *Tiantai pusajie shu*, T 40:582a. For Ninkū's explanation, see *Endonkai hikikigaki*, *Seizan zensho* bekkai 3:606–607.

their names. Kushida Ryōkō has suggested a number of reasons for the usage.⁴⁵ One is that, in the age of the decline of the Dharma, no true bodhisattva monks could be found. Such an interpretation would be similar to the *Mappō tōmyōki*'s usage of the term *mukai myōji biku* (a monk in name only without the precepts).⁴⁶ Another explanation applies the term to monks who had violated the precepts and thus were not qualified to hold them. After a consideration of these possibilities, Kushida, though concluding that the term was not used in a pejorative manner within the Seizan lineage, does not go on to clarify the origins and meaning of the term. The most probable origin of the descriptor *kemyō* (provisionally named) is in Ninkū's discussion of the three levels of the three jewels. Following his usage, the monks who composed the order in the everyday sense of the word should be called "provisionally named monks."⁴⁷ Because the everyday interpretation of the three jewels was empowered by the single essence of the three jewels and because the power of the Shana *butsu* (Vairocana Buddha) extended through *mappō*, paying obeisance to the third and lowest level of the three jewels enabled the practitioner to realize the essence of the precepts. Finally, the term "provisionally named monks" was used several times in Mingguang's commentary, a source upon which Ninkū often relied, but Ninkū did not mention Mingguang's use of the term.⁴⁸

Ninkū argued that the only reason Tendai monks in the past had realized the essence of the precepts when they vowed to observe the three collections of pure precepts was because they had paid obeisance to the three jewels in an earlier section of the ordination. When the twelve-part ordination ceremony used by Zhanran and Saichō was followed, Ninkū's interpretation placed the high point of the ordination right at the beginning and made the rest of the ceremony seem superfluous. Critics of Ninkū's views asked why such elements as confession should be performed after the essence of the precepts had already been obtained.⁴⁹ He replied that when the buddhas and bodhisattvas were called down to confer the precepts following the three jewels, the candidate paid obeisance to them as the separate characteristics of the three jewels, the three jewels as invisible objects in the world. However, because the candidate had already placed his faith in the three jewels that always abided in this world (*jōjū sanbō*), this section of the ceremony could be seen as simply encouraging the candidate rather than conferring the precepts. Ninkū argued that the human being who officiated in the seventh section of the ceremony, conferring the precepts, did not actually confer (*ju*) the precepts, but rather transmitted (*den*) them, a distinction that Saichō had already made.⁵⁰ Thus, the three jewels represented by physical objects in which

45. Kushida, "Seizan kyōdan no bosatsukai sōjō," 333–335.

46. For a discussion of this term, see Asada, *Mappō tōmyōki*, 97–127.

47. *Endonkai hikikigaki*, *Seizan zensho bekkā* 3:607a.

48. T 40:597b.

49. *Kaiju shō*, ZTZ Enkai 2:286.

50. *Jubosatsukaigi*, DZ 1:306–307.

the candidate placed his faith at the beginning of the ceremony were still the basis of the ordination.⁵¹ Despite Ninkū's arguments, the traditional order of the ordination—placing one's faith in the three jewels as a precursor to obtaining the essence of the precepts—seemed to make more sense because confession purified the practitioner so that he might receive the essence of the precepts.⁵² Ninkū's ordination manual may in fact have been intended to instill a special interpretation in the candidate as he underwent the traditional ordination on Mount Hiei. Ninkū noted that his ordination manual was secret and not to be shown to outsiders. His insistence on shifting the emphasis of the ordination away from the three collections of precepts undoubtedly is related to his efforts to use distinct ordinations. If the three collections had remained the high point of the ceremony, his followers would have been using a universal ordination.

The issue of the three jewels also arose when Ninkū considered the issue of whether ordinations had to be conducted in front of an icon of the Buddha and a scripture. He argued strenuously that ordinations had to be conducted in front of the physical objects, that is, an icon of the Buddha and a scripture, because the three jewels present after Śākyamuni had entered nirvana had to be physically present for a person to receive the essence of the precepts.⁵³ Contrary to Ninkū's argument, several passages in the *Brahma's Net Sutra* indicated that physical objects were not necessary. For example, according to the *Brahma's Net Sutra*, if a person could understand the teacher's words, that person would be allowed to receive all the precepts;⁵⁴ another passage indicated that only faith was necessary to have the precepts.⁵⁵ Icons were mentioned several times in the *Brahma's Net Sutra*. For instance, a person who could not find a good teacher might go before an icon and confess until he received a sign from the Buddha indicating that the precepts had been received, a procedure called a self-ordination (*jisei jukai*).⁵⁶ Other passages required that fortnightly confessions and repentance ceremonies be conducted in front of an icon of the Buddha.⁵⁷ None of these passages from the sutra specifically required that an icon be used when a qualified teacher conducted the ordination. Moreover, because the three jewels referred to more than physically present objects, an actual image of a buddha and a scripture would not seem to have been necessary for ordination.

51. *Endonkaigi hikikigaki, Seizan zensho* bekkon 3:609–610.

52. *Endonkaigi hikikigaki, Seizan zensho* bekkon 3:618; *Kaiju shō, ZTZ Enkai* 2:244b–247b; *Hongenshō, ZTZ Enkai* 2:445b–447. Ninkū argued that the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts pervaded the three collections of pure precepts. His argument is designed to exalt the status of the fifty-eight *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts and does not even mention the ordination ceremony. However, the argument could have been used to reconcile the role of the three collections of pure precepts in the traditional Tendai ordination with Ninkū's explanation of the ordination.

53. *Kaiju shō, ZTZ Enkai* 2:276b–279a.

54. T 24:1004b10.

55. T 24:1004a18.

56. T 24:1006c6.

57. T 24:1008a22, 1008c14.

Ninkū's insistence on the presence of the physical objects associated with the three jewels was closely connected to his view of the necessity for a ritual appropriate for the ignorant worldling. Physical objects might not be required if the object of faith was the single essence of the three jewels or the separate characteristics of the three jewels; during *mappō*, however, they were necessary. Because the physical objects representing the three jewels were intrinsically connected with the single essence of the three jewels, they served to empower the ordination and ensure that the recipient entered the lineage of those who had received the precepts. In making his argument, Ninkū was able to draw on a passage in the *Pusajie yi ji* that suggested that an icon of the Buddha and a scripture were vital to the performance of the ordination.⁵⁸

Faith and Ordinations

Many of the arguments in the *Kaiju shō* concern whether worldlings could receive and confer the precepts. Ninkū repeatedly emphasized in this debate text that the precepts should be available to anyone during the period of the decline of the Dharma. In this section, I investigate three of the topics presented in the *Kaiju shō*: the role of faith in receiving the precepts, whether a worldling could confer the precepts, and whether ordinations conferred buddha-nature on a person.

Ninkū raised the issue of whether faith was required for a person to receive the bodhisattva precepts.⁵⁹ According to the *Brahma's Net Sutra*, virtually anyone from kings to slaves could receive the precepts as long as he or she had the ability to understand the words of the teacher.⁶⁰ The precepts were to be conferred on people regardless of their defilements, religious capacities, or other criteria. How, then, could Ninkū, who elsewhere argued for the universal applicability of the precepts, maintain that faith was required? Many medieval monks believed that faith could develop after the ordination. The issue was further complicated by a passage in the *Pusajie yi ji* that described six elements of faith as a requirement for the precepts. The first three were held in common with Hinayāna practitioners: belief in cause and effect, belief that if the truth is discerned the path will be realized, and belief that precepts do, in fact, exist and are effective. For the Mahāyāna practitioner, there were three additional elements of faith: the belief that the minds of both oneself and others are buddha-nature; the belief that if the supreme good is cultivated, results will be obtained; and the belief that the result is characterized as being eternal, blissful, embodying a substantial Self, and pure.⁶¹ Faith so profound was criticized by Ninkū's opponents, however, as being difficult to attain and surely

58. T 40:567c. For Ninkū's argument, see *Kaiju shō*, ZTZ Enkai 2:276b–279a

59. "Shinjin wo gusezaru mono ha jukaigi aru to iubeki ya" (On whether one without faith can receive the precepts), *Kaiju shō*, ZTZ Enkai 2:256b–259a.

60. T 24:1004b10.

61. T 40:567b. The four qualities of supreme enlightenment are based on the *Nirvāna Sutra*.

not readily available to the ignorant worldling. As a result, they took the position that “understanding the teacher’s words” and “having faith” referred to separate issues and that understanding the teacher’s words was the key element in receiving the precepts during *mappō*.

Ninkū responded by arguing that faith was the basis of the three jewels. A person who was being ordained had departed from heterodox ways and entered the Buddhist path. How could faith not be required? Moreover, Ninkū argued that because separate passages in the *Brahma’s Net Sutra* noted that understanding led to the precepts and that faith led to the precepts, faith and understanding must be identical.⁶² The passage concerning the requirement that the candidate for ordination need only understand the teacher’s words listed a variety of beings that should receive the precepts, beings ranging from kings to animals. Ninkū noted that a wide variety of faculties were represented in such a list. Thus, the understanding and faith required for ordination need not be so difficult to attain. The description of the various elements of faith found in the *Pusajie yi ji* did not refer to the most profound aspects of buddha-nature teaching, only to the faith that sentient beings have buddha-nature.

Just as Ninkū argued that the recipient could be a worldling, or ignorant person, so did he maintain the position that the preceptor, the person who transmitted the precepts, could be a worldling.⁶³ In making this argument, he was concerned with the requirement specified in the *Pusajie yi ji* and Mingguang’s commentary that specified that five virtues (*gotoku*) were required of an ordained monastic bodhisattva (*shukke bosatsu*) who conferred the precepts. He or she must (1) observe the precepts, (2) have at least ten years of seniority, (3) know the literature on the precepts (*Ritsuzō*), (4) be a master of meditation and reflection (*zenshū*), and (5) be a master of the literature on wisdom (*ezō*).⁶⁴ This list indicated that the teacher had to be an accomplished master of Buddhism. In addition, according to the *Pusajie yi ji*, the teacher should have attained the inner (*naibon*) or outer stages (*gebon*) of the worldling or be a true person (*shinnin*, one who has completed training or is very advanced).⁶⁵ If a teacher did not fully understand the precepts but pretended to know them, he or she violated a minor precept.⁶⁶ All of these passages indicated that the person conferring the precepts should be spiritually and intellectually advanced.

62. T 24:1004a18; 1004b7–10.

63. “Chian no bonbu ha bosatsu kaishi wo tsukuru ya” (On whether an ignorant worldling can preside over an ordination), *Kaiju shō*, ZTZ Enkai 2:272a–274b (On whether an ignorant worldling can preside over an ordination).

64. T 40:567c. They are also described in Mingguang’s commentary (T 40:582b4), but not found in the *Brahma’s Net Sutra*.

65. T 40:567c21–22. Explanations of these stages differ depending on which teaching is being considered. For someone in the bodhisattva vehicle, the inner stages of the worldling correspond to the three stages of worthies within the ten abodes; the outer stages of the worldling are said to correspond to the ten degrees of faith. The “true person” is one who has realized enlightenment.

66. T 24:1006b1–6.

According to other passages, a teacher of the precepts need not have attained such a high status. Ninkū repeatedly cited a passage in the *Brahma's Net Sutra* that declared that the bodhisattva precepts were specifically for ignorant worldlings.⁶⁷ He noted that, during *mappō*, sages were difficult to find. Moreover, he demonstrated that the interpretations of the stages mentioned in the passages concerning outer and inner stages of the worldling were not uniform, concluding that attempts to limit the teacher of the precepts to persons above a specific stage were futile. According to Ninkū, both the Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna precepts were intended for worldlings (*bon'i*). The only precepts that were peculiar to sages (*shō*) were the precepts that spontaneously accompanied meditative states (*jōgukai*) and the precepts that spontaneously arose with buddhahood (*dōgukai*). Even so, the statement in the *Brahma's Net Sutra* that those who obtain the precepts enter the ranks of the buddhas suggests that worldlings can obtain the precepts of the buddhas.⁶⁸

In a section of the *Kaijushō* titled “Whether the Defilements Are an Obstacle to Obtaining the Precepts According to Our School,” Ninkū attacked the view that the teacher of the precepts must have attained a high spiritual level.⁶⁹ He cited a passage in the *Pusajie yi ji* that “because the defilements are always present, we do not call them obstacles.”⁷⁰ If the defilements were an obstacle to serving as teacher of the precepts, then there would be no teachers during *mappō*. Much of Ninkū's argument was based on the verses found at the beginning of the *Brahma's Net Sutra*. He summed up the meaning of these verses as “the four precepts and the three encouragements” (*shikai sangon*). The “four precepts” referred to how the bodhisattva precepts had been transmitted in an unbroken lineage from Shana (Vairocana) to Śākya-muni to bodhisattvas, and finally to sentient beings. Thus, the worldling during *mappō* could receive the very same precepts as Shana (Vairocana). The three encouragements referred to how sentient beings were urged to receive the precepts, observe them, and then chant them. Both teachings led to the maintenance of an unbroken lineage that extended to the present.⁷¹

The argument that the defilements were obstacles was based on the *Yūjie shūdi lun* passage that states that the four accompanying defilements (*shū zuibonnō*) were obstacles to good (*byakuhō shō*).⁷² If the essence of the precepts

67. T 24:1003c21; *Bosatsukai giki kikigaki*, *Seizan zensho* bekkān 3:129.

68. *Fanwang jing*, T 24:1004a20; *Enkai gyōjishō*, ZTZ Enkai 2: 379b, 382b 419b.

69. *Kaiju shō*, ZTZ Enkai 2:259a–261a.

70. T 40:567b15.

71. The four precepts and the three encouragements were given a prominent place in commentaries by both Zhiyi and Mingguang; for examples, see T 40:569c8 and 584b21.

72. The editors of ZTZ Enkai 2:259a were not completely sure of what this referred to but suggested the four defilements (investigation, scrutiny, remorse, and torpor) that accompany major defilements. However, the editors also posited that they might arise in good, bad, or morally neutral circumstances and thus carry no necessary moral value (*Yūjie shūdilun*, T 30:622c5). The discussion of how they differ from the good is found in T 30:480a. In fact, the four accompanying (or subordinate) defilements are somewhat obscure, and many other accompanying defilements are found in Yogācāra literature.

was the true aspect of the mind (*jissōshin*), such defilements would have to be obstacles to the establishment of the essence of the precepts. Moreover, although the defilements were impure, the precepts and the path that they lead to were pure. How could defilements not be impediments to the path? Ninkū replied to such arguments by noting that if the defilements were obstacles, then no one could receive the precepts. Furthermore, the essence of the precepts was not based on the mind, but on inherently provisional matter (*shō musa keshiki*).⁷³ As a result, defilements that affect the mind could not be obstacles to obtaining the precepts. The practical import of the argument was that ordinary people could confer and receive the precepts even if they had defilements.

The third issue I want to address in this section concerns the relationship between the precepts and buddha-nature. In stressing the importance of ordinations, Ninkū raised the question in the *Kaiju shō* in a section titled “On Whether, According to the *Brahma’s Net School*, One Has the Seeds of Buddha-Nature before Receiving the Bodhisattva Precepts.”⁷⁴ The question seems odd coming from a Tendai scholar because Tendai has traditionally argued for the universal and inherent qualities of buddha-nature, even going so far as to maintain the position that grasses and trees realize buddhahood (*sōmoku jōbutsu*).⁷⁵ How, then, could Ninkū argue against Tendai orthodoxy that the ordination ceremony conferred buddha-nature? His reasoning was that the *Brahma’s Net Sutra* tradition did maintain this position, and he cited as evidence a passage from the sutra: “The one precept, the adamant precept, is the origin of all buddhas, the source of all bodhisattvas, the seeds of buddha-nature. All sentient beings have buddha-nature. All consciousnesses, forms, feelings, and minds enter the Buddha’s precepts.”⁷⁶ Thus the ordination would seem to be the basis of the Buddhist path, including both the cause and effect of buddhahood, in some sense. Ninkū noted that Annen thus argued that the essence of the precepts was Suchness (the fundamental quality of all phenomena) and buddha-nature.⁷⁷

Ninkū then presented a strong argument for his opponent’s position. In his discussion, his imaginary opponent suggested that there was a resemblance between the view that beings only have buddha-nature seeds after ordination and the Hossō position that five types of nature existed in sentient

73. This argument is based on a scholastic argument about whether the essence of the precepts was mental or inherently and provisionally material. The locus classicus for the term is found in the *Pusajie yi ji* (T 40:566a1); discussions are found in chapter 13 below and other chapters.

74. *Kaiju shō*, ZTZ Enkai 2:305–308a.

75. Groner, “Realization of Buddhahood by Grasses and Trees.”

76. T 24:1003c23; this passage is one of the few in Tiantai sources to include the term “seeds of buddha-nature,” which should probably be interpreted as being a synonym for buddha-nature. The terms “unitary [or absolute] precept” (*ikkai*) and adamant precepts (*kongōhōkai*) from the *Brahma’s Net Sutra* that play an important role in Japanese Tendai are not even mentioned in the *Pusajie yi ji*.

77. Groner, “The *Fan-wang ching*,” 268–270.

beings, the resemblance being that in the Hossō position there was the possibility that some beings did not have buddha-nature. Ninkū's imaginary opponent then presented a position that would seem to be a compromise. The opponent, using Hossō doctrines, noted that the merits of Shana *butsu*'s precepts could be classified into two aspects: that which is inherently possessed (*shōtoku*) and that which is attained through practice (*shutoku*). The inherently possessed aspect was present before the ordination while the aspect possessed through practice was present after ordination.⁷⁸

Ninkū responded that, according to the perfect and ultimate teaching (*enjitsukyō*), no distinction should be made between the inherent and acquired. This argument follows the *Pusajie yi ji*'s description of the essence of the precepts in terms of whether or not it had been called forth through an ordination.⁷⁹ When Annen classified the precepts into three categories—those transmitted through a lineage of teachers, those called forth from within the candidate for ordination, and those that are inherent in everyone—he was classifying them in terms of the ordination.⁸⁰ Ninkū's opponent had raised the issue that Tendai exegetes claimed that even the non-sentient had buddha-nature and realized buddhahood. Ninkū acknowledged this argument but left responding to it for another, unspecified time.⁸¹ Instead, he addressed the issue of how to reconcile his position with the view that all with a mind possess buddha-nature. As scriptural support for his position, Ninkū cited the *Adornment Sutra*, a text closely associated with the *Brahma's Net Sutra* that modern scholars have determined to be apocryphal: "If one does not receive these precepts, then one should not be called a being with consciousness and feelings; [such an entity] is no different from an animal and should not be called human."⁸² Ninkū concluded, "The sutra's intent is that those people who do not receive the precepts are not sentient and are the same as walls and tiles."⁸³ He thus went even further than the *Adornment Sutra*. By arguing that those without the precepts were like walls and tiles, he avoided arguments that even animals had buddha-nature. All of these debates supported Ninkū's view that the ordination was both a vital part of religious practice and available to the worldling during *mapphō*.

78. This is similar to the Hossō position that buddha-nature can be categorized into buddha-nature in Principle (*ri bussō*, that is, buddha-nature inherently present as an aspect of Suchness but not necessarily available to practitioners) and buddha-nature realized through practice (*gyō bussō*).

79. *Pusajie yi ji*, T 40:566a1.

80. *Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku*, T 74:773c.

81. Although Ninkū may seem to be avoiding an important aspect of the argument, he usually kept the various traditions he studied separate. The issue of the realization of the non-sentient belonged to debates on Tendai doctrine based on Zhiyi's three major works, not to debates on the precepts based on the *Pusajie yi ji*.

82. T 24:1021b4.

83. *Kaiju shō*, ZTZ Enkai 2:308a.

Ninkū's Criticisms of Other Tendai Ordination Traditions

At the time Ninkū advanced his interpretation of the ordination ceremony, other Tendai temples employed a wide variety of interpretations of the ordination. Ninkū's criticisms of the laxity of ordination procedures may well have been directed at the monks of Mount Hiei. As noted above, in one of the sets of rules for a monastery compiled by Ninkū, he lamented how teachers often initiated novices by simply giving them robes and shaving their heads but not bothering to confer precepts on them. Such comments tended to be general lamentations over the state of ordinations among Tendai monks. In the *Enkai gyōjishō*, Ninkū specifically criticized several other Tendai attempts to reform the precepts. In the rest of this section I consider two of these movements: Shunjō's use of the *Four-Part Vinaya* precepts and the Kurodani *kai kanjō* ceremony.

Saichō had suggested that historical precedents existed in which the *Brahma's Net Sutra* ordinations were used to ordain monks. By Ninkū's time, reports of Buddhism in China had clearly indicated that Tiantai monks used the *Four-Part Vinaya* precepts. Ninkū recognized this, admitting that Huisi and Zhiyi, the two founders of Chinese Tiantai, had been ordained with the *Vinaya* precepts. He attributed this to the historical development of Chinese Buddhism as a tradition in which all three vehicles were studied and practiced. He noted that the Chinese had based their use of the Hīnayāna precepts on the Tendai principle of "opening and reconciling" (*kaie*) teachings. This approach enabled Tendai monks to interpret virtually any Buddhist teaching so that it could be reconciled with the highest teaching. The Hīnayāna precepts could thus be understood as being in agreement with Mahāyāna teachings; a number of passages in the works of Zhiyi and Zhanran were cited to support this view. Ninkū argued that another type of interpretation must also be considered: the relative (*sōdai*) nature of teachings, the exegetical position in which various views were seen as being opposed to each other. To explain this, Ninkū noted the examples of *śrāvakas* (Hīnayāna practitioners) who had received precepts such as those of the *Four-Part Vinaya* when the Buddha preached Hīnayāna teachings; however, according to the Tiantai hierarchical classification of teachings, when the Buddha began to preach Perfection of Wisdom teachings, he rejected those precepts. In a similar manner, Tendai monks should recognize that the Hīnayāna precepts should be rejected.

A return to the Chinese Tiantai practice of using *Four-Part Vinaya* ordinations had been advocated by Shunjō, who had based his teaching on that of Lingzhi Yuanzhao, a Tiantai master whose teachings included the *Four-Part Vinaya* precepts as well as Tiantai and Pure Land practices. Yuanzhao was particularly noted for his extensive commentaries on three major works on the precepts and monastic procedures by Nanshan Daoxuan, who was considered the most authoritative Chinese exegete of these topics. When Shunjō carried texts by Yuanzhao back to Japan, it confirmed what some Nara monks had long argued: namely, that the Japanese Tendai position on the precepts was

not even in agreement with its Chinese Tiantai antecedents. The problem presented by this revelation helps to explain why Ninkū devoted so much space in the *Enkai gyōjishō* to an explanation of the difference between the Hinayāna and Mahāyāna precepts.⁸⁴ The explanation was not simply a matter of reiterating Saichō's position, but of defending the Tendai School against new critics from both within and without.

After a flattering description of Yuanzhao's achievements, Ninkū observed that Yuanzhao maintained that Chinese Tiantai and the *Four-Part Vinaya* precepts advocated by Daoxuan were in agreement. These teachings had been brought to Sennyūji in Kyoto. Although Ninkū was clearly referring to Shunjō, he did not mention him by name; he did nevertheless state that Sennyūji monks had cited passages from Huisi and Zhiyi in support of their position. Ninkū argued, however, that such a stance was the same as that held by the seven leaders of the Nara schools who had opposed Saichō.⁸⁵ Ninkū pointed out that Sennyūji monks had made a basic mistake in clinging to the views in the Hinayāna and pervasive teachings (*tsūgyō*) that all Buddhists shared the same precepts but did not recognize the distinct and perfect teachings' view (*betsuengyō*), which was that the precepts differed depending on what Buddhist views were followed. Ninkū further argued that the monks of Sennyūji misinterpreted the *Lotus Sutra* teaching of reconciling the teachings (*kaie*) and the *Nirvāṇa Sutra* teaching that the precepts should be maintained (*buritsu*). By incorrectly clinging to the view that doctrinal differences should be reconciled, Sennyūji practitioners ignored the differences between provisional and ultimate.⁸⁶ They not only would fail to see the important differences between the Hinayāna and Mahāyāna but also would ignore the differences in meditation and wisdom between the traditions; thus they would be unable to maintain such solely Mahāyāna meditations as the three discernments in an instant or the three thousand realms in an instant, two ways of describing the ultimate goal of Tendai teachings and practices. Differences between good and evil and between heterodox and orthodox would also be obviated.

Ninkū maintained that the Sennyūji monks confused two major types of preaching: *shōjū* (encompassing and accepting) and *shakubuku* (breaking and suppressing). Although the *Lotus Sutra* has a variety of approaches, including refuting (*hakai*) wrong positions and reconciling (*kaie*) other doctrines to the ultimate teaching, "It takes *shakubuku* as its main position, refuting other vehicles to demonstrate that there are not two or three [vehicles], but only one wondrous vehicle."⁸⁷

Ninkū used the *Nirvāṇa Sutra* as a contrast; he explained that even as it

84. *Enkai gyōjishō*, ZTZ Enkai 2:410a–421a.

85. *Enkai gyōjishō*, ZTZ Enkai 2: 417b.

86. For more on how Shunjō was treated by Japanese Tendai see Groner, "Hokurei no kai-ritsu" and "Different Interpretations on the Revival."

87. *Enkai gyōjishō*, ZTZ Enkai 2:418a.

refuted wrong positions, it took the conciliatory *shōju* as its main position, thereby establishing the four teachings on the basis of the perfection and eternal aspects of buddha-nature and treated the Hīnayāna precepts (*shōkai*) as being valid. The practitioner was then faced with the seeming contradiction between the acceptance of the Hīnayāna precepts by the *Nirvāṇa Sutra* and their rejection by the *Lotus Sutra*. Ninkū argued that Saichō resolved this contradiction with his proposal that new practitioners only receive the perfect precepts at first; they were then to spend twelve years sequestered on Mount Hiei. Only after they had advanced in practice could they provisionally receive the Hīnayāna precepts in order to live with the monks of Nara and travel and benefit sentient beings. Ninkū took the traditional Tiantai view that the *Nirvāṇa Sutra* was intended to benefit those beings that were not saved through the *Lotus Sutra*. Statements that the Hīnayāna precepts should be followed should be interpreted as referring only to those beings that had not been saved by the *Lotus Sutra*.⁸⁸ The argument by Shunjō and monks of the Sennyūji tradition that Tendai monks receive the Hīnayāna precepts at the beginning of their practice failed to take account of Saichō's contribution to Tendai thought.

Were there other senses in which the Hīnayāna precepts might be used? Ninkū went on to note that the details of following the eighty thousand rules of the *Brahma's Net Sutra* were not clear in this polluted world. In fact, the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts were terse and included little discussion as to how they were to be interpreted. Ninkū argued that the Hīnayāna "sword," or *ken*, should be used to supplement the great (Mahāyāna) rules.⁸⁹ But in no sense should Hīnayāna rules be taken as the basis, nor should the distinction between Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna be obscured. Ninkū further clarified his position by suggesting that the Buddha preached the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts directly after his enlightenment, a position based on the close association of the *Brahma's Net Sutra* with the *Avataṃsaka Sutra* (*Huayan jing*). Because some of those who listened had inferior faculties, the Buddha then preached the five, eight, ten, and full precepts. This account of the Buddha's preaching followed the *Lotus Sutra*'s description of Śākyamuni Buddha's decision to preach Hīnayāna teachings to those with lesser faculties.

Finally, Ninkū considered the interpretation of the story, found in the *Lotus Sutra*, of the *śrāvakas* who heard the Buddha's sermons three times. If the pattern followed by the *śrāvakas* in the *Lotus Sutra* is taken as a model, a practitioner would have received the Hīnayāna precepts first and the bodhisattva precepts later. This same chapter is the locus classicus for the Buddha telling the *śrāvakas* that the very (Hīnayāna) practices they had been performing were in fact the Mahāyāna practices based on opening and reconciling

88. *Enkai gyōjishō*; ZTZ Enkai 2:418b.

89. *Gyōjishō*, ZTZ Enkai 2: 418b, 422ab; *Fahua wenju ji*, T 34:343c12–15. Similar points are made in Zhanran's commentary on the *Mohe zhiguan*, T 46:254a. The character for *ken* can also be interpreted as "measure" with a different Chinese character, but the same pronunciation.

the teachings (*kaie*). Thus, Ninkū was going to the heart of the *kaie* approach to the precepts that he opposed. Finally, Ninkū argued that the *śrāvakas* had received the bodhisattva precepts in the distant past and simply forgotten that they had done so. Thus, he supported the pattern of having beginning practitioners receive the bodhisattva precepts first.⁹⁰

The last half of the tenth section of the *Enkai gyōjishō* was devoted to a denunciation of the *kai kanjō* (consecrated ordination), a tradition that claimed to be a secret transmission from Saichō.⁹¹ As discussed in chapter 8, the *kai kanjō* tradition developed around figures such as Kōen in Kurodani. Initially it was a secret ceremony held when a monk had completed a twelve-year period of practice on Mount Hiei; by the time Ninkū wrote, it may have evolved in other ways that are still not clear. The *kai kanjō* was sometimes called a reordination (*jūju*) because it was given after the ordination that marked a person's initiation as a Tendai monk. A number of esoteric Buddhist elements—the emphasis on secrecy, the use of the term *kanjō* (consecration), and the emphasis on the transmission between teacher and student—can be found in the ritual, but masters of the *kai kanjō* often argued that it was not an esoteric ritual.⁹² Ninkū's criticism focused on the ambiguities that arose from combining elements of an esoteric, or *hongaku*, consecration with a regular ordination.

Ninkū began his criticism of the *kai kanjō* tradition by tracing the ordination lineage from Saichō through to the time of Hōnen. Hōnen's students produced two lineages: the Nison'in that began with Shinkū and the Seizan that began with Shōkū. According to Ninkū, the Seizan lineage received certain important teachings concerning the precepts that were not given to Shinkū, among them the importance of the threefold profound interpretation (*sanjūgen'okugi*) and the interpretation of the *Brahma's Net Sutra* as a one-chapter, one-fascicle bodhisattva precepts sutra (*ippon ikkan kaikyō*).⁹³ Ninkū disparaged the *kai kanjō* tradition, claiming that it was indicative of the gradual degeneration of the Nison'in lineage.

Ninkū particularly criticized the *kai kanjō* tradition of only conferring the precepts on "a single person at a time" (*yūju ichinin no kainō*). He observed that Saichō and Gishin had received the precepts from Daosui in China along with twenty-seven other people. After his return to Japan, Saichō had presided over an ordination in the Central Hall with Enchō as the elder (*jōshū*). Ninkū noted that when the basic documents used in performing ordinations on Mount Hiei were checked, nothing similar to the *kai kanjō* could be found.

90. *Enkai gyōjishō*, ZTZ Enkai 2:385a, 417a, 419.

91. See chapter 8 above. For Japanese studies, consult the books by Terai, *Tendai endonkai shisō no seiritsu to tenkai*; and Shikū, *Nyūmonteki kenkyū*.

92. See chapter 9 above for the argument that in at least some cases the ritual was based on *hongaku* interpretations of the *Lotus Sutra* rather than esoteric Buddhism.

93. The view that precepts constituted an independent text that was solely a perfect teaching differed from the traditional view that the two-fascicle *Brahma's Net Sutra* was a mix of distinct and perfect teachings. This was one of the hallmarks of Ninkū's thought on the precepts.

Ninkū asserted that the advocates of the *kai kanjō* tradition claimed that it was based on a one-fascicle text by Saichō with the title *Kaidan'in chūdai shōgon no ki* (Record of the adornment of the central altar of the ordination platform).⁹⁴ Ninkū criticized the text, arguing that Saichō had died by the time the court granted permission for the construction of the ordination platform and would not have written such a text. Ninkū's careful attention to the chronology of Tendai history is a marked contrast to the careless manner in which historical events were treated in many of the oral transmissions (*kuden*). He concluded that the *kai kanjō* was simply a free interpretation developed by monks to inculcate faith in the recipient by using esoteric Buddhist elements.

Conclusion

As the abbot of two major monasteries, Ninkū strove to reform the Tendai ordination system. He refuted Nara criticisms that the universal ordination traditionally used by Tendai monks did not actually qualify a person to be a fully ordained monk by redefining Tendai ordination procedures so that specific precepts were conferred at each stage of a person's career. By specifying the content of the precepts at each stage of a person's career, Ninkū strove to restore monastic discipline at the temples he supervised. As a part of his efforts, he had his monks engage in debates about the doctrinal basis of the Tendai ordination, with the result that the foundations of Tendai monastic discipline were analyzed in a manner virtually unprecedented at that time. Ninkū was particularly forceful in arguing that the precepts were not suited only for those who had advanced on the Buddhist path. He repeatedly emphasized that the ordinations and precepts were suited for the worldling in a far-off country during the period of the final decline of Buddha's Dharma. Finally, he refuted efforts by exegetes who suggested a return to the Chinese Tiantai tradition of ordaining monks with the *Four-Part Vinaya* precepts or who interpreted ordinations by introducing esoteric elements into them.

94. *Daijō kaidan'in ki*, DZ 1:126–127.

Doctrinal Discussions of Killing in Medieval Tendai Texts

IN RECENT YEARS, the topic of Buddhism and violence has received considerable attention as historians and Buddhologists have pointed out numerous examples of Buddhists engaged in warfare and other activities that do not fit well with Western preconceptions of what Buddhism should be. In this chapter I focus on an aspect of Buddhism and violence that has received less attention: that is, medieval Japanese doctrinal justifications of violence with an emphasis on the Tendai tradition.

A number of acts can be defined as being violent; for example, some texts have discussed the theft of monastic property as the most egregious act because it contributes to schisms in the Buddhist order.¹ Killing is the most typical form of violence because it violates the Mahāyāna focus on compassion. It is for this reason that the five lay precepts and virtually all collections of bodhisattva precepts list the precept against killing first. Although Pure Land and esoteric Buddhist conceptions of violence and escaping the karmic repercussions ensuing from violence would need to be considered in a fuller discussion of this issue, I primarily concentrate here on medieval Tendai. Because the history of medieval monastic violence has been discussed by both Japanese and Western scholars, I focus in this chapter solely on doctrinal discussions. Finally, the issue of how broadly these positions were held is a complicated and difficult issue that I have not considered here.

The *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts were originally not intended to serve as

This chapter is based on my 2015 article “Doctrinal Discussions of Killing in Medieval Tendai Texts,” which appeared in *Okubo Ryōshun kyōju kanreki kinen ronbunshū: Tendai Shingon shōshū ronkō*, edited by Okubo Ryōshun kyōju kanreki kinen ronshū kankōkai.

1. Hareyama, “*Bonmōkyō ryakushō* ni okeru zen'aku.”

a guide to monastic discipline, but with Saichō's argument that they could be used in place of the *Vinaya* to ordain monks, this usage had to be considered by Japanese Tendai. However, Tendai monks wrote few commentaries on the *Brahma's Net Sutra*. Instead, when they chose to emphasize the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts, they wrote about the *Pusajie yi shu* (also known as the *Pusajie yi ji*), the commentary on the *Brahma's Net Sutra* attributed to Zhiyi;² but even then, they focused on the interpretation of the essence of the precepts rather than on the contents of the precepts themselves. This chapter begins by investigating the precept itself and its treatment in the *Pusajie yi shu*.

The *Brahma's Net Sutra* Precept on Killing and the *Pusajie yi shu*

According to the first major precept of the *Brahma's Net Sutra*,

Oh Children of the Buddha. If you yourself kill, teach others to kill, prepare the necessities for killing,³ praise killing, take pleasure in witnessing killing, and so forth, even down to killing through spells, these are the causes, conditions, the ways, and the acts of killing. One may not purposely kill any living being (*issai unyō*). A bodhisattva should give rise to eternally abiding compassion, be filial and obedient (*kōjun*), and use all means to protect the living. Conversely, if he kills out of greed or anger (*kaii*),⁴ this is a *pārājika* for the bodhisattva.⁵

Exegetes referred to the first major precept in the *Brahma's Net Sutra* by a variety of different terms. Some referred to it as a precept against taking human life.⁶ In the *Pusajie yi shu*, it is a precept against taking the life of any sentient being. This, however, raises the issue of whether there are gradations of the violation of a major precept. The *Pusajie yi shu* specifies three major categories of violation. The first corresponds to the commission of a heinous

2. Zhiyi's authorship of this text has been questioned since Satō Tetsuei (*Tendai Daishi no kenkyū*, 412–415) noted a number of differences between it and Zhiyi's other works, particularly a major difference in how the essence of the precepts (*kaitai*) is interpreted in the *Pusajie yi shu* and Zhiyi's works and why the *Pusajie yi shu* used a threefold exegetical scheme instead of the five usually found in Zhiyi's works. Hirakawa Akira ("Chigi no kaitairon," 134–135) has argued that the difference in the interpretation of the essence of the precepts is not so significant. Recent work by Funayama Tōru (*Bonmōkyō no shoki no keitai*, 4–5) has recently traced citations of the text in other Chinese works and suggests that it was compiled in the mid-seventh century. Murakami Akiya has argued in a series of essays that Zhiyi did not write it. For the purposes of this chapter, I follow the medieval Japanese Tendai tradition of attributing it to Zhiyi.

3. Here I follow the *Pusajie yi shu* interpretation of the vague formula for expediently killing (*nōben satsu*; T 40:571c3); this is supported by passages in other sources.

4. The passage refers to it as to take pleasure in killing, but I follow the *Pusajie yi shu* in interpreting it as killing out of anger.

5. T 24:1004b16–20. I have benefited from a list of variant versions of this and other *Fanwang* precepts compiled by Funayama Tōru. I generally have chosen to follow the Taishō version unless I've found significant differences.

6. See Ishida Mizumaro (*Bonmōkyō*, 279–283) for a list of titles of the precepts by major exegetes.

sin (*gyakuzai*). The *Brahma's Net Sutra* includes a unique list of seven: shedding a buddha's blood, killing one's father, one's mother, one's preceptor, or teacher, disrupting the *saṃgha*, and killing an arhat.⁷ The standard list found in many other texts only includes five and does not include the killing of one's preceptor or teacher. The *Pusajie yi shu* notes that two possible interpretations of the killing of a sage are possible: one is the killing of an arhat;⁸ the second is broader and includes killing of the four types of sage (stream-entrant, once-returner, non-returner, and arhat).

For bodhisattvas, the *Pusajie yi shu* indicated that the precept against killing might be applied to bodhisattvas beginning with the level of those who will not backslide (*hitsujiō bosatsu*). The account in the *Pusajie yi shu* continues by mentioning the ambiguous figure of the "adoptive birth mother" (*yōtaibo*), but the definition of this term is not clear.⁹ Later exegetes interpreted the term as both birth mother and adoptive mother, but since killing a birth mother is already included in the seven heinous sins, adoptive mother seems like a more reasonable definition. In the *Pusajie yi shu* the middling level of taking life reflects the violation of major precepts and is defined as killing a human being or god in any of the various ways defined in the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precept. But this category is also problematic. Because the first major precept mentions taking the life of any sentient being, should the major precept be limited to humans and gods? The view that it includes all sentient beings might reflect the demands placed on a bodhisattva. The lowest level of the three types of killing consists of taking the life of any among those who dwell in the bottom four realms of rebirth (titans, animals, hungry ghosts, and denizens of hell), but more practically it refers to insects and animals. Perhaps the *Pusajie yi shu* distinction between the type of killing reflected the difference between precepts in the *Vinaya* concerning taking the life of animals and humans.

According to the *Pusajie yi shu*, three differences exist between the precept against killing in the *Vinaya* and that in the *Brahma's Net Sutra*. First, in the *Vinaya*, killing is absolutely forbidden, but for a bodhisattva, killing may be allowed depending on the consideration of the "salvific impetus" (*ki*) of the beings involved (*daishi kenki tokusatsu*).¹⁰ The second difference between the *Vinaya* and bodhisattva precepts is that the *Vinaya* focuses on bodily actions while the bodhisattva precepts focus on intention. Of course, intention played a key role in the *Vinaya*, where one had to have the intention to kill for a *parājika* offense to be incurred; killing someone by accident was not a *parājika* offense. Many of the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts also involved physical or

7. T 24:1008c1–3.

8. T 40:571c18. This interpretation was based on the *Nirvāṇa Sutra's* view of three types of killing (T 12:460b11–13), which was said to result in the mid-level suffering of rebirth in the realms of hell, animals, or hungry ghosts. For more on the *Nirvāṇa Sutra's* position on the precepts, see Groner, "Interpretation of the Precepts."

9. Terai, "Kaisōshaku no tokushoku," 112n13.

10. T 40:571b22. A similar statement is found in the commentary on the *Nirvāṇa Sutra* by Guanding (T 38:124a24–25).

verbal actions. However, when the *Pusajie yi shu* notes that salvific impetus should be considered, it is suggesting that intention might sometimes justify killing. Third, the *Vinaya* does not include harming a teacher among the five heinous sins, but the *Brahma's Net Sutra* does include it among the seven heinous sins. This last difference suggests that degrees of offense might be posited in the category of killing.

The *Pusajie yi shu* did not explore in any depth the issue of when killing might be permitted, but it did allow for a more nuanced discussion of killing and its possible justification by later exegetes. I base my translation of *ki*—a term frequently translated “religious faculties”—as salvific impetus on the basis of research by Kanno Hiroshi, who describes the term as reflecting Chinese views of the stimulus-response (*kannō*) relationship. When the faculties are mature or in need, they elicit a response from the Buddha.¹¹ The term *kenki*, “consideration of the salvific impetus,” appears several times in the *Pusajie yi shu*, particularly when rationales for violation of the precepts might be considered. Among the precepts in which it is mentioned are the major precepts on killing and stealing (2) and the minor precepts on drinking alcohol (2), teaching non-Mahāyāna doctrines (15), and accepting separate invitations to eat (27). One can easily think of occasions when these rules might be violated to benefit others: for example, the exception to the prohibition on drinking alcohol gives a sense of how this might be interpreted. The story of Mallikā, the wife of Prasenajit, is cited. When Prasenajit became furious with his cook, Mallikā encouraged her husband to drink with her until his anger had dissipated, thereby saving the life of the cook. When Mallikā later went to talk to the Buddha about whether she had violated the rule against drinking alcohol, the Buddha said she had not.¹²

Annen

Several decades after Saichō, Annen, one of the greatest scholars in Japanese Tendai history, wrote the *Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku* (Extensive commentary on the universal bodhisattva precepts ordination), which is, as the title suggests, a thorough commentary on ordinations. Although composing commentaries on the precepts might seem like a logical step for Tendai monks to have taken after Saichō advocated using a different set of precepts, they were more interested in how the new ordinations were to be conducted. For Annen, both the *Vinaya* and the precepts of the *Brahma's Net Sutra* were expedients based on the esoteric *samaya* precepts that could be followed or ignored as the situation demanded.¹³

11. Kanno, “Resonant Stimulus and Response.”

12. I follow Zhuhong's explanation of the short mention in the *Pusajie yi shu*. See *Fanwang jing xindipin pusajie yi shu fayin*, X 38:181a6–10. Zhuhong, perhaps following the *Vinaya*, also notes that the use of alcohol in medicine is permitted.

13. Groner, chapter Two above and “The *Fan-wang ching*.”

As was noted above, the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precept against killing was based on compassion. An emphasis on compassion, however, opens onto a slippery slope of violations. Is one justified in using violence as an expedient means to teach others out of compassion, to stop a killer from further wrongdoing, or to protect others from harm? Annen cites several famous canonical examples as possible justifications for killing under the proper circumstances. In the *Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku*, he states,

Long ago, there was a man called Shijianxian. His teacher taught him to kill a thousand men and to take the fingers of the thousand men and string them into a garland to be worn around his neck. Thus, he was called Aṅgulimālya, which means “finger garland.” His filial piety was his precept and [his killing] did not constitute a violation of the rule against killing.

Long ago, King Virūdhaka (Ruri Ō) killed unlimited numbers of people, but the people in the city [where the killings took place] were stubborn, evil, and difficult to convert. Only when they were faced with imminent death did they develop the aspiration for enlightenment. This killing was called “entering the gates of the Dharma Realm” and did not constitute a violation of the precept against killing. . . . You should understand that the ten evil acts and the three poisons can all serve as precepts. Ajataśatru injured and killed his father and mother, but ignorance was his father and lust his mother. By performing such evil deeds, he made great progress in Buddhism.¹⁴

Annen's passage continues with citations of Devadatta and Vasumitrā, arguing that sexual activity and the three poisons could serve as expedient means for Buddhist practice, but I focus on Aṅgulimālya and Virudhāka. The story of Aṅgulimālya is well-known. He had a bad teacher who had told him that the way to gain his favor was to slay 1,000 people, take one finger from each, and make a garland of them. After he had killed 999, the Buddha appeared before him and converted him. Aṅgulimālya soon became an arhat. His religious practice was sufficient to counteract much of the bad karma from killing because his killing was done not out of malice but because he wished to follow his teacher's command.

King Virūdhaka was the king of Kosalā who decimated the Śākya, the tribe the Buddha came from. The destruction of the Śākya had to be explained because normally one would expect that the tribe of such an eminent religious leader would flourish. Several explanations are offered, although most of these seem to struggle with the attempt to explain how the Buddha's tribe could have been slaughtered. One explanation has it that King Prasena-jit, a follower of the Buddha, wished to be associated with the Śākya. He asked for a Śākya princess to take as a wife, but the Śākya arrogantly offered a woman born of a slave to be his wife, claiming that she was of the Śākya tribe.

14. T 74:765c20–66a3. A similar passage appears in Annen's *Bodaishin gi shō* (T 75:489b26–28).

Virudhāka was the child of the union between that half-slave and Prasenajit and was later insulted because of his birth. When he grew up, Virudhāka took vengeance on the Śākyas by decimating the tribe. Another source relates how the Śākyas died as a result of the karmic consequences of eating fish, a view that is so exaggerated that it has gained little recognition. In the end, the arrogance of the Śākyas manifested in what is said to have been their hesitance to recognize Śākyamuni's virtues. Although the Buddha tried to protect them, he eventually had to admit that their bad karma was inescapable and that he could not prevent their destruction.

For this discussion, the story is relevant to explaining how killing might be a means of teaching. Several outcomes and interpretations of the story in which Virudhāka is said to be the cause of people "entering the Dharma Realm" are presented. According to Faxian's travel diary, the Śākyas all attained the status of stream-entrant as they were killed.¹⁵ According to another story, five hundred Śākyan women were cruelly killed but asked the Buddha for help as they died and were reborn in a heaven and enlightened by the Buddha. Thus, in the story related by Annen, Virudhāka is said to have been a teacher of Buddhism.¹⁶ Another possible interpretation makes the story even more problematic when restrictions on killing are considered. In this version, the Śākyas had taken the five lay vows, the first of which prohibits killing, and thus had refused to take up arms to defend themselves against Virudhāka's assault.¹⁷ When Virudhāka realized that they would not defend themselves, he had them slaughtered. Although this version of the story might be interpreted as warning against taking the prohibition on killing too far with the result that even more people die, that conclusion does not seem to have been drawn in the Tendai materials I have read. Although Annen may appear in this instance to be excusing any violation of the precepts, in other parts of his writings, he encourages their observance. Violations are justified only when they are necessary for furthering Buddhist teachings. The next section gives a more nuanced view of violations.

Jitsudō Ninkū

Jitsudō Ninkū was the author of the longest Japanese commentary on the *Pusajie yi shu*, the *Bosatsukai giki kikigaki* (A record of lectures on the *Pusajie yiji*). As discussed in the previous chapter, Ninkū was one of the outstanding exegetes of his time, author of several sets of monastic rules, and abbot of two major monasteries. In the *Tendaishū zensho* version of his commentary, the section on the precept on killing occupies sixty pages.¹⁸ I focus here on

15. Nagasawa, *Hokkenden*, 67.

16. Recorded in Xuanzang's travel diary, *Datang Xiyouji*, T 51:900b.

17. Pu Chengzhong, "Chinese Versions of the Virudhāka's Massacre of the Śākyans: A Preliminary Study," *The Indian International Journal of Buddhist Studies* 14 (2013): 29–47.

18. *Bosatsukai giki kikigaki*, TZ 15: 214b–274a.

his interpretation of the statement in the *Pusajie yi shu* that a bodhisattva might kill after considering the salvific impetus of sentient beings. Ninkū comments on the issue in the context of discussing the differences between the *Vinaya* and bodhisattva precepts, reflecting the structure of the *Pusajie yi shu*. In his discussion, Ninkū raises several problematic areas in interpreting the passage:

What sort of bodhisattva would look at the salvific impetus of beings and kill them? A bodhisattva who had reached the stage of being a sage? Would this extend to bodhisattvas who were worldlings? Would this interpretation be extended to both monastics and lay practitioners? Would this apply to lay practitioners [only]? If a bodhisattva performed wrongdoing to benefit sentient beings, would this be limited to his physical and verbal actions or would it extend to his mental acts? If one looks at the salvific impetus and still kills, has he violated the precepts against wrongdoing or not? There are many questionable aspects to this.¹⁹

As Ninkū explored these matters, he cited the Huayan patriarch Fazang's (643–712) discussion of the issue.²⁰ Fazang had cited a passage from the *Yuqie shidi lun* (*Yogācārabhūmi*) that played an important role in discussions of killing in Chinese texts. The passage, which permits killing under certain circumstances, was cited with approval, perhaps reflecting Fazang's interest in supporting his patron, Empress Wu (624–705). Emphasis is placed on the bodhisattva having the proper intention: namely, acting out of compassion rather than anger or hatred. The text in the *Yuqie shidi lun* reads,

This is like a bodhisattva who sees a robber and brigand who, out of his desire for wealth, wishes to kill many. The robber may wish to harm elders, *śrāvakas*, *pratyekabuddhas*, and bodhisattvas. Or he may wish to commit a [wrongdoing that results in] inexpiable and immediate retribution (*mugengō*). Having seen this, the bodhisattva thinks, "If I cut off his evil [intent to end] sentient beings' lives, [I] will drop into hell. If I do not cut it off, the karma of inexpiable retribution will be incurred and he will receive great suffering. I should kill him and drop into hell myself so that he will not incur inexpiable retribution. . . ." Thus, this bodhisattva . . . knows the situation and understands that in the future he must develop deep remorse and with a profound sense of compassion end [the brigand's] life. In such a case, the bodhisattva has not transgressed the precepts and will produce many merits.²¹

This passage was well-known in Buddhist circles. The Korean exegete Taehyōn (fl. mid-8th c.) cited the entire passage and then disagrees with it, probably

19. TZ 15:230a. Two sets of pagination appear in *Tendaishū zensho* texts. I follow the numbers at the top of the page.

20. T 40:612a7–16; *Bosatsukai giki kiki gaki*, TZ 15:230a–b.

21. *Pusajie ben*, T 24:1112a05–13; *Yuqie shidi lun*, T 30:517b6–17.

reflecting the views of many East Asian exegetes.²² Fazang also referred to an unspecified passage from the twelfth fascicle of the *Nirvāṇa Sutra*. The relevant passage from the *Nirvāṇa Sutra* may have been similar to the following: “If one kills a bad person, then there is recompense for wrongdoing. If one kills without repentance, then one drops into existence as a hungry ghost. If one confesses for three days and fasts, then the wrongdoing is vanquished and there will be no remainder.”²³ The power of serious confession in alleviating violations of the precepts is noteworthy. When major precepts of the *Brahma’s Net Sutra* were violated, one was supposed to perform confession rites until given a sign from the Buddha that the precepts had been restored. If one did not receive such an indication, then reordination would restore the precepts.²⁴

Ninkū commented on Fazang’s interpretation as being typical of many exegetes, particularly because of its use of the *Yuqie shidi lun* passage. One of Ninkū’s primary concerns was whether the permission to kill would extend to worldlings or was limited to advanced bodhisattvas, as the passage from the *Yuqie shidi lun* suggests. For Ninkū, the passage referred to a highly developed bodhisattva (*shin’i bosatsu*, *shin’i daishi*).²⁵ However, he questioned the relevance of such an interpretation partly because he was not sure the interpretation was coherent:

It should not be the case that a highly developed bodhisattva would fall into hell because of the karma of killing, should it? However, if one were truly a worldling, he surely could not contemplate falling into hell and killing to benefit sentient beings, could he? In addition, even if he were to kill out of compassion so that he would drop into hell, would this be violating the precepts against wrongdoing? If there were no violations of the precepts against wrongdoing, then how could there be [a question of] dropping into hell?²⁶

Ninkū continues along these lines, citing the lost commentary by Daoxuan (702–760, not to be confused with Nanshan Daoxuan), who transmitted the *Brahma’s Net Sutra* to Japan. That commentary was important because it influenced Saichō:

According to Tiantai classifications of doctrine, [those in] the distinct teaching’s first ground, joy, or the perfect teaching’s first abode and above attain the ground in which the Buddha looks upon everyone as though that person were his only

22. Taehyōn, *Beommanggyeong gojeokgi*, 263. This commentary on the *Brahma’s Net Sutra* was one of the most authoritative because it cited and evaluated a variety of other compilations on the sutra.

23. *Niepanjing*, T 12:460b02–4.

24. *Fanwangjing*, T 24:1008c13–19.

25. The term *shin’i* is found in many documents with a sense of deeper or profound meaning, but its use as a modifier for “bodhisattva” is unusual and not clearly defined. For another example, note its usage in the discussion of Hōkū below.

26. TZ 15:230b.

child (*ichishiji*). The superior person looks at the salvific impetus of sentient beings and acts in accord with that.²⁷

The thrust of the commentaries by Fazang and Daoxuan is to limit the justified violation of the precepts to high-ranking bodhisattvas. This fundamentally differs from Ninkū's own position, which specifies that the bodhisattva precepts are for the ignorant worldling during the period of the decline of the Dharma in remote lands.²⁸ Thus, according to the *Brahma's Net Sutra*, the bodhisattva precepts are to be given to a variety of beings, including kings, slaves, and animals. To receive these precepts, all that is required is that one understand the words of his teacher. And yet these precepts enable one to enter the ranks of the enlightened.²⁹ Ninkū notes that the bodhisattva precepts are propagated through the three encouragements (*sangon*): that is, the practitioner should receive, observe, and chant the precepts. Ninkū emphasizes the observance of the precepts.³⁰ Ninkū was acutely aware that extending permission to violate the precepts was dangerous and warned against misinterpretation: "But if we consider the person who has not cut off even a little of his defilements and has not realized the concentration of viewing the salvific impetus of sentient beings (*kanki zanmai*), though he may think that his actions will benefit others, he may in fact lose the greater benefit (*dairi*)."³¹ At the same time, one cannot always observe the precepts, and Ninkū suggests several scenarios in which one might break the precept on killing:

In explaining how one should view the salvific impulse and kill, then in terms of such acts as killing and stealing, it is difficult to permit these suddenly without consideration. For example, if one were to see that hundreds or thousands of people will be killed or harmed, as is explained in the chapter on precepts in the *Yogācārabhūmi*, then he should not have doubts [as to his course of action]. Or if he sees that kings, his father or mother, or the wise or virtuous are viciously threatened, then even though he is only a worldling, he should calmly think of causing evil (*akugyaku*) means to be used.³²

A number of examples of devout kings resorting to killing to protect their lands or Buddhism could be cited, but Ninkū does not give examples of monks

27. TZ 15:228b–229a. Daoxuan's contribution to Saichō's thought has long been a consideration of scholars, but the evidence for this view is difficult to prove because Daoxuan's commentary has been lost. In recent years, Ibuki Atsushi has collected surviving quotations ("Dōsen-sen *Chū bosatsukai kyō* itsubun shūsei") and has questioned whether Daoxuan was a master of Tiantai thought, pointing out that surviving quotations of the commentary on the *Brahma's Net Sutra* are taken from Zhizhou's commentary on the *Brahma's Net Sutra* ("Dōsen wa Tendai kyōgaku"). This quotation is also found in the Faxiang monk Zhizhou's (688–723) work (X 38:444b9–10, 13).

28. *Cyōjishō*, ZTZ Enkai 2:400a–402b.

29. *Bosatsukai giki kikigaki*, TZ 15:231a–b.

30. *Bosatsukai giki kikigaki*, TZ 15:231a.

31. *Bosatsukai giki kikigaki* TZ 15: 231b.

32. *Bosatsukai giki kikigaki*, TZ 15: 231b.

killing others. Ninkū concluded his discussion that day with the following statement: “However, one must thoroughly consider whether harsher (*shakubuku*) or gentler (*shōju*) expedient means can turn the situation around. Arguing that permission to violate major precepts applies only to sages differs from the basic intent of the rules of this sutra.”³³

Elsewhere Ninkū develops this theme with a different rationale by citing Indra’s Net:

If a *śrāvaka* violates [a major rule in the *Vinaya*], he permanently loses his status as a monk. In the bodhisattva precepts, one does not lose the precepts from lifetime to lifetime. But this does not mean that the *śrāvaka* [precepts] are heavy [and more strict] and the bodhisattva precepts are light. If we discuss the great power of the bodhisattva precepts, when the precept against killing is upheld, then one obtains the merit of not killing the sentient beings in the whole Dharma Realm. If one were to kill one or two people or even a hundred or a thousand, this would only be like a drop in the ocean. The radiant virtue of the precept for the rest of the sentient beings would be pure without a flaw. In other words, the merit of holding the precepts is great and the losses from violating them small. Needless to say, the ten major precepts are identical to the ten inexhaustible precepts (*jū mujin kai*). . . . A single precept contains inexhaustible precepts; the observance (*kaigyō*) of unbounded precepts is contained in a single precept. Though one major precept is violated, the others complete it, each helping the others just like Indra’s net. In contrast, the *śrāvaka* precepts are each separate. If one breaks a precept, the other precepts do not have the power to assist it. If one kills a person, then the virtue of not killing all the remaining people is eliminated.³⁴

Ninkū could have cited the three collections of pure precepts in his argument, noting how the precepts promoting good and benefiting sentient beings might help the precepts against wrongdoing. Occasionally he did cite them, but not as often as might have been expected. He may have chosen not to emphasize the three collections of pure precepts because they are not mentioned in the *Brahma’s Net Sutra*. Ninkū thus argued that the precepts are actually conferred when the candidate for ordination recites the three refuges, not when he is asked whether he will observe the three collections of pure precepts, a position that differs from most Tendai teachers.³⁵

In his discussions of the three collections of pure precepts, Ninkū noted that the Yogācāra sources identify the restraints on wrongdoing with the precepts of the *Vinaya*. Thus, Yogācāra sources would be prone to support the view that the commission of a *pārājika* offense such as killing would lead to the loss of one’s status as a monk. In contrast, the *Adornment Sutra* identified the restraints on wrongdoing with the ten major precepts of the *Brahma’s Net Sutra* and thus

33. *Bosatsukai giki kikigaki*, TZ 15: 231b.

34. TZ 25:240a; also see 237b for a similar statement.

35. Chapter 11 above.

gave Ninkū much more leeway in interpreting violations. The difference in these positions reveals a fundamental difference in the Chinese Tiantai and Japanese Tendai commentarial traditions of the *Brahma's Net Sutra*. Chinese monks would receive the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts after they had become monks by receiving the full precepts of the *Vinaya*. Japanese Tendai practitioners would become monks upon receiving their bodhisattva precepts ordinations; the *Vinaya* would play virtually no part. The differences in interpretation would have had a significant impact on how the precept on killing was interpreted.³⁶

The issue of killing is further elucidated in minor precept number 10, which prohibits the storage of weapons.³⁷ The *Brahma's Net Sutra* warns that one should avenge not even his parents' deaths, let alone that of any sentient being, because anger only begets more anger. Ninkū cites various commentaries, noting that the Buddhist attitude differs substantially from that found in Confucian texts that would seem to demand revenge out of filial piety. However, at the end of his comments, he notes that various commentaries allow weapons for defense. According to Ūjōk's commentary, rulers may store weapons to defend their countries, but they should not kill.³⁸ The passage from Ūjōk concludes with a passage from the *Nirvāṇa Sutra* that permits lay believers to possess weapons to defend Buddhism but prohibits using them to kill. Ninkū then cites Zhizhou's commentary that states that lay believers may have weapons during *mappō* but at the same time should realize that all have buddha-nature. Such a person is not considered to have broken the precepts but rather to have guarded the true Dharma.³⁹ Ninkū also refers to the monk named Juede who appears in the *Nirvāṇa Sutra* and praised a king who killed corrupt monks.⁴⁰ Such passages permit laypersons to possess weapons. Finally, Ninkū notes a story told to him by Shōkū, the founder of Ninkū's Seizan-ha, about Eikū, who was one of Hōnen's teachers. Eikū had amassed a number of spears (*saibō*) and halberds. Chūjin (1065–1138), who was chief prelate of the Tendai School, asked about them. Later, during heavy rains, the halberds were used to cut down chestnuts to eat and the swords were used to husk them.⁴¹ By attributing the story to Shōkū, the figure respected as the founder of the Seizan-ha, Ninkū would have justified storing weapons in the Seizan monasteries that he strove to establish. This is not surprising when the many threats to the Seizan lineage are considered.

At first glance, Ninkū might appear to be weakening the precepts, but he takes a much more nuanced view of them, stressing that they should be followed to the extent that worldlings are able. Several examples of his rejection of laxer interpretations of the precepts help clarify his position. When

36. For example, see TZ 15 230b.

37. T 24:1005c14–18.

38. T 40:674a1–5. Ūjōk's dates are not known, but he may have been a student of Xuanzang (602–664).

39. X 38:462a2–5.

40. T 12:384a.

41. TZ 15:415.

he considers the precept on killing, he rejects the positions held by three Song-dynasty exegetes: Daoxi (n.d.), Yunqi (1054–1130), and Yuxian (d. 1163).⁴² Ninkū characterizes all three as maintaining the position that one may “forget infractions to benefit sentient beings” (*okasu koto wo wasure, mono wo sukuu*).⁴³ The passage then cites the example from the *Nirvāṇa Sutra* of King Xianyu, a previous incarnation of Śākyamuni.⁴⁴ Xianyu killed five hundred brahmins who had slandered the Dharma, but they were converted to Buddhism upon their death.⁴⁵ Ninkū, however, does not approve of this usage of the story. Zhanran’s disciple Mingguang also does not approve of it, though Ninkū does not cite him.⁴⁶

Ninkū cites the passage from the *Pusajie yi shu* allowing killing when the salvific impetus of sentient beings is considered in connection with his discussion of the twenty-first minor precept, which prohibits violence and vengeance.⁴⁷ In considering this precept, Ninkū cites Fazang’s commentary on the *Brahma’s Net Sutra*, which argued that the precept was not violated if one were reproving or correcting someone who had gone astray or who did not realize that he was in the wrong. Ninkū warns against taking liberties with this interpretation but still recognizes that it may have some validity. In this sense, he takes a subtle and nuanced view of the interpretation of precepts concerning violence.⁴⁸

Ninkū’s interpretation of the precepts depended on his audience. The *Bonmōkyō jikidanshō* (Straightforward talk on the *Brahma’s Net Sutra*), a text that Ninkū (or perhaps Myōdō Shōgen, also of the Rozanji lineage) in 1353 might have given to young monks who were about to be ordained. The text does not mention possible exceptions to the rule against killing, but in the short discussion on storing arms, it mentions the possibility that when bandits or enemies of the court see weapons, they might decide not to attack, thereby avoiding violence.⁴⁹

Prince Shōtoku and Killing

The theme of killing to defend the Dharma is present in Japan from the time when Buddhism was introduced and defended by the Soga clan and Prince

42. Only Yuxian’s commentary survives; for the relevant passage, see X 38:78c.

43. *Kikigaki*, TZ 15:233a.

44. T 12:434c.

45. This passage is cited with approval in Huisi’s text on the *Lotus Sutra*’s “Course on Ease and Bliss” (Stevenson and Kanno, *Meaning of the “Lotus Sutra”’s Course of Ease and Bliss*, 278). I have also benefited from Yamano Toshirō, “Aku to Butusdō.” Several exegetes, not cited by Ninkū, suggested that the realization of emptiness rendered blameless Xianyu’s act of killing; see Faxian’s (718–778) *Fanwang jing pusajie shu* (X 38: 540c). Similar wording is found in Gyōnen’s *Bonmōkyō kaihō nichijū shō* (T 62:64b27–28).

46. T 40:598c9–10.

47. T 24:1006b21–26.

48. *Kikigaki*, TZ 15:454a; Fazang, *Fanwang jing pusa jieben shu*, T 40:643c22–24.

49. *Bonmōkyō jikidan shō*, ZTZ Enkai 2:173b–75b and 190b.

Shōtoku. I am concerned in this section not with historical events but with later beliefs concerning the prince, particularly with how Shōtoku's role in the extermination of the rival Mononobe clan was interpreted. Because a consideration of the various sources and the variant texts concerning Prince Shōtoku would be overly complex and require more pages than I have at my disposal, I limit my discussion here to a few texts and depend on the editions included in the *Dainihon Bukkyō zensho*.

As is well-known, the Mononobe clan opposed establishing Buddhism in Japan and were responsible for destroying a Buddhist temple and images. Prince Shōtoku and his allies, the Soga clan, are said to have defended Buddhism in open warfare that resulted in the killing of many of the Mononobes, including the clan's head, Moriya, in 587.⁵⁰ Although Shōtoku as a culture hero eventually transcended sectarian identification, he was revered by Tendai monks early on. He was identified as a rebirth of the Tiantai patriarch Huisi in early Japanese sources such as Ganjin's biography and Kōjō's *Denjutsu isshinkai mon*.⁵¹ The fact is that the identification of Huisi's rebirth with an unidentified figure in Japan can be traced back to Hangzhou several decades before Ganjin's arrival in Japan.⁵² The story was picked up by Chinese monks in Ganjin's retinue, particularly by Situō (fl. mid-8th c.), who composed the first collection of biographies of Buddhists in Japan, the *Enryaku sōroku*, in 788. Ganjin brought over the Tendai texts that Saichō saw when he first became interested in Tiantai.⁵³ Although the connections between Huisi, Shōtoku, and the early Tendai School were deep, Shōtoku was already several years old when Huisi died. Moreover, the commentary on the *Lotus Sutra* attributed to Shōtoku relied heavily on the commentary by the Chinese exegete Fayun (467–529), while Huisi's student Zhiyi, the de facto founder of the Tiantai School, refuted Fayun's views of the *Lotus Sutra*. Such discrepancies did little to undermine the close association between Shōtoku and Huisi, however.

In early biographies, such as that found in the *Nihon shoki*, the responsibility for killing the abovementioned Mononobe no Moriya falls on Soga no Umako (d. 626). Prince Shōtoku, then a youth, was in the background, but when he saw that his allies were losing, he quickly carved images of the four celestial kings from a *muride* (Japanese sumac) and placed them in his hair, vowing to build a temple to the four celestial kings if the Mononobes were defeated.⁵⁴ This account serves as the origin story for Shitennoji (Temple of the Four Celestial Kings), established by Shōtoku. By the early Heian period,

50. If the story of the destruction of the Mononobes is placed in the context of Asuka-period history, it becomes a much more complex narrative (see Como, *Shōtoku*). My concern here is with the later legends and explanations that arose concerning these events.

51. *Tō daiwaajō tōsei den*, BZ-Bussho 113:109b; Kōjō, *Denjutsu isshinkai mon*, DZ 1:591.

52. See Kuranaka, "Shōtoku Taishi Eshi takushō."

53. Katsuura Noriko ("Hokke metsuzai no tera") traces the beginning of Tiantai influence in Japan to a decade or two before Ganjin.

54. Ujitani, *Nihon shoki*, 2:79; W. G. Aston, *Nihongi* 2:113–114.

his role as a martial warrior had become pronounced, as seen in the *Jōgū Shōtoku Taishi hoketsu ki*, a collection of episodes that emphasized Prince Shōtoku's seemingly mystical powers. In this account, Shōtoku shoots an arrow empowered by the four celestial kings that hits Moriya, who has been shooting arrows from a perch in a tree, in the chest. Moriya's head is cut off and the prince and his allies win.⁵⁵

By the middle of the tenth century, the *Shōtoku Taishi denryaku*, a biography of Prince Shōtoku that organized many of his historical and hagiographical events along chronological lines, was compiled. This biography would have a decisive influence on subsequent narratives and on Shōtoku's development as a culture hero. It is particularly important for introducing the identification of Shōtoku with Kuze Kannon (Savior Avalokiteśvara). In the *Denryaku*, a golden-colored monk appears in front of the queen and, announcing that he is a savior bodhisattva from the west, asks to borrow the queen's womb so that he may keep his vow of saving sentient beings.⁵⁶ The queen replies that her womb is not pure, but the monk says that will not affect him. The queen, having agreed to let the bodhisattva use her womb to be reborn and save sentient beings, feels that she has drunk something and become pregnant. The name Savior Avalokiteśvara does not appear in any scriptural source, but some scholars have tried to trace it back to the *Lotus Sutra*. Fujii Yukiko has criticized this argument and suggested that the term "saving the world" appears in Japanese sources associated with continued support of the provincial temples during the Heian period.⁵⁷ The biography uses Shōtoku's coming-of-age ceremony (*kakan*) at age nineteen as a dividing point in his development. Activities before then are more magical or spiritual and he is portrayed as a youth; after that point, his statecraft and facility at governing are emphasized. By placing the battle with Moriya in Shōtoku's sixteenth year, the *Denryaku* effaces Shōtoku's martial prowess by having the victory occur because of his vow to build a temple to the four heavenly kings. The actual killing of Moriya is left to Shōtoku's retainer, Tomi no ichii,⁵⁸ probably because killing was not the type of action a good Buddhist would perform; or perhaps there was a concern about ritual pollution and purity as much as the karmic effects of killing.⁵⁹

The seeming contradiction between Shōtoku as a warrior and Shōtoku as the embodiment of compassion probably led to the de-emphasis of his martial prowess. How could the personification of compassion be responsible for the wholesale destruction of a clan? In the late Kamakura period, the *Jōgū Taishi shūi ki*, a text collecting biographical and hagiographical materials that supplemented the *Denryaku*, played a part in the rising devotional tradition

55. BZ-Bussho 112:3b14–17.

56. BZ-Bussho 112:9a8–12.

57. Fujii, "Kuze Kannon no seiritsu."

58. BZ-Bussho 112:14b13.

59. Matsumoto, "Sesshō wo sazakeru Taishi-zō." For a survey of biographical materials concerning Shōtoku Taishi, see Abe, "Shōtoku Taishi denki-rui shoshi."

honoring Shōtoku. It directly addressed the issue of Shōtoku and the killing of the Mononobes, listing a variety of justifications for Shōtoku's participation in the killing. The *Shūi ki* was compiled by the monk Hōkū of the Tachibanadera around 1314; Tachibanadera was later identified as a nunnery built by Shōtoku, as the site of his lectures on the *Shengman jing* (*Śrīmālādevī-siṃhanādasūtra*) and as his mortuary temple. Tachibanadera is identified as a Tendai temple in modern sources, but early sources indicate that monks from a variety of schools were active there.⁶⁰ Hōkū was also the author of the *Shotoku Taishi Heishiden Zakkanmon*.⁶¹ Many of the citations in Hōkū's texts, some of which are from texts no longer extant, came from Hōryūji, which was closely associated with Shōtoku. Tendai traditions are frequently referred to in Hōkū's works.

By the time Hōkū compiled the *Shōtoku Taishi shū den*, the issue of how a manifestation of Kannon could participate in killing had arisen. The relevant passage, translated below, lists several rationales for killing by a sage. The variety of explanations presented reflects the careful way in which Hōkū sifted through his sources but also indicates that the issue had been discussed in some detail by that time. The title of the passage—"On How Advanced (*shin'i*) Bodhisattvas Manifest Killing to Benefit [Sentient Beings]"—seemingly refers only to advanced bodhisattvas, but given the Japanese proclivity to claim advanced religious status, it could perhaps be applied to a wide variety of practitioners.

Question: The prince, out of great compassion, long ago became a *tathāgata*. How could he have killed hundreds and thousands of people?

Answer: There are various explanations. One is that he killed one so that many might live. . . . How could this not be great compassion? Thus, by refuting one person's wrong view, many sentient beings are returned to correct views.

Question: He had already killed hundreds and thousands of people. How can this be said to be killing one person so that many might live? How can it be said to be defeating one so that many will accord [with correct views]?

60. Much of the history of the Tachibanadera is not clear; I have relied on accounts in *Mo-chizuki Bukkyō daijiten*, s.v. "Tachibanadera"; and Kameda, "Tachibanadera."

61. Little is known of Hōkū; nothing is mentioned about him other than his affiliation with Tachibanadera in the entry in the *Kokusho jinmei jiten* and in the entries of his works in the *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten* or the *kaidai* of the *Daimon Bukkyō zensho*. However, his scholarly inclination is evident in the manner in which he collected and compared various versions of Shōtoku's biography and quoted from a broad variety of sources—including many of the Chinese classics and Buddhist sources—frequently expressing his view of various legends that had arisen. The *Shōtoku Taishi shū ki* seems to have been intended to supplement a pictorial biography (*eden*) of Prince Shōtoku, a genre that was becoming popular in the Kamakura period in texts that extolled several Japanese Buddhist founders of schools. His concern with Tendai is evident from the considerable attention he gives to Shōtoku as a rebirth of Huisi (BZ-Suzuki 71:191b–193a). However, Hōkū pays little if any attention to this issue in the *Shotoku Taishi Heishiden Zakkanmon*.

Answer: When we compare saving many with killing one, then even as we say he killed thousands, all of the beings of a nation abandoned the wrong and returned to the correct view. How could this not be a benefit?⁶²

Hōkū identifies Shōtoku as a buddha, reflecting a tradition that identified Shōtoku's biography with the various stages of Śākyamuni's life.⁶³ Hōkū continues by citing the abovementioned *Yogācārabhūmi* passage to support this view. The discussion concludes with the statement, "The many sentient beings and [Mononobe no Moriya] all enter hell. But if Chieftain [Mononobe no] Moriya and his followers are punished, then the whole country is freed from the causes that would have led to hell." The next passage cites a variety of sources that explain how buddhas and bodhisattvas manifest such actions as killing but then uses doctrinal sources to explain that these do not truly constitute killing:

Another theory says that although sentient beings are made to see killing, yet truly no one kills, nor is anyone killed. The expedient means of the buddhas and bodhisattvas are all like this. According to the "Essay on the Three Bodies" by Ci'en [632–682] in the *Fayuan yilin zhang*, "Formless merits, though they have no appearance or substance, still are manifested." According to the *Cheng weishi lun*, "Those with supreme enlightenment [have] superhuman powers that are difficult to imagine; they can manifest phenomena without form, manifest desire and hatred and cause us to know them."⁶⁴

Hōkū's use of Hossō documents to make his point demonstrates the breadth of his learning, but references to Tendai are far more common in his texts. This is followed by a passage from Fazang's *Tanxuan ji*, which concerns the householder Veṣṭhila (Bishu) the twenty-seventh (or twenty-sixth) teacher that the youth Sudhana visited as he sought instruction. Veṣṭhila explained that the Buddha manifested birth, death, and nirvana to teach sentient beings.⁶⁵

Hōkū continues by citing Perfection of Wisdom teachings that refer to the non-substantiality of everything. Even the most revered Buddhist concepts are without substance, the text says, because they do not exist independently and rely on other concepts. The phrases referred to, such as "very defilements are enlightenment," were used by Chinese Tiantai scholars as well as by Japanese Tendai advocates of *hongaku* (original enlightenment) teachings. However, their usages resulted in very different types of behavior. For Zhiyi,

62. *Jōgū Tasini shū ki*, BZ-Suzuki 71:212a.

63. Carr, *Plotting the Prince*, 80–90.

64. Ci'en, *Dasheng fayuan yilin zhang*, T 45:368c21–24; the passage from the *Cheng weishi lun* is found in T 31:58b8–9.

65. T 35:471b12–13.

the use of these phrases in such exercises as meditations on evil were reserved only for advanced practitioners and were not to be readily taught to others. In contrast, their use in medieval Japanese Tendai, even if such teachings were said to be secret, could result in serious transgressions of ethical behavior. Hōkū continues:

Another explanation is that these very defilements are enlightenment; thus, bad karma and defilements need not be discarded. Samsara is identical to nirvāṇa means there is no buddhahood to be sought. Thus, the layman Vimalakīrti's salvation was found in the sixty-two [wrong] views. The youth Sudhana's comrades are within samsara. Vasumitra is lascivious and yet chaste; Aṅgulimālya kills and is compassionate. Isn't this the profound expression of great compassion, the actions of remarkable bodhisattvas?⁶⁶

Much as Vimalakīrti could appear as a layman who was ill and frequent places where monks should not go, so too could Prince Shōtoku appear in various guises and use wrong views as expedients. Various elaborations of the sixty-two wrong views are found in Buddhist scripture, including the *Weimo jing* (*Vimalakīrti Sutra*). Hōkū's mention in the *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra* of Aṅgulimālya and of Vasumitra, the courtesan whom the youth Sudhana questioned about Buddhism's truths as he visited various teachers, is reminiscent of Annen's explanation of how the precepts are expedients.⁶⁷

The following passage introduces an esoteric Buddhist text into the discussion but deals only with doctrinal issues rather than ritual. According to the *Bore liqu jing*,

Because the mind of desire has a nature that is devoid of conceptual elaborations, anger also has a nature devoid of conceptual elaboration. Because anger has a nature devoid of conceptual elaboration, ignorance has a nature devoid of conceptual elaboration. Because ignorance has a nature devoid of conceptual elaboration, all the teachings have a nature devoid of conceptual elaboration. As for Vajrapāṇi, if he hears this maxim, holds it, and recites it, even if he harms all the sentient beings of the three realms, he will not fall into a bad rebirth because he has regulated and forced into submission [his enemies]. He will swiftly realize supreme enlightenment.⁶⁸

This leads to the question, "If wrong [views] are identical to the correct, then why did Shōtoku have to strive to suppress them?"⁶⁹ Hōkū cites a passage from Shōtoku's commentary on the *Vimalakīrti* that "practices are originally lofty and must be profound," followed by a passage from the commentary by

66. *Jōgū Tasihi shū ki*, BZ-Suzuki 71:212b.

67. *Jōgū Tasihi shū ki*, BZ-Suzuki 71:212b.

68. *Dale jin gang bukong zhenshi sanmoye jing*, T 8:784c9–15.

69. *Jōgū Tasihi shū ki*, BZ-Suzuki 71:212b

Sengzhao (374–414) on the *Vimalakīrti* that reiterates this.⁷⁰ Finally, Hōkū relays his own opinion: “I regret that this only refers to those with wisdom and practices of the eighth ground or above.” His comment refers to the passage in Shōtoku’s commentary on the *Vimalakīrti* that immediately precedes the quoted passage, which identifies bodhisattvas from the eighth ground and above as being virtual buddhas, suggesting that he saw these as being beyond our understanding. He further noted, “Moriya must also be a great bodhisattva, who primarily [follows] practices revealing the identity of correct and wrong views. He receives Shōtoku’s punishments and gradually advances on the path and leaves samsara; he quickly advances to supreme enlightenment. Both are high-ranking and their practices profound.”⁷¹ Thus both Shōtoku and Moriya seem to be sages and going through a cosmic play. This is similar to Annen’s discussion of Devadatta and Śākyamuni and their portrayal in the *Lotus Sutra*: “Devadatta appeared [and committed the three heinous wrongdoings]. Although he is in hell, it is like the three meditation heavens to him. In the past, he was the Buddha’s teacher, but now he is the Buddha’s disciple.”⁷² Hōkū did not cite the passage from the *Lotus Sutra* on Devadatta, however. Similar themes are also found in the *Shōtoku Taishi denryaku*:

Throughout past lives and generations, Minister Moriya was a debased rebel. In China, when I [Shōtoku] appeared as men and women who spread the Buddhist Dharma and converted sentient beings, he followed along with me. Like a shadow, he never left me, even through five hundred lifetimes. . . . Rebellious ministers and evil prisoners often appeared who shook up people’s hearts and muddled them. They secretly harbored ill will and stole fields and land, trying to destroy temples and pagodas. They were none other than manifestations of Moriya. Moriya and I are like shadows or echoes [we are inseparable].⁷³

Hōkū supports his view by again citing Ci’en’s chapter on “The Meaning of the Three Bodies” in the *Fayuan yilin zhang*.⁷⁴ The *Sutra on the King of the Sound of the Drum (Guyinwang jing)* is quoted, giving the names of Amitābha’s father, mother, son, King Māra (Maō), and Devadatta.⁷⁵ This is followed by a passage from the *Wuliangshou lun* (“Commentary on the *Sukhāvatīvyūhasūtra*,” attributed to Vasubandhu) that women, those people with defective sense organs, and those with the seeds of the two vehicles are actually not born in

70. Shōtoku’s commentary (T 56:21b18–21) includes the passage from Sengzhao (T 38:328c10–12).

71. *Jōgū Tasini shū ki*, BZ-Suzuki 71:212b–c.

72. *Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku*, T 74:766a3–4.

73. BZ-Suzuki 71:112c; translation, with minor changes, from Carr, *Plotting the Prince*, 82. The connection over generations between Shōtoku and Moriya is also mentioned in hymns by Shinran (“Hymns in Praise of Prince Shōtoku,” 445).

74. T 45:364c20–28.

75. T 45:349a5–7. The text being referred to is T no. 370, 12:352b24, an esoteric sutra that promises a vision of Amitābha and rebirth in his land if one practices his *dhāraṇī* for ten days.

Amitābha's land.⁷⁶ The issue here is that one of the most basic texts for Pure Land practices, *Wuliangshou jing*, states that women are not reborn in Amitābha's Pure Land. Ci'en comments, "This was a reward land [or land of bliss], so no real women were present. A buddha or bodhisattva transformed himself into a mother or into someone with a karmically determined body (*bundan shin*). But in this land his appearance is actually that of a being with a body that appears because of spiritual attainments (*hennyaku shin*)."⁷⁷ Ci'en continues with a passage from the *Lotus Sutra* stating that when Mahākāśyapa is about to realize buddhahood: "All malice will be far removed; and even though Māra and his minions will be there, they will all protect the Buddha-Dharma."⁷⁷ Hōkū comments,

How much more so is this the case in the reward land in which there are real workings of Māra? Thus, the great bodhisattvas transform themselves into Māra kings and when they obstruct the activities that give bliss experienced by others (*tajuyū*), they appear real. Now when Moriya and [Nakatomi no] Katsumi [d. 587] act, isn't this the same type of deed?⁷⁸ Great sages eliminate the heterodox and establish the correct; their actions have causes and conditions.

Hōkū concludes his discussion with a question and answer:

Question: Great sages' supernatural powers are originally inexplicable. The foolish are unable to be moved and see them, and so cannot begin to discuss them. If this is the case, then sentient beings with causal connections will have occasions that give rise to the Dharma or benefit beings manifest before them. Those without such connections or with evil views will be caused to not see them. How can a minister who opposes him and has evil views be killed? . . .

Answer: The expedient means of great sages have no limits that worldlings cannot fathom. If we follow this, we can consult the commentary on the *Lotus Sutra* by Prince [Shōtoku]. In the section concerning the departure of the 5000 people with overweening pride, the Buddha was already seated. If he did not want them to hear, why didn't he use his superhuman powers to make them deaf and blind. Why did he trouble himself to purposely send them away?

In explanation, whatever [the Buddha or advanced practitioner] does has reasons; when he sends people away, there is a benefit. In other words, setting the foot down and raising it up are all coming from the place of enlightenment.⁷⁹

If one follows this explanation, then ending [Moriya's] life and eliminating traces of him are signs of conversion and benefiting beings.⁸⁰

76. T 26:231a14.

77. Kubo and Yuyama, *The Lotus Sutra*, 103; T 9:20c8–9.

78. Katsumi plotted with Moriya to destroy Buddhism.

79. Shōtoku Taishi, *Hokke gisho*, T. 56:74c02–6. The phrase referring to lifting and setting down a foot appears, with slight differences, in Zhiyi's works (T 46:580a27).

80. BZ-Suzuki 71:112c.

Conclusion

The *Brahma's Net Sutra's* precept on killing reveals an idealistic goal—namely, no taking of life of any sentient being—and bases this on compassion. At the same time, however, it was impractical. Was the killing of any sentient being equivalent to that of any other? Should gradations of the offense be established in a major precept? Was killing by a lay believer the same as killing by a monastic? What should be done if compassion demanded that killing occur to save other sentient beings? Such questions lay behind discussions of the precept.

The variety of explanations of violence in the passages cited above is stunning. They include teachings on expedient means, consciousness-only, non-substantiality, and the incomprehensible superhuman powers of buddhas and bodhisattvas. The discussion in the *Pusajie yi shu* introduced the idea that killing might be permissible if the faculties or salvific impulses of beings were considered, but exactly how this could be determined was not specified. When a passage from the *Yuqie shidi lun* was considered, a concrete example of justifiable killing and the attitude of the killer was presented. This gave impetus to exegetes who wished to explore the issue. Later Tendai monks cited Annen's views of the Tendai ordination, interpretation of the precepts as expedient means, and mentions of canonical sources for killing and other forbidden acts.

Ninkū's lectures on the precepts are the most comprehensive, thorough, and nuanced explanations of medieval Tendai attitudes toward the precepts. His argument that the precepts applied to worldlings during the final period of the decline of the Dharma brought discussions of when major precepts might be violated down to a more immediate concern. No longer were such violations only permissible for advanced practitioners. At the same time, Ninkū's discussion of such issues was carefully considered and presented with concerns over what violations were permissible. Although Ninkū's views represent a high point in intellectual terms, their influence on temples and monks outside of those he administered during his lifetime is not clear.

How could some of the most revered figures in Buddhism have committed violent acts? The history of Japanese Buddhism, like that of many Buddhist countries, has an undercurrent of violence as Buddhist monks strove to protect the nation. The final selection of passages by Hōkū of Tachibanadera presents a broad array of justifications of how a very advanced bodhisattva or even a buddha might resort to violence. The variety of opinions presented indicates that the issue had probably been broadly discussed among exegetes, but at the same time, the influence of Hōkū's views on a wider audience is not clear.

The explanations given above probably do not represent the views of the so-called evil or warrior monks (*sōhei*); these are extremely difficult to locate, probably because such figures did not bother to defend their actions in doc-

trinal terms. Neither do we know at this point how extensively the views described above were used. Surveys of medieval literature and history would probably help clarify this issue. For the time being, these views should be regarded as attempts by scholarly monks to deal with violence and infractions of the precepts that pervaded much of medieval Buddhist history.

Can the Precepts Be Lost? Can the Precepts Be Violated?

The Role of the Record of the Meaning of the Bodhisattva Precepts in Medieval Tendai Discourse

THE QUESTIONS POSED in this chapter's main title appear frequently in medieval Tendai discussions of the precepts. At first glance they seem odd, but to any scholar or practitioner familiar with the *Vinaya*, their answers would seem obvious. For a monk or nun to violate certain major precepts (*pārajika*) such as the vows of chastity or the prohibitions against taking a human life meant the loss of all of the precepts, their karmic essence (*kaitai*), and forfeiture of his or her status as a monastic practitioner. Such a person could not regain status as a monastic practitioner in this life, but under certain circumstances, a practitioner could declare himself incapable of maintaining the precepts and abandon them (*shakai*) altogether, thereby causing the essence of the precepts to cease. In such a case the person could, with the permission of the order, be reordained and become once again a fully ordained monastic practitioner. If the infraction and request for reinstatement were made repeatedly, however, the order might refuse ordination. Similarly, upon death, the karmic essence of the precepts ceased to exist, and the practitioner would have to receive them again in the next life. Such descriptions clearly tie the acquisition of the essence of the precepts to monastic discipline.

The situation with the bodhisattva precepts was more ambiguous. Tsuchihashi Shūkō, in an article discussing the differences between Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna precepts, noted that while the precepts of the *Vinaya* could be called rules for practice (*shukai*), bodhisattva precepts were based on the practitioner's innate nature (*shōkai*).¹ A corollary to this was that the bodhisattva precepts were often considered to be permanent and to continue from lifetime to lifetime without interruption because they were identified with an

This chapter is based on my 2007 article "Can the Precepts Be Lost? Can the Precepts Be Violated? The Role of the *Pusajie yiji* in Medieval Tendai Discussions of the Precepts," which appeared in *Essays from the International Tendai Conference, Tendai gakuho*.

1. Tsuchihashi Shūkō, "Daijōkai to shōjōkai."

innate aspect of the practitioner. Some texts identified the precepts with buddha-nature or Suchness and with the realization of certain innate qualities more than with monastic discipline. The differences between the positions, particularly when applied to the concept of the “essence of the precepts” is related to the issue of how the karmic essence of the precepts is generated: through a ritual that consists of physical, verbal, and mental actions, or through being based on a permanent quality of the mind. This chapter describes some of the debates that arose in the medieval Japanese Tendai School over this and related issues.

I have several goals here. The first is to try to give readers a sense of the vibrancy of some of the medieval Tendai discourse concerning the precepts and monastic discipline. This vibrancy manifested in a variety of contexts, including debates, lectures, temple rules, and commentaries. Although a number of sources have been consulted in researching and writing what follows, I make no claim of exhaustive coverage of the available materials. Instead, I have used a representative selection of sources with an emphasis on texts compiled by the more serious advocates of monastic discipline within the Tendai tradition.

A second goal is to explain how a variety of interpretations of the precepts and monastic discipline were simultaneously present within the medieval Tendai tradition. The range of positions concerning topics as central to the identity of a tradition as precepts and ordinations suggests that, viewed from within, Tendai was hardly a monolithic “exoteric-esoteric establishment” (*kenmitsu taisei*). Instead, monks were joined in their respect for a tradition and the figures that comprised its lineage but might be in vigorous disagreement over which texts they respected and how they were to be interpreted.

I often use the term “Tendai tradition” rather than “Tendai School” in discussing these materials because a number of the major figures with whom I am concerned occupied peripheral or ambiguous positions in the Tendai School. Jitsudō Ninkū, for example, was a major figure within the Seizan sect of the Jōdoshū even as he served as abbot of Rozanji in Kyoto, a Tendai temple, and lectured on Mount Hiei. He traced his ordination lineage through Hōnen, as did Kōen of the Kurodani lineage of Tendai, also discussed below. Shunjō of the Sennyūji in Kyoto held a position on the precepts closer to that of Chinese Tiantai and consequently to that of the Nara schools that opposed Japanese Tendai views of the precepts. Finally, Enrin, the author of a major source cited in this chapter, had connections with the Tendai, Zen, and Pure Land Schools. Yet in spite of the differences in institutional affiliations, all of these monks were concerned with the exegesis of certain Tendai texts on the precepts.

A third objective has been to investigate how monastic scholars used certain texts to advance their agendas. In particular, a commentary on the *Brahma’s Net Sutra* (*Fanwang jing*), titled *Record of the Meaning of the Bodhisattva Precepts* (*Pusajie yi ji*) was used by monks who wished to strengthen monastic discipline and virtually ignored by those who did not. As will be discussed

below, this commentary was particularly important in discussions of whether the precepts could be lost.

I have divided this chapter into three sections. In the first, I examine the *Record of the Meaning of the Bodhisattva Precepts* (henceforth the *Record*). In the second, I look at some of the arguments used by the more powerful and influential groups around Mount Hiei that tended to de-emphasize the importance of monastic discipline. In the third section, the positions of several of the figures that strove to revive monastic discipline are examined.

The *Record of the Meaning of the Bodhisattva Precepts*

The *Record* is traditionally attributed to Zhiyi, de facto founder of the Tiantai School. Several decades ago, the authenticity of the text was questioned, most notably by Satō Tetsuei.² Murakami Akiya has recently made much stronger arguments questioning the authorship of the text.³ Most of Zhiyi's works maintained that the essence of the precepts was mental, but in the *Record* considerable space is devoted to arguing that it was physical in some sense. Another problem with the attribution to Zhiyi is that the text is not cited in other texts until the eighth century. It moreover uses a threefold system of organization in contrast to the fivefold organization found in Zhiyi's other commentaries. Such problems also concerned Chinese and Japanese monks, but not to the point that they questioned the authorship of the commentary. Jitsudō Ninkū went further. He took these same points and proposed that they gave the text a special place and used them to argue that the bodhisattva precepts in the *Brahma's Net Sutra* should be considered a text separate from the rest of the *Brahma's Net Sutra*, which was a perfect teaching, equal to the *Lotus Sutra*.

As was mentioned above, the usage of this text is a good indication of whether a strict attitude toward the precepts was maintained by medieval Japanese monks. The reasons for this difference in attitudes to monastic discipline can be found in discussion of the essence of the precepts in the *Record*.

The Precepts Cannot Be Lost

The author of the *Record* began by considering the position that the essence of the precepts was mental. The *Adornment Sutra* (*Yingluo jing*) played a key role in making this argument. The *Record* stated that, according to the *Adornment Sutra*, "the precepts of worldlings and sages are all based on the mind. Because the mind cannot be exhausted, so are the precepts not exhausted."⁴ Another passage from the *Adornment Sutra* cited in the *Record* indicated that the precepts from the *Vinaya* did not necessarily have to play a role in the bo-

2. *Tendai Daishi no kenkyū*, 412–415.

3. Murakami, "Chigi-setsu Kanjō-ki *Bosatsukai gisho* no seiritsu."

4. T 40:566a5–6. The citation from the *Yingluo jing* is a paraphrase from T 24:1021b21–24.

dhisattva precepts. Various types of precepts were matched with the three collections of pure precepts: the precepts preventing evil, encouraging good, and benefiting sentient beings.

According to the *Adornment Sutra*, “The precepts that are restraints are the ten *pārājika* and the precepts that promote good are the eighty-four thousand dharmas. The precepts that benefit sentient beings consist of giving with equanimity (*kisha*) and compassion. Their transforming [power] reaches sentient beings and causes them to obtain ease and bliss (*anraku*).”⁵ Other passages from the *Adornment Sutra*, not cited in the *Record*, would contribute to later Japanese Tendai claims that the precepts could not be lost; for example, “Thus you should know that there is an ordination procedure for the bodhisattva precepts, but no procedure for abandoning the precepts. There are violations of the precepts, but the precepts are not lost for all of the future.”⁶ The position that the essence of the precepts cannot be lost is found in many of Zhiyi’s works, particularly the *Mohē zhiguan*.⁷ In Saichō’s ordination manual, the precepts are said to endure through lifetimes until one has realized buddhahood.⁸

On the Possibility of Losing the Precepts

The *Record*’s author followed the *Adornment Sutra* passage with one from the *Pusa dīchī jīng* (*Bodhisattvabhūmi*) that stated that the precepts of the *Vinaya* were equivalent to the precepts that were restraints, the first of the three collections of precepts.⁹ Such a view suggested that the precepts could be lost through violations because this was the case with the *Vinaya*.

The *Record* was particularly engaged by the possibility that the essence of the precepts might be physical in some sense, a position frequently identified with Hīnayāna positions found in the Sarvāstivāda School or with the *Chengshī lun*, a text that had seemed to some to be a quasi-Mahāyāna text but that Zhiyi had argued was Hīnayānist. The *Record*’s author argued strenuously that the position need not be Hīnayāna, maintaining that the essence of the precepts is “innate unmanifested provisional form” (*shō musa keshiki*).¹⁰ The seemingly odd combination of terms like “innate” and “provisional” form indicated that although the essence of the precepts might be called innate, the participants could manifest that essence only through a ritual that involved physical and verbal actions. In contrast, if the essence were only mental, merely thinking about the precepts would be sufficient to make the essence active. The

5. T 40:563c7–9. The citation from the *Yingluo jing* is a paraphrase from T 24:1020c1–3.

6. T 24:1021b8–9. The passage is followed by a statement that those who do not receive the precepts are not even human.

7. See, for example, *Mohē zhiguan*, T 46:36a–41c. For the most part the *Mohē zhiguan* was not quoted in discussions on whether the precepts could be lost, but its basic position was assumed by many of the monks who wrote about the issue.

8. DZ 1:320.

9. T 40:563b28; *Pusa dīchī jīng*, T 30:910b9–10.

10. T 40:566a.

emphasis on physical and verbal actions suggests that such actions could also lead to the loss of the essence; the commentary's author did not focus on this problem, however.

The *Pusa dīchi jīng*, a text closely related to the *Yogācārabhūmi*, was a key source in the argument that the essence of the precepts was unmanifested matter. According to the *Pusa dīchi jīng*,

If one violates [precepts with] major defilements (*jōbonnō*), this is called “abandonment.” If one repeatedly violates the four [major] rules (*shihō*)¹¹ and does not develop a sense of shame or embarrassment but instead is happy and delighted, saying that such actions are virtues, then this is called a violation of [the precepts with] a major defilement. If a bodhisattva, without violating one of the four *pārajika* precepts, abandons the bodhisattva rules [against evil], then this is not like the violation of [major] precepts of the *prātimokṣa* by a monk in which he cannot receive the precepts again.

Two cases exist in which a bodhisattva loses the precepts of restraint. The first is the abandonment of the vow to realize supreme enlightenment. The second is breaking the precepts when one has a higher defilement. Without dying and being reborn, one loses the precepts. . . . If a bodhisattva does not abandon his great vow, then it is not the case that he has violated a precept with a great defilement. When he dies and is reborn, even though he has no memory [of the precepts or ordinations] and receives them anew from good friends, he is not said to newly receive the precepts.¹²

The author concludes his citation of the passage with the comment, “If there were no unmanifested [essence], then how could we say that it is lost?”¹³

For Japanese Tendai monks, the *Pusa dīchi jīng* could be dismissed as a Yogācāra text, particularly valued by Hossō monks. Of course, Zhiyi and perhaps the actual author of the *Record* would not have shared this caveat because no Hossō (Ch. Faxiang) tradition existed in China during his time. The *Record* goes on to cite a number of other Mahāyāna texts that describe the essence of the precepts as unmanifested matter. Its discussion of the *Brahma's Net Sutra* is particularly important:

The *Brahma's Net Sutra* is a Mahāyāna teaching that states “If one does not see a good sign, then even though he receives the precepts before [an image] of a buddha or bodhisattva, we cannot say that he has received the precepts.” It also states, “If one has committed the seven heinous sins, then although he develops

11. The *Pusa dīchi jīng* has a set of four major precepts and forty-two minor precepts. Here, the text refers to the four major precepts: namely, (1) to praise oneself and demean others, (2) to be parsimonious with either wealth or the Dharma, (3) to refuse to accept another's apology out of anger and hatred, and (4) to slander the bodhisattva treasury of texts (*bosatsuzō*). These precepts are also called the four *pārajika*, a term that is used later in the citation.

12. T 30:913b18–27; referred to in the *Pusajie yi shu*, T 40:566b7–12.

13. T 40:566b8–9.

the aspiration to enlightenment and wishes to receive the precepts, we cannot say that such a person has received the precepts.” If the mind were simply the precepts, then [in] developing the aspiration to enlightenment, he would have the precepts. Why would the text say that such a person has not acquired the precepts?¹⁴

The reference to seeing “a good sign” (a sign from the Buddha) refers to the self-ordination ceremony; the seven heinous sins were the only acts that disqualified a person from receiving the precepts. The comment at the end of the passage reveals the *Record’s* author’s major concern in arguing that the essence of the precepts was unmanifested matter: in other words, one’s actions and undergoing ordination were crucial to the maintenance of the precepts. His mention of how the seven heinous sins prevented acquisition of the precepts implies that one might lose the precepts under extreme circumstances.

The ordination manual by Saichō cited above describes the essence of the precepts physically approaching the person being ordained and finally entering that person as he or she vows for the third time that the precepts will be observed, a description that reinforces the aspect of the essence of the precepts as unmanifested form.¹⁵ Even so, the mental aspect of the ordination had to be reconciled with the emphasis on unmanifested form.

Reconciling the Two Positions

The author of the *Record of the Meaning of the Bodhisattva Precepts* argued much more strenuously for the essence of the precepts as unmanifested matter than for the essence of the precepts as mind, but he eventually concluded that both positions were valid. The view that the essence of the precepts is mind accorded with Principle (*ri*), while the view that it was unmanifested matter was based on the practicality of the teaching of expedient means. A careful exegesis of the *Record’s* passage on the essence of the precepts can be interpreted so that it resolves the seeming contradiction between the positions taken in the *Record* and texts such as the *Mohe zhiguan*.¹⁶ Zhiyi’s discussion of the precepts in terms of Principle appears primarily in the *Mohe zhiguan* and *Fahua xuanyi*; in these texts, he explains how the precepts were

14. T 40:566b9–13; the passages from the *Brahmā’s Net Sutra* are found in T 24:1006c5–11 and 1008b29–c5.

15. DZ 1:320–322.

16. The key passage from the *Record* is found at T 40:566b20–28. This solution to the seeming contradiction between the two positions is posited by Hirakawa Akira, who suggests that the investigation of the authorship of the *Pusajie yi ji* must consider such issues as the essence of the precepts in the context of the text’s presentation of the classification of the four teachings, that simply focusing on the explanation of the precepts did not yield conclusive evidence. Hirakawa concludes that the commentary may well have been written by Zhiyi (Hirakawa, “Chigi no kaitairon,” 8:134–135). However, recent research by Murakami Akiya has demonstrated that Zhiyi is not the author of the *Record*.

equated with the calm abiding and insight meditation (*shikan*) and with the three views (*sangan*).¹⁷

A similar tension between whether the precepts can be lost or are eternal is found in the *Brahma's Net Sutra*. The precepts are described there as arising from buddha-nature (*bussō kai*).¹⁸ Because buddha-nature cannot be lost, how can such precepts be lost? However, the forty-first minor precept contains the following lines:

If a person violates the ten major rules, then that person should be instructed to confess by going before images of buddhas and bodhisattvas. That person should chant the ten major and forty-eight minor precepts during the six periods of day and night. If that person pays obeisance to the thousand buddhas of the past, present, and future, then that person may receive a sign from the buddhas, even if it takes a week, two or three weeks, or a year. A sign consists of such experiences as a buddha touching one on the head, seeing light, or seeing flowers. If one experiences such a sign, then the wrongdoing has been expiated. If one does not receive a sign, then even though one has confessed, [the confession] has not been effective. In that case, one may be ordained again. If one violates the minor rules, he should vanquish the wrongdoing (*metsuzai*) by confessing to another person (*taishusan*).¹⁹

The precept mentions in addition that the seven heinous sins (*shichi sha*) would prevent one from receiving the precepts. Thus, even though the precepts might be based on buddha-nature, a person could be barred from receiving (or activating) them and could also lose them.

The Permanence of the Precepts in the Context of Japanese Tendai
A number of Chinese and Korean scholars noticed the difference in positions on whether the bodhisattva precepts endured through many lifetimes or whether they might be lost because of violations, and they tried to reconcile these seemingly contradictory positions.²⁰ Although this issue was noted in China and Korea, because the monks of those countries could rely on the *Vinaya* as the basis of monastic discipline, it never became as crucial to monastic discipline as it did in Japan. For example, the commentary attributed

17. For a clear explanation of Zhiyi's view of the precepts that focuses on the precepts in Principle, see Fukushima, "Chigi ni okeru daijōkai," 471–484.

18. T 24:1003c25.

19. T 24:1008c14–21. For a discussion of reading this precept as recognizing reordination, see Funayama, *Bonmōkyō*, 406.

20. For the most part, these Chinese and Korean commentators, with the exception of the *Record* attributed to Zhiyi and Mingguang's commentary (T 1812), are not cited in Japanese Tendai discussions of the precepts. Thus, I leave the discussion of their positions for another time. For a case in which they are mentioned, see Enrin's *Bosatsukai gisho shō*, BZ-Suzuki 16:17c–19b.

to Zhiyi first listed the precepts of the *Vinaya* on the lower level of his hierarchy of precepts based on the ten types of precepts in the *Da zhidu lun* and then progressed to the bodhisattva precepts.²¹ Even in works that stressed the mental nature of the essence of the precepts, Zhiyi emphasized the importance of abiding by the precepts.²²

In the case of Japanese Tendai, statements concerning the superiority of the bodhisattva precepts had a marked effect on monastic discipline (*kaigyō*). If the karmic essence of the precepts was eternal and could not be lost, then one of the major supports for monastic discipline was missing. Because Japanese Tendai monks had rejected the *Vinaya*, they could not rely on it for definitions of monastic procedures and the penalties that were to be imposed for breaking them. As a result, statements about the permanence of the bodhisattva precepts took on a different meaning than they had in other Buddhist traditions, including Chinese Tiantai and the Nara schools of Japan. If the precepts were permanent and could not be lost, how could they serve as guides for behavior? Did violations of *pārājika* or ten major precepts (*jikkai*) result in the loss of the essence of the precepts? If not, how was monastic discipline to be enforced? Did the precepts matter in spiritual pursuits? What was the significance of receiving the precepts? These questions were particularly important for monks who wished to strengthen monastic discipline. Even for those content with lax observance of monastic discipline, such questions could be important because the answers were needed to defend Tendai monks against charges from other schools that they were improperly ordained and not really monks.

These questions reveal a major tension in how the precepts were perceived. On the one hand, an ordination represented initiation into an order of practitioners, and the recipient of the precepts was expected to observe them. The tenth of the twelve sections of Saichō's ordination manual was a recitation of the ten major precepts of the *Brahma's Net Sutra*, with the recipient pledging that he would observe them.²³ Passages from the *Adornment Sutra*, on the other hand, suggest that even if major precepts were violated, the practitioner would not lose them. This same issue is apparent in the ordination procedure itself. In a traditional ordination prescribed by the *Vinaya*, the precepts were conferred by the order, and the order had the right to discipline a member who transgressed a precept. In the Tendai ordination, the precepts were conferred by buddhas and bodhisattvas. Who then would have the authority to state that a person had lost the precepts? The interpretation of the *Adornment Sutra* passage had implications for monastic discipline. If a

21. *Pusajie yishu*, T 40:563c; *Mohe zhiguan*, T 46:36b–c.

22. For a discussion of how Zhiyi went from a stricter view of adherence to the precepts to a more philosophical and abstract position, see Fukushima, "Chigi no kairitsu shiso." But, even in his later works, Zhiyi still valued adherence to the precepts.

23. *Ju bosatsukai gi*, DZ 1:225–227.

person could not lose the precepts, how could he be disciplined for major transgressions? Some Tendai advocates of the reform of monastic discipline thus tried to argue that under some circumstances the precepts might be lost.

Monks discussing the precepts also had to be concerned with a fundamental difference between the Chinese and Japanese positions. When Chinese monks wrote about the precepts, they did so with the understanding that monks would receive the bodhisattva precepts in addition to the 250 precepts of the *Vinaya*. When Japanese Tendai monks wrote about the precepts, they did so with the understanding that in most cases the bodhisattva precepts alone could qualify a person to be a monk.²⁴ The Japanese position posed a number of problems for the Tendai monks when they interpreted passages from Chinese masters that had been written with a different set of presuppositions.

Traditions that De-emphasized Monastic Discipline

Annen's Commentary on the Bodhisattva Precepts Ordination Manual
The issue of observance of the precepts was inextricably bound up with a number of other doctrinal topics, many of which were based on passages from Annen's *Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku*, the text that served as the most authoritative source for discussions of the precepts within the Tendai School. Both advocates of monastic reform and those arguing for a laxer interpretation of the precepts cited the *Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku*. A variety of interpretations could be supported through selective citations from Annen's text. In fact, Annen's commentary was cited more often than works by Saichō, Ennin, or Enchin because Annen provided a comprehensive explanation of the doctrinal justification for the Tendai precepts. In contrast, Saichō's works were polemical texts directed against the Nara schools, particularly against the Ritsu and Hossō Schools. Once Tendai's proposal had been accepted by the court, the need to cite Saichō's works had diminished except for lineages that stressed the *Brahma's Net Sutra*. Ennin had excerpted citations from a number of sutras and *śāstras* that could be used to defend the Tendai interpretations of the precepts, but he died before discussing them in his own words. Enchin had tightened the rules for Tendai ordinations but did not discuss the doctrinal basis for the ordinations.

I have discussed elsewhere many aspects of Annen's commentary on the ordination ceremony.²⁵ Here, I focus on several issues related to the theme of this chapter that I have not considered previously. The eleventh section of Annen's *Futsū jubosatsukai kōshaku*, titled "Exhortation to Observe the Precepts," included ten categories concerning upholding the precepts. Many of these were based on the three collections of pure precepts and moved the

24. Shunjō, discussed below, is a major exception to this.

25. Chapter 3 above.

emphasis on morality from the prevention of evil to the promotion of good or the benefit of other beings. Annen explained, for example, the fourth category, “in which expedients result in no violation,” as follows:

According to the *She dasheng lun* [*Mahāyānasāṅgraha*], if one perceives that [an action] will benefit others, one is permitted to commit the ten evil acts.²⁶ This is expedient and skillful means. Although one commits the ten [bad] acts such as killing, no violation is incurred. These produce innumerable good fortune and result in the speedy realization of enlightenment. According to the *Yuqie shidi lun* [*Yogācārabhūmi*], if a bodhisattva has a superior benefit, then grave sins may be committed.²⁷ This is explained in detail in the *Liqufen* [*Rishubun*].²⁸ A bodhisattva may have great lust and the other ten actions or commit the five heinous sins. If he benefits others, he will realize buddhahood. Thus, if the intent is to benefit others, one is permitted to violate grave precepts (*shōkai*).²⁹

If the latter two superior categories are served, then the precepts of restraint may be violated. Thus, Annen privileged the latter two types (encompassing good and benefiting sentient beings) of the three collections of pure precepts over the first type (preventing evil). The result was a hierarchy that explained the differences in whether the precepts might be violated or lost.³⁰

Annen had suggested a fivefold hierarchy of precepts so that differences in interpretation and observance could be sorted out. This hierarchy, in ascending order, consists of (1) heterodox pernicious precepts (*gedō jakai*), (2) the three good types of worldly precepts that result in temporary effects (*sanzensekai*),³¹ (3) Hīnayāna precepts of the two vehicles (*nijō shōkai*), (4) bodhisattva Mahāyāna precepts, and (5) precious precepts of the Tathāgata. A major consideration in the typology was whether the precepts could be violated or lost. Descriptions of the last three categories follow:

Third are the Hīnayāna precepts of the two vehicles. When they are maintained, the [desired] cause [of buddhahood] is not brought about. When they are broken, they are permanently abandoned. They can be compared to a roof tile

26. A paraphrase of T 31:107c10–11. Note that Tendai utilized the differences between Hossō positions and Yogācāra interpretations found in translations by Paramārtha and others.

27. A paraphrase of T 30:517b.

28. A reference to the tradition represented by T 240 and the tenth assembly of Xuanzang’s translation of the *Great Perfection of Wisdom Sutra* (T 220, 7:986a). A commentary on the text translated by Amoghavajra (T 1003) might have played a major role in the split between Saichō and Kūkai (Groner, *Saichō*, 84–85).

29. T 74:777b–c.

30. For additional comments, see chapter 12 above on rationales for violence.

31. The context suggests that this category refers to precepts that lead to the three types of good rebirth (*sanzendō*), but that because they are tainted (*uro*) actions, once the good karma is exhausted, one drops back to a less desirable rebirth.

or container. Although it seems whole, its usefulness is inferior. If it is broken, it is permanently lost.

Fourth are the Mahāyāna precepts of the bodhisattva. When they are held, one becomes a Dharma³² king. If one violates them, one becomes a secular ruler, and yet the precepts are not lost. They can be compared to an implement made of gold or silver that is very useful. If the implement is broken, it cannot be used, but it still is valuable.

Fifth are the treasured precepts of the Tathāgata. Once one has received them, they are always strong; they can neither be lost nor violated and yet are very useful. They are like a diamond; once they become a sharp jewel, they cannot be destroyed.³³

Although Annen did not specify which concrete precepts should be matched with each level in the hierarchy, elsewhere he gave the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts a status considerably lower than that of the esoteric *samaya* precepts, which were said to constitute the essence of the precepts as three aspects of the enlightened mind.³⁴ At the higher levels of Buddhist precepts, the content of the actual precepts became much more abstract, making violations more difficult to define. Even in early Buddhism, the Buddha is said to have perfectly embodied the precepts even before they had been formulated by virtue of his realization of buddhahood (*dōgukai*); such precepts could not be broken. In fact, breaking the precepts of the highest levels seemed to be close to impossible, but Annen was somewhat ambivalent on this point. He continued several sentences later: "Suchness as buddha-nature is the essence of the precepts. All of the dharmas are the essence of the precepts. How could there be any phenomena that are not precepts? And yet there are still violations of precepts."³⁵

The level of the recipient of the precepts was another important criterion in considering the precepts. After all, a person just ordained would not normally be said to be a buddha. Annen had suggested that the ordination could be associated with the realization of buddhahood with this very body (*sokushin jōbutsu*). However, the *Brahma's Net Sutra* was associated with the second lowest of the six degrees of identity (*roku soku*), the identity of words (*myōji soku*), in which a person hears about Buddhist teachings but has not yet begun to practice.³⁶ Later, Tendai exegetes argued that any hierarchical sense in the six degrees of identity was obviated by the requirements that the various degrees were identified with each other. As Ryōgen's disciple Kakuchō (960–1034) wrote, "Verbal identity exhausts all six degrees of identity. Without going through a single stage, one realizes buddhahood with this very body. If it were

32. Texts vary on whether this character is the one for *hō* (treasure) or *hō* (Dharma); if the first alternative is followed, one would become a king with treasure (or treasured king).

33. T 74:766a.

34. Groner, "The *Fan-wang ching*," 262–263, 284n38. Chapter 3 above.

35. T 74:766b.

36. Groner, "The *Fan-wang ching*," 266–268.

a gradual process, then it would not be the perfect-sudden teaching, it would not have the sense of mutual identification (*sōsoku*).³⁷ The realization of buddhahood was thus directly available according to Tendai doctrine. Such claims contributed to the sense among many Tendai monks that rigid adherence to specific precepts deemed inferior to abstract principles was not necessary.

I consider several interpretations of these issues below. Texts advocating lax monastic discipline or no adherence to the precepts were often attributed to early major Tendai figures. The style of argument focused on the authority of these early figures rather than on a careful consideration of the various positions found in Chinese, Korean, and Japanese texts. Texts offering a loose interpretation of the precepts were often associated with the Tendai establishment on Mount Hiei. The necessity of defending Tendai political and economic interests might well have driven these monks toward positions in which the precepts could be ignored.

A typical example of a text advocating lax adherence to the precepts is the *Endonkai myakufu kuketsu* (Oral determinations on the lineage of the perfect-sudden precepts), attributed to Ryōjo (1268–1318), a member of the imperial family and a Tendai chief prelate (*zasu*).³⁸ Whether or not the text is actually by Ryōjo has not been ascertained, but the attribution to a major figure in the Tendai School may indicate that it was used on Mount Hiei. The text consists of around sixty short questions and answers; several of the questions are translated here. The question on whether the precepts could be lost was followed by several related issues:

32. Once the perfect-sudden precepts have been obtained, can they ever be lost?
33. Can violations (*bonkai*) of the bodhisattva precepts occur?
34. Are there karmic retributions for violations of the perfect-sudden precepts?
35. Are the bodhisattva precepts and the Tathāgata precepts different?

The discussion on whether or not violations of the precepts can occur begins with a long citation of examples of Buddhists violating the precepts as expedients to teach others. These examples had already been cited by Annen in the *Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku*, who included such figures as Aṅgulimālya, Virūdhaka, Vasumitrā, Ajātaśatru, and Devadatta.³⁹ The author

37. *Tendai kaihō* 4.3, BZ-Suzuki 41:393a–b. Ishida Mizumaro has cited this passage as significant in later interpretations of the six degrees of identity and their relevance to the precepts (*Nihon Bukkyō shisō*, 1:380).

38. I have used an undated woodblock edition of this work; I thank Hanano Jūdō for his help in obtaining a copy from the Nichiren Shōshū's Gyōun bunko. Possible publishing data is found in the *Kokusho sōmoku-roku*, 1:528a. Ryōjo's career is described in Shibuya, *Tendai zasu*, 305–307. He was the seventh prince in Emperor Kameyama's line and from the Shōren'in *monzeki* (Murayama, *Kōzoku jin henkakushi*, 31).

39. See chapters 3 and 12 above for more on this topic.

of the *Endonkai myakufu kuketsu* then argued, “All secular activities can be the practice of the precepts (*kaigyō*). Because the precepts of the perfect vehicle only include an ordination, but not the violation of the precepts, they are called the immovable and adamant precepts that are like space (*kokū fudō kongōhōkai*).”⁴⁰ The author then continued with his oral instruction on the issue:

Both good and evil are the adamant precepts. Because the defilements of the round of births and deaths are the essence of the adamant precepts, they cannot be discarded; thus, we say, “Once they are received they cannot be lost” Because we believe and hold these precepts, we say that there is an ordination. The essence of the precepts extends through the ten realms and pervades the three thousand realms. Even if we went to discard them, we could never lose them, and so we say that they cannot be broken. This transmission from Godaiin [Annen] is the most secret and profound. These precepts should never be explained to the ignorant because they could mistake them, develop wrong views, and drop into bad rebirths. Be careful!⁴¹

This passage makes clear that the significance of the precepts lay largely in their use in ordinations, where they functioned as an initiation ceremony to the Tendai order.⁴² Their importance as a guide to monastic discipline had virtually vanished. As the above quotation indicates, most of the positions taken in the text were based on Annen’s views. However, even as Annen had laid the doctrinal foundation for ignoring the precepts, he had included in the *Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku* numerous exhortations to adhere to the precepts. The balance between those exhortations and the rationalization of lax behavior was largely lost in the *Endonkai myakufu kuketsu*.

Were there no circumstances when transgressions of the precepts were recognized? In explaining this the author of the *Endonkai myakufu kuketsu* did make a distinction between the bodhisattva precepts and the precepts of the Buddha. In the oral instructions concerning this issue he stated,

The distinction between the bodhisattva precepts and the Buddha’s precepts lies in this school’s secret texts (*nitēn*). The bodhisattva precepts are the cause of the realization of buddhahood. . . . Because the *Brahma’s Net Sutra* rules are bodhisattva precepts, they explain the seeds of buddha-nature.⁴³ Within the ten such-likes (*nyoze*) of the *Lotus Sutra* is the such-like of cause. Now, the Buddha’s precepts are rooted in the effect, in the self-oriented [blissful aspect], in the myriad phe-

40. Ryōjo, *Endonkai myakufu kuketsu*, 47a. This term generally appears in Tendai texts after Saichō, but a similar term is found in Saichō’s ordination manual (DZ 1:304).

41. Ryōjo, *Endonkai myakufu kuketsu*, 47b–48a.

42. For other examples of a lax interpretation of the precepts, see chapters 3, 6, and 12 above.

43. The term “seeds of buddha-nature” is found in the *Brahmā’s Net Sutra*, T 24:1003c24.

nomena of the three thousand realms, just as they are. . . . How could these precepts be transgressed? . . . This should be kept secret.⁴⁴

The distinction between the cause and effect is significant. The precepts that led to buddhahood could be transgressed, not so, those precepts associated with the effect, buddhahood. Elsewhere, the author of the text maintained that the bodhisattva precepts were associated with the first three of the four teachings but that the Buddha's precepts were associated with the fourth, the perfect teaching.⁴⁵ The highest level of the precepts, often called the perfect-sudden precepts (*endonkai*), were frequently associated with abstract principles or realizations, not with specific rules. Simply citing several of the questions and answers from the text illustrates this:

38. Question: Is buddha-nature considered to be the essence and buddhahood the characteristic of the perfect-sudden precepts? Answer: Yes.
39. Question: When we speak of the perfect-sudden precepts, is the realization of the Buddha's mind the true receipt of the precepts? Answer: Yes.
40. Question: When we speak of the perfect-sudden precepts, is the true characteristic of one's own mind the true ordination platform? Answer: Yes.
43. Question: If the practitioner of the perfect-sudden precepts sees the true characteristic of mind, is this the sagely attainment and not a detour? Answer: Yes.
44. Question: Can the perfect-sudden precepts be said to be holding one's own mind? Answer: Yes.
50. Question: Are the perfect-sudden precepts the eternal tranquil-light precepts? Answer: Yes.⁴⁶

Only the question and immediate answer are cited above. In the text, each answer included a short discussion justifying the response. The general tenor of the questions and answers indicates the identification of the perfect-sudden precepts with abstract principles. None of the questions in this text dealt with the actual details of any rules to be followed.

The style of discussion in the *Endonkai myakufu kuketsu* deserves comment. Although Annen's *Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku* is cited to support the position's advocated in the text, virtually no other text is cited. Reference is frequently made to secret oral transmissions. The result is that the text depends on citations from unnamed authorities rather than a careful sifting of scriptures and arguments. This approach differs markedly from any of the approaches

44. Ryōjo, *Endonkai myakufu kuketsu*, 52b–53a.

45. *Endonkai myakufu kuketsu*, 52b.

46. *Endonkai myakufu kuketsu*, 55a–62a.

discussed below, all of which relied on a variety of texts and took a more conservative position by advocating adherence to the precepts.

Medieval Tendai Advocates for Observing the Precepts

A number of monks on the periphery of Tendai, often located outside of the main institutions that constituted the Tendai establishment on Mount Hiei, opted to argue for a stricter attitude toward following the precepts. Their texts have usually been preserved under their own names, and few doubts about authorship have surfaced. The attitude toward arguing about the precepts also differs markedly from the *Endonkai myakufu kuketsu*. Instead of depending on secret oral transmissions and subjective interpretations based on contemplation of one's mind (*kanjin*), these monks carefully considered a variety of sources. With the exception of those of the Kurodani lineage, they generally did not cite sources of questionable authenticity and avoided *hongaku* texts. Although Annen's *Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku* was cited and respected, it did not occupy the most authoritative position in these discussions. Instead, that status went to the *Record of the Meaning of the Bodhisattva Precepts*, a text that had been virtually ignored by monks who advocated a lax interpretation of the precepts. In fact, virtually all of the monks cited below composed commentaries on the *Record*.

Several issues arose with the use of the *Record*. The translations of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* were associated with the *Yogācārabhūmi*, a major source for the doctrine of the Hossō School, the traditional adversary of the Tendai School. In contrast, the *Adornment Sutra* was associated with the *Brahma's Net Sutra* and *Huayan jing (Avatamsaka Sutra)*, texts highly regarded in Japanese Tendai. How were Tendai monks to reconcile the positions of these two sources? Citing the *Record* could, in addition, call attention to differences between that text and other of Zhiyi's works, such as the *Mohe zhiguan*, that were more amenable to the position that the precepts could not be lost. Finally, citing the *Record* would indicate some of the major differences between Chinese Tiantai and Japanese Tendai positions on the precepts. In the following paragraphs, I explore several medieval Japanese Tendai approaches to these issues.

Enrin's Commentary on the *Record of the Meaning of the Bodhisattva Precepts*
The earliest extant Japanese commentary on the *Record* is the *Bosatsukai gisho shō* by Enrin.⁴⁷ The colophon to Enrin's commentary contains a brief account

47. Enrin had deep connections with the Tendai, Zen, and Pure Land traditions. He would later serve as the eighth abbot of Kenninji (Minowa, *Chūsei Nanto kairitsu fukkō*, 21). Minowa notes that Enrin's commentary had been revised to reflect his own views. However, he still presents some of the more reliable information available on Shunjō. Among his "grandchild disciples" was Jōdoshū's Ryōe Dōkō, an important figure in Pure Land interpretations of the precepts. As a result, his commentary is included in volume 11 of Jōdoshū kaishū happyakunen, *Jōdoshū zensho: Zoku*.

of his life and studies with Hōchibō Shōshin (fl. late 13th c.). Enrin relates that he climbed Mount Hiei when he was fifteen years old, ascended the ordination platform, and resided in the Butchōan (Hermitage of the Buddha's Protuberance) of Higashidani on Mount Hiei. He attended sermons (*dangi*) and question-and-answer sessions conducted by Shōshin. In 1207, when he was seventeen, he received Shōshin's commentary on the *Record* and a text on the ordination ceremony.⁴⁸ Because Shōshin's private commentary (*shiki*) is lost today, Enrin's record of Shōshin's views on this text is particularly valuable. In 1214, when Enrin was twenty-five, he met Shunjō and discussed an outline of Tendai doctrine and read about both the Mahāyāna and Hinayāna precepts. During that time, he read the commentary attributed to Zhiyi and received the bodhisattva precepts. In a dream, he received the ordination ceremony and found that both the texts and the words he had heard agreed with each other. Moreover, the teachings that he had received from his two teachers agreed with and supplemented each other.⁴⁹ Enrin revised his commentary in 1237.

One of the longest passages in Enrin's commentary concerns the passage from the *Record* that the precepts can be lost if one both abandons the aspiration to enlightenment and has powerful defilements. Opinions from both Shōshin and Shunjō are cited. Shōshin was probably the best conservative Tendai scholar of his age. His commentaries on Zhiyi's three main works are models of clarity and reflect a close adherence to the Chinese texts and a thorough understanding of how Japanese Tendai differed from them. Shōshin responded as follows to a question concerning whether the precepts can be lost:

When we rely on Taehyōn, if one abandons the desire to realize enlightenment, because the mind [aspiring to enlightenment] is depleted, the precepts are also lost. If one commits a major wrongdoing with powerful defilements (*jōten*),⁵⁰ then because one has already broken the pure precepts, we consider them lost.⁵¹ If the violation occurs with middling and lesser defilements, then even though [a wrongdoing] has been committed, [the precepts] are not lost. Thus, when the *Adornment Sutra* states, "Though there are transgressions, [the precepts] are not

48. The chronology includes a mistake substituting the era Kenkyū (1190–1199) for Ken'ei (1206–1207). See Ishida Mizumaro's discussion of the text in BZ-Suzuki 97:137a.

49. BZ-Suzuki 16:65b.

50. Most dictionaries describe *ten* as a synonym of *bonnō* (*kleśa*). The *Abhidharmakośa* includes a list of some of the nuances of the term that includes a lack of shame over one's actions and embarrassment before others, indicating why a higher defilement would suggest a loss of the precepts.

51. A paraphrase of T 40:701a24, 716c13–24. The *Pōmmang kyōng kojōkki* by the Korean monk Taehyōn is one of the most authoritative commentaries on the *Brahmā's Net Sutra*. As the term *kojōkki* (record of traces of the past) in the title of his text indicates, Taehyōn consulted a large number of authoritative commentaries in writing his own. The text played a major role in revivals of the precepts in Japan. See Che, *Shiragi Bukkyō kairitsu*, 353–504, for a major study of Taehyōn's thought.

lost,⁵² it refers to the middling and lesser wrongdoings. Our tradition follows Taehyōn. If this issue is discussed in terms of nature or seeds, then this argument does not follow.⁵³

The division of the results of transgressions arising from higher defilements as opposed to middling and inferior defilements followed that found in the Chinese translations of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*. The same division appears in remarks made by Gomyō (750–834) about the *Vinaya* School in the *Daijō Hossō kenjinshō*.⁵⁴ Gomyō had led the opposition to Saichō's proposals on the sole use of the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts to ordain monks; Shōshin's agreement with this aspect of Risshū doctrine is indicative of his conservative position on the precepts and monastic discipline. But because the discussion goes on to note that the argument did not apply when seeds or the essence of the precepts was considered, Shōshin's argument would not have been the same as Gomyō's. Shōshin followed the *Record* in noting that the position that the essence of the precepts is unmanifested matter was useful for teaching but that identifying the essence of the precepts as a mental factor that can never be lost reflected the Principle of Tendai. Because buddha-nature could not be lost, the potential for religious aspirations was never completely lost, but the intention to follow the precepts might be.

Another approach to sorting out the differences between the positions of the *Adornment Sutra* and *Bodhisattvabhūmi* is mentioned later in Enrin's commentary. This position was held by Shunjō, a monk who had traveled to China and brought back a *Four-Part Vinaya* ordination tradition that was based on that of Yuanzhao (1048–1116), a Tiantai monk who interpreted the *Vinaya* following Chinese Tiantai doctrines. Shunjō returned to Japan and argued that Tendai monks should be ordained with the *Four-Part Vinaya* ordination. His position was thus closer to that of Mount Hiei's opponents in Nara, who also used *Four-Part Vinaya* ordinations, than to the Tendai position advocated by Saichō and later Tendai monks. Enrin quotes Shunjō as arguing the following:

No procedure for abandoning the precepts is found in the Mahāyāna precepts. When a bodhisattva takes his four vows, he expects to realize buddhahood in the distant future. If he abandons these vows, then his wrongdoing is extremely grave. Thus, no specific procedure for abandoning the precepts exists. But there are two conditions under which one would lose the precepts.⁵⁵ If unexpectedly one were to lose (*shitsu*) them, there still would be no abandonment procedure

52. T 24:1021b8.

53. BZ-Suzuki 16:18b. Annen also relied on Taehyōn's commentary but did not name the author. His interpretation of the *Adornment Sutra's* views on losing the precepts differed from that of Shōshin (see chapter 3 above).

54. T 71:21b.

55. This is probably a reference to losing the aspiration to enlightenment and the commission of wrongdoing arising from a great defilement.

(*shāhō*). This is like the precepts on clothing. If one's clothing were seized, lost, burnt, or floated away, that clothing would have been lost, not abandoned. This distinction must be carefully made, and both of these concepts should not be indiscriminately included in the same question and answer. Because no ritual for abandoning the precepts exists [for the Mahāyāna precepts], the *Adornment Sutra* simply states, "There is no abandonment." Because the precepts are not lost at the end of one's life, it simply says, "They are not lost."⁵⁶

Shunjō's interpretation of the *Adornment Sutra* places it in the context of a detailed analysis of the difference between the *Vinaya* and the Mahāyāna precepts. A ritual for abandoning the precepts existed in the *Vinaya* for occasions when a monk or nun could no longer bear to adhere to the precepts. After abandoning them, a violation of the precepts would not necessarily be held against a person, and that person could later be ordained again with the permission of the order. No ritual procedure existed for abandoning the bodhisattva precepts. Shunjō then continued to note that the distinction between abandoning and losing the precepts had to be observed. Although the bodhisattva precepts could not be abandoned, they could be lost under certain circumstances. Shunjō carefully argued that the *Adornment Sutra*'s statements were limited in scope and had to be interpreted in terms of the differences between Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna and could not be general statements. In contrast, many Tendai interpretations of the *Adornment Sutra* treated the statement that the bodhisattva precepts could not be abandoned as indicating that they could not be lost.

Shunjō's position as presented by Enrin did not seem to allow for the view of the principle that the precepts could not be lost, the standpoint found in the *Record*. As a result, Enrin added a note stating that when Principle and ultimate truth (*rijitsu*) were considered, the precepts could not be lost.⁵⁷

The Kurodani Lineage

The Kurodani lineage was based in a valley on Mount Hiei but away from the main monastic centers on the mountain. The monks who played major roles in the early Kurodani lineage attempted to revive the precepts by following Saichō's instructions for a twelve-year retreat followed by conferral of a special consecrated ordination (*kai kanjō*) on the practitioner. Because I have written about this tradition in chapters 8 and 9, I will cite here only a few relevant passages concerning it.⁵⁸

The monks of Kurodani relied on dreams and the subjective *kanjin* (literally contemplation of the mind) style of exegesis, approaches that had been used to relax monastic discipline. Several of the central figures in the tradition, including Ejin and Kōen, used such interpretive techniques to

56. BZ-Suzuki 16:18c.

57. BZ-Suzuki 16:18c.

58. Chapters 8 and 9 above.

strengthen monastic discipline. In the following dream, Kōen appears with his teacher Egi:

Around the same time, Kōen had a dream. In the guest's quarters of the old lodgings, there was a mat with a small pattern, with Egi, an unidentified elder, and himself (Kōen) sitting on it. The three of them sat in a triangle facing each other.

The [older] monk asked, "What is the essence of the precepts?"

Egi answered, "As for the precepts, they are primordial and innate (*rigu honbun*); make no mistake [about] this. Your very body is the observance of the precepts (*jikai*)."

The monk said, "This view is not the same as my original view (*waga hon'i*)."

Next, he asked Kōen, who replied, "The significance of the precepts lies in using phenomena to master Principle; it is the observance of the prohibitions on no killing and not stealing. If one focuses on the letter of the rules and their observance, then one will master the origins of the Principle and will return to the direct path (*jikidō*) to enlightenment.⁵⁹ Thus the Buddha compiled the ten major and forty-eight minor rules." The old monk agreed with Kōen.⁶⁰

This dream marked the beginning of Kōen's efforts to follow the precepts. Following the dream, he went to Saichō's mausoleum (*gobyō*) and vowed to observe the precepts. In this passage, Kōen revealed his penchant for emphasizing the literal meaning of the precepts instead of subordinating the precepts to an abstract teaching or Principle. His understanding, different from that of Egi, is confirmed by the old monk, who is identified in a note following the passage as none other than Saichō. The importance of dreams in Kōen's spiritual life is noteworthy. His decision to differ with his teacher was based on a dream, which gave him the confidence to believe that his view was in accord with Saichō's.

From the first to the twelfth day of the seventh month of 1308, Kōen wrote a short text, the *Endon bosatsukai jūjū shijūhachi gyōgi shō* (Treatise on the conduct of the perfect-sudden ten major and forty-eight minor bodhisattva precepts). The text is a straightforward discussion of the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts, going through the details of how each was to be practiced. Rather than writing his own scholarly treatise discussing the differences in interpretations of the precepts, Kōen relied primarily on the commentary on the *Brahma's Net Sutra* attributed to Zhiyi, with occasional references to the commentary by Mingguang (fl. 777) on the *Brahma's Net Sutra*.⁶¹ Kōen did not call

59. The term "direct path" is found in the beginning of the commentary on the *Brahma's Net Sutra* attributed to Zhiyi; it became one of Saichō's favorite terms (T 40:563a10; Groner, *Saichō*, 185–189).

60. *Denshin kashōden*, ZTZ Shiden 2:412a.

61. For a discussion of Mingguang's commentary and its importance for Saichō, see Groner, *Saichō*, 229–236. The use of the commentary by Kōen and his disciples indicates that the commentary continued to be an important source for Tendai monks. For a summary in English of the scant information available concerning his life, see Penkower, "T'ien-t'ai during the T'ang,"

for absolute adherence to the letter of the precepts but asked that his followers observe them to the extent they were able. If they were motivated by compassion, the inability to completely observe each precept did not constitute a violation. Although Kōen's attitude may seem lax, in the context of his times (believed by him to be the latter period of the Dharma), he was asking for serious and careful adherence to the precepts. Possibly because Kōen's flexibility might have opened his students to criticism, he cautioned that the *Treatise on the Conduct of the Perfect-Sudden Ten Major and Forty-Eight Minor Bodhisattva Precepts* was to be kept secret from those who had not received the precepts, a prohibition not unlike those found in the *Vinaya* prohibiting laypersons from participating in or witnessing monastic rituals or the fortnightly assembly.⁶²

Kōen particularly respected Ejin, the monk who had taught his teacher Egi. Ejin's text, the *Endonkai kikigaki* (A written record of what was heard concerning the perfect-sudden precepts), contains several passages concerning a phrase, "once received, it is never lost" (*ittoku yōfushitsu*), that appeared often in Tendai texts concerning the permanence of the essence of the precepts. As might be expected from a tradition imbued with *hongaku* concepts, Ejin argued for the permanency of the essence of the precepts, identifying it with Suchness, often identified with the ninth consciousness, the pure consciousness. Even when he considered it in terms of the difference between Principle (*ri*) and phenomena (*ji*), he maintained that the essence of the precepts could not be lost.⁶³ When the abstract Suchness follows conditions, then the essence of the precepts can be characterized as provisional matter (*keshiki*), a status that suggests it can be conferred through rituals and affected by actions and speech.⁶⁴ At the same time, in order to give some credibility to his concern with strengthening monastic discipline, he argued that one's actions have consequences. Thus, because the essence of the precepts is not lost, even if one breaks the precepts, one will not fall into any of the bad destinies. Instead, one will be reborn as "the god of firm earth" (*kenrō jijin*). If the person had observed the precepts, he would have realized buddhahood.⁶⁵

chap. 5. Recently, Ōtsu Ken'ichi has been publishing a series of articles on this topic (Ōtsu, "Myōkō ni tsuite").

62. Because the *Endon bosatsukai jūjū shijūhachi gyōgi shō* remains in the Saikyōji library and had not been published when the paper on which this chapter is based, I relied on the analysis by Kubota Tetsumasa, "*Endon bosatsukai jūjū shijūhachi gyōgi shō*." Kubota was kind enough to give me a copy of the text. Subsequently, Terai Ryōsen published the text in *Tendai endonkai shisō*, 587–661. In addition, a subcommentary on the commentary on the *Brahmā's Net Sutra* attributed to Zhiyi is extant at the Hōmyōin at Miidera, but no one has published any research on the text. For the *Vinaya* restrictions on lay believers, see Upasak, *Dictionary*, 51.

63. *Endonkai kikigaki*, ZTZ Enkai 1:245a–46.

64. *Endonkai kikigaki*, ZTZ Enkai 1:248b.

65. *Endonkai kikigaki*, ZTZ Enkai 1:251b. The earth god (Pṛthivi) was one of twelve gods who guarded the various directions. He or she (both forms existed) also received offerings for abundant harvests.

When the consecrated ordination was performed, depending on which ritual manual was used, various texts were placed on the altar. The text that appeared most commonly was the *Lotus Sutra*. The *Brahma's Net Sutra* and the *Record* appear in six of the nine ritual manuals that have been surveyed.⁶⁶ Their presence probably signified a stricter attitude toward the precepts. The shifts in the texts installed on the altar probably reflected changes in the seriousness with which the precepts were observed. One of the reasons for these changes is made evident by the exhortation to the practitioner given at the conclusion of the ceremony:

The water of the mind of the Buddha has been used to consecrate your mind. . . . as the buddhas of the past stated, "Refrain from doing evil, perform good. The mind will be naturally purified. This is the teaching of the buddhas."⁶⁷ You should follow this. If you can purify your mind, then all good will be uncreated (*musa*). How much more so evil? One is freed without depending on others. Thus, it is called "natural." There are no phenomena that are defiled, thus it is called "pure." . . . You have appeared in the world only for the great purpose [of saving sentient beings]. Various paths are preached for the one-buddha vehicle. Teachings are established in accord with people's religious faculties. When one knows the illness, one can administer the medicine. If a precept that has not been formulated by a previous buddha is needed, then one should formulate it. If a practice [is needed] that has not been used by previous buddhas, then one should enact it.⁶⁸

Clearly the precepts no longer constrained the practitioner; he had become a buddha and could make his own precepts. This formula revealed how the Kurodani lineage's adherence to the letter of the precepts shifted over time, generally becoming more lenient.

Ninkū

Jitsudō Ninkū was the central figure in groups of monks at Rozanji and Sangoji who produced detailed discussions of the precepts in several genres. Ninkū advocated a stricter view of monastic discipline than most of the monks on Mount Hiei. At the same time, he was unwilling to return to the model of monastic discipline found in Chinese Tiantai and advocated by monks such

66. For a list of the texts installed on the platform, according to various texts, see Nomoto, "Saichō no kaikanjō," 690. The actual texts installed on the altar varied over the years. In some versions of the ritual, only the *Lotus Sutra* or parts of it were installed. The *Brahmā's Net Sutra* and the commentary attributed to Zhiyi appear in six of the nine texts surveyed.

67. Similar passages are found in various places in the canon, but one of the most important is from the *Nirvāṇa Sutra*, T 12:451c11–12.

68. *Kaikan denju shidai*, ZTZ Enkai 1:24a. Note that the term *musa* can be rendered as "uncreated" or "unconditioned" but that in the *Pusajie yi ji* it is, as I have translated it, "unmanifested," following the meaning it had in translations before Xuanzang. The context of the usage accounts for the differences.

as Shunjō. Several of his positions on monastic discipline that are related to the topics of this chapter are surveyed below.⁶⁹

Ninkū was the author of several texts based on the *Record*, including an extensive thirteen-fascicle commentary and several debate manuals. In the commentary, Ninkū argued that the precepts of the *Brahma's Net Sutra* were the Buddha's precepts. They originated with Vairocana and had been handed down to Śākyamuni. He moreover noted the passage in the *Brahma's Net Sutra*, which had been cited by Saichō in the *Kenkai ron*, that sentient beings that received the Buddha's precepts entered the ranks of the Buddha.⁷⁰ Ninkū continued his argument, noting that the precepts of the *Brahma's Net Sutra* were also the precepts of bodhisattvas because they had been passed down to bodhisattvas from Śākyamuni.⁷¹ In this he differed from those Tendai monks who had argued that the bodhisattva precepts could be violated but that the precepts of the Buddha could not be. The practical aspects of the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts were thus strengthened. Ninkū argued that the second fascicle of the *Brahma's Net Sutra*, which included the bodhisattva precepts, should be considered an independent text and that this text should be classified as belonging solely to the perfect teaching. The precepts of this text were "purely perfect" (*jun'en*). Japanese Tendai monks traditionally used a different treatment, which classified both fascicles of the *Brahma's Net Sutra* together as a mixture of distinct and perfect teachings (*betsuengyō*). The practical import of Ninkū's argument was that the precepts of the *Brahma's Net Sutra* had the same importance as the abstract principles usually considered to be the highest set of precepts.⁷²

Ninkū extended his argument to a careful interpretation of the various ordinations for lay and monastic adherents of the Tendai tradition. The result was that when the provisions of separate ordinations were followed, the fifty-eight precepts of the *Brahma's Net Sutra* were reserved for monks and nuns of the Tendai tradition. As a result, the contents of both initiations for novices and ordinations for monks had specific content and were more precisely defined than they had been in other Tendai traditions such as the orders on Mount Hiei.⁷³

Ninkū included as the ninth and tenth topics in the first fascicle of his *Kaiju shō* (Compilation on the jewel of the precepts) a debate question concerning whether or not the bodhisattva precepts could be lost.⁷⁴ As part of his discussion, he advanced what may be one of the most persuasive argu-

69. Also see chapters 10 and 11 above.

70. *Fanwang jing*, T 24:1004a21; *Kenkairon*, DZ 1:108.

71. *Bosatsukai giki kikigaki*, in *Seizan zenshū kankōkai* (ed.), *Seizan zensho* bekkon 3:7–8.

72. *Bosatsukai giki kikigaki*, *Seizan zensho*, bekkon 3:2–4. See chapter 11 above.

73. For an extensive review of this issue, see chapter 11 above.

74. References to the *Kaiju shō* are based on a copy made by Fukuda Gyōei. I am indebted to Nomoto Kakujō and the members of the Tendai shūten hensanjo for their help in obtaining a copy of the manuscript. After I wrote the article on which this chapter is based, the *Kaiju shō* was published in *ZTZ Enkai* 2.

ments by a Tendai thinker who accepted Saichō's rejection of the *Vinaya* for the possibility of losing the precepts. Although this would not be the position that Ninkū would finally adopt, his presentation is noteworthy. In the *Kaiju shō*, Ninkū argued that a worldling might be ignorant, have heavy obstacles to enlightenment, encounter adverse circumstances, and abandon his aspiration to enlightenment; he might meet evil friends and lose the essence of the precepts. He noted that the *Record* contained a passage based on the Chinese translation of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* that stated that a monk would lose the precepts if he both abandoned his aspiration to enlightenment and violated one of the ten major precepts while motivated by a powerful defilement.⁷⁵ Ninkū moreover noted that the justification for arguing that the precepts cannot be lost under any circumstances was not found anywhere in the threefold profound explanation (*sanjū gengi*) of the *Record*. Ninkū then noted that the *Record* divided those who break the precept against slandering the three jewels into two categories: (1) a person who slanders the three jewels with a hateful and inferior mind; and (2) a person who, even though he knows the superiority of Mahāyāna views of cause and effect, still states that Mahāyāna does not compare with other teachings. Violating the first category results in losing the essence of the precepts; violating the second is the commission of a major wrongdoing.⁷⁶ Moreover, Ninkū contrasted the eighth minor precept, which consists of turning away from Mahāyāna and thinking of the Hinayāna for even an instant, with the major precept against slandering the three jewels. The result is that a carefully graded set of offenses is set forth with only the most serious resulting in losing the precepts.

In the *Kaiju shō*, Ninkū responded to the question of whether or not the precepts could be lost by reconciling the two positions. Statements that the essence of the precepts could not be lost concerned the essence and Principle of the true characteristic of phenomena (*jissō no ritai*). Such an explanation is used to praise the precepts and allows for no violation or loss of them. From the perspective of monastic discipline, violations of the precepts existed, and statements might be made that they could be lost.⁷⁷ This position was similar to that found in the *Record*; the provisional or practical aspect of the precepts (in other words, the aspect viewed from the perspective of phenomena) required that penalties be imposed for violations of the precepts, but in terms of Principle the precepts could not be lost. In the *Kaiju shō*, Ninkū suggested a compromise that explained the validity of both positions under the appropriate conditions. Because the precepts were those that had been handed down from Vairocana, they were so strong that the recipient's mind could not affect them. When considered in terms of Annen's five levels of precepts,

75. *Kaiju shō*, ZTZ Enkai 2: 254b; T 40: 566c13–15.

76. T 40:574b21–22. The technical sense of the term *zarō no kokoro*, which I have translated as “hateful mind,” is not completely clear.

77. *Kaiju shō*, ZTZ Enkai 2: 237a. This position is also explained in the *Bosatsukai giki kikiigaki*, *Seizan zensho*, bekkon 3:99–100.

the fourth level, the bodhisattva precepts, could be lost; the fifth level, the precepts of the Tathāgata, admitted no possibility of violation or loss.⁷⁸ Ninkū then introduced his view that the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts, far from belonging to the mix of distinct and perfect teachings to which they had been relegated by most Japanese Tendai exegetes, belonged, in fact, to the purely perfect teaching and were equal in status to the *Lotus Sutra*.⁷⁹ Such a classification gave the actual precepts of the *Brahma's Net Sutra* a much higher status than they had been given by exegetes from the Eshin-ryū and other Tendai groups that placed the *Lotus Sutra* above the *Brahma's Net Sutra*. Ninkū concluded his argument with an affirmation of monastic discipline: "When we discuss this from the perspective of the essence of the precepts, there can be no breaking or violation of the precepts. However, when we discuss this from the perspective of monastic discipline, there is partial adherence to the precepts and full adherence. We cannot say that no violations of the precepts can occur. Thus, Annen argued that no violations of the precepts could occur from the perspective of the essence of the precepts."⁸⁰ In accordance with this approach, Ninkū interpreted the precept that one should never have a Hīnayāna thought as applying only to monastic discipline; it thus had no effect on the essence of the precepts. By dividing the topics of essence of the precepts and monastic discipline, Ninkū was able to emphasize adherence to the precepts.

Conclusion

This survey of several medieval Japanese Tendai sources concerning the precepts reveals the dynamic between the demands of doctrine and those of practice. It also indicates differences in the meaning of the term "essence of the precepts" between those who stressed its role in ordination and monastic discipline and those who interpreted it as the unchanging basis for religious practice and aspiration. Those monks who argued that the essence of the precepts could not be lost under any circumstances generally did not emphasize monastic discipline. In most cases, they emphasized the abstract teachings of the *Lotus Sutra* above the specific rules of the *Brahma's Net Sutra*. A number of them argued that the precepts could not even be violated, with the result that they rarely cited the *Brahma's Net Sutra* or the *Record of the Meaning of the Bodhisattva Precepts*.

In contrast, those who wished to revive monastic discipline had to balance interpretations that argued that the essence of the precepts could not be lost with teachings that stressed monastic discipline. Rather than simply write explanations of the terse rules of the *Brahma's Net Sutra*, many chose to base their interpretations on the *Record of the Meaning of the Bodhisattva Precepts*.

78. For example, see ZTZ Enkai 2:255.

79. ZTZ Enkai 2:227–232.

80. *Kaijū shō*, ZTZ Enkai 256a.

Several reasons can be suggested for this. The *Record* offered a balance between the permanence of the precepts and the importance of monastic discipline, with the emphasis on the latter. A number of interpretations of the *Brahma's Net Sutra* circulated in East Asia; by focusing on the *Record*, Tendai exegetes explored unique Tendai explanations of the precepts.

The range of views displayed by the authors discussed above reveals several aspects of medieval Tendai. First, when viewed from within the tradition, medieval Tendai was seriously fractured. The monks did not agree on issues as basic as the interpretation of the precepts. Second, sectarian lines frequently did not adequately describe the institutional or doctrinal framework within which monks led their lives. Ninkū easily played major roles in both Tendai and the Seizan branch of the Jōdoshū. Enrin was nominally a Rinzai monk who served as abbot of Kenninji, and his work was highly respected in the Jōdoshū. Despite Shunjō's knowledge of Chinese Tiantai, he held positions on the precepts closer to those of the Risshū School at Tōdaiji and the Shingon Ritsu at Saidaiji than to Japanese Tendai. The commentaries he brought back from China were vital to the revival of the precepts in Nara. Yet all these monks discussed the precepts within a Tendai context. Finally, the lax observance of monastic discipline cannot simply be explained by social and economic factors in medieval Tendai. The interpretation of the precepts was a serious topic for Tendai monks; even some of those who advocated lax observance developed rationales to explain their position.

*Summing Up the Medieval Tendai Precepts
and Tracing Those Themes to
the Modern Period*

MANY OF THE CHAPTERS in this book have a narrow focus, investigating a particular text, person, or topic. In this final chapter I begin by presenting a broader treatment of the book's major themes: precepts, ordinations, and practice in medieval Tendai. In the last half of this chapter, the influence of medieval Tendai on the precepts, ordinations, and practices of modern Tendai is discussed.

Friends and scholars have asked whether I could write a narrative of how Tendai came to its present position of not advocating strict adherence to the precepts. Such a continuous narrative would be extremely difficult to construct for several reasons I discuss here. To begin with, Tendai was not a monolithic entity that required adherence to certain interpretations of the precepts and ordinations. Various lineages with their own interpretations of these issues coexisted; for example, Ninkū required his students to receive ordinations on Mount Hiei but wrote a secret text with a unique interpretation of the ceremony. Thus, a history in which one interpretation was succeeded by the next did not exist. Even so, a certain coherence was present, with Mount Hiei requiring its students to use its ordination platform so that they would have an institutional identity. Mount Hiei would therefore firmly reject the Tendai temple Onjōji's attempts to establish its own ordination platform, a history that requires investigation.

In the second place, our written sources on these subjects are incomplete. Partly this is because so much was destroyed when Mount Hiei was razed by Oda Nobunaga's forces in 1571. Our sources are richer when materials are from areas outside of Hiei's central grounds: for example, Rozanji,

a temple located in Kyoto; Sangoji, located in the western hills of Kyoto; and Kurodani, located in a deep valley on Mount Hiei, which was not included in the traditional list of Mount Hiei's three basic (*santō*) areas and sixteen valleys. These locations only give us a sense of some of the smaller Tendai lineages, however.

A third obstacle to constructing a continuous narrative is that the development of Tendai views on the precepts and ordinations did not necessarily depend on particular monastic or politically powerful figures who advocated certain interpretations. If this had been the case, I might have been able to trace how they supplanted each other. The one exception is probably Saichō, an important monastic who declared that Tendai would no longer use the *Vinaya's* precepts to ordain monks. This position, though it would have violated Chinese Tiantai views and was sometimes questioned by Japanese monks, was difficult to challenge because, in addition to the fact that no medieval Chinese Tiantai monk came to Japan to spread Tiantai, the identity of Tendai was closely tied up with Saichō's views. The 845 persecution of Buddhism in China and the resultant loss of many texts had weakened the tradition, drastically reducing the presence of the Chinese school. Nor do we find a unifying political figure who demanded the restoration of monastic discipline in the Heian or Kamakura periods. Instead, attempts at restoring Chinese models depended on Japanese monks who had studied in China and then returned to Japan. Shunjō and Eisai are notable in this regard, but they had limited influence on the Japanese Tendai School. The lack of a central authoritative figure thus enabled Japanese Tendai monks to develop new interpretations. The history of interpretations within Japanese Tendai fluctuated between looser and stricter monastic discipline. Sometimes the influence of the chief prelate was important, as was the case with Ryōgen, but Tendai tended to appoint elderly monks to this post who did not carry out such reforms.

It is for these reasons that this study is a series of portraits of Tendai views, often based on a particular person, text, or ritual. Obviously, this leaves room for additional studies by other scholars. If this book stimulates such research, I will feel amply rewarded. In the final pages of this book, I look at overall views of the precepts and ordinations and how they influenced modern Tendai practice.

Precepts

As was pointed out in the first chapter, the character for *kai*, the term indicating precepts or rules in Japan, was used to refer to various sets of precepts, as morality, and finally as an element of the Buddhist path. The interactions among the senses of the term gave medieval Tendai much vitality as well as leading to ambiguities in how the precepts might be held. Moreover, the interplay of various sources, which are described below, led to a variety of interpretations.

The *Brahma's Net Sutra*

Many modern presentations of Japanese Buddhism follow the narrative that Saichō rejected the *Vinaya* in favor of the precepts of the apocryphal *Brahma's Net Sutra*, with the result that Japanese Buddhist monasticism would diverge from that in other countries and that Japanese Buddhism in general would end up being dramatically different from Buddhism in other parts of the world. Its importance in Japanese Buddhism notwithstanding, the fact is that the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts were ill-suited as a basis of monastic Buddhism.

The penalties for violating the bodhisattva precepts were not clearly specified in the *Brahma's Net Sutra* if it were to be used as a guide for monastic life. But when they were combined with the *Vinaya* precepts, as was the case in Chinese Buddhism, the problem could be alleviated because the *Vinaya* had detailed provisions about how a religious order should deal with infractions.¹ If the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts were the primary basis of monastic discipline, then according to the forty-first minor precept, violations of the major precepts could be expiated by confession followed by a sign from the Buddha that one's efforts had been recognized. In such a case, the role of the monastic order in enforcing discipline was called into question because restoring the precepts depended on the individual's practice and the Buddha's approval rather than the monastic group. Claims that conferral of the bodhisattva precepts resulted in obtaining an essence of the precepts (*kaitai*) that would continue after one's death demonstrated the spiritual power of the precepts. At the same time, however, it called attention to the ambiguities of determining who had the authority to punish precept violations because the order could not obviate the essence of the precepts. Some interpretations, moreover, allowed for reordination to restore the precepts. Annen's interpretation of the universal ordination suggested that even the commission of the seven heinous sins might be obviated with *dhāraṇī*. Other exegetes would claim that the essence of the precepts once received could never be lost (*ittoku yōfushitsu*). Thus, no universally accepted standard approach to the precepts and expiations of wrongdoing existed in medieval Tendai.

Annen had argued, based on a commentary by Amoghavajra, that the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts were "shallow and abbreviated," thus weakening Saichō's groundbreaking proposal that the *Brahma's Net Sutra* be adopted by Tendai. In spite of such denigrations of the text, Annen and other Tendai exegetes frequently cited the following passage from the *Brahma's Net Sutra*: "When sentient beings receive these precepts of the Buddha, they immediately enter the ranks of the buddhas. Their rank is that of the great enlightened ones. They are truly the children of the buddhas."² Thus, although the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts as monastic rules were not emphasized, the

1. See the detailed description of Chinese ordinations in Welch, *Practice of Chinese Buddhism*, chap. 9.

2. T 24:1004a20–21.

identification of their conferral with the Buddhist path was important. Eventually, a revival in the late Kamakura period by the Rozanji and Kurodani lineages would emphasize the sutra's precepts. But even then, the two lineages relied more on a close reading of the *Pusajie yi ji*—the commentary attributed to Zhiyi on the fascicle of the *Brahma's Net Sutra* that included the precepts—than on the *Brahma's Net Sutra* itself. Monastic exegetes who emphasized the *Pusajie yi ji* tended not to rely as much on Annen's *Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku* and the *Adornment Sutra* with their claims that the essence of the precepts could not be lost.

Monks outside of Tendai sometimes dealt with the problem of the differences between the *Vinaya* and the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts by claiming that the *Vinaya* precepts were concerned with physical and verbal actions that could be observed by other practitioners. Observation, they claimed, could be used by practitioners as the basis of monastic discipline, while the bodhisattva precepts often focused on mental attitudes that were not as apparent to an outside observer and thus not as subject to control by the order. Some of the problems of interpreting precepts based on one's thought can be seen in the thirty-fourth minor precept in the *Brahma's Net Sutra*, which specifies that a person not have a "thought" pertaining to the two (Hīnayāna) vehicles. The question then arises as to whether such a requirement could be verified by another person. At the same time, however, this requirement would surely hinder a bodhisattva's obligation that, according to the sixth major precept, Mahāyāna teachings be preached to those in the two vehicles and to heterodox believers.³ The *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts, which are exceptionally terse when compared with the *Vinaya*, are replete with such interpretive problems, particularly when they are used as the primary basis of monastic discipline.

The Three Collections of Pure Precepts

In the ordination manuals written by Zhanran and Saichō, the conferral of the precepts consists of three collections of pure precepts (*sanju jōkai*): restraints on wrongdoing, encompassing good, and benefiting sentient beings. These three collections are however not mentioned in the *Brahma's Net Sutra*, though they do appear in the apocryphal *Adornment Sutra*, which is closely related to the *Brahma's Net Sutra*. For this reason, Ninkū told his monks that they should use the Tendai ordination platform but interpret the ceremony in which they participated in a manner different from that found in Saichō's manual; the conferral of the precepts occurred early in the ceremony when the monks took the three refuges, not when they subsequently received the three collections of pure precepts.

The three collections could be interpreted in a variety of ways. They could, for instance, be conferred in Mahāyāna ordinations or used to categorize a hierarchy of precepts. They could refer either to the dimensions of single precepts or to groups of precepts. For example, considered from the

3. *Fanwang jing*, T 1484, 24:1004c13–18; 1007b21–26.

standpoint of a single precept, the precept against killing was a restraint to prevent wrongdoing, an encompassing good, and a benefit to sentient beings. In a hierarchical sense, the restraints could be relegated to physical and verbal actions while mental attitudes might refer to more mental or ethical positive behaviors. Because the three collections were traditionally conferred in Tendai universal ordinations and would later be used by such monks as Eison in the Nara schools' universal ordinations, they would have been well-known to many monks. The general guidelines found therein were certainly easier to understand than the details of the *Brahma's Net Sutra*. A key difference between Nara Buddhism and Tendai attitudes toward the precepts was based on the three collections of pure precepts. For the Nara schools, the collection of restraints consisted of the precepts found in the *Vinaya*, a position based on Yogācāra works such as the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*; for Tendai, the collection of restraints was the ten major precepts of the *Brahma's Net Sutra* based on a formulation from the *Adornment Sutra*.

A final issue in medieval Japanese usages of the three collections of the pure precepts is the way in which the various sets of precepts sometimes contradicted each other. For example, in three collections of pure precepts, the sets encompassing good and benefiting others might easily be invoked when the collection of restraints consisted simply of expedients that could be transcended. Killing, for instance, which was a major restraint, might be justified to promote the good or benefit sentient beings. In addition, the power of confession, the *nenbutsu*, and *dhāraṇī* to vanquish eons of bad karma might make ignoring or intentionally violating the precepts acceptable. The role of expedient means played a role in such issues. Restraints on behavior might be appropriate in some circumstances but unsuitable when such issues as compassion or non-substantiality were considered.

The Precepts in the *Lotus Sutra*

With the decline in usage of the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts, some medieval exegetes instead based their views on the *Lotus Sutra*, even though precepts resembling those found in the *Vinaya* and *Brahma's Net Sutra* were not included in that scripture. The *Lotus Sutra* precepts were often called perfect-sudden precepts, perfect insofar as they applied to everyone, sudden because they were immediately fully present. A forced interpretation of several interpretations of the *Lotus Sutra* precepts was found in the *Gakushōshiki mondō* (Questions and answers on rules for students), a medieval text attributed to Saichō. For example, a set of three precepts, or more properly attitudes, was used in some ordinations, specifying that the ordinee would use the Tathagāta's room, robes, and seat; these Tathagāta's accoutrements were respectively equated with compassion, forbearance, and emptiness. Another position was found in Sonshun's view that adherence to the *Lotus Sutra* was identical to observing the precepts and that no ordination other than reciting the name of the *Lotus Sutra* was necessary; this was perhaps the simplest form of ordination. The ordination found in the *Shuzenji ketsu* (Determinations from the

Xiuchansi), an apocryphal text said to have consisted of teachings Saichō brought back from China, was more complex, even incorporating elements from the *Vinaya*, though with major reinterpretations. The actual precepts mentioned were so vague, however, that they would have contributed little to the creation of a monastic order. In contrast, the consecrated ordination used within the Kurodani lineage required assiduous practice over a long period. In the beginning, practice over a twelve-year period was specified, following Saichō's rules in the *Sange gakushō shiki* (Rules for Tendai students), but this rule was relaxed over time. Instead of focusing on “precepts” from the *Lotus Sutra*, the consecrated ordination was a re-enactment of Śākyamuni climbing into Prabhūtaratna's reliquary so that the two buddhas were seated side-by-side. The “new buddha” (the monk filling Śākyamuni's role) was charged with creating any rules that were needed. Thus, the problem of using precepts as a guide to monastic discipline was even more acute than it had been with the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts. The Kurodani lineage, however, treated the *Lotus Sutra* as embodying precepts in Principle and then augmenting them with the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts based on everyday needs, thus combining the two. Ninkū's Rozanji lineage argued that the fascicle of the *Brahma's Net Sutra* containing the precepts was an independent work that should be considered a perfect teaching and thus coequal with the *Lotus Sutra*.

Temple Rules and the *Vinaya*

The distinction between lay and monastic practitioners was frequently vague in the *Brahma's Net Sutra* and *Lotus Sutra*; after all, the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts had traditionally been conferred on both lay believers and monastics, and both had been devoted to the *Lotus Sutra*. One approach to the distinction between lay and monastic uses of the precepts followed the Chinese Tiantai view that observance depended on the intentions of the ordinee. I take up the question of what would happen if one's intentions changed in the next section on ordinations.

Not all Tendai monks gave up on enforcing monastic discipline. Enchin, for one, wanted to use the procedures from the *Vinaya* while retaining the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts. These procedures would have required prospective monks to be twenty years old and to have permission from their parents or spouses. Temple ceremonies—such as the fortnightly assembly, the rainy-season retreat, the establishment of ceremonial boundaries, and the sewing of robes—could be influenced either directly or indirectly by *Vinaya* guidelines. Of course, the guidelines were not always followed; fortnightly assemblies and rainy-season retreats do not often appear in historical records. The strictures on determining boundaries of monasteries and ordination platforms, which would determine the composition of monastics performing ceremonies are often not mentioned. Nor are the procedures for receiving new robes, repairing old robes, or the number of robes a monastic might possess. Ninkū, by contrast, employed *Vinaya* procedures without conferring the *Vinaya's* precepts so that the members of his order might understand such

monastic procedures. Other monks, such as Ryōgen, wrote temple rules to impose discipline on the monks, but these rules usually had few, if any, direct references to the bodhisattva precepts from the *Brahma's Net Sutra* or the *Lotus Sutra*.⁴ Some of the sets of temple rules were very short, though as Tendai emerged from the medieval period and started following Chinese models, the rules would become more detailed. Whatever the case, adherence to the rules depended on the attitude of the abbot. We see more sets of rules in the Tokugawa period with the restoration of Tendai after Oda Nobunaga attacked Mount Hiei.

Samaya Precepts

The esoteric *samaya* precepts, a brief set of guidelines that focused more on spiritual attitudes than on physical or verbal acts, also played a role in Tendai deliberations. Traditionally *samaya* precepts were conferred at the beginning of esoteric initiations (*kanjō*), but Annen suggested that they were the source of all precepts. These esoteric precepts had little to do with monastic discipline, however, and much more with giving a practitioner the knowledge that he should act out of compassion and generosity. Annen thus associated the *samaya* precepts with Śākyamuni's realization of enlightenment when the various buddhas descended to confer the *samaya* precepts on him; only then was full enlightenment realized. The *samaya* precepts continued to play an important role when *kechien kanjō*, the consecration establishing a karmic connection between the practitioner and a deity, was performed, most frequently for lay practitioners.

Other Issues Concerning the Precepts

What would it have taken for Tendai precepts to be regarded as directing monastic discipline? When the history of the *Vinaya* is considered, we see the crucial role that both the commentaries and texts by the *Vinaya* scholar Daoxuan and the subcommentaries by the Tiantai monk Yuanzhao played in both China and Japan. For the most part, medieval Tendai clerics did not write commentaries on the *Brahma's Net Sutra* to explain how the text might be used in their school. The major exception is the Rozanji lineage led by Ninkū. Ninkū's most important work interpreting the *Brahma's Net Sutra* was, however, actually a set of lectures based on the *Pusajie yi ji*, which included passages from the *Vinaya* and other sources. Even though the Rozanji lineage produced some of the best medieval Tendai texts, it probably did not play a major role on Mount Hiei. Another possible exception might have been Hōchibō Shōshin. Although his work on the *Brahma's Net Sutra* has not survived, it is cited in Enrin's *Bosatsukai gisho shō*, compiled around 1237. Enrin later studied and was ordained by Shunjō using the *Vinaya* and then lived at Kenninji, a Zen temple, with the result that it is difficult to determine Shōshin's position.

4. Nasu, "Invocation of Tendai Abbot Ryōgen," in Groner, *Ryōgen*, 345–366.

Modern Interpretations

Although the focus of this book is on the medieval period, brief considerations of a few contemporary uses of the precepts reveal that the situation is still fluid. Tendai exegetes continue to search for new views of the precepts, an indication of the ambiguities in interpretation that have beset Tendai over the centuries. An underlying concern in Stephen Covell's book on contemporary Tendai temple Buddhism is the seeming contradiction between lay life and a monastic model, this despite Saichō's and his disciple Kōjō's use of the phrase that the essential truth of the precepts "applied to both lay and monastics" (*shinzoku ikkan*).⁵ Despite the emphasis in my work on the precepts in the *Brahma's Net Sutra* and *Lotus Sutra*, those specific precepts are not often mentioned in Covell's study, probably because they do not play a major role in the everyday life of modern Tendai monastics. Covell describes the precepts for Tendai believers as follows:

Taking the precepts (lay or priestly) is described as the first step toward realizing that all sentient beings possess Buddha-nature and is the basis for becoming one who lights up his or her corner of the world. The precepts lead one to understand the relationship between cause and effect. This understanding in turn leads to the practice of the four limitless virtues: love, the basis for interaction with others; compassion, helping others unconditionally; joy, taking joy in the joy of others; letting go,⁶ not becoming attached to the first three and not engaging in them with the expectation of getting something in return. Next, Tendai practitioners (lay and professional) must take the bodhisattva vows, which are linked to the four limitless virtues: sentient beings are limitless, I vow to save them all; the passions are inexhaustible, I vow to extinguish them all; the teachings are limitless, I vow to master them all; enlightenment is unsurpassed, I vow to attain it. The practitioner is encouraged to base his or her life on this understanding of the precepts. Precepts are taken in the presence of buddhas and bodhisattvas, who act as witnesses to the vows. They, in turn, it is explained, stand by those who have taken the precepts, lending them strength in times of need. Moreover, even if one falls into hell at death, those bodhisattvas and buddhas who witnessed the vows will appear in that person's defense. A far worse fate awaits those who have not taken the precepts, worse even than that of those who have broken their vows.⁷

Much of this description is based on teachings found throughout Mahāyāna Buddhism, for example, the emphasis on cause and effect and the four bodhisattva vows. The most obvious scriptural influence on Covell's sub-

5. *Sange gakushō shiki*, T 2377, 74:625b7; *Denjutsu isshinkai mon*, T 2379, 74:638b14.

6. Although Covell does not clearly state it, I note that the reference is to the *Adornment Sutra*, T 1485, 24: 1020c2.

7. Although not clearly indicated in Covell's study, the reference is to the *Adornment Sutra*, *Yingluo jing*, T 1485, 24:1021b15; Covell, *Temple Buddhism*, 77.

jects' understanding of the precepts is the *Adornment Sutra*, which interpreted the four limitless virtues as the collection of precepts benefiting sentient beings; the sutra is also the source of their belief that it is better to take the precepts and break them than to not take them at all. The precepts are taken in front of the buddhas and bodhisattvas in a manner found from the beginning of Japanese Tendai. The mention in Covell of the "Light Up a Corner" (*ichigū wo terasu*) movement that is discussed below, refers to the campaign to deepen Tendai spirituality launched for the twelve-hundredth anniversary of the founding of Tendai and based on a disputed passage in Saichō's *Sange gakushō shiki*. In his description of these vows, the fact that Covell does not specifically mention the *Brahma's Net Sutra* and the precepts associated with the *Lotus Sutra* corresponds to statements by my Tendai friends that Saichō's manual and the specific precepts in the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts are not much used except for ceremonial purposes. There is likewise no mention of the fortnightly assembly that would have led to awareness of the precepts. The absence of mention of these aspects of medieval Tendai by modern monastics may be because the precepts discussed in this collection of essays were not as useful as simpler formulas when it came to inculcating the desired attitude in the modern ordinee. I go into more detail on this subject in the section on ordinations below.

The position of the wives of "monks" has been an ongoing problem for contemporary Tendai. While a wife is often indispensable to the running of a temple, she is also a reminder of how her position as a laywoman seems to contradict the model of a supposedly celibate monastic life embodied by the monks of the temple. Should wives be ordained in some way? Tendai tried for a time to confer ordinations on wives using the ten good precepts (*jūzen-kai*), leaving temple wives in a position between fully ordained monks and parishioners (*danka*), who would receive the five lay precepts. This form of distinct ordinations was discontinued in 2000, leaving many unhappy with the results. The temple wives, being clearly in a position inferior to that of the monks, were not allowed to preach or perform the funerary rituals so important to temple activities. An underlying concern was what would happen to families of monks after a monk died. Could the family continue to live in its home on temple grounds?⁸

One solution to the problem of temple wives was to have them undergo training so that they could be fully ordained as "monastics," stay in the temples, perform rituals, and preach. The universal ordination would certainly allow this, and Tendai nuns would not have to deal with the lack of a valid lineage that Theravāda and Tibetan female practitioners encountered. A small number of Japanese women have undergone the training and been ordained, but parishioners have sometimes been reluctant to have them serve as head priests at the temple. I would guess that this will change as parishioners become used to having women in such roles.

8. Covell, *Temple Buddhism*, 129–138.

Still another way of updating the precepts might lie in the emphasis on the admonition of the past seven buddhas (*shichibutsu tsūkai ge*; that is, Śākyamuni and the six buddhas that preceded him), which is found in various Buddhist texts: “Not to commit wrong but perform all good. Purify your mind. This is the teaching of all buddhas.” Copying the above admonition on scrolls is repeatedly recommended on the “Light Up a Corner of the World” website.⁹ To “Light Up a Corner of the World” has been a theme of the Tendai School for at least the last fifteen years, instituted for its anniversary and featured on the home page of the Tendai website.¹⁰ The formula is also used in the Hokke *senbō* (Lotus Sutra expiation and repentance) ritual performed at Onjōji, the site of a major Tendai temple that at one time frequently competed with Mount Hiei.¹¹

Ordinations

Ordinations, because they marked a person’s induction into Buddhist groups, were valued in all Buddhist countries. Their importance for the Tendai tradition is evident, but their role in instilling monastic discipline varied greatly. Japanese Tendai in particular has often been mentioned as a significant outlier where monastic discipline is concerned because so many of its monks had sexual relations, drank alcohol, and ate the flesh of animals, specifically birds or fish.

Even a brief survey of medieval Tendai literature on the precepts testifies to the importance of ordinations because they established a school with a unique identity different from the Nara schools and from the Buddhist traditions of other countries. Zhanran composed, and Saichō edited, a bodhisattva precepts ordination ritual manual in twelve parts, combining elements from bodhisattva precepts self-ordinations and procedures from *Vinaya* ordinations.¹² This manual was used in both lay and monastic ordinations.

The matter of who was conferring the precepts was a vital and unique aspect of Tendai’s ordination. Tendai generally followed a self-ordination modeled on the *Guan Puxian jing* (*Samantabhadra Sutra*) by calling down Śākyamuni as preceptor, Mañjuśrī as master of ceremonies, and Maitreya as a teacher, with the various buddhas as witnesses and the bodhisattvas as fellow practitioners. These buddhas and bodhisattvas were sometimes referred to as the “unseen” (*fugenzen*) teachers in sources such as Enchin’s notes to

9. <https://ichigu.net/>. Accessed March 1, 2021. A long and bitter controversy over how the relevant passage from Saichō’s *Sange gakushō shiki* should be read has occurred in the last few decades. I have chosen not to address this here, but a brief discussion in English can be found in Groner, *Saichō*, 116–117.

10. <http://www.tendai.or.jp/index.php>. Accessed March 1, 2021.

11. <http://www.tendai-jimon.jp/author/2/1.html>. Accessed March 1, 2021.

12. The twelve parts of the ordination are listed in chapter 6 above. A thick description of the ordination ceremony is included in my doctoral dissertation, “Saichō and the Bodhisattva Precepts,” 277–345. I plan to update and publish it.

Saichō's ordination manual and Kōshū's *Keiran shūyō shū*.¹³ If unseen teachers conferred the precepts, who enforced infractions of them? Although the monastic order might be expected to do this through confessions, a practice that would probably have involved the fortnightly recitation of the precepts, this seems to have been infrequent, and when it was held, the karmic merit received from the ritual was probably more important than monastic discipline.¹⁴ To the extent that infractions were considered, the karmic repercussions of violations seemed to be paramount in the *Brahma's Net Sutra*. For example, if one violated the minor precept on drinking alcohol and offered a cup to someone else, then according to the *Brahma's Net Sutra*, one would be reborn without hands for five hundred lifetimes, surely a penalty resulting from karma rather than a decision by the order. But of course the threat of such consequences had little impact on most Japanese monks.¹⁵ In a similar fashion, there was the statement that violation of the seven heinous crimes (*shichigyakuzai*) would result in being barred from ordination due to karmic actions rather than any injunction by the order; but as Annen had noted, even this obstacle could be overcome with the recitation of a particular *dhāraṇī*.¹⁶

Other aspects of self-ordinations that had been incorporated into Saichō's manual, which was based on Zhanran's manual, were the confession to purify oneself before receiving the precepts from the Buddha (see chapter 6 above). Finally, one was supposed to perceive a sign confirming the receipt of the precepts directly from the Buddha and bodhisattvas. At the same time, other elements of the ritual—such as asking about obstacles to the ordination, explaining the precepts, and exhortations to adhere to them—suggested that the Tendai ordination was also based on the monastic order composed of Tendai practitioners. This type of ordination could be conferred on both monastic and lay practitioners, a procedure referred to as a “universal ordination” (*tsūju*). Saichō had suggested that the distinction between lay and monastic practitioners could be based on their aspirations, a position called “universal ordinations with separate adherence” (*tsūju betsuji*). Issues remained, however, including what would happen if a person's intentions changed or if there were a discrepancy between the intentions of teacher and student.

From the beginning, the ambiguities in the interpretation of the ordination presented Tendai with interpretive problems. Enchin's comments on Saichō's manual and in a commentary on the *Guan Puxian jing*, the source for the bodhisattva precept ordination, reveal problems in the early Tendai

13. T 2378, 74:626a; 2410, 76:841b12–13.

14. Groner, *Ryōgen*, 238–240.

15. T 1484, 24:1005b. The interpretation of the five hundred rebirths without hands varied considerably in commentaries, with the commentary attributed to Zhiyi being particularly strict (T 1811, 40:575a9–12), while Taehyōn stated that this only referred to those who committed the most serious acts (Muller, *Exposition of the Sutra of Brahma's Net*, 322–325).

16. T 1484, 24:1008c.

order. Enchin tried to return the Tendai ordination to a state closer to that found in the *Vinaya* by adopting some of the procedures of the *Vinaya* while still using the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts (see chapter 3 above). The differences between lay and monastic practitioners could be clarified by using a hierarchical structure of distinct ordination (*betsuju*). Moreover, following the *Vinaya*, Enchin advocated age limits on those who were ordained, which would have prevented the ordination of those under twenty years of age. Although Enchin's efforts were not successful, some of the procedures he mentioned were later advocated by Jitsudō Ninkū (see chapter 11). An even more thorough return to the *Vinaya* occurred in the Anrakuritsuin movement of the Edo period, which tried to revive Saichō's long-forgotten advocacy of the "provisional ordination of the Hinayāna precepts" (*keju shōkai*), a development that lies outside of the scope of this study.¹⁷

Clearly, some sort of distinction of the role between the buddhas and bodhisattvas who conferred the precepts and the monastic officials who performed the ordination ceremony was necessary. In Tendai, the monastic leaders were said to transmit (*den*) the precepts while the Buddha and his retinue conferred (*ju*) them. Mount Hiei jealously guarded the status of its ordination platform (*kaidan*), thereby stressing the institutional importance of the ordination without necessarily emphasizing adherence to the precepts. The phrase that "an ordinee had ascended the platform and received the precepts" (*tōdan jukai*), used by both the Nara schools and Tendai, stressed the importance of the use of the ordination in various schools. The strength of institutional control would vary over time in both Nara and on Mount Hiei, and it often depended on the strength of the leader of a monastery or lineage. Even so, as the *Adornment Sutra* stated, once the precepts had been received, they could not be lost from lifetime to lifetime no matter what difficulties or delusions one suffered.¹⁸ Even if the precepts had been violated, they were not lost.¹⁹ If this were the case, what would become of the monastic order, monastic discipline, or confessions used to remedy infractions?

Annen's decision to write a detailed commentary on the ordination rather than to explain the precepts set a pattern that would affect future writings on the Tendai order. Annen had categorized ordinations into three types: "(1) the precepts that are transmitted and received (*denju kai*), (2) the precepts that emerge (*hottoku kai*) [from the ordinee through the ordination], and (3) the precepts that are inherent (*shōtoku kai*)."²⁰ Exegetes could thus interpret the ordinations in a variety of ways. For example, the Kurodani lineage used ordinations to indicate acceptance into an order and then, years later, a higher ordination, the "consecrated ordination" (*kai kanjō*), to signify one's realization of buddhahood. The ordinee in the consecrated ordination

17. Bodiford, "When Secrecy Ends."

18. *Yingluo jing*, T 1485, 24:1021b1-2.

19. T 1485, 24:1021b7-8.

20. T 74:773c2-3.

was even told that he could make new rules if needed because he was now a buddha (see chapters 8 and 9).

Most Tendai ordinations conferred the three collections of pure precepts, which I've discussed in the section on precepts earlier in this chapter. The Nara schools made distinctions between lay, novice, and full ordinations, but these distinctions were more problematic in Tendai and depended on such explanations as the intentions of the recipient; the location of the ordination (for example, the ordination platform on Mount Hiei); or the verbal instructions of the monastic overseeing the ordination. In fact, when novice initiations were recognized, the "perfect ten precepts," a vague rubric mentioned in Saichō's petition to the court, were later used to refer to the ten major precepts of the *Brahma's Net Sutra*, the ten good precepts, or the ten precepts of the novice as defined in the *Vinaya*.

Annen devalued the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts in his commentary, opening the possibility of using other sources such as the *Lotus Sutra* and the *samaya* precepts. Although Annen had argued that the *samaya* precepts were the source of all other precepts, they were usually used in conjunction with esoteric Buddhist practice rather than in ordinations marking entry into a monastic ritual.

When the *Lotus Sutra* was the basis of the ordination, the ritual could focus on a variety of passages in the scripture, including the provision that holding the *Lotus Sutra* was identical to adhering to the precepts. In another work, the *Shuzenji ketsu*, which claimed to be teachings received by Saichō in China, the recipient was supposed to use the Tathāgata's room, robes, and seat. In the Kurodani lineage, the consecrated ordination was a ritual reenactment of Śākyamuni sitting next to Prabhūtaratna in the latter's reliquary, one of the key images in the *Lotus Sutra* demonstrating that the Buddha was virtually eternal. In short, the Tendai ordination developed in a variety of ways, several of which coexisted in different Tendai lineages.

Modern Tendai has striven to make precepts foundational, using different sets to distinguish lay from monastic practitioners. Exactly what this entailed, however, is not always clear. The roles of the precepts used in medieval Tendai that were based on the *Brahma's Net Sutra* and the *Lotus Sutra* are not stressed in modern Tendai, though they are acknowledged. An ordination manual was published by the Tendai School as part of its "Light Up a Corner" campaign to celebrate the 1200th anniversary of the Tendai School's establishment. The "Light Up a Corner" ordination follows the pattern of the twelve-part ordination ceremony by Zhanran and Saichō where the three collections of pure precepts are conferred. Certain elements have been added, such as sprinkling scented water on the participants and the platform, a practice more typical of esoteric consecration rites. A section of the ceremony mentions the razor (*kamisori*) used to shave the head, but in this context it seems to consist of offering the razor, which has been purified by passing it through incense fumes. Shaving the head seems to depend on who is being ordained. When lay believers are mentioned, the ritual is called *teidoshiki*, a term that in Pure

Land traditions indicates that the actual shaving is abbreviated.²¹ In the Shinshū tradition, a piece of paper is cut.²² In the Tendai ritual, the razor is the symbol of cutting off defilements and the elimination of pride.²³ When the ceremony is used for initiating male novices, the hair is shaved.²⁴

Shortly after the *teidoshiki*, a relic of the Buddha is held above the ordinee's head. This is one of the highpoints of the ceremony. The theme of the special ordination for 2015 was "meet the Buddha in you." The themes of discovering your buddha-nature and the realization of buddhahood with this very body are reflected in this interpretation. The five lay precepts are mentioned frequently in contemporary Tendai documents, but they are altered in this special ordination for lay believers. The eleventh part of the ceremony, explaining the precepts to the newly ordained, consists of a new version of the five lay precepts for bodhisattvas, with the precept prohibiting alcohol being replaced with "not having erroneous views" (*fu jaken kai*); the change is significant because a precept against having wrong views deals with mental activities, while the original five lay precepts focused on physical and verbal activities. The scope is sufficiently broad that this new version of the five precepts is called the "the precious precepts of the lay bodhisattva." Not having erroneous views traditionally referred to refraining from the basic views that contradicted Buddhism's fundamental teachings, such as rejecting cause and effect, believing in an eternal soul, or having nihilistic views.²⁵ The special ordination was used only on special occasions and was performed by the chief Tendai prelate or other particularly important cleric. Lay participants would frequently number two to four hundred, so the ceremony required stamina on the part of the Tendai elders.

The initiation ceremony for novices was not necessarily clearly delineated because it could be patterned after early accounts in which the Buddha expressed his welcome (*zenrai*) to a disciple. Eventually a ceremony conferring the ten novice precepts from the *Vinaya* came to be used by most schools, but even in such cases the actual conferral ceremony was not clearly delineated and could be based on what the future novice's preceptor decided. In modern Tendai the ceremony depended on the monk who would serve as a preceptor rather than the order. Yamada Etai (1900–1999), the most influential Tendai *zasu* of the modern period, has said that two different procedures

21. Yamada Etai uses a document from the Seizan lineage of the Jōdoshū in his explanation (*Keireki*, 50). For the Jōdoshū interpretation of this rite, see Jōdoshū hensan iinkai, *Shinsan Jōdoshū daijiten*, 1084c–d. For a photograph, see the frontispiece of *The Eastern Buddhist* 49, nos. 1–2 (2018).

22. Mochizuku and Tsukamoto, *Mochizuki Bukkyō daijiten*, 3766a.

23. Yamamura, *Tokudo kaisetsu*, 2. For a photo of lay believers participating in the ceremony without shaven heads, see <http://www.tendai.or.jp/journal/kiji.php?nid=158>. Accessed March 3, 2021.

24. Yamamura, *Tokudo kaisetsu*, 2; Yamada, *Keireki*, 13.

25. Buswell and Lopez, *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism* s.v. "mithyāḍḍhi."

exist: one in four parts and another in ten parts.²⁶ Today, the initiation ceremony for novices is often explained as being a combination of a consecration (*kanjō*) and the conferral of the ten good precepts. Thus, the modern Tendai School finally arrived at a decision about which of the various sets of ten precepts should be used, the others being the ten novice precepts in the *Vinaya* and the ten major precepts of the *Brahma's Net Sutra*.²⁷ Novices are required to be at least ten years old.

Yamada Etai has described in detail the modern ordination ceremony for the fully ordained monastic.²⁸ The ordination platform has two levels on the outside, representing conventional and ultimate truth. Three steps on the inside symbolize the three collections of pure precepts. In the center is the Tahōtō, the pagoda for the two buddhas Śākyamuni and Prabhūtaratna, which is situated on a platform representing Vulture Peak (Ryōzen), the site where Śākyamuni is said to always be preaching the *Lotus Sutra*. Śākyamuni, who serves as preceptor, is in the center; facing him on the right side is an image of Mañjuśrī, who serves as the master of ceremonies, and on the left is an image of Maitreya, who serves as the teacher. The various buddhas are invited to serve as witnesses and the bodhisattvas as fellow practitioners. The celebrants, based on the description in the *Samantabhadra Sutra*, are said to be unseen. A monk who is visible, often the chief prelate of the Tendai School or the abbot of a major temple, conducts the service to transmit (*den*) the precepts. The buddhas and bodhisattvas actually confer (*ju*) to them. On the wall behind the main image are paintings of Zhiyi on the right and Saichō on the left. Finally, in the center in front of the main image is a reliquary representing the essence of the precepts. The platform reflects the emphasis on the *Lotus Sutra* rather than the *Brahma's Net Sutra*, which would have required an image of Rushana (Vairocana).

The Tendai *zasu* serves as the preceptor who transmits the precepts. Others serve as the master of ceremonies, teacher, and three people assisting with the robes. The ordinee must have the three robes as well as a wooden begging bowl. Theravāda practitioners are said to use a metal begging bowl, but Mahāyāna practitioners use wood.²⁹ The ordinee then goes to a special hall where he will don the robes for the ordination. Next, the preceptor enters the hall and the ordinee requests the precepts. This is accompanied by paying obeisance and ringing a bell at appropriate times. The ordinee is then led to the ordination platform. The teacher, preceptor, and master of ceremonies enter in that order. The main image is circumambulated three times with three prostrations, after which the participants take their seats. Then the master of ceremonies chants Sanskrit verses (*bainoku*) to purify the site with

26. Yamada, *Keireki*, 15.

27. Yamamura, *Tokudo kaisetsu*, 20.

28. Yamada, *Keireki*, 66–72.

29. This roughly follows the prescriptions of the *Vinaya*; see Upasak, *Dictionary*, 133–134.

a special melody along with the sprinkling of water, an action that used to be performed by two specialists. The conferral of the precepts then occurs, following the twelvefold ordination pattern found in Saichō's manual; Yamada Etai does not explain this part of the ceremony in his otherwise detailed description, but later in his narrative mentions that the ordinee has vowed to observe the ten major precepts of the *Brahma's Net Sutra* and has received the three collections of pure precepts, the major elements of Saichō's manual. There follows the conferral of the six important matters for the new monk to be aware of in his daily life (*rokunen*); these six are mentioned in chapter 3 above in the discussion of Enchin, who complained that Tendai monks did not know them. A monastic was to recite these six matters every morning as well as to copy and carry them. Next, the various participants in the ordination were to descend in the prescribed manner, pay obeisance three times, circumambulate once, proceed to the hall for changing, where they were to disrobe and put on the clothing they wore earlier, and then take their seats as before the ceremony.

The ordinee recites verses to thank the preceptor. The robes he had been wearing are now given to the preceptor, who returns them to the ordinee. At that point, they belong to the ordinee. The ordinee is given a certificate certifying the ordination and another that is a lineage document. He is called a descendant of Saichō. Yamada, at the end of his account, explains the essence of the precepts, which is identified as the Principle of the *Lotus Sutra*. The true aspect of reality of the three thousand realms was represented by the Buddha of the distant past who manifested as Śākyamuni and is now present as the Buddha's relic. That relic is then touched to the ordinee's head and represents the emergence of innate buddha-nature, in other words, the realization of buddhahood with this very body. The ordinee is told that he must have the eighteen requisite items specified in the *Brahma's Net Sutra* (enumerated in chapter 8). The Tendai ceremony describes several of these in detail: the terms "sutra," referring to the *Lotus Sutra*; "Vinaya" to the *Brahma's Net Sutra*; "image of the Buddha" to Śākyamuni; and "bodhisattva images" to Mañjuśrī and Maitreya, all of which the ordinee must possess. Thus, the modern ceremony as described by Yamada skillfully combines the perfect-sudden precepts of the *Lotus Sutra* and *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts. The ceremony probably reflects Yamada's deep understanding of Saichō, which can be found in a sizeable book he wrote about Saichō and the *Lotus Sutra*.³⁰

Practice

When I first began to write the essays on which this book is based, I had intended to emphasize the connections between practice and the precepts. But so many varieties of practice were available in Tendai that adequately describ-

30. Yamada, *Hokekyō to Dengyō Daishi*.

ing them was an overwhelming task. As one of my Tendai friends suggested, Tendai is like a smorgasbord, where you take what you want. As a result, I have limited myself to a discussion of how medieval practice might be related to the precepts as they are viewed today. Many will assume that the precepts suggest modes of practice, but this is not necessarily the case. When the precepts are considered, a significant difference exists between what is “prescribed” and what can actually be “described” as the behavior of practitioners. In short, the precepts do not necessarily describe or prescribe actual behavior. For example, the precepts might prescribe not taking the life of any sentient being, but this probably did not describe how most Tendai monks behaved, particularly when such activities as protecting the Tendai establishment or the nation were involved, let alone the eating of meat and fish or the swatting of mosquitoes. The lack of a clear delineation of the differences between lay and monastic practitioners, as was the case with *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts, made the problem even more evident. Such issues can be seen when the stipulations of behavior involved contradictions between precepts. For example, one should not take life, but if killing an evil person would save the lives of others, the problem becomes more involved (see chapter 12). Such issues made using the precepts as guides more problematic. The paucity of commentaries on the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts by medieval Tendai monks probably reflects this issue. A significant exception to this is found in the writings of Jitsudō Ninkū, who wrote the longest extant commentary on the *Pusajie yi ji*, the *Bosatsukai giki kikigaki* (A record of lectures on the *Pusajie yi ji*). In this case, his choice of writing a subcommentary instead of directly commenting on the *Brahma's Net Sutra* is significant; the subcommentary format gave him more freedom to cite *Vinaya* texts because they were cited in the *Pusajie yi ji*. When considering the abstract guidelines found in the *Lotus Sutra* or the *samaya* precepts, the issue is even more complex.

I have given examples of lax interpretations of the precepts here and there in this volume, but serious practitioners are found in the historical record. Some individual practitioners did try to base their behavior on at least some of the precepts. I remember a conversation with a monk from Tōshōdaiji, a major temple in the Risshū (*Vinaya* School) tradition. He told me that monks no longer use the *Vinaya* but strive to practice the ten major precepts of the *Brahma's Net Sutra*. He stressed the difficulty of adhering to those precepts. I would guess that some individual Tendai monks today might make similar declarations, their behavior differing depending on whether they are wearing monastic robes or lay clothing.

In the Tendai tradition, Enchin tried to strengthen monastic discipline and the procedures for ordinations, as is shown by his advocacy of distinct ordinations (chapter 3). The early figures in the Kurodani and Rozanji lineages practiced seriously and made efforts to restore the precepts and the ordination system (discussed in chapters 8, 10, and 11). Figures such as Hōchibō Shōshin who strove to return Japanese Tendai teachings to its Chinese antecedents certainly advocated the serious study of texts and prob-

ably monastic discipline; however, Shōshin's writings on the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts and the *Pusajie yi ji* have been lost and are only known through citations in other texts (see chapter 13). Even so, the rejection of the *Vinaya* was such a hallmark of Tendai that Shōshin probably recognized the use of the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts in ordinations.

Because many of the chapters in this book describe a decline in monastic discipline and because modern Tendai temple Buddhism with its general lack of emphasis on the precepts and monastic discipline has been ably described by Stephen Covell in *Japanese Temple Buddhism: Worldliness in a Religion of Renunciation*, the following discussion focuses on several of the most serious forms of modern practice among elite Tendai practitioners. Their presence and practices give meaning to contemporary Tendai, as is indicated by their prominent place in Tendai websites. Few lay believers and monastics follow their examples, however. While many of the practices discussed below boast origins going back to China or the Heian and Kamakura periods in Japan, most of the modern formulations only go back to the Tokugawa period and the reformation of Tendai practice that occurred when Tendai monks began following the example of Song-dynasty Chinese Tiantai monks such as Siming Zhili or with the reformation of Tendai after Mount Hiei was burned in the sixteenth century. Most accounts of these practices make only cursory mention of precepts and ordinations, but ordinations must certainly have been performed as part of the procedures qualifying a person to request permission to participate in the practice. Instead of precepts, practice was delineated by the detailed ceremonies in which the monks participated. The austerities some of these Tendai monks underwent were so severe that they must have required refraining from sex and drinking. Once the monks had completed a course of austerity, at least some of them enjoyed an occasional drink of sake. One of the monks undergoing the thousand-day rite of *kainōgyō*, "circumambulating the mountain," is said to have been married at the time, but exactly what this meant is not clear.³¹ This situation is probably similar to that at Tōdaiji, which included an ordination platform among its many subtemples; although monks from the subtemples might not observe the precepts, the presence of those at the ordination platform gave some validation to the rest.³² Most of the following forms of cultivation are prominently mentioned on the Tendai website's discussion of practice, which is based on an idealized view of Japanese Tendai.³³ The usual practices of temple monks are not emphasized there.

Constantly Walking Meditation

Today, those who wish to be the abbot of one of the subtemples on Mount Hiei are expected to do three years of practice: one year at Saichō's mauso-

31. Stevens, *Marathon Monks*, 131. Stevens seems unsure about the practitioner's married state.

32. I thank Nishitani Isao for this insight.

33. <http://www.tendai.or.jp/shugyou/index.php>. Accessed August 19, 2021.

leum, one year of one hundred days of *kaihōgyō* at Mudōji, and one year of the constantly walking and/or constantly sitting meditation at the Ninai-dō or Tsubaki-dō.³⁴ These meditative exercises originally were part of efforts to emphasize some of the four types of *samādhi* found in Zhiyi's writings, though more often than not they had been forgotten or altered significantly in the medieval period. In most cases, the modern monks who undertake the practice choose the constantly walking meditation, though in one case the constantly sitting meditation was preferred because a broken bone in the practitioner's foot made walking difficult. Problems of interpretation are apparent in the modern revival of the ninety-day regimen of the constantly walking *samādhi* (*jōgyō zanmai*) described in Zhiyi's *Mohe zhiguan*. The revived regimen involves walking with interruptions only for such activities as eating and using the toilet. Sleep is not allowed, so the practitioner walks until he collapses. The ninety-day constantly sitting *samādhi* is similar in not allowing sleep, but a chair was allowed at times.³⁵

Although Saichō had mentioned a hall for constantly walking practice, he was unable to build it during his lifetime. When it was finally built, the practice adopted was a seven-day practice that Ennin brought back from China, which was based on the intonations and practices developed by the eighth-century Chinese monk Fazhao (d. 777) on Mount Wutai.³⁶ This practice aimed at ensuring rebirth in the Pure Land, while Zhiyi's original ninety-day practice ultimately was directed toward a vision of the Buddha and the realization of emptiness. The ninety-day practice was attempted periodically but abandoned when a monk suffered severe injury and died from the stress to his body.³⁷ The modern revival of this ninety-day practice probably dates to 1971 with the establishment of the abovementioned three-year seclusion practice. The three-year practice involves a number of austerities that qualify a person to be appointed abbot of a subtemple on Mount Hiei.³⁸ The *Mohe zhiguan* did not require three years of seclusion; the Japanese use of it typifies the respect that Japanese practitioners gave such strenuous practices, but it also meant that very few monks undertook the practice. The first-person accounts of the elements of the three-year course of practice have not stressed the precepts or ordinations, but monks pursuing them surely had been ordained. More important were the detailed rules of comportment as they performed the meditations.

Another type of practice defined by Zhiyi, the Hokke *senbō* (*Lotus Sutra* repentance), is today used at several temples, including Onjōji and Sanzen'in. At Sanzen'in, the ritual is performed on the first day of the new year and may

34. Rhodes, "Kaihōgyō Practice of Mt. Hiei," 193; Kobayashi, "Jōza zanmai no taiken," 181–182.

35. Kobayashi, "Jōza zanmai no taiken," 188.

36. Groner, *Ryōgen*, 176–179.

37. Stevens, *Marathon Monks*, 124.

38. Takagawa, "Jōgyō zanmai no taiken wo tōshite." Takagawa, who completed the *kaihōgyō* practice describes his experience of the constantly walking meditation.

last from one to three or seven days.³⁹ Emphasis is placed on *shōmyō* (ritual chanting). The ceremony has also been conducted by the three major Tendai traditions—Enryakuji, Onjōji, and the Shinsei lineage at Saikyōji. The first-hand accounts I have read do not stress the precepts but rather emphasize comportment and chanting.

Circumambulating the Mountain

A group of practices called the “three hells”—the hell of circumambulating the mountain (*kaihōgyō*), the washing hell at the Jōdoin, and the debate hell at Yokawa—are even more extreme. The scholarly and first-person accounts of *kaihōgyō* available to me do not mention ordinations and precepts, but those embarking on such demanding practices must have been ordained and have received the *samaya* precepts in esoteric consecrations. Memorizing the routes and the prayers and *dhāraṇī* for each of the roughly three hundred sites on the route demands mindfulness about one’s practice, as does the expectation that one would embody Fudō myōō (Immovable Wisdom King). The ascetic practices of the seven-year course of circumambulating is emphasized in the Tendai School’s website even though few people ever complete it.⁴⁰ Several scholars have written about it in English,⁴¹ so I only highlight some of the pertinent aspects here. The modern course of one thousand days of circumambulation and a nine-day complete fast after completing seven hundred days of circumambulation is only a few centuries old. In fact, the term *kaihōgyō* only came into use when Tendai was revived after the 1571 razing of Mount Hiei by Oda Nobunaga. Before that, it was simply called a pilgrimage practice (*junrei shūgyō*). Various buildings, shrines, rocks, trees, and so forth were said to be the abode of deities. Sometimes these were sites where a practitioner might have sequestered himself for practice. Eventually three hundred sites were identified with practices, often involving the recitation of *dhāraṇī*. These practices were not written down in an organized fashion at first but were instead transmitted verbally or in memos. The first record of circumambulating Mount Hiei with appropriate rites for the various sites along the route does not appear until the late Kamakura period when Kōshū, the author of the *Keiran shūyōshū*, wrote the *Unjin junrei ki*.⁴² Even so, aspects of the practice are said to be found in the biography of Sōō (831–918), a disciple of Ennin and legendary founder of the practice, tying at least parts of

39. <http://sanzenin.or.jp/wp/2017/09/25/%e4%bf%ae%e6%ad%a3%e4%bc%9a/>. Accessed March 10, 2021.

40. <https://www.hieizan.or.jp/pursuit>. Accessed Feb. 11, 2021. The twelve-year seclusion at the Jōdoin is also mentioned, followed by the four types of *samādhi*.

41. Rhodes, “*Kaihōgyō* Practice of Mt. Hiei”; Ludvik, “In the Service of the *Kaihōgyō* Practitioners”; Covell, “Learning to Persevere”; Stevens, *Marathon Monks*.

42. This text has not been published to my knowledge and is not listed in *Bushō kaisetsu daijiten*, but manuscripts are found at a variety of locations (*Kokusho sōmoku roku*, 1:411a, s.v. 蓮心巡礼秘記). For an example of the notes, see “Kaihō tebumi,” in Murayama, *Hieizan to Tendai Bukkyō*, 407–424.

it to the early Heian period. A careful reading of these sources raises questions, however: for example, circumambulation of the mountain is not mentioned in Sōō's biography; and the emphasis on the worship and embodiment of Fudō Myōō originated with Enchin rather than Ennin, indicating the questionable origins of the practice in the Heian period. The practice known as Never-Despising Bodhisattva from the *Lotus Sutra* was particularly important; for Sōō this meant constantly bowing and paying obeisance to all the various deities and sites on Mount Hiei.⁴³

By the Muromachi period, seven hundred days of walking followed by a nine-day fast with no food, water, or lying down was probably considered to have completed the practice. But after Mount Hiei was destroyed and most of the documents lost, the practice was revived with additional aspects so that the practitioner would walk one thousand days spread over seven years, broken by the nine-day fast after seven hundred days.⁴⁴ The first example of the thousand-day practice occurred shortly after the destruction of Mount Hiei temples when Kōun (n.d.) completed the thousand-day practice in 1584.⁴⁵

As it stands today, the distance covered increases as the practitioner meets certain requirements, as do the number of days for the walking practice. The route the practitioner follows also changes, as do the accoutrements he can use. The dress of the practitioner reflects the worship of Fudō Myōō until the practitioner embodies him. In addition, the interpretation of the practice moves from an emphasis on practicing for oneself to practicing for the benefit of others. Thus, the nine-day fast focuses on ceremonies to benefit sentient beings. The walking schedule is severe enough that the term "marathon monks" used in a popular book is appropriate, but even more remarkable is how the fast brings the practitioner close to death. Upon completing the practice, the practitioner is called "the great master who has completed his great practice" (*daijari daigyōman*) and permitted to enter the imperial palace wearing his street footwear (*dosoku sannai*). At one time, the practitioner, upon entering, was to perform esoteric rites to protect the emperor (*gyokutai kaji*), but this practice was discontinued during the Meiji Restoration.⁴⁶

This is a grueling ordeal, but a few monks have completed a second course, and in one case, a third course. The connection of this practice with the precepts is not emphasized, but surely the practitioners would have been ordained, probably with the perfect-sudden precepts based on the *Lotus Sutra*; but more important, the strict guidelines of his practice would have formed his discipline. According to recent records, from 1585 to 2003, only forty-nine monks had completed the thousand days of walking. Clearly, this was a practice only for the most serious and physically fit monk; and yet it is referred to

43. Tendai shūten hensanjo, *Zoku Tendaishū zensho, Shūden*, 2:120b. For an important investigation of the origins of *kaihōgyō*, see Misaki Ryōshū, "Hieizan no kaihōgyō."

44. Ludvig, "In the Service of the *Kaihōgyō* Practitioners."

45. Fukuda, *Tendaigaku gairon*, 492.

46. Take, "Tendai ni okeru shugyō no rinen," 57–62; Take, "Hieizan kaihōgyō no rekishi"; Fujinami, "Sennichi kaihōgyō no taiken wo tōshite."

in many Tendai publications as a quintessential Tendai practice. Some modern practitioners have written popular accounts of it.⁴⁷

Serving at Saichō's Mausoleum

More pertinent to a consideration of practices related to Tendai views of the precepts is the twelve-year sequestration at Saichō's mausoleum at the Jōdoin (Pure Land Hall) in the Tōdō (Eastern Pagoda) area on Mount Hiei; in fact, the monks undergoing this practice are called *rissō* (precept monks). Saichō had died elsewhere, but his remains were brought to the Jōdoin in 856 by his students. Practices were instituted at that time, but these were based on the seven-day Pure Land ceremony devised by the Chinese monk Fazhao and brought back from Mount Wutai by Ennin. Services were interrupted when Mount Hiei was burned in 1571, but after that, in 1699, Saichō's twelve-year sequestration on Mount Hiei was instituted by Reikū Kōken (1652–1739), an exponent of the Anrakuritsuin movement. After twelve years in seclusion on Mount Hiei, the monks could receive the *Four-Part Vinaya* ordination as an expedient. Re-establishing the ordination reflected Tendai's efforts to move toward Chinese models of practice. However, the practices at the Jōdoin differed from Saichō's requirements insofar as they only would be imposed on the very few monks who chose to undergo the twelve years of service at Saichō's mausoleum. The practitioner begins by seeking to receive a sign (*kōsō*) from the Buddha that enables him to undergo a self-ordination, a practice based on a passage from the *Brahma's Net Sutra*.⁴⁸ The practitioner is called *jishin*, literally "the servant of the true," suggesting that Saichō's remains are treated as though he were still present, with offerings made to him daily. After the self-ordination, the practitioner is expected to stay sequestered in the Pure Land Hall for twelve years, a practice based on the "Articles in Four Parts" (*Shijō shiki*) in which Saichō described his plan for Tendai's education system for monks as including the twelve uninterrupted years on Mount Hiei. The monks were to be in either the esoteric Buddhism or Tendai meditation course. During the Tokugawa period, either the *Brahma's Net Sutra* rules and/or the *Four-Part Vinaya* rules might be received, but since the Meiji period, only the *Brahma's Net Sutra* precepts have been conferred. The use of the *Four-Part Vinaya* rules reflects Saichō's suggestion that monks might provisionally receive the "Hinayāna" precepts after twelve years (*heju shōkai*).⁴⁹ The extreme austerities of this practice were sometimes referred to as the "washing hell" (*sōji jigoku*) because cleaning the grounds and preparing food offerings for Saichō took so much care and time. Take Kakuchō has compiled a list of those who undertook this practice from 1699 to 1985. He sums up the practice as

47. Covell, "Learning to Persevere."

48. T 1484, 24:1006c05–10. The passage is quoted or paraphrased in Saichō's *Sange gakuishō shiki*, T 2377, 74:625a19–21; *Kenkai ron*, T 2376, 74:607c18–24; 610c3–7; and Kōjō's *Denjutsu isshinkai mon*, T 2379, 74:638a29–b2.

49. *Sange gakuishō shiki*, T 2377, 74:624c23–26; *Kenkai ron*, T 2376, 74:591a20–23.

115 having attempted but only 78 having completed the twelve years; 66 undertook the Tendai course, 41 the esoteric course, and 33 also used the *Four-Part Vinaya* in addition to the *Brahma's Net Sutra*. The average age when they underwent the self-ordination was 35; their average life span was 57.⁵⁰ The clear distinctions of types of ordinations and precepts are unusual and reflect the role they played in Saichō's biography. In fact, in most modern Tendai literature, the use of the *Brahma's Net Sutra* is associated with the story of Saichō's establishment of the Tendai School rather than modern practices.

Because little has been published in Western languages on this practice, I list below the daily schedule:

- 3:30 a.m.—attendant awakens (emerges from meditation, *shutsujō*, indicating that even sleep was considered to be meditation) and opens the doors to the hall
- 4:00 a.m.—morning services, said to follow the *Guoqing bai lu*, (Record of one hundred documents from Guoqing temple) but modified with the addition of the *Heart Sutra* and the *Brahma's Net Sutra* and seven recitations of the names of buddhas (*hōgō*)
- 5:00 a.m.—preparation of the food offerings for Saichō and for Daikokuten, who is both a protector deity and god of the kitchen
- 5:30 a.m.—officiant takes his small meal (*shōjiki*)⁵¹
- 6:30 a.m.—offerings to Amida, chanting of the three nation-protecting scriptures (*Golden Light*, *Benevolent King*, and *Lotus* sutras), and the *dhāranī* for the *Greater Perfection of Wisdom Sutra*
- 10:00 a.m.—offering of food to Saichō, offering of tea to Saichō, Amitābha, and Mañjuśrī
- 10:30 a.m.—officiant takes his meal
- 4:00 p.m.—evening services, according to the obeisances in the *Guoqing bai lu*, with obeisance to the three jewels and reading of the precepts in the *Brahma's Net Sutra* by turns (*rindoku*)
- 5:00 p.m.—attendant shuts the doors to the mausoleum
- 9:00 p.m.—bedtime, when one may enter meditation or rest or sleep (*nyūjō*)

There also existed a detailed list of annual rites wherein various leaders of the Tendai School were honored with services. All of this along with meticulously cleaning and straightening the Pure Land Hall kept the *jishin* so busy that the twelve-year seclusion was aptly called the “cleaning hell.”

Debate Hell

The third type of “hell” was the hell of debate (*rongi jigoku*). Japanese Tendai debate began as part of a ceremony commemorating the death of Zhiyi and

50. Take, “Hieizan no gyō.”

51. A term also used in Zen monasteries to indicate an early morning meal.

was later extended to memorialize the death of Saichō. Soon the debates increased in number as the major areas of Mount Hiei—Eastern Pagoda, Western Pagoda, and Yokawa—began to hold them. Finally, various seminaries (*danrin*) and academic monasteries (*gakumonji*) held them. The sense of a debate hell had its origins in the system of debates that Ryōgen established for his temple in Yokawa on Mount Hiei. Debates, to be held every season, focused on five of the major Mahāyāna scriptural traditions: *Avatamsaka*, *Vaipulya*, *Prajñapāramitā*, *Lotus*, and *Nirvāṇa*. Strict rules governed these debates, which were held every year at the Shiki kōdō (Four Seasons Lecture Hall), which eventually came to be called the Ganzan Daishi dō (Hall for the Great Teacher Ryōgen, named after Ryōgen's posthumous name, Ganzan Daishi). The debates are described in the *Shiki kōdō seishiki kikigaki* (Record of lectures on the rules for the Four Seasons Lecture Hall), a text dated 1731.⁵² The recitation of scriptures (*kankin*) was an important part of this practice. Practice would begin early in the morning as soon as one could see the palm of his hand and continue until night. To the emphasis on the *Lotus Sutra*, particularly the chapter on Kannon, were added recitations of the *Emituo jing* (*Amitābha Sutra*) and esoteric *dhāraṇī*; various services (*kōshiki*) in honor of Ryōgen were also performed. The constant emphasis on recitation and debate was grueling, leading monks to characterize these parts of the practice as a form of hell. They also involved eight or thirty lectures on the *Lotus Sutra*, based on the eight fascicles or the twenty-eight chapters along with the opening and closing scriptures of the *Lotus Sutra*, one per day.⁵³

Traditionally, debates leading up to those at major temples were held at various lesser temples. Advances in rank depended on one's performance in these debates. In 986, a major debate that served as a "final examination" was held at Enryakuji. Called the Great Assembly of the *Lotus Sūtra* over Broad Learning to Establish Doctrine (Hokke daie kōgaku ryūgi), it is the name of a ceremony still held today.⁵⁴ There have been significant changes in the Hokke daie over the past several centuries, with the burning of Mount Hiei as the key dividing point.⁵⁵ According to Take Kakuchō, who compared ritual manuals from the thirteenth century until the present, on Mount Hiei before the fire, only one monk for the most part would be tested at the ceremony, though it might be held twice each year, marking the death anniversaries of Zhiyi and Saichō. The stress these monks felt preparing for and participating in the examination is recorded in medieval materials. The difficulty of the examination is evident from the requirement that the monk memorize the key, often contradictory, passages associated with numerous doctrinal prob-

52. Kiyohara Ekō describes the services on the basis of the *Shiki kōdō seishiki kikigaki*, a text dated 1731 ("Tendai no rongi to kankingyō," 254–265).

53. Kiyohara, "Tendai no rongi to kankingyō."

54. Groner, *Ryōgen*, 128–166.

55. The most thorough research on the Hokke daie is Ogami Kanchū, *Hokke daie*, which was updated by Kiyohara Ekō and published in Ogami, *Nihon Tendaiishi no kenkyū*, 973–1134. See p. 1134 for the publishing history.

lems. He would not know which subject might come up until the topic was drawn from a box. The rules that Jitsudō Ninkū instituted reflected the importance placed on study by some groups in medieval Tendai, but certainly not by the majority.

At some point after the fire on Mount Hiei the system shifted, as it did in the Nara schools for other reasons, from a large array of possible topics to the revelation of the problem to be discussed in a dream (*yumemi*) that the judge would have a dream while in a specific place. The site for the dream had originally been the Hokkedō (*Lotus Sutra Hall*), but it was then moved to the Zentōin, the mausoleum dedicated to Ennin. This change in format might have resulted in the candidate focusing on memorizing and rehearsing a single issue rather than a broader list of issues, and a shift from academic study to an emphasis on the performance of ceremonial chanting. The reason for the focus on the Zentōin is not clear but may have been connected to an emphasis on Ennin as the progenitor of the Sanmon lineage as opposed to Enchin's position in the Jimon lineage. In addition, in the *Konjaku monogatari shū*, Ennin is said to have become Saichō's disciple after seeing him in a dream.⁵⁶ At any rate, the *yumemi* tradition is mentioned in the earliest extant ritual manual for the Hokke daie from the thirteenth century.⁵⁷ The *yumemi* tradition is also found in some rituals of the Nara schools.⁵⁸

Although few documents concerning the early history of the Hokke daie survived the burning of Mount Hiei,⁵⁹ the paucity of early texts allowed Tendai to reshape the Hokke daie as a key ritual in the campaign to restore the Tendai School. One change was that the ritual that had only been held sporadically, ranging from intervals of two to five years, became settled on an observance every four years. Furthermore, the roles played by the officiants became hierarchical, thereby giving a path to higher positions in the Tendai School. Instead of testing only one person, many were tested, with virtually all passing. The nature of the ceremony thus changed from being a strict test to marking advances in the hierarchical structure of the school. The candidates frequently were selected based on their temple affiliation and experience. With the establishment of a major temple in Tokyo, Kan'eiji, which was often called "the Eastern Hiei" (Tōei), the bulk of the candidates came from the Kantō region. This was in part because Tendai seminaries (*dannin*) in Kantō continued to exist and gained influence after Mount Hiei had been burned. Tendai scholarly temples (*gakumonji*) during the Tokugawa period numbered as many as fifty-five.⁶⁰ Some of the extant rules reflect how serious the demand for scholarship was during the Edo period; the occasional mentions of the topics for the four seasons in these rules were perhaps the influence of Ryōgen's system

56. Mabuchi, *Konjaku monogatari shū*, 1:73.

57. Take, "Hokke daie ryūgi," 28, 29, 39. Take does not discuss this in any detail.

58. Matsuo, "Nanto Jion'e ni okeru yumemi."

59. Take, "Hokke daie ryūgi," 127.

60. Ogami, "Tendai gakumonji," 671–674.

at Yokawa.⁶¹ Another term used for Tendai scholarly institutions was *danrin*, or *danrinsho*, which I have tentatively translated as “seminaries.” These were prevalent from Ōmi eastward. Ogami counts forty-three of them.⁶² Some overlap with the term “scholarly temples” exists, but the differences between the two are still not clear. For the purposes of this study, the widespread use of Tendai debate from the Muromachi period onward is evident.

The ranking of those who applied to participate in the new version of the Hokke daie was repeatedly adjusted in the early Edo period.⁶³ The first student performed for several hours and was followed by monks who performed for only a few minutes. The actual ritual performance followed earlier procedures for the most part, though the examination of students was simplified.⁶⁴ In 2019, 181 candidates went through the examination over the six days of the Hokke daie.⁶⁵ This coincides with what I observed at the Hokke daie and other Tendai institutions; the ritual performance was carefully conducted, but monks might not exhibit a detailed knowledge of doctrine. The contemporary ritual manual describes the melody and rhythm of the chants to be used at certain times; in other parts, the candidate may use his own words (*jikigon*).

The sense of these practices as “hell” comes from the constant pressure to prepare and perform in the debates, as well as to properly conduct the ceremonies accompanying them. In the medieval period, for example, before the topic was chosen through a dream, the candidate might have to memorize the key texts for a large number of topics and recite from memory key passages from scripture on a topic drawn from a box. The candidate (*rissha*) was expected to explain how superficially contradictory elements of the topic could be reconciled; senior monks would ask questions and a judge would award points. Absences were not allowed. Moreover, the numbers and varieties of debates and offices in the debates proliferated. For example, debates might be held after lectures on the *Lotus Sutra*, lectures that could vary in number: for example, eight times (the number of fascicles in the *Lotus Sutra*), ten times (the *Lotus Sutra* plus its opening and closing sutras), twenty-eight times (the number of chapters in the *Lotus Sutra*), or thirty times (the number of chapters in the *Lotus Sutra* and its opening and closing scriptures). Questions would enliven the lectures by asking questions.

The roles of monks in the debate were consonant with a hierarchical structure of monastic ranks: for example, monks might first be candidates to be lecturers (*gikō*), then progress to being a lecturer, and then considered to be an *ikō* (literally one who had completed the lecture); they would then progress to being a judge for the debate (*tandai*), and so forth. The system

61. Ogami, “Tendai gakumonji,” 671–674.

62. Ogami, “Chūko Tendai ni okeru dangisho.”

63. Fujita, *Kimsei no Tendai-shū to Enryakuji*; Ogami, “Tenshō igo no kōgaku ryūgi seido.” Ogami’s article traces the shifts in a number of documents and demonstrates the vicissitudes as the Tendai School determined the shape of the Hokke daie.

64. Take, “Hokke daie kōgaku ryūgi ni tsuite.”

65. From the internet entry: <https://bunkajiho.co.jp/blog/?p=1586>. Accessed Feb. 11, 2021.

could be repeated as one advanced in the series of lectures. Finally, lectures in Totsu in the village of Sakamoto at the base of Mount Hiei would be the final requirement before one was named as chief prelate (*zasu*) of Tendai. The lectures at Totsu were based on the tradition that Saichō had lectured on the *Lotus Sutra* at that site. By the time a monk had passed through these lectures and debates and before being named *zasu*, he might be in his nineties, particularly because the Hokke daie was held only once every four or five years. The Tendai hierarchy, furthermore, used the ranks that first appeared in the Office of Monastic Affairs (Sōgō), such as “bishop” (*sōzu*) and so forth. This system would change over time, particularly as Tendai’s relation to the state and to Chinese Tiantai changed. For example, medieval Tendai *hongaku* thought would be largely abandoned and Zhili’s interpretation of Tiantai adopted, although attempts were sometimes made to reconcile certain aspects of these views. Early debates were modeled on those found in the Nara schools, but unique Tendai procedures emerged. Instead of drawing a topic from a box or through a dream, the judge might choose it from a book of either one or two hundred topics that were taken from the writings of Zhiyi and Zhanran. I have not described these changes in detail here, but simply noted several of the significant aspects of the system.⁶⁶

Final Reflections

What role did precepts and ordinations play in these ceremonies? Yamada Etai has noted that only those with the perfect-sudden precepts could participate in them, a provision based on the common emphasis on the *Lotus Sutra* for both this ordination and the debates.⁶⁷ How much these practices reflected the rules of the *Brahma’s Net Sutra*, the *Lotus Sutra*, or other sources for Tendai precepts is frequently not clear. Fortnightly assemblies in which the precepts were recited would have led monks to constantly be reminded of the precepts, but these occasions were exceedingly rare. When they were held, the emphasis was on creating merit. In some cases, however, the precepts were crucial to a monk’s practice. For example, the *jishin* at the Pure Land Hall received the precepts through a self-ordination and then as part of his subsequent practice repeatedly recited the precepts. The use of the self-ordination is unusual. Saichō traced his ordination back to receiving the precepts from Daosui, not to a self-ordination. Perhaps the use of a self-ordination reflected doubts about the validity of an ordination lineage through monks, or perhaps it was intended to emphasize the importance of honoring Saichō as if he were present. Whatever the case, the number of monks who underwent the twelve-year seclusion was exceedingly small.

When the *Brahma’s Net Sutra’s* precepts are mentioned in modern Tendai

66. Kiuchi, “Tendaishū no kindai ni tsuite”; Kiyohara, “Tendai no rongi no keisei katei”; Kiyohara, “Tendai no rongi to kankingyō.”

67. Yamada, *Keireki*, 72.

literature and websites, they are treated as historical artifacts relating to Saichō's establishment of the Tendai School. The rules themselves are rarely quoted or cited in the sets of temple rules that survive. The details that would have been needed to interpret these terse precepts are usually not considered. When the various sets of rules themselves in the past and present are considered, their vagueness and the unusual mix of guidelines for both lay believers and monastics sometimes leave considerable doubt about which precepts applied to which type of practitioner. Moreover, the procedures for expiation of wrongdoing were frequently not clear. These issues decisively influenced Tendai because monastics frequently resembled lay believers in their sexual activity, drinking of alcohol, and eating of meat, usually fish or birds. As one modern scholar puts it, "Tendai was a special form of lay Buddhism." Even so, significant differences exist in Tendai between so-called monks and lay practitioners. Monks wear robes, shave their heads (or at least cut it very close), perform certain rituals, sometimes engage in Buddhist learning, and earn a living at temples. Before the Meiji period, Tendai monks might have had a family, but it lived apart from the temple. Today, the family lives on the temple grounds, close to the hall for memorial and other ceremonies. In modern discussions of Tendai precepts, however, distinctions between ordinations for lay believers, novices, and fully ordained monastics are frequently delineated, reflecting the concerns of exegetes such as Enchin and Ninkū to establish distinct ordinations for these groups. The precepts today are usually conferred by Śākyamuni and bodhisattvas but transmitted by eminent Tendai monks. The problem of how one joins the order of buddhas and bodhisattvas while belonging to an order of Tendai monastics is reconciled through the separate use of terms like "confer" and "transmit." Or is it? Does expiation of a major infraction require an experience or dream of something supernatural (*kōsō*)? Or, if that fails, would reordination restore the precepts? Does the identification of the rules with buddha-nature or Suchness, which continues from lifetime to lifetime and can never be lost, render monastic discipline virtually meaningless? These are some of the questions taken up in chapters 12 and 13, where I explored doctrinal discussions of killing and the question of whether the precepts can be lost. Clearly, the same questions that modern believers have were also paramount for exegetes in medieval Japan.

In all these ways, the history of ordinations and precepts have influenced the development of Tendai. What's more, the precepts influenced monks' behavior with their emphasis on compassion and honesty. The simpler formulas for precepts, such as the three collections of pure precepts, lay precepts, ten good precepts, and the admonitions of the seven buddhas of the past have probably been more influential than the *Brahma's Net Sutra* because they are easier to remember. In my adult lifetime of dealing with Tendai monks, most of them academics, I have been impressed with their generosity, thoughtfulness, and the way they conducted themselves. While it is difficult to view these as the direct outgrowth of their ordinations and precepts, I believe they were certainly influenced by them.

Afterword

IN LATE 1986 I got it into my head that I wanted to study Buddhism. For the previous seven years, I had enjoyed the friendship of the late Roger Corless of Duke University. Through many long conversations and attendance at lectures and other events with him, I had gained a basic foundation in Buddhist history and concepts, and he alleviated my doubts about my ability to learn Chinese. Naturally, I asked if I could study with him in the doctoral program at Duke, but he told me that I needed to head to the University of Virginia and study with Paul Groner. He'd train me right.

Even before I began the application process, exploratory phone conversations with Professor Groner made it clear that training in the University of Virginia doctoral program would entail not just an accumulation of knowledge; it was also going to involve personal formation and socialization in the world of scholarship. He emphasized the need to take language study seriously, since without it the primary sources and much secondary scholarship would be inaccessible to me. Paul also taught me to think bibliographically. It would no longer suffice to read something and remember what it said. I would also need to pay attention to the author, the year, the publication venue, and so on. This realization came after I reported something I'd read to him, and when he asked for the details, all I could say was that I *thought* maybe it was in a book with a green cover.

I learned to stay close to the primary sources, as doing so would enable me to identify research projects worth pursuing or assess others' work critically. This meant learning to translate, and I remember the days spent at a table in the reference room in Alderman Library near the shelf where the Buddhist dictionaries sat and the weekly drive to Paul's house to go over my renditions. I still remember the look he gave me when, relying too much on Mathews's dictionary, I translated *qin* (琴) as "harpsichord." In the course of this training, I took to heart his advice to acquire as many different dictionaries as possible and to spend time with them so that I would know the particular strength of each.

As I plowed ahead, I found that there were many other, less tangible habits

of mind and practice that I would need to pick up, such as involvement in the loose networks of conversation that would help me keep my ear to the ground and gauge what research projects might be of interest to the scholarly community (less easy to do in a time before the internet, social media, or even e-mail). Floating above all of this was the sense Paul imparted to me that I was taking up an honorable profession that deserved my best.

I am grateful that he also showed a good deal of flexibility. Because of his own training at Yale University with the late Stanley Weinstein, Paul emphasized mastery of Japanese and close cooperation with scholars from Japan. He approved my decision to make Chinese my language of fluency, as long as I showed I could read Japanese adequately. This permitted me to begin a fruitful research program at a time when Chinese scholars were starting to make reputations as worthwhile conversation partners for Western scholars. When my original dissertation topic proved impractical, Paul helped me, without complaint, launch a new program under a new committee.

I loved it all. I still do. And I thank Professors Corless and Groner for opening up this career to me and inspiring me to give it my best. I still count Paul among my good friends and always look forward to conversations when we meet. He may be one of the most gregarious academics I have ever met.

It has been over thirty years since I began my studies with Professor Groner, and many things have changed. The field was smaller in the early 1990s, and it seemed possible then to know everyone in the field of Buddhist studies. Now the field has expanded tremendously, with talented new scholars entering each year. Language proficiency has gone up, and indeed many more scholars than before are native speakers of the relevant languages. I used to quip that translating helped build my biceps as I hoisted volumes of the *Taishō* and heavy print dictionaries. Now a wide variety of materials and reference works are available online in searchable digital formats, and we have dictionaries in our phones that only require one to point the camera at the text. Back then one often needed to travel to find sources, and I remember days spent shirtless in a non-air-conditioned library storage facility in Taiwan poring over old journals and taking copious notes by hand for lack of a copy machine. Now it seems everything is a mouse click away.

All these changes are good, and they allow research to proceed more smoothly and quickly. But I hope the essentials of my training under Professor Groner remain: that is that close reading, skilled use of reference works, critical engagement, thorough research, and immersion in the ongoing conversation are still true. If this praxis remains current amid all the technological advancements, then I have confidence in the persistence of the legacy of Paul Groner and his generation.

Charles B. Jones
Ordinary Professor
School of Theology and Religious Studies
The Catholic University of America

Glossary

- Abutsu-ni 阿仏尼 (d. 1283)
 Aguiin 安居院
 Aizen dō 愛染堂: Hall for Aizen
 ajari 阿闍梨: teacher or master of esoteric Buddhism, depending on the context
 akaku daishi 阿覺大師: great teacher of the realization through the syllable *a*
 Akiko 暲子 (1137–1211)
 akugyaku 惡逆: evil
 akusō 惡僧: bad monks
 Anjōji 安祥寺
 Ankamon'in 安嘉門院 (1209–1283)
 Anné 安慧 (794/795–868)
 Annen 安然 (b. 841)
 “Anrakugyō” 安樂行: “Course of Ease and Bliss”
 Anrakuritsu 安樂律
 Anrakuritsuin 安樂律院: Anrakuritsu Hall
 ansō 暗証: dark realization
 Ashikaga Yoshimitsu 足利義滿 (1358–1408)
 bainoku 唄匿: chanted Sanskrit verses
 baodu 報土: reward land
 Beommanggyeong gojeokgi 梵網經古迹記: T 1815, Taehyōn’s *Commentary on the Brahma’s Net Sutra*
 bessō sanbō 別相三宝: three jewels considered in terms of separate characteristics
 betsuengyō 別円教: distinct and perfect teachings
 betsugedatsukai 別解脱戒: *prātimokṣa*, the separate [sets of] precepts that result in liberation
 betsuin 別院: branch temple
 betsuju 別受: distinct ordinations and sets of precepts
 betsuju betsuji 別受別持: distinct ordinations and distinct observance
 Binmanji 敏満寺
 Bishu 鞞瑟
 Bodaishin gi shō 菩提心義抄: T 2397, by Annen
 bonbō 梵法: ostracism
 bonbu 凡夫: worldlyling
 bondan 梵壇: platform in Brahma’s heaven
 bongyō 梵行: chaste and pure in practice
 bon’i 凡位: stages of worldlylings
 bonkai 犯戒: violations of the precepts
 Bonmōkyō jikidanshō 梵網經直談抄: *Straightforward Talk on the Brahma’s Net Sutra*
 Bonmōkyō kaihōn shō nichijū shō 梵網戒本疏日珠鈔: T 2247, *Commentary on the Brahma’s Net Sutra Precepts*, by Gyōnen
 Bonmōkyō ryakushō 梵網經略疏: Zenju’s *Commentary on the Brahma’s Net Sutra*
 Bonmōshū 梵網宗: *Brahma’s Net Sutra School*
 bonnō 煩惱: Skt. *kleśa*, defilement
 bonshi 凡師: teachers who are worldlylings
 Bore liqu jing 般若理趣經
 bosatsu daikai 菩薩大戒: bodhisattva (or full) Mahāyāna precepts

- bosatsu daisōkai* 菩薩大僧戒: bodhisattva precepts that fully ordain a monastic
- bosatsukai* 菩薩戒: bodhisattva precepts
- Bosatsukai giki chiken besshi shō* 菩薩戒義記知見別紙抄: *Compendium of Additional Notes of Knowledge of the Pusajie yi ji*
- Bosatsukai giki kikigaki* 菩薩戒義記聞書: *A Record of Lectures on the Pusajie yi ji*
- Bosatsukai gisho kenmon* 菩薩戒義疏見聞
- Bosatsukai gisho shō* 菩薩戒義疏鈔: Enrin's *Subcommentary on the Bodhisattva Precepts*
- Bosatsukai tsūbetsu niju shō* 菩薩戒通別二受鈔: by Kakujiō
- bosatsu konpon jūkai* 菩薩根本重戒: fundamental major precepts of the bodhisattva
- bosatsu shamikai* 菩薩沙弥戒: bodhisattva novice precepts
- bosatsuzō* 菩薩藏: bodhisattva treasury of texts
- bukkai* 仏界: buddha-realm
- bukkai* 仏戒: Buddha's precepts
- bundan shin* 分段身: karmically determined body
- bunshin soku* 分真即: identity of partial realization
- bunshin soku* 分身即: partial physical identity
- bunshō soku* 分証即: identity of partial realization
- buntsū daijō* 分通大乘: partially congruent with Mahāyāna
- buritsu* 扶律: maintaining the precepts
- Bussetsu Kanfugen bosatsu gyōhōkyō monku gōki* 觀普賢菩薩行法經文句合記: Enchin's *Commentary on the Samantabhadra Sutra*
- bussō kai* 仏性戒: precepts arising from buddha-nature
- bussō shuji* 仏性種子: seeds of buddha-nature
- Butchōan 仏頂庵: Buddha's Protuberance Hermitage
- byakuō shō* 白法障: obstacles to good
- byakuōtsu* 白拂: white fly whisk
- byaku shikonma* 白四羯磨: stating the motion and asking for agreement three times
- Chengguan* 澄觀 (738–839)
- Chengshi lun* 成実論: T 1646
- Cheng weishi lun* 成唯識論: T 1585
- chi* 智: wisdom or cognition
- chiji* 知事: administrator
- Chikurinbō 竹林房
- Chikyō 智鏡 (n.d.)
- Chinkoku kanjō shiki* 鎮国灌頂私記
- Chinzei 鎮西
- chisui* 知水: water steward
- chō* 頂: protuberance signifying wisdom
- chō* 町: unit of length
- Chōen 長宴 (1016–1081)
- Chōi 長意 (836–906)
- Chōjin 澄尋
- Chōken 澄憲 (d. 1203)
- chōri* 長吏: abbot
- chōrō* 長老: abbot
- chōsai* 長齋: fast after noon
- chūdō jissō* 中道実相: middle path of the true aspect
- Chujiaren shou pusajie fa* 出家人受菩薩戒法: *Bodhisattva Ordination Manual*, found at Dunhuang
- Chūjin 忠尋 (1065–1138)
- Chu sanzang jiji* 出三藏記集: T 2145
- Ci'en 慈恩 (632–682)
- congta shoujie* 從他受戒: ordinations conferred by a qualified teacher
- Da bore jing* 大般若經: *Greater Perfection of Wisdom Sutra*: T 220
- Dafangguang fohuayan jing suishu yanyi chao* 大方廣佛華嚴經隨疏演義鈔: T 1736
- daiajari daigyōman* 大阿闍梨大行滿: great master who has completed his great practice
- daidangi* 大談義: great doctrinal discussion
- Daie 大慧 (n.d.)
- daigakutō* 大学頭: principal
- daihō* 大法: advanced esoteric initiations
- Daijionji 大慈園寺
- Daijō Hossō kenjinshō* 大乘法相研神章: T 2309, Hossō text by Gomyō
- Daijōji 大乘寺
- daijōkai* 大乘戒: Mahāyāna precepts

- Daikai shinanshō* 大戒指南抄: *A Compass for the Mahāyāna Precepts*
- Daikokuten 大黒天: Mahākāla
- daikyōin 大教院: great doctrinal halls
- dainagon 大納言: senior counsel
- dairi 大利: greater benefit
- daishi henki tokusatsu 大士見機得殺:
bodhisattva allowed to kill considering salvific impetus
- Daiso *jikiju* 大蘇直授: direct conferral on Mount Dasu
- Daitokuji 大徳寺
- Daji 大集: T 397
- Dale jin'gang bukong zhenshi sanmoye jing*
大樂金剛不空真実三摩耶經: T 243
- dangi 談義: lectures, sermons, discussions
- Danna-ryū 壇那流: major medieval Tendai lineage
- danrin 談林: seminary
- Daojin 道進 (d. 444)
- Daosui 道邃 (n.d.)
- Daoxi 道熙 (n.d.)
- Daoxuan 道璿 (702–760)
- Darjīng* 大日經: T 848, *Mahāvairocana Sutra*
- Darjīng yishi* 大日經義積: the version of Yixing's *Commentary on the Mahāvairocana Sutra* favored by Tendai
- Dasheng qixin lun* 大乘起信論: T 1666–1667, *Awakening of Faith in the Mahāyāna*
- Da zhidu lun* 大智度論: T 1509
- den 伝: transmit
- denbō ajari 伝法阿闍梨: master of Taimitsu (esoteric Buddhism)
- denbō kanjō 伝法灌頂: advanced esoteric consecrations
- Denchō 伝超
- Den Ganchō 伝元超
- Dengyō Daishi 伝教大師: posthumous honorific title of Saichō
- denju dan 伝受壇: platform for conferral
- denju kai 伝受戒: precepts that are transmitted and received
- denju kaishi 伝授戒師: teacher who can transmit the precepts
- Denjutsu issinkai mon* 伝述一心戒文: T 2379, *Kōjō's Records of the Transmission of the Document on the One-Mind Precepts*
- denkai shi 伝戒師: teacher who transmits the precepts
- Denshin kashō 伝信和尚: *See* Kōen
- Denshin kashō den* 伝信和尚伝
- densu 殿主: verger
- dentō daijō *betsugedatsukai* 伝灯大乘別解脱戒: transmission of the flame of the Mahāyāna separate precepts, the *prātimokṣa*
- dentō hosshū 伝灯法師位: the teacher who transmits the lamp
- dentō man'i 伝灯満位: completion of the stage of transmission of the lamp
- dō 導
- Dōchū 道忠 (n.d.)
- dōgō 道号: Buddhist literary names
- dōgukai 道共戒: precepts held with the realization of buddhahood
- dōji 童子: young boys
- Dōkū 道空
- dokushi 読師: reader
- Dongta 東塔: Sect of Chinese Vinaya School
- dō shō *ritsugi* 道生律儀: precepts arising in conjunction with the path
- dōshu 道種: seeds of the path
- dosoku sannai 土足参内: permission to enter the palace wearing street footwear
- dōtatsu 堂達: transmitter
- e 恵: sagacity
- Echin 慧鎮 (1281–1356)
- eden 絵伝: pictorial biography
- Egi 恵顛 (d. 1301)
- Eikū 叡空 (d. 1179)
- Eisai 栄西 (1141–1215)
- Eison 叡尊 (1201–1290)
- Eizan daishiden* 叡山大師伝: *Biography of the Great Teacher of Mount Hiei*, Saichō's earliest biography
- eizōshi 营造司: administrator in charge of construction and clearing land
- Emituo jing* 阿弥陀經: T 366, *Amitābha Sutra*
- Enchin 円珍 (814–891)
- Enchō 円澄 (772–837)

- Endon bosatsukai jūjū yonjūhachi gyōgi shō*
 円頓菩薩戒十重四十八行儀鈔
endonkai 円頓戒: perfect-sudden precepts
- Endon kaigi ni kikigaki* 円頓戒儀秘聞書:
Record of the Secret Bodhisattva Ordination Manual, by Ninkū
- Endonkai gyōji shō* 円頓戒曉示抄:
Counsels on the Perfect-Sudden Precepts
- Endon kaijō zu* 円頓戒場図: *Diagram of the Perfect-Sudden Ordination Platform*
- Endonkai kikigaki* 円頓戒聞書: *A Written Record of What Was Heard Concerning the Perfect-Sudden Precepts*
- Endonkai myakufu kuketsu* 円頓戒脈譜
 口決: *Oral Determinations of Perfect-Sudden Precept Lineages*
- Endon kaitai shikishin no koto* 円頓戒体色
 心事: *On Whether the Essence of the Precepts Is Physical or Mental*
- E'nin 慧仁: an alternative name for Ninkū
- enjitsukyō* 円実教: perfect and ultimate teaching
- en jūzenkai* 円十善戒: perfect ten good precepts
- enkai* 円戒: perfect precepts
- Enkai gyōjishō* 円戒曉示鈔: *Admonishments and Instructions on the Perfect Precepts*, by Ninkū or his lineage
- Enkai jūroku jō* 門戒十六帖: *Sixteen chapters on the Perfect Precepts*, by Kōen or his lineage
- Enkan 円觀. *See* Echin
- Enkū 円空
- Enkyōbon 延慶本
- enmitsu itchi* 円密一致: single purport of the perfect and esoteric
- Ennin 円仁 (794–864)
- Ennin 緣忍: second abbot of Raigōin
- ennyū* 円融: perfect integration
- En'ō 炎王: Yamarāja
- Enrin 円琳 (b. 1174)
- Enryakuji 延曆寺
- Enryaku sōroku* 延曆僧錄
- Enshu 円修 (n.d.)
- Enson Shōnin 円存上人 (n.d.)
- Eryō 惠亮 (802?–860)
- Eshin-ryū 惠心流: major medieval Tendai lineage
- eshō nyūdai kaihō* 廻小人大戒法: first receiving the Hīnayāna precepts and then the Mahāyāna precepts
- Eson 惠尊 (fl. 1272)
- Eun 慧運 (798–869)
- ezō* 慧藏: literature on wisdom, the Abhidharma
- fadi* 法弟: follower of the Dharma
- Fahuaqing anlexing yi* 法華經安樂行義: T 1926, *The Meaning of the "Course of Ease and Bliss" from the Lotus Sutra*
- Fahua sanmei chanyi* 法華三昧懺儀: T 1941, *Procedures of the Lotus Samādhi and Repentance*
- Fahua wenju* 法華文句: T 1718, Zhiyi's line-by-line *Commentary on the Lotus Sutra*
- Fahua wenju ji* 法華文句記: T 1719, Zhanran's *Commentary on the Fahua wenju*
- Fahua xuanyi* 法華玄義: T 1716, Zhiyi's *Commentary on the Profound Meaning of the Lotus Sutra*
- Fahua xuanyi shiqian* 法華玄義釋籤: T 1717, Zhanran's *Commentary on the Fahua xuanyi*
- Fajing 法經: compiler of *Zhongjing mulu* catalog of Buddhist canon in 594.
- Fangdeng jing* 方等經: *Vaipulya Sutra*
- Fanwang jing* 梵網經: T 1424, *Brahma's Net Sutra*
- Fanwang jing pusa jieben shu* 梵網經菩薩戒本疏: T 1813, Fazang's *Commentary on the Brahma's Net Sutra*
- Fanwang jing pusajie shu* 梵網經菩薩戒疏
- Fanwang jing xindipin pusajie yishu fayin* 梵網經心地品菩薩戒義疏發隱: Zhuhong's *Commentary on the Brahma's Net Sutra*
- Fa putixin lun* 發菩提心論: T 1395
- Faquan 法全 (n.d.)
- Faxian 法顯 (337?–422?)
- Faxian 法銑 (718–778)
- Faxiang 法相: J. Hossō
- Fayuan yilin zhang* 法苑義林章: T 1861, essays by Ci'en, de facto founder of Faxiang

- Fayun 法雲 (467–529)
 Fazang 法藏 (643–712)
 Fazhao 法照 (d. 777)
fu 普
fudan 不斷: ceaseless
 Fudō Myōō 不動明王: Immovable
 Wisdom King
fugenzen 不現前: unseen
fuñōzō sojō 付法藏祖承: continuous
 lineage
fui mubon mon 怖畏無犯門: being fearful
 not constituting a violation
fu jaken kai 不邪見戒: precept of not
 having erroneous views
 Fujiwara no Fuyutsugu 藤原冬嗣
 (775–826)
 Fujiwara no Morosuke 藤原師輔
 (908–960)
 Fujiwara no Mototsune 藤原基經
 (836–891)
 Fujiwara no Nobuko 藤原陳子
 (1173–1238)
 Fujiwara no Takako 藤原高子 (842–910)
 Fujiwara no Yoshifusa 藤原良房
 (804–872)
fukiin 赴機印: mudra of responding to
 the faculties of sentient beings
 Fukuda Gyōei 福田堯穎 (1867–1954)
furitsu danjō 扶律談常: supporting the
 precepts and discussing the eternal
 [Buddha]
fusatsu 布薩: fortnightly assembly
fushidai 不次第: sequential
 Futaibō 不退房
futsūju 普通授: universal ordination
Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku 普通授菩薩戒
 広釈: T 2381, *Extensive Commentary on
 the Universal Bodhisattva Precepts
 Ordination*
gachirin 月輪: moon disk
gakumonji 學問寺: scholarly temples
gakushitsu 學室: study hall
Gakushōshiki mondō 學生式問答: *Questions
 and Answers on Rules for Students*
 Ganchō 元超
 Gangyōji 元慶寺
 Ganjin 鑑真: Ch. Jianzhen (688–763)
 Ganzan Daishi dō 元三大師堂: Hall for
 the Great Teacher Ryōgen
 Ganzan daishi rishōki 元三大師利生記
 Gaoseng zhuān 高僧伝: T 2059, *Biogra-
 phies of Eminent Monks*
 Gaozong 高宗 (1107–1187, r.
 1127–1162)
gasshō 合掌: joining the hands together
 so the fingers match
gebon 外凡: outer levels of the worldling
gedō jakai 外道邪戒: heterodox pernicious
 precepts
ge dōjō 外道場: outer platform
ge fusatsu 夏布薩: summer fortnightly
 assembly
 Genjō 玄靜
 Gennōji 元応寺
genshi kanjō 玄旨灌頂: consecration of
 the profound tenet
 Genshin 源信 (942–1017)
 Genshō 玄昭 (844–917)
genzen denkaishi 現前伝戒師: visible
 teachers of the precepts
 Gigen 義源 (fl. 1289–1351)
gikō 擬講: lecturer candidate
 Gishin 義真 (781–833)
gō 合: matching
gobutsu 五仏: five buddhas
gobyō 御廟: mausoleum
gobyō 五瓶: five vases
gobyō kanjō 五瓶灌頂: consecration with
 the five vases
godai 五大: five elements
 Godaidō 五大堂: Hall for the Five
 Protective Deities
 Go-daigo 後醍醐 (1288–1339, r.
 1318–1339)
 Godaiin 五大院
goganji 御願寺: temples established
 through vows of members of the
 imperial family or the nobility
gojō no hōben: 五乗ノ方便: expedient
 means of the five vehicles
goma 護摩: burnt-offerings ritual
 Gomyō 護命 (750–834)
 gon-chōrō 権長老: vice-abbot or
 provisional abbot
 Gongendani 権現谷
gonji 勤持: exhortation to observe the
 precepts
gōsan 合散: joined or separate

- goshō koshā mon* 護性許遮門: following the moral precepts but allowing [violations] of culturally determined rules
- gosō jōbutsu* 五相成仏: fivefold practice of realizing Vairocana
- gosō jōshin* 五相成仏: fivefold practice of realizing Vairocana's body
- gotoku* 五德: five virtues
- Go-Yōzei 後陽成 (1571–1617, r. 1586–1611)
- gozan jissetsu* 五山十刹: five mountains and ten monasteries
- guan* 觀: visualize, contemplate
- Guanding 灌頂 (561–632)
- Guan Puxian pusa xingfa jing* 觀普賢菩薩行法經: T 277, *Sutra on the Procedures for Contemplating the Practices of the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra*
- Guan wuliangshou jing* 觀無量壽經: T 365, *Sutra on Visualization of the Buddha of Immeasurable Life*
- Guanxin shi'erbu jing yi* 觀心十二部經義: *The Meaning of Discerning the mind in the Twelve Divisions of the Scriptures*
- Guanyin jing* 觀音經: *Avalokiteśvara Sutra*
- Gudōbō Ejin 求道房惠尋 (d. 1289)
- Guoqing bai lu* 國清百錄: T 1934, *Record of One Hundred Documents from Guoqing Temple*
- Gushi kanjō* 具支灌頂: *Consecration with the Full Complement of Necessary Elements*
- Guyinwang jing* 鼓音王經: *Sutra on the King of the Sound of the Drum*
- Guzang 姑臧
- gyakuzai* 逆罪: heinous sin
- gyō bussō* 行仏性: buddha-nature realized through practice
- Gyōen 堯円 (fl. 1310)
- Gyōki 行基 (668–749)
- gyokutai kaji* 玉体加持: esoteric rites to protect the emperor
- Gyōnen 凝然 (1240–1321)
- Gyoran Kannon 魚籃觀音: Fish-Basket-Carrying Kannon
- Hachijōin 八条院
- Hachijō shiki* 八条式: *Rules in Eight Articles*
- Hachijōshō kenmon* 八帖抄見聞: *What Was Seen and Heard Concerning the Compilation of the Eight Booklets*
- hachiyō* 八葉: eight lobes or petals
- hakai* 破廢: refuting
- hanbai* 反閉: shutting out misfortune and inviting fortune
- Henjō 遍照 (817–890)
- hennyaku shin* 變易身: a body that appears because of spiritual attainments
- hi* 秘: secret
- Hidendani 悲田谷
- Hiei 日吉
- Hieizan *go bessho* 比叡山五別所
- Higashidani 東谷
- hiketsu* 秘訣: secret
- himitsu daishi 秘密大師: great teacher of secrets
- hiten* 秘典: secret texts
- hitsujo bosatsu* 畢定菩薩: bodhisattvas who will not backslide
- hō* 報: result
- hōben gakushō* 方便學処: expedient trainings
- hōben mubon mon* 方便無犯門: [employing] expedient means as not being violations
- hōben satsu* 方便殺: expedient killing
- hōbyō* 法瓶: water pot
- Hōchibō Shōshin 宝地房証真 (fl. late 13th c.)
- hōgen daioshō* 法眼大和尚: Dharma-eye and greater preceptor
- hōgen oshō* 法眼和尚: Dharma-eye and preceptor
- hōgō* 宝号: buddhas' names
- hōin* 法印: seal of the Dharma
- hōin daioshō* 法印大和尚: Dharma-seal greater preceptor
- hōji* 奉持: observance
- hoketsu* 補欠: corrections or addenda
- Hokke 北家: Northern Branch of the Fujiwaras
- Hokke daie 法華大会: Great Assembly of the *Lotus Sutra*
- Hokkesanji 法華山寺
- Hokke senbō* 法華懺法: *Lotus Sutra Expiation and Repentance*

Hokkesho shiki 法華疏私記: Hōchibō
 Shōshin's *Subcommentary on Zhiyi's
 Fahua wenzhu*
 Hokkyō 北京: Northern Capital, i.e.,
 Kyoto
hōkoshi 法興: palanquin
 Hōkū 法空 (fl. 1314)
hokuto mandara dō 北斗曼荼羅堂: hall
 for the Big Dipper mandala
hōkyō daioshō 法橋大和尚: transmitter of
 Buddhism and greater preceptor
Honchō taíso senjutsu mitsubu shomoku
 本朝台祖撰述密部書目
hondō 本堂: main hall
 Hōnen 法然 (1133–1212)
hongaku 本覺: original enlightenment
Hongaku san shaku 本覺讚釈
hongakushin hosshin 本覺心法身: the
 Dharma-body of the mind of original
 enlightenment
 Hongaku Shōnin 本覺上人 (n.d.)
 Hongan-e 本願會
Hongenshō 本源抄
 Honmon Hokke Sect 本門法華宗
honpō kijō myōgōin 本法機情冥合印: the
 mark of the essential and mysterious
 unity of buddha-nature and delusion
honzon 本尊: main image
hōōji 法王子: Dharma prince
hōra 法螺: conch shell
 Hōrenbō Shinkū 法蓮房信空
 (1146–1228)
 Hōryūji 法隆寺
hoshiimama 恣: as you see fit
hosshō 發生: emerge
 Hosshōji 法勝寺
 Hosshōji-Saikyōji 法勝寺西教寺
hossu 弘子: fly whisk
hossu 法主: head of the assembly
hotsu 発: emerges
hottai 法体: essence of the Dharma
hottoku kai 発得戒: precepts that are
 called forth
hōzō 法藏: library
Huayan jing 華嚴經: *Avataṃsaka Sutra*
 Huichang 会昌
 Huichangsi 会昌寺
 Huijiao 慧皎 (497–554)
 Huisi 慧思 (515–577)

Huiwei 慧威 (fl. late 7th c.)
hyōbyaku 表白: statement of the inten-
 tion of a ritual
ichidai 一代: entirety of the Buddha's
 life
ichigū wo terasu 一隅を照らす: light up
 your corner
ichigyō 一行: single practice
ichijōkai 一乘戒: one-vehicle precepts
ichinichi ichiya gyōji shidai 一日一夜行事
 次第: daily procedures
ichishiji 一子地: stage at which all are
 viewed as if they were the Buddha's
 only child
ichiza gomon 一坐五問: with five
 questions for each lecture
igi 威儀: dignity and propriety
Igikyo shamikai 威儀經沙弥戒: *Novice
 Precepts from the Sutra on Propriety*
igyō 意案: intention
 Ikeda Rosan 池田魯參 (b. 1941)
 Iken 惟賢 (1289–1378)
ikkai 一戒: unitary or absolute precept
Ikkō daijōji kōryū henmoku shū 一向大乘
 寺興隆篇目集: *Collection of Rules
 Concerning the Rise of Solely Mahāyāna
 Temples*, by Ninkū
ikō 已講: one who had completed the
 lecture
Imakagami 今鏡
ina 維那: precentor
inban 印板: woodblock texts
inbun kai 因分戒: causal precepts
inji 印持: resoluteness
injin 印信: certificate
inmon 印文: seal
inyoku 淫欲: sexual desire
ippenji shokai mon 一遍持諸戒門:
 exhaustively holding the various
 precepts
ippon ikkan kaikyō 一品一卷戒經:
 one-chapter, one-fascicle bodhisattva
 precepts sutra
 Ishida Mizumaro 石田瑞磨 (1917–1999)
issai unyō 一切有命: any or all living
 beings
isshinkai 一心戒: one-mind precepts
isshinkai zō 一心戒藏: treasury of the
 one-mind precepts

- Isshin myōkai shō* 一心妙戒鈔: *Compilation on the Wondrous Precepts of the One Mind*
- issihin sangan* 一心三觀: three views in a single instant
- itan* 異端: heresy
- ittai sanbō* 一体三宝: single essence of the three jewels
- ittoku yōfushitsu* 一得永不失: (precepts) once received are never lost
- Jakkō Daishi 寂光大師: the honorific title of Saichō's student Enchō
- Jakkōdo 寂光土: Land of Tranquil Light
- ji* 事: phenomena
- Jiaojie xinxue biqiu xinghu liuyi* 教誡新學比丘行護律儀: T 1897, *Admonitions and Teachings for New Monks to Practice and Observe*
- Jiaoyuan qinggui* 教苑清規
- Jidō Kōku 示導康空 (1286–1346)
- Jien 慈円 (1155–1225)
- Jifayue* 集法悅
- Jihon 慈本 (1795–1869)
- jiiji* 事持: adhering to the precepts in the literal sense
- jikai* 持戒: observance or adhering to the precepts
- jikai* 事戒: precepts of everyday phenomena
- Jikaku Daishi 慈覺大師: honorific title of Ennin
- jikido* 直道: direct path to enlightenment
- jikidō* 食堂: refectory
- jikio bosatsu kainō* 直往菩薩戒法: bodhisattva precepts that go directly to buddhahood
- Jikio bosatsukai kanmon* 直往菩薩戒勸文: *Report on the Bodhisattva Precepts that Go Directly [to Buddhahood]*
- jikkai* 十戒: ten precepts
- jikkai* 十界: ten realms
- jiikyō* 持經: adhering to the sutra
- Jimon 寺門: Onjōji Tendai tradition
- jimon jitō* 自問自答: posing questions and then answering them
- jinen jōju* 自然成就: naturally accomplished
- Jingangding jing* 金剛頂經: *Vajraśekharaśūra*, or *Sutra on Vajra Peak*
- Jingangding jing dayujia mimi xindi famen yigui* 金剛頂經大瑜伽祕密心地法門義訣: T 1798, *Determinations of the Great Yoga Secret Mind-Ground Law Teaching of the Diamond Protuberance [or Apex] Scripture*
- Jinguangming zuishengwang jing* 金光明最勝王經: T 665, *Sutra of Golden Light of the Supreme Ruler*, translated by Yijing
- jinjū* 淨頭: sanitation steward
- Jinyuan ji* 金蘭集
- Jinzen 尋禪 (943–990)
- Jinzōji 神藏寺
- jiiri ku mitsu* 事理俱密: esoteric in both Principle and practice
- jiisei jukai* 自誓受戒: self-ordination
- jisha* 侍者: attendant
- jishin* 侍真: servant of the true practitioner at Saichō's mausoleum
- jishō shōjō kokū judō kai* 自性清淨虛空不動戒: innate pure precepts that are immovable like space
- jisō* 事相: characteristics of phenomena
- jissai* 實際: apex of reality
- jissō* 実相: true aspect
- jissō enri* 実相円理: perfect principle of the true characteristics
- jissō entai* 実相円体: true essence of reality
- jissōin* 実相印: seal or mudra of the true characteristics of phenomena
- jissō no ritai* 実相ノ理体: essence and principle of the true characteristics of phenomena
- jissōshin* 実相心: true aspect of the mind
- Jitsudō Ninkū 実導仁空 (1309–1388): Rozanji monk
- jitsugi* 実義: ultimate meaning
- Jizō 地藏
- jō* 定: meditation
- jōbonnō* 上煩惱: major defilements
- Jōdoin 浄土院: Pure Land Hall
- Jōdoshū 浄土宗: Pure Land School
- jōgakuji* 定額寺: officially sanctioned temple
- jōgakuśō* 定額僧: number of monks determined by court

- jōgukai* 定共戒: precepts held while in meditation
- Jōgū Shōtoku Taishi hoketsu ki* 上宮聖德太子伝補闕記
- Jōgū Taishi shūi ki* 上宮太子拾遺記
- jōgyō zanmai* 常行三昧: constantly walking meditation or *samādhi*
- jōju sanbō* 常住三宝: the manner in which the three jewels remain in the world; also, *jūji sanbō*
- Jōkei* 貞慶 (1155–1213)
- jōryo shō ritsugi* 静慮生律儀: precepts arising through meditation
- Jōshin'in* 定心院
- jōten* 上纏: powerful defilements
- Jōun* 承雲 (fl. mid-9th c.)
- jōza* 上座: superior
- ju* 授: confer
- ju bosatsukai gi* 授菩薩戒儀: ordination for the bodhisattva precepts
- jūdo* 十度: ten perfections
- Juede* 覺德
- juganshi* 呪願師: invoker
- jūgyō* 十行: ten practices
- jū hōben gakusho* 十方便学処: ten expedient precepts
- Ju ichijō bosatsu kanjō jūkaihō* 授一乘菩薩灌頂受戒法: *Procedures for the One-Vehicle Bodhisattva Consecrated Ordination*
- Ju ichijō bosatsu kanjō jūkaihō shiki* 授一乘菩薩灌頂受戒法私記: *Private Remarks on the Procedures for the One-Vehicle Bodhisattva Consecrated Ordination*
- jūji* 十地: ten grounds
- jūji sanbō* 住持三宝: manner in which the three jewels remain in this world; also, *jōjū sanbō*
- jūju* 重受: reordination
- jūjū* 十住: ten abodes
- jūjukai* 十重戒: ten major precepts of the *Brahma's Net Sutra*
- jūjūshin* 十住心: ten stages of mind
- juikai* 授戒 or 受戒: conferring or receiving the precepts, ordination
- jūkai* 十戒: major precepts
- Jukai sanō* 授戒作法: *Procedures for Ordination*
- Juketsushū* 授決集
- jū mujin kai* 十無尽戒: ten inexhaustible precepts
- jun'en* 純円: purely perfect
- Junkan* 順觀 (n.d.)
- junrei shugyō* 巡礼修行: pilgrimage
- Jūrokuujō kōyaku* 十六帖口訳
- Jūrokuujō kuketsu* 十六帖口訳: *Sixteen Articles of Oral Transmission*
- “Juryōbon” 寿量品: “The Lifespan of the Buddha” chapter in the *Lotus*
- jusha* 受者: recipient of the precepts
- jū shamikai* 十沙弥戒: ten novice precepts
- jūzenji* 十禅師: ten meditation masters
- Jūzenji* 十禅師: ten meditation masters
- jūzenkai* 十善戒: ten good precepts
- kaidai* 開題: explanation of the text
- kaidan* 戒壇: ordination platform
- Kaidan'in chūdai shōgon no ki* 戒壇院中台莊嚴の記: *Record of the Adornment of the Central Altar of the Ordination Platform*
- Kaidan'in honzon insō* 戒壇院本尊印相
- kaie* 開会: opening and reconciling teachings
- kaigon kenjitsu kaihō* 開權顯実戒法: unpacking the provisional to reveal the ultimate
- kaigyō* 戒行: practice of the precepts
- kaihō* 戒法: precepts as rules
- kaihōgyō* 回峰行: circumambulating the mountain
- Kaihō tebumi* 解放手文
- kaii* 快意: pleasure
- Kai'in zanmaiiji* 海印三昧寺
- Kaiju shō* 戒珠鈔: *Compilation on the Jewel of the Precepts*
- Kaikan denju shidai* 戒灌伝授次第: *Procedures for the Conferral of the Consecrated Ordination*
- kai kanjō* 戒灌頂: consecrated ordination
- Kaikan juhō* 戒灌授法
- kai kashō* 戒和尚: preceptor
- Kaike* 戒家
- Kaike chi fukuro* 戒家智袋
- kaike sōjō* 戒家相承: precepts lineage
- Kairon shichō ryakushō* 戒論視聽略抄: *Short Compilation of What Was Seen and Heard of the Treatise on the Precepts*

- kaishī* 戒師: ordination master
kaishī gonyū 開示悟入: understand and enter the wisdom and vision
kaisō 戒相: provisions or characteristics of the precepts
kaisui 戒水: water of the precepts
kaitai 戒体: essence of the precepts
 Kajōji 嘉祥寺
kakan 加冠: coming-of-age ceremony
 Kakuchō 覺超 (960–1034)
 Kakujō 覺盛 (1194–1249)
 Kakuju 覺樹 (1081–1139)
kaku zuishogyō 各隨所樂: according to one's intentions
kami 神: deities
 Kamo 賀茂
kanbutsu 觀仏: visualization of the Buddha
Kanchūin senjō jigō kanjō gusoku shūbun 觀中院撰定事業灌頂具足支分
 Kan'eiji 寬永寺
Kanenobu kōki 兼宣公記
Kangyō gengibun dentsūki 觀經玄義分伝通記
Kangyōsho gujin shō 觀經疏弘深抄: *Compilation of the Profundities in the Commentary on the Contemplation Sutra*
Kangyōsho kōeishō 觀經疏康永抄: *Compilation of Remarks on the Contemplation Sutra from the Kōei Era* [1342–1345]
kangyō soku 觀行即: identity of contemplative practice [with buddhahood]
kanjin 觀心: contemplation of the mind
kanjō 灌頂: initiation, consecration
kanju 貫首: abbot
 Kankei 觀溪 (fl. 877)
kankin 看經: recitation of scriptures
kanki zanmai 觀機三昧: the concentration of viewing the salvific impetus of sentient beings
Kankyo no tomo 閑居友: *A Companion in Solitude*
 Kanmu 桓武 (737–806, r. 781–806)
kannō 感應: stimulus-response
 Kansei 觀栖 (fl. 887)
Kanshō 觀性 (n.d.)
 Karyaku 嘉曆: 1326–1329
kasetsu 跨節: opening the perfect meaning of the other teachings
 Kasuga 春日
katsuma ajari 羯磨阿闍梨: master of ceremonies
 Kazan 花山 (968–1008, r. 984–986)
kechien kanjō 結緣灌頂: elementary consecration
Kechimyaku sōjō shikenmon 血脈相承私見聞: *What I Have Seen and Heard about Transmission Lineages*
 Keikō 敬光 (1740–1795)
Keiran shūyōshū 溪嵐拾葉集: T 2410
 Keisei 慶政 (1189–1268)
keju shōkai 假受小戒: provisional ordinations using Hīnayāna precepts
kekkaï 結界: determining ritual boundaries
kekkyō 結經: capping sutra
kemyō 化名: provisionally designated
kemyō bosatsu biku Shōgen 化名菩薩比丘照源: provisionally designated bodhisattva *bhikṣu* Shōgen. *See* Myōdō Shōgen
ken 檢: measure or rule
ken 劍: sword
 Kenchū Keimitsu 堅中圭密 (fl. 1403)
Kenkai ron 顯戒論: T 2376, *Treatise Revealing the Precepts*
Kenkairon engi 顯戒論緣起: *Documents Concerning the Treatise Revealing the Precepts*
kenki 見機: consideration of the salvific impetus
kenminshi 遣明使: official Japanese emissary to the Ming dynasty
kenmitsu taisei 顯密体制: exoteric-esoteric establishment
 Kenreimon'in 建礼門院 (1155–1213)
kenrō jijin 堅牢地神: the god of firm earth
Ken'yō daikairon 顯揚大戒論: T 2380, *Treatise Clarifying and Extolling the Mahāyāna Precepts*
keshūki 假色: provisional matter
ketai 假諦: provisional truth
ketsu 決: interpretation
ketsugan 結願: completion of the vow
ketsujō 決定: firmly

- ki* 機: religious faculties, salvific impulse
 Kike 記家: Chroniclers
Kikigaki 聞書: *Record of What Was Heard*
kikkyō 吉慶: text of auspiciousness
 Ki no Tsurayuki 紀貫之 (872?-945?)
kisha 喜捨: giving with equanimity
 Kitano Tenmangū 北野天満宮
 Kita-shirakawa 北白川
 Kiyomizudera 清水寺
kō 光: light
 Kōben 公辨 (1669–1716)
 Kōen 興円 (1262/1263–1317)
 Kōen *kishōmon* 興円起請文: Kōen's
 pledge
kōgan 広願: extensive vows
Kōin gakudō tsūki 講院学堂通規:
 Comprehensive Rules for the Study Halls
 at Lecture Temples
kōji 講師: lecturer
 Kōjō 光定 (779–858): Saichō's disciple
 Kōjō 幸承 (n.d.): monk in Ninkū's
 lineage
kōjun 孝順: filial and obedient
Kokinshū 古今集: *A Collection of Poems*
 Ancient and Modern, completed in 905
 Kōkō 光孝 (830–887, r. 884–887)
 Kōkū 康空 (1286–346)
kokū fudō kongōhōkai 虚空不動金剛宝戒:
 immovable and adamant precepts
 like space
 Kōmyō 光明 (701–760)
 Kōmyōji 光明寺
 Kongōbuji 金剛峯寺
kongōhōkai 金剛宝戒: adamant precepts
 Kongōkai 金剛界: Diamond Realm
 Kongōkai Dainichi *mushi honnu sanjin*
 金剛界大日無始本有三身: begin-
 ningless innate three bodies of
 Vairocana in the Diamond realm
 Konkaiin 金戒院
 Konkai kōmyōji 金戒光明寺
 Konpon chūdō 根本中堂: the central
 building for esoteric practice on
 Mount Hiei
konzan 金山: golden mountain
 Korehito 惟仁. *See* Seiwa
kōshi shōnin 後師上人: latter saintly
 teacher
koshō seiretsumon 許勝制劣門: allowing
 the superior and controlling the
 inferior
 Kōshū 光宗 (1276–1350)
kōsō 講僧: lecturer monk
kōsō 好相: sign from the Buddha
kōsui 香水: perfumed water
kōtō 香湯: infusions
 Kōun 廣運 (n.d.)
kōza 高座: high seat
Kōzen gokoku ron 興禪護国論: *Treatise on*
 Promulgation of Zen as Defending the
 Nation
 Kubota Tetsumasa 窪田哲正
 Kudara no Eikei 百濟永繼
kuden 口伝: oral teachings
ku hōkkai 九法界: nine realms
 Kujō 九条
 Kujō Yoshitsune 九条良経 (1169–1206)
 Kūkai 空海 (774–835)
kuketsu daimoku 口決題目: oral transmis-
 sions and titles
kukyō jitoku mon 究竟持得門: holding
 the ultimate one observes the
 precepts
kukyō soku 究竟即: degree of ultimate
 identity
kunō 功能: functions
 Kurodani 黒谷
Kurodani-hon 黒谷本
 Kurodani-ryū 黒谷流: lineage on Mount
 Hiei
 Kuroda Toshio 黒田俊雄 (1926–1993)
 Kurōdo Dokoro 蔵人所: Bureau of
 Archivists; Office of the
 Chamberlain
 Kushida Ryōkō 櫛田良洪 (1905–1980)
kuyaku 公役: corvée labor
 Kuze Kannon 救世観音: Kannon as
 savior
kyō 境: object
kyōchi 境智: object and cognition
kyōchi no nimen 境智の二面: mirror with
 two faces of object and subject
kyōin 教院: doctrinal temples
Kyōin zōji ryaku mondō 教院雜事略問答:
 Brief Questions and Answers about
 Miscellaneous Matters of the Doctrinal
 Halls

- Kyōji jōron* 教時諍論: *Disputes over Teachings and Time Periods*
kyōju ajari 教授阿闍梨: instructor
kyōjushi 教授師: instructor
kyokuroku 曲祿: chair
kyōmon 教門: expedient teachings
kyōsō 教僧: doctrinal monk
Lidai sanbaoji 歷代三寶記
 Lingzhi Yuanzhao 靈芝元照 (1048–1116)
Liqufen 理趣分
 Lushan Huiyuan 廬山慧遠 (334–416)
machō 摩頂: touching the student on the head
Makashikan kenmon tenchū 摩訶止觀見聞添註
man'e 纓衣: robes for novices
 Maō 魔王: King Māra
mappō 末法: latter, or final, period of the Dharma
Mappō tōmyōki 末法燈明記
menoto 乳母: wet nurse
metsuzai 滅罪: vanquish wrongdoing
 Mingguang 明曠 (fl. 777)
mitsugō 密号: esoteric name or title
 Miyoshi Kiyoyuki 三善清行 (847–918)
Mohe zhiguan 摩訶止觀: T 1911, *The Great Calming and Contemplation*
 Mononobe 物部: clan name
 Montoku 文德 (827–858, r. 850–858)
Mon'yōki 門葉記: T zuzōbu vols. 11, 12
monzeki 門跡: temples headed by members of the imperial family or aristocracy
 Mori Eijun 森英純 (fl. 1932–1965)
 Moriya 守屋 (d. 587): *See* Mononobe no Moriya
 Mudōji 無動寺
mugengō 無間業: actions that are inexorable and incur immediate retribution
muhyō 無表: unmanifested
mukai myōji biku 無戒名字比丘: a monk in name only without the precepts
Mulian wen jielizhong wubai qingzhongshi (jing) 目連問戒律中五百輕重事經: T 1483
 Murakami Akiya 村上明也 (b. 1982)
musa 無作: uncreated, unmanifested, unintentional
mushō sange 無生懺悔: confession based on the uncreated or nonsubstantial
musō 無相: lack of characteristics
musō sange 無相懺悔: confession on the markless (nonsubstantial)
myō 冥: mysterious
 Myōben 明弁 (1317–1381)
 Myōdō Shōgen 明導照源 (1298–1368)
myōgō 冥合: mysterious matching
myōhō 妙法: wondrous Dharma
myōji kemyō biku 名字假名比丘: provisionally named monks
myōji soku 名字即: verbal identity
myōji sokushin jōbutsu 名字即身成仏: verbal realization of buddhahood with this very body
 Myōkan 明觀 (n.d.)
 Myōkū 明空 (d. 1406)
myōkyō 明鏡: mirrors
 Myōrenji 妙蓮寺
 Nagamatsu 長松: Henjō's brother
naibun 內凡: inner levels of the worldling
nai dōjō 內道場: inner platform
Naishō buppō sōjō kechimyakufu 內証佛法相承血脈譜
naishō no kanmon 內証觀門: discernment of the realization of one's nature
 Nakatomi no Katsumi 中臣勝海 (d. 587)
Nanhai jigui neifa zhuan 南海寄歸內法伝: T 2125, *Tales of Returning from the South Seas with the Dharma*
 Nanshan 南山
 Nanshan Daoxuan 南山道宣 (596–667)
 Nanyue Huisi 南嶽慧思 (515–577)
 Nanzenji 南禪寺
nenbundosha 年分度者: annual officially recognized monks, yearly ordinands
 Nenbutsudō 念仏堂: Hall for the Recitation of the Buddha's Name
nenju 念誦: chanting
nen'yo 年預: one-year terms
nianfo 念仏: recollection of the Buddha or recitation of his name
 Nichiren Shōshū 日蓮正宗
Nichō goshō kenmon 二帖御抄見聞
Niepan jing 涅槃經:
Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra

- Nihon biku Enchin nittō guhō mokuroku*
日本比丘円珍入唐求法目錄
- Nihon kōsōden yōmonshō* 日本高僧伝要
文抄
- Nihon shoki* 日本書紀
- Nijō goshō* 二帖御抄
- Nijō goshō kenmon* 二帖御抄見聞: A
*Record of What I Have Seen and Heard
about the Commentary on the Two
Booklets*
- nijō shōkai* 二乘小戒: Hinayāna precepts
of the two vehicles
- Nikkō 日光
- nikyō no men* 二鏡の面: two mirrors
- Ninaidō 荷堂
- nini* 爾二: dualistic differentiation
- Ninkū 仁空. *See* Jitsudō Ninkū; *see also*
Ninkū Jitsudō
- Ninkū 任空: Kurodani monk (d. 1336)
- Ninkū Jitsudō 仁空実導: alternate name
for Jitsudō Ninkū
- Ninmyō 仁明 (808–850, r. 833–850)
- Ninnōe 仁王会: Assembly for the
Benevolent King
- nishidan* 尼師壇: sitting cloth
- Nison'in 二尊院
- Nomoto Kakujō 野本覚成 (1950–2015)
- nuride* 白膠木: Japanese sumac
- nyō* 鏡: a type of cymbal
- Nyohōdō 如法堂: Hall in Conformity
with the Dharma
- nyoin gosho* 女院御所: residence of an
imperial lady
- Nyoirin Kannon 如意輪観音: Kannon
with Wish-Fulfilling Jewel
- Nyorai hōkai* 如来宝戒: *Precious Precepts of
the Tathāgata*
- nyoze* 如是: such-like
- nyūjō* 入定: enter meditation, sleep
- nyūmen* 入麪: serving noodles
- nyūshitsu* 入室: being accepted as a
disciple
- nyū sōji butsui* 入相似仏位: entry into the
ranks of those who resemble
buddhas
- Ōhara 大原
- okasu koto wo wasure, mono wo sukuu* 忘犯
濟物: forget infractions to benefit
sentient beings
- Ōkubo Ryōjun 大久保良順 (1915–2010)
- Ōkubo Ryōshun 大久保良峻 (b. 1954)
- okugaki* 奥書: notes
- Ōmiyadani 大宮溪
- Onjōji 園城寺
- Onmyōdō 陰陽道: the Way of Yin-Yang
- Ono no Komachi 小野小町 (n.d.)
- Ōshū 奥州
- Ōtsuka Norihiro 大塚典弘 (b. 1978)
- Ōwakizashi* 大詔請: *The Large Text Tucked
under One's Arm*
- pārājika*: grave rules, grave offenses
- Pōmmang kyōng kojōkki* 梵網經古迹記: T
1815, Taehyōn's *Commentary on the
Brahma's Net Sutra*
- Pusa dichi jing* 菩薩地持經: T 1581,
*Bodhisattvabhūmi; Sutra on the
Bodhisattva Stages*
- Pusajie ben* 菩薩戒本: *Prātimokṣa of the
Bodhisattva Precepts*
- Pusajie yi ji* 菩薩戒儀記: alternative title
for *Pusajie yi shu*
- Pusajie yi shu* 菩薩戒義疏: T 1811,
*Commentary on the Meaning of the
Bodhisattva Precepts*; attributed to
Zhiyi
- Pusa yingluo benyejing* 菩薩瓔珞本業經: T
1485, *Sutra on the Adornments of the
Primordial Bodhisattva Practices;
Adornment Sutra*
- Puxian jing* 普賢經: T 277, *Samantabha-
dra Sutra*
- Raigōin 来迎院
- Raigōji 来迎寺
- Rangtan 壤坦 or 壤坦: Song dynasty
Chinese Tiantai monk
- reiji* 例時: set times
- Reikū Kōken 靈空光謙 (1652–1739)
- Renjitsubō Shōhan 蓮実房勝範
(996–1077)
- Renwang jing* 仁王經: T 245, *Sutra of the
Benevolent King*
- ri* 理: Principle
- ri bussō* 理仏性: buddha-nature in
Principle
- richi enman* 理智円満: perfection and
repletion of principle and wisdom
- rigu honbun* 理具本分: primordial and
innate

- rijitsu* 理実: Principle and ultimate truth
rikai 理戒: precepts in Principle
 Rikan 理觀 (n.d.)
Rikke enshū ryōken 律家円宗料簡
rimitsu 理密: esoteric texts in Principle
rindoku 輪読: reading the scriptures in turns
 Rinnōji no monzeki 輪王寺門跡
risan 理懺: confession based on the Principle (of non-substantiality)
Rishubun 理趣分
risoku butsu 理即仏: Buddha's identity in principle
rissha 豎者: candidate in debates or examinations
risshi 律師: *Vinaya* master
 Risshū 律宗: *Vinaya* School
riissō 律僧: precept or *Vinaya* monk
riisue 律衣: robes prescribed by the monastic rules
 Ritsuenbō 律円房 (n.d.)
Ritsuzō 律蔵: *Vinaya*
rodan 廬談: discussions at Rozanji
rokkasen 六歌仙: six poetry immortals from the Heian period
rokudai 六大: six elements
Rokujō shiki 六条式: *Rules in Six Articles*
rokunen 六念: six issues that the monk should be mindful of in daily life
 Rokushōji 六勝寺: Six Victory Temples
rokusoku 六即: six degrees of identity
rokusoku shijū 六即四重: fourfold [*gasshō*] representing the six degrees of identity
rongi 論議: debates
Rongi shō 論義鈔
rōzan 籠山: seclusion on Mount Hiei
Rōzan hotsuganmon 籠山発願文: Saichō's Vow Concerning Seclusion on Mount Hiei
 Rozanji 廬山寺
Rozanji daidai jūji 廬山寺代代住持
Rozanji engi 廬山寺縁起
Rozanji monjo 廬山寺文書
Ruijū kokushi 類聚国史
Ruijū sandaikyaku 類聚三代格
 Ruri Ō 瑠璃王: King Virūdhaka
 Rushana 廬舍那: Vairocana
ryōchō ittan 両長一短: two long panels and a short panel
 Ryōchū 良中 (1199–1287)
 Ryōe Dōkō 了惠道光 (1243–1331)
 Ryōgen 良源 (912–985)
 Ryōjo 良助 (1268–1318)
 Ryōnin 良忍 (1073–1132)
ryōsho sanshō 両所三聖: the triads of deities of two shrines associated with Mount Hiei
 Ryōzen 靈山: Vulture Peak
 Ryūben 隆弁 (1208–1283)
 Ryūshinbō 立信房
saihō sange 作法懺悔: confessions to expiate violations of the precepts
saihō 犀棒: spears
 Saichō 最澄 (766/767–822)
 Saien 最円 (n.d.)
 Saikyōji 西教寺
 Saisen 齋詮 (fl. 877)
 Saitō 西塔: Western Pagoda
samaya 三摩耶 or 三昧耶
samayakai 三昧耶戒
sanbu 三部: three major esoteric initiations
sanbu daihō 三部大法: three major Taimitsu initiations
sanbu kanjō kyōka dan 三部灌頂許可壇: platforms for the transmissions of the three advanced consecrations
Sandai jitsuroku 三代実録
sangaku 三学: threefold training
sangan 三觀: three views
Sange gakushō shiki 山家学生式: *Rules for Tendai Students*
sangō 三業: three types of karma or action
 Sangoji 三鈔寺
 Sangoji monjo 三鈔寺文書
Sangoku Butpō dentsū engi 三国佛法伝通縁起: *History of the Propagation of Buddhism in India, China, and Japan*
sangan 三勧: the three encouragements
sanjinkai 三深戒: alternative term for the three collections of pure precepts
sanjū gengi 三重玄義: threefold profound explanation

- sanjūgen'okugi* 三重玄奧義: threefold profound interpretation
sanju jōkai 三聚淨戒: three collections of pure precepts: restraints on wrongdoing, encompassing good, and benefiting sentient beings
 Sanmai 三昧
sanmitsu 三密: three mysteries
 Sannō 山王
sanshu 讚衆: group intoning praises
sanshū 三周: hearing the Buddha's sermons three times
sanshu shitsuji 三種悉地: three attainments
 Santō 三塔: the three main areas of Mount Hiei
sanzendō 三善道: three good rebirths
sanzensekai 三善世戒: three good (types of) worldly precepts that result in [temporary] effects
Sasa gimon 些些疑文
sata 沙汰: affairs
 Satō Tetsuei 佐藤哲英 (1902–1984)
sayaku 茶葉: tea and infusions
segaki 施餓鬼: offerings to hungry ghosts
seika 請假: ask for leave
 Seiryūji 青龍寺
 Seiwa 清和 (850–880, r. 858–876)
 Seizan 西山
Seizan shōnin engi 西山上人緣起
 Senglusi 僧錄司: Central Buddhist Registry
 Sengzhao 僧肇 (374–414)
 Sennyūji 泉涌寺
senryaku 淺略: shallow and abbreviated
sessō 說相: explaining the precepts
setsu jissō in 說実相印: seal of preaching the true aspect of reality
setsujō 說淨: provisionally assigning robes and other personal items to others
setswi 剎利: warrior
shakai 捨戒: abandoning the precepts
shakubuku 折伏: harsher expedient means, breaking and suppressing
shakumon kai 迹門戒: trace precepts
shami 沙弥: novice
shanagō 遮那業: esoteric course
Shanagō anryū 遮那業案立: T 2416, *Considerations of the Esoteric Course*
sha'nan 遮難: disqualifying and restraining conditions
 Shandao 善導 (613–681)
 Shang Tianzhu (jiao) si 上天竺(教)寺: Upper Indian (Doctrinal) Temple
 Shanjia 山家: Mountain Home
Shanjie jing 善戒經: T 1582-1583, *Bodhisattvabhūmi*
shashō mubon mon 捨小無犯門: abandoning the Hīnayāna precepts is not a violation
She dasheng lun 撰大乘論: T 1593, *Mahāyānasamgraha*
Shengman jing 勝鬘經: T 353, *Śrīmālādevī-simhanādasūtra*
shi 私: private
shichibutsu 七仏: past seven buddhas (Śākyamuni and the six buddhas that preceded him)
shichibutsu tsūkai ge 七仏通戒偈: verse of universal precepts of the seven buddhas
shichi hōben 七方便: seven expedient means
shichi sha 七遮: seven heinous sins
shi dai shōzai 四大性罪: four grave wrongdoings
shido kegyō 四度加行: four-part set of initial esoteric practices
shidosō 私度僧: privately ordained monk
shie 四依: four requisites
 Shigyoku Myōkū 志玉明空 (d. 1406)
shihō 四法: four [major] rules
 Shijianxian 世間現
shijim 司人: directors
Shijō shiki 四条式: *Rules in Four Articles; Four-Part Rules*
 Shiju 思就: Shunjō's disciple
shika 知客: guest prefect
shikai sangon 四戒三勸: the four precepts and the three encouragements
shikaku 始覺: acquired enlightenment
shikan 止觀: calm abiding and insight meditation
shikangō 止觀業: Tendai meditation course

- shiki* 私記: private commentary
shiki 式: procedures and rules
 Shikii Shūjō 色井秀讓 (b.1905)
 Shiki kōdō 四季講堂: Four Seasons
 Lecture Hall
Shiki kōdō seishiki kikigaki 四季講堂制式
 聞書: *Record of Lectures on the Rules for
 the Four Seasons Lecture Hall*
 Shimotsuki-e 霜月会: anniversary of
 Zhiyi's death
 Shinchō 真超 (1596–1659)
shinchō 心頂: protuberance of the mind
shindoku 信読 or 真読: chanting every
 line
 Shinga 真雅 (801–879)
shingaku bosatsu 新学菩薩: bodhisattvas
 who have just developed the
 aspiration to enlightenment
Shingaku bosatsu gyōyō shō 新学菩薩業
 要鈔: T 2382, *Essentials of Practice for
 Bodhisattvas Who Have Just Begun
 Studying*
shingo 心期: disposition
Shingon ketsu 真言訣: *Determinations of
 Shingon*
 Shingon Ritsu 真言律
Shingonshū kyōji gi 真言宗教時義: T
 2396, *Shingon Doctrines on Teaching
 and Times*
shin'i bosatsu 深意菩薩: highly devel-
 oped bodhisattva
shin'i daishi 深意大士: highly developed
 bodhisattva
 “Shinjibon” 心地品: “Mind-Ground”
 chapter
 Shinkū 信空 (1146–1228)
 Shin-kurodani 新黒谷
shinnin 真人: a true person; one who has
 completed training or is very
 advanced
shin no hachi 真の鉦: cymbal-like
 instrument
Shinnyo kan 真如觀
 Shinnyo kongō 真如金剛
Shinpon kaigi 新本戒儀
 Shinshū 真秀
 Shin'yū 真雄 (d. 1609)
 Shinzei 真盛
 Shinzei Shōnin 真盛上人 (1443–1495)
- shinzoku ikkan* 真俗一貫: running
 through lay and monastics
shion 四恩: four blessings
 Shirakawa 白河 (1053–1129, r.
 1073–1087)
 Shirato Waka 白土わか (1919–2015)
 Shishi 師子: Simha
shishin 至心: ultimate mind
shishin 至信: ultimate faith
shittan 悉曇: Sanskrit characters
shizuibonno 四随煩惱: four accompany-
 ing (or subordinate) defilements
shō 聖: sage
Shoajari shingon mikkyō burui sōroku 諸阿
 闍梨真言密教部類總錄
shōaku 性惡: inherently evil
 Shōan Bon'un 祥菴梵雲 (d. 1417)
 Shōbō 正法: period of the True Dharma
 Shōchin 照珍 (n.d.)
shōchi shūzai 生知秀才: innate
 knowledge
shōdō 聖道: way of the sages
shōen 莊園: manors
 shōgakutō 小学頭: vice-principal
 Shōgen 照源. *See* Myōdō Shōgen
Shōhen mokuroku 緡編目録
shōjiki 小食: early morning meal
shōjū 初住: first abode
shōju 撰受: gentler expedient means,
 encompassing and accepting
shōkai 小戒: Hinayāna precepts
shōkai 性戒: precepts based on one's
 innate nature or precepts that are
 innately good
shōkaku dan 正覺壇: platform of
 realization
 Shōkū 証空 (1177–1247)
 Shōmu 聖武 (701–756, r. 724–749)
shō musa keshiki 性無作仮色: innate
 unmanifested provisional form
shōmyō 声明: chanting
shōnagon 少納言: lesser counselor
 Shōren'in 青蓮院
 Shōshi 正子 (809–879)
Shoshin gyōgo shō 初心行護鈔: *Rules for
 Beginners to Practice and Observe*
shōshu 聖種: seeds of the sage
shōshu 性種: inherent seeds
shōtoku 性得: inherently possessed

- shōtoku kai* 性德戒: innate precepts
 Shōtoku Taishi 聖德太子 (574–622)
Shōtoku Taishi denryaku 聖德太子伝歴
Shotoku Taishi Heishiden Zakkanmon 聖德太子平氏伝雜勘文
Shou pusajie yi 受菩薩戒儀
shōzō 正像: ages of the true Dharma and the semblance of Dharma
 Shōzu 承頭 (fl. 1317)
 Shūei 宗叡 (809–884)
shukai 修戒: rules for practice
shukke bosatsu 出家菩薩: ordained monastic bodhisattva
shumyō 衆命: order issued by the assembly
 Shunjō 俊苜 (1166–1227)
 Shunxiao 順曉 (fl. 800)
shūreiji 終例時: concluding service
shūsō sange 執相懺悔: confession for obtaining a sign of a buddha
shutoku 修得: attainment through cultivation
shutsujō 出定: emerging from meditation
shuwan 手腕: arm
Shūzenji ketsu 修禪寺法: *Determinations from the Xiuchansi*
Sifen lü 四分律: *Four-Part Vinaya*
Sifenlü shanbu suiiji jiemo shu 四分律刪補隨機羯磨疏: T 1808, *Procedures from the Four-Part Vinaya Edited in Accord with Religious Faculties*
 Siming Zhili 四明知礼 (960–1028)
 Situo 思託 (fl. mid-8th c.)
skandha: aggregate
sō 僧: monk
sōdai 相待, 相对: relative
 Soga no Umako 蘇我馬子 (d. 626)
 Sōgō 僧綱: Office of Monastic Affairs
Sōgō bunin shōshutsu 僧綱補任抄出
sōhei 僧兵: warrior monks
 Sōjiin 総持院: Dhāraṇī Hall
sōji soku 相似即: seeming identity
sōjō 僧正: archbishop
sōju 総受: comprehensively receive
soken no koromo 素絹衣: silk robes
Sōketsu shō 搜決鈔: *Compendium of Inquiring and Determining*
soku 即: identity
soku ibutsu 即為仏: immediately becoming a buddha
sokushin jōbutsu 即身成仏: realization of buddhahood with this very body
Sokushin jōbutsu gi 即身成仏義: *Doctrine of the the Realization of Buddhahood with This Very Body*
Sokushin jōbutsu gi shiki 即身成仏義私記: *Private Record of the Doctrine of the Realization of Buddhahood with This Very Body*
Sokushin jōbutsu shō 即身成仏抄: *Digest on the Realization of Buddhahood with This Very Body*
sokushin myōkaku jōbutsu 即身妙覺成仏: wondrous enlightenment with one's very body
sokushin nyū kanyō butsui 即身入觀行仏位: entering the ranks of the buddhas with this very body with contemplative practice
sokushin nyū myōji 即身入名字: entering verbal identity with this very body
Sōmoku hosshin shugyō jōbutsu ki 草木発心修行成仏記: *Treatise on the Aspiration to Enlightenment and Practice of Grasses and Trees*
sōmoku jōbutsu 草木成仏: realization of buddhahood by grasses and trees
 Sondō 尊道 (1332–1403)
 Son'i 尊意 (866–940)
 Sonshun 尊舜 (1451–1514)
sōrai 惣礼: assembly
 Soshitsuji 蘇悉地
 Soshō (or Sosei) 素性 (d. 819)
sōsoku 相即: mutual identification
sōtai 相对: relative
sōzu 僧都: bishop
 Sugawara no Michizane 菅原道真 (845–903)
suigō 遂業: having held the position of lecturer at major monastic events
suishin 水心: water mind
 Tachibanadera 橘寺
 Taehyōn 太賢 (fl. 8th c.)
 Tahōtō 多宝塔: reliquary of Prabhūtaratna
 Taimitsu 台密: Tendai esoteric Buddhism

- Taira 平
 Taishakuji 帝釈寺
taishusan 対首懺: confessing to another person
tajuyū 他受用: activities that give bliss to others
 Takamuko no Kimisuke 高向公輔. *See* Tankei
tanbyaku 单白: simple declaration
tandai 探題: a judge in debates
 Tankei 湛契 (817–880)
 Tankū 湛空 (1176–1253)
 Tanwuchen 曇無讖 (385–433): Dharmakṣema
Tanxuan ji 探玄記: T 1733
tate 豎: vertical
teguruma 手車: hand-drawn cart
teidoshiki 剃度式: ritual offering of a razor
tencha 点茶: powdered green tea
Tendai bosatsukai gisho kenmon 天台菩薩戒義疏見聞
Tendai Engyō bosatsukai sōjō kechimyakufu 天台円教菩薩戒相承血脈譜
Tendai Hokkeshū gi shū 天台法華宗義集: T 2366, *Compilation of the Tendai Lotus Sutra School's Doctrines*
Tendai kahyō 天台霞標
 Tendai Risshū 天台律宗: Tendai-Vinaya School
 Tendai shūten hensanjo 天台宗典編纂所
Tendai sōden hiketsu shō 天台相伝秘訣抄: *Secret Compilation of Tendai Transmissions*
Tendai zasu ki 天台座主記: *Record of Tendai Chief Prelates*
tendoku 転読: turning the fascicles and performing an abbreviated reading
tengai 天蓋: ornamental canopy
 Tenkai 天海 (1536–1643)
 Tenryūji 天龍寺
tenzo 典座: head cook
 Terai Ryōsen 寺井良宣 (b. 1949)
 Tianlun Daoyi 天倫道彝 (fl. 1402)
Tiantai pusajie shu 天台菩薩戒疏: T 1812
 Tiantai Siming 天台四明 (960–1028)
tō angō 冬安居: winter retreat
tōbun kai 当分戒: precepts in their traditional sense based on one of the four teachings and relevant documents
 Tōdaiji 東大寺
Tō daiwajō tōsei den 唐大和上東征伝
 Tōdō 東塔: Eastern Pagoda
 Tōdōdō 東唐堂
 Tōeizan 東叡山: Eastern Mount Hiei, Kan'eiji
 Tōji 東寺
tōki jikiju 当機直授: direct conferral appropriate to the recipient's religious faculties
tokkai 得戒: acquiring the precepts
 Tomi no ichiū 跡見赤禱 (fl. Asuka period)
 Totsu 戸津
 Tsubakidō 椿堂
 Tsuchihashi Shūkō 土橋秀高 (b. 1914)
 Tsūen 通円
tsugai rongi 番論議: face-to-face debates
tsūgyō 通教: pervasive teachings
tsūju 通受: universal ordination
tsūju betsuji 通受別持: universal ordination with separate observance
 Tsunesada 恒貞 (825–884)
 Tsuneyasu 常康 (d. 869)
 Tsuneyo 経世: Henjō's brother
tsutome 勤: religious ceremonies
Tuoluoni zaji 陀羅尼雜集: T 1336
ubai 優婆夷: laywoman
ubasoku 優婆塞: layman
 Uesugi Bunshū 上杉文秀 (1867–1936)
 Ūijōk 義寂 (fl. late 7th–early 8th c.)
 Unrin'in 雲林院
wagaki 裏書: writing on the reverse side of a document
uro 有漏: tainted
wabibito 侘人: forelorn person
 Wakazono Zensō 若園善聡
Wakokubon 和国本: *Japanese (Ordination Manual)*
wakō rita 和光利他: harmonize with and benefit others
 Wang 王
Weimo jing 維摩經: T 475, *Vimalakīrti Sutra*
 Wōnch'uk 円測 (613–695)
Wuliangshou jing 無量寿經: T 360

- Wuliangshou lun* 無量壽論: T 1524,
Commentary on the Wuliangshou jing,
 attributed to Vasubandhu
Wuliang yi jing 無量義經: T 276, *Sutra of
 Myriad Meanings*
 Wutai 五台
 Xianyu 仙預
Xindi guan jing 心地觀經: T 159,
*Contemplation on the Mind-Ground
 Sutra*
 Xiuchansi 修禪寺
 Xuanzang 玄奘 (602–664)
Xu gaoseng zhuan 統高僧傳: T 2060
 Yakushi Nyorai 藥師如來: Medicine
 Buddha
 Yamada Etai 山田惠諦 (1900–1999)
Yamato monogatari 大和物語
Yanaginara-ke kiroku 柳原家記錄
 Yi'an Yiru 一菴一如 (1352–1425)
 Yijing 義淨 (635–713)
Yingluo jing 瓔珞經: See *Pusa yingluo
 benyejing*
 Yixing 一行 (683–727)
 Yokawa 橫川
yokusu 浴主: bathhouse administrator
 Yoshida Tsunefusa 吉田經房
 (1143–1200)
 Yoshimine no Munesada 良峯宗貞. See
 Henjō
 Yoshimine no Yasuyo 良峯安世
 (785–830)
yōtaibo 養胎母: adoptive or birth
 mother
Yōuposai jie jing 優婆塞戒經: T 1488,
Sutra on Precepts for Lay Practitioners;
Upāsakaśīlasūtra
yoyoku 与欲: proxy
 Yōzei 陽成 (868–949, r. 876–884)
 yu 湯: infusion
Yuanjue jing 円覺經: T 842, *Sutra on
 Perfect Enlightenment*
 Yuanzhao 元照 (1048–1116)
Yugikyōsho 瑜祇經疏
yūjū ichinin 唯授一人: conferral on only
 a single person
yūjū ichinin no kaihō 唯受一人戒法:
 tradition of only conferring the
 precepts on a single person at a time
 Yuiken 維賢 (1289–1378)
 Yuima-e 維摩會: Assembly for the
Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa Sutra
yūiri 唯理: only principle
 Yuishu 惟首 (826–893)
yumemi 夢見: revelation through what is
 seen in dreams
 Yunqi 蘊齋 (1054–1130)
 Yunxian 允憲: Chinese Tiantai monk
Yūqie shidi lun 瑜伽師地論: T 1579,
Yogācārabhūmi
 Yushō (or Yusei) 由性 (841–914)
 Yuxian 與咸 (d. 1163)
zagu 座具: sitting cloth
zarō no kokoro 座陋之心: translated as
 “hateful mind”
zasu 座主: chief prelate
Zaushō 座右鈔: T 2641, *Compilation to Be
 Kept at the Right Side of One's Seat*
Zekkai roku 絕海錄
 Zen'a 禪阿 (fl. 1310)
Zen'e shōnin e 善惠上人絵
zengxiu 增修: augment
zenji 禪寺: meditation or Zen temple
 Zenzu 善珠 (723–797)
 Zennen 禪然 (fl. late 9th c.)
zenrai 善來: welcome
 Zenrinji 禪林寺
Zenrin kokuhō ki 善隣国宝記
zenshi 禪思: meditation and reflection
zensō 禪僧: Zen monk
 Zhangya 張掖 [in Gansu]
 Zhanran 湛然 (711–782)
Zhan cha shan'e yebao jing 占察善惡業報
 經: T 2416, *Divination of the Recom-
 pense and Rewards of Good and Evil
 Sutra*
Zhiguan fuxing zhuanhong jue 止觀輔行傳
 弘決: T 1912, *Zhanran's Commentary
 on the Mohe Zhiguan*
 Zhili 知禮 (980–1028)
 Zhiyi 智顛 (538–598)
 Zhizhou 智周 (688–723)
Zhongjing mulu 衆經目錄: T 2146
zhuēyi 覺義: enlighteners
 Zhuhong 祿宏 (1535–1615)
 Ziqing 自慶 (n.d.)
zoku bettō 俗別當: lay administrator
zōmatsu 像末: last part of the semblance
 of the Dharma age

zōsu 蔵司: chief librarian

zuigyō mubon mon 隨樂無犯門: following one's desires and not violating the precepts

zuiki 隨喜: sympathetic joy

zuishin tashō mon 隨心多少門: [holding]

a greater or lesser amount in accord with one's intentions

zuishō mubon mon 隨勝無犯門: going in accord with what is superior does not constitute a violation

Zunshi 遵式 (964–1032)

Bibliography

- Abe Ryūichi 阿部隆一. “Muromachi izen seiritsu Shōtoku Taishi denki-rui shoshi” 室町以前成立聖徳太子伝記類書誌. In *Shōtoku Taishi ronshū* 聖徳太子論集, edited by Shōtoku Taishi kenkyū kai 聖徳太子研究会, 511–558. Kyoto: Heirakuji Shoten, 1971.
- Adolphson, Mikael. *The Gates of Power: Monks, Courtiers, and Warriors in Premodern Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2000.
- Akamatsu Toshihide 赤松俊秀. “Akusō no shinjō to Kamakura Bukkyō” 「悪僧」の信条と鎌倉仏教. In *Bukkyō shisō ronshū: Okuda Jiō sensei kiju kinen* 仏教思想論集: 奥田慈応先生喜寿記念, edited by Okuda Jiō sensei kiju kinen ronbunshū, kankōkai 奥田慈応先生喜寿記念論文集刊行会, 455–470. Kyoto: Heirakuji Shoten, 1976.
- Asada Masahiro 浅田正博. “Dengyō Daishi Saichō no ōjō shisō ni tsuite: ‘Rōzan hotsuganmon’ ni tsuite” 伝教大師最澄の往生思想について—「籠山発願文」について. *Shinshū rengō gakkai kenkyū kiyō* 真宗連合学会研究紀要 5 (1981): 28–40.
- . *Zaikaku shōnin shoshabon mapppō tōmyōki kōdoku* 在覚上人書写本末法燈明記講読. Kyoto: Nagata Bunshōdō, 1999.
- Asai Endō 浅井円道. *Jōko Nihon Tendai honmon shisō shi* 上古日本天台本門思想史. Kyoto: Heirakuji Shoten, 1973.
- Asai Jōkai 浅井成海. “Seizan Shōkū shi no shōgai ni tsuite” 西山証空師の生涯について. In *Kimura Takeo kyōju koki kinen: Sōden no kenkyū* 木村武夫教授古稀記念—僧伝の研究, edited by Kimura Kyōju koki kinen ronbunshū henshū kakari 木村教授古稀記念論文集編集係, 105–128. Kyoto: Nagata Bunshōdō, 1981.
- Aston, W. G. *Nihongi*. 2 vols. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1956.
- Benn, James. *Burning for the Buddha: Self-Immolation in Chinese Buddhism*. Kuroda Studies in East Asian Buddhism 19. Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2007.
- Bodiford, William. “When Secrecy Ends: The Tokugawa Reformation of Tendai Buddhism and Its Implications.” In *The Culture of Secrecy in Japanese Religion*, edited by Bernhard Scheid and Mark Teeuwen, 309–330. New York: Routledge, 2006.
- Brose, Benjamin. *Patrons and Patriarchs: Regional Rulers and Chan Monks during the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms*. Kuroda Studies in East Asian Buddhism 25. Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2015.
- Bussho kankōkai 仏書刊行会, ed. *Dainihon Bukkyō zensho* 大日本仏教全書. Tokyo: Dainihon Bukkyō Zensho Kankōkai, 1912–1922.

- Buswell, Robert E. Jr., and Donald S. Lopez Jr. *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013.
- Carr, Kevin Gray. *Plotting the Prince. Shōtoku Cults and the Mapping of Medieval Japanese Buddhism*. Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2012.
- Chae Inhwan 蔡印幻. *Shiragi Bukkyō kairitsu shisō kenkyū* 新羅仏教戒律思想研究, Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai, 1977.
- Chen, Jinhua. *Legend and Legitimation: The Formation of Tendai Esoteric Buddhism in Japan*. Brussels: Institut belge des hautes études chinoises, 2009.
- Clarke, Shayne. *Family Matters in Indian Buddhist Monasticisms*. Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2013.
- . “Monks Who Have Sex: Pārājika Penance in Indian Buddhist Monasticisms.” *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 37 (2009): 1–43.
- Como, Michael I. *Shōtoku: Ethnicity, Ritual and Violence in the Japanese Buddhist Tradition*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Covell, Stephen G. *Japanese Temple Buddhism: Worldliness in a Religion of Renunciation*. Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2005.
- . “Learning to Persevere: The Popular Teachings of Tendai Ascetics.” *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 31, no. 2 (2004): 255–287.
- Dolce, Lucia. “Reconsidering the Taxonomy of the Esoteric: Hermeneutical and Ritual Practices of the *Lotus Sutra*.” In *The Culture of Secrecy in Japanese Religion*, edited by Bernhard Scheid and Mark Teeuwen, 126–165. London: Routledge, 2015.
- Donner, Neil, and Daniel Stevenson. *The Great Calming and Contemplation: A Study and Annotated Translation of the First Chapter of Chih-i’s “Mo-Ho Chih-Kuan.”* Kuroda Classics in East Asian Buddhism. Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1993.
- Eizan Gakkai 叡山学会, ed. *Annen oshō no kenkyū* 安然和尚の研究. Kyoto: Dōhōsha, 1979.
- Etani Ryūkai 恵谷隆戒. “Annen no Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku ni mirareru enkai shisō” 安然の普通授菩薩戒広釈にみられる円戒思想. In *Okuda Jiō Sensei kiju kinen: Bukkyō shisō ronshū* 奥田慈応先生喜寿記念—仏教思想論集, edited by Okuda Jiō sensei kiju kinen ronbunshū kankōkai 奥田慈応先生喜寿記念論文集刊行会, 313–321. Kyoto: Heirakuji Shoten, 1976.
- . *Endonkai gairon* 円頓戒概論. Tokyo: Daitō Shuppansha, 1978.
- Fogel, Joshua. *Articulating the Sinosphere: Sino-Japanese Relations in Space and Time*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009.
- Fujihira Kanden 藤平寛田. “Myōdō Shōgen to Rozanji-ryū gikasho ‘Rodan’ ni suite” 明導照源と廬山寺流義科書「廬談」について. *Tendai gakuho* 天台学報 35 (1993): 83–87.
- Fujii Yukiko 藤井由紀子. “Kuze Kannon no seiritsu: Reikenka sarena Shōto ku Taishi” 救世観音の成立—靈驗化された聖徳太子. In *Shōtoku Taishi no shinjitsu* 聖徳太子の真実, edited by Oyama Seiichi 大山誠一, 321–342. Tokyo: Heibonsha, 2014.
- Fujinami Genshin 藤波源信. “Sennichi kaihōgyō no taiken wo tōshite” 千日回峰行を通して. In *Tendai Hieizan ni hibiku hotoke no koe* 天台—比叡に響く仏の声, edited by Michimoto Tesshin 道元徹心, 267–291. Kyoto: Jishōsha Shuppan, 2012.
- Fujita Kazutoshi 藤田和敏. *Kinsei no Tendaishū to Enryakuji* 近世の天台宗と延暦寺. Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 2020.

- Fukuda Gyōei 福田堯穎. *Tendaigaku gairon* 天台学概論. Tokyo: Nakayama Shobō Busshorin, 1954.
- Fukushima Kōsai 福島光哉. “Chigi no kairitsu shisō: Shōzai wo meguru mondai ni tsuite” 智顛の戒律思想—性罪をめぐる問題について. In *Kairitsu shisō no kenkyū* 戒律思想の研究, edited by Sasaki Kyōgo 佐々木教悟, 343–366. Kyoto: Heirakuji Shoten, 1981.
- . “Tendai Chigi ni okeru Daijōkai no soshiki to shikan” 天台智顛における大乘戒の組織と止観. In *Kairitsu no sekai* 戒律の世界, edited by Mori Shōshi 森章司, 471–484. Tokyo: Hokushindō, 1993.
- Funata Jun’ichi 船田淳一. *Shinbutsu to girei no chūsei* 神仏と儀礼の中世. Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 2011.
- Funayama Tōru 船山徹. “The Acceptance of Buddhist Precepts by the Chinese in the Fifth Century.” *Journal of Asian History* 38, no. 2 (2004): 97–120.
- . “Bonmōkyō gekan sennyōsetsu no saikentō” 梵網經下巻先行説の再検討. In *Sangyō kōshō ronsō zokuhen* 三教交渉論叢続編, edited by Mugitani Kunio 麦谷邦夫, 127–156. Kyoto: Kyōto Daigaku Jinbun Kagaku Kenkyūjo, 2011.
- . “Bonmōkyō no shoki no keitai wo megutte” 『梵網經』の初期の形態をめぐる. *Higashi Ajia Bukkyō Kenkyū* 東アジア仏教研究 12 (2014): 3–25.
- . *Bonmōkyō: Saiko no katachi to hatten no rekishi* 梵網經: 最古の形と発展の歴史. Tokyo: Rinsen Shoten, 2017.
- . “Goroku seiki no Bukkyō ni okeru hakai to itan” 五六世紀における破戒と異端. In *Chūgoku chūsei shakai to shūkyō* 中国中世社会と異端, edited by Mugitani Kunio 麦谷邦夫, 39–58. Kyoto: Dōkisha, 2002.
- . “Masquerading as Translation: Examples of Chinese Lectures by Indian Scholar-Monks in the Six Dynasties Period.” *Asia Major*, 3rd series, 19, nos.1–2 (2006): 39–55.
- . “Rikuchō jidai ni okeru bosatsukai no juyō katei: Ryūsō Nanseiki wo chūshin ni” 六朝時代における菩薩戒の受容過程—劉宋・南齊期を中心に. *Tōhō gakuho* 東方学報 67 (1995): 1–135.
- Geibel, Rolf, ed. *The Vairocānābhisaṃbodhi Sutra*. Moraga, CA: BDK America, 2005.
- Getz, Daniel. “Popular Religion and Pure Land in Song-Dynasty Tiantai Bodhisattva Precept Ordination Ceremonies.” In *Going Forth: Visions of Buddhist Vinaya*, edited by William Bodiford, 161–184. Kuroda Studies in East Asian Buddhism 18. Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2005.
- Groner, Paul. “Annen, Tankei, Henjō and Monastic Discipline in the Tendai School: The Background of the *Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku*.” *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 14, nos. 2–3 (1978): 129–159.
- . “Annen’s Interpretation of the Tendai Ordination: Its Background and Later Influence.” *Eastern Buddhist* 49, nos. 1–2 (2021): 103–127.
- . “The Bodhisattva Precepts.” In *Oxford Handbook of Buddhist Ethics*, edited by Daniel Cozort and Mark Shields, 29–50. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018.
- . “Can the Precepts Be Lost? Can the Precepts Be Violated? The Role of the *Pusajie yiji* in Medieval Tendai Discussions of the Precepts.” *Essays from the International Tendai Conference. Tendai Gakuho* 天台学報 (2007): 165–200.
- . “Different Interpretations on the Revival of the Vinaya in Thirteenth-Century

- Japan.” In *Nihon Bukkyō to rōgi* 日本仏教と論議, edited by Kusunoki Junshō 楠淳証, 5–34 (left pagination). Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 2020.
- . “Doctrinal Discussions of Killing in Medieval Tendai Texts.” In *Ōkubo Ryōshun kyōju kanreki kinen ronbunshū: Tendai Shingon shōshū ronkō* 大久保良峻教授還暦記念論集—天台真言諸宗論考, edited by Ōkubo Ryōshun kyōju kanreki kinen ronshū kankōkai 大久保良峻教授還暦記念論集刊行会, 3–28 (left pagination). Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 2015.
- . “Early Japanese Tendai Views on the Realization of Buddhahood by Grasses and Trees: Determinations from China (*Tōketsu* 唐決).” In *Bukkyō to kankyō: Rishō daigaku Bukkyōgakubu kaisetsu gojū shūnen kinen ronbunshū* 仏教と環境：立正大学仏教学部開設五十周年記念論文集, edited by Mitomo Ken’yō 三友健容, 21–40. Tokyo: Maruzen Kabushiki Kaisha, 2000.
- . “The *Fan-wang ching* and Monastic Discipline in Japanese Tendai: A Study of Annen’s *Futsū jubosatsukai kōshaku*.” In *Chinese Buddhist Apocrypha*, edited by Robert E. Buswell, Jr., 251–290. Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1990.
- . “*Hokekyō* to endonkai” 『法華經』と円頓戒, translated into Japanese by Matsu-moto Tomomi 松本知己. *Tōyō no shisō to shūkyō* 東洋の思想と宗教 26 (2009): 1–29.
- (Gurōnā, Pōru). “Hokurei no kairitsu: Jitsudō Ninkū wo chūshin ni” 北嶺の戒律—実導仁空を中心に, translated into Japanese by Kameyama Takahiko 亀山隆彦. In vol. 6 of *Nanto gaku Hokurei gaku no sekai: Hōe to Butsudō* 南都学・北嶺学の世界: 法会と仏道, edited by Kusunoki Junshō 楠淳証, 137–175. Ryūkyoku daigaku Ajia Bukkyō bunka kenkyū sōsho 龍谷大学アジア仏教文化研究叢書. Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 2018.
- . “The Interpretation of the Precepts in the Mahāyāna Nirvāṇa-Sūtra.” In *Essays on the Nirvāṇa Sutra*, edited by Mark Blum. Hamburg: Hamburg Buddhist Studies, forthcoming.
- . “Japanese Tendai Perfect-Sudden Precepts and the Vinaya.” *Tendai gaku* 10, Tokubetsugō dainishū 天台学報特別号第二集 (2018): 1–20 (left pagination).
- . “Japanese Tendai Views of the Precepts.” In *Rules of Engagement: Medieval Traditions of Buddhist Monastic Regulation*, edited by Susan Andrews, Jinhua Chen, and Cuilan Liu, 131–156. Hamburg: Hamburg Buddhist Studies 7, 2017.
- . “Jitsudō Ninkū on Ordinations.” *Japan Review* 15 (2003): 51–75.
- . “Kōen and the ‘Consecrated Ordination’ within Japanese Tendai.” In *Buddhist Monasticism in East Asia: Places of Practice*, edited by James Alexander Benn, Lori R. Meeks, and James Robson, 178–207. New York: Routledge, 2009.
- . “The *Lotus Sūtra* and the Perfect-Sudden Precepts (*endonkai* 円頓戒).” *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 41, no. 1 (2014): 103–131.
- . “The *Lotus Sūtra* and Saichō’s Interpretation of the Realization of Buddhahood with This Very Body (*sokushin jōbutsu*).” In *The Lotus Sūtra in Japanese Culture*, edited by George Tanabe, Jr., and Willa Tanabe, 53–74. Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1989.
- . “The *Lotus Sūtra* and Tendai Perfect-Sudden Precept Ordinations.” In *Universal and International Nature of the Lotus Sutra: Proceedings of the Seventh International Conference on the Lotus Sutra*, edited by Risho University Executive Committee for

- the Seventh International Conference on the *Lotus Sutra*, 13–28. Tokyo: Sankibō Busshorin, 2013.
- . “Nihon Tendai ni okeru kaikan” 日本天台における戒觀. In *Tendaigaku tankyū: Nihon no bunka shisō no kakushin wo saguru* 天台学探尋—日本の文化・思想の核心を探る, edited by Ōkubo Ryōshun 大久保良峻, 123–149. Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 2014.
- . “Ninkū Jitsudō’s View of the Hinayāna Precepts.” *IBK* 50 (2001): 6–10 (left pagination).
- . “The Ordination Ritual in the *Platform Sūtra* within the Context of the East Asian Vinaya Tradition.” In *Fo Kuang Shan Report of International Conference on Ch’an Buddhism*, 220–250. Kaohsiung, Taiwan: Fo-kuang shan, 1990.
- . “Rationales for the Lax Adherence to the Precepts: Some Tendai Interpretations of the Precepts Based on the *Lotus Sutra*,” in *Contributions of Buddhism to the World Culture*, edited by Ichijō Ogawa, Kalpakam Sankarnarayan, and Ravindra Panth, 2:310–330. 2 vols. Mumbai: Somaiya Publications. 2007.
- . “Reflections on the Movement to Revive the Vinaya (*kairitsu fukkō*) in Kamakura Japan: With a Focus on Eison’s *Chōmonshū*.” In *Nihon Bukkyō to sono zōkei* 日本仏教の展開とその造形, edited by Michimoto Tesshin 道元徹心, 67–91. Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 2020.
- . “Ritually Embodying the *Lotus Sutra*: An interpretation of the Japanese Tendai Kurodani Lineage Consecrated Ordination (*kai kanjō* 戒灌頂).” In *Rituals of Initiation and Consecration in Premodern Japan: Power and Legitimacy in Kingship, Religion, and the Arts*, edited by Fabio Rambelli and Ori Porath, 245–273. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2022.
- . “The Role of Confession in Tiantai/Tendai Bodhisattva Ordinations.” In *Sins and Sinners: Perspectives from Asian Religions*, edited by Phyllis Granoff and Kōichi Shinohara, 216–242. Leiden: Brill, 2012.
- . *Ryōgen and Mount Hiei: Japanese Tendai in the Tenth Century*. Kuroda Institute Studies in East Asian Buddhism 15. Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press. 2002.
- . *Saichō: The Establishment of the Japanese Tendai School*. Rev. ed. Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2000.
- . “Saichō and the Bodhisattva Precepts.” Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1979.
- . “Shortening the Path: The Interpretation of the Realization of Buddhahood in This Very Existence in the Early Tendai School.” In *Paths to Liberation: The Mārga and Its Transformations in Buddhist Thought*, edited by Robert E. Buswell, Jr., and Robert M. Gimello, 439–474. Kuroda Studies in East Asian Buddhism 7. Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1992.
- . “Training through Debates in Medieval Tendai and Seizan-ha Temples,” *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 38, no. 2 (2011): 233–261.
- Hakeda, Yoshito. *Kūkai: Major Works*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1972.
- Hanawa Hokiichi 塙保己一. *Gunsho ruijū* 群書類従. 29 vols. Tōkyō: Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 1959–1960.
- Hansen, Valerie. “Religious Life in a Silk Road Community.” In *Religion and Chinese Society*, edited by John Lagerwey, 293–307. Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 2004.
- Hareyama Shun’ei 晴山俊英. “Bonmōkyō ryakushō ni okeru zen’aku ni tsuite” 『梵網

- 経略抄』における善悪について. *Komazawa daigaku Bukkyō gakubu ronshū* 駒澤大学仏教学部論宗 32 (2001): 361–374.
- Hashimoto Shinkichi 橋本進吉. “Annen no shittan no shi Tankei ajari” 安然の悉曇の師湛契阿闍梨, in *Hashimoto Shinkichi Hakushi chosakushū*, edited by Hashimoto Shinkichi, 12 (*Denki, Tenseki kenkyū* 傳記・典籍研究): 109–117. 2 vols. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1949–1983.
- . “Annen oshō jiseki kō” 安然和尚事績考, in *Hashimoto Shinkichi Hakushi chosakushū*, edited by Hashimoto Shinkichi, 39–108.
- Heirman, Ann. “Indian Disciplinary Rules and Their Early Chinese Adepts: A Buddhist Reality.” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 128, no. 2 (2008): 257–272
- Hieizan senshuin fuzoku Eizan gakuin 比叡山専修院付属叡山学院, ed. *Dengyō daishi zenshū* 伝教大師全集. Tokyo: Sekai Seiten Kankō Kyōkai, 1975.
- Hirakawa Akira 平川彰. “Chigi no kaitairon ni tsuite” 智顛の戒体論について. In *Hirakawa Akira chosakushū*, edited by Hirakawa Akira, 121–136. Vol. 8 of *Nihon Bukkyō to Chūgoku Bukkyō*, 日本仏教と中国仏教. Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1991.
- . “Dōsen no Hokekyo kan” 道宣の『法華経』観. In *Hokekyō no Chūgokuteki tenkai* 華経の中国的展開, edited by Sakamoto Yukio 坂本幸男, 319–341. Kyoto: Heirakuji Shoten, 1972.
- . *Genshi Bukkyō no kenkyū: Kyōdan soshiki no genkei* 原始仏教の研究—教団組織の原型. Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1964.
- . “Gyōnen no kairitsu shisō 凝然の戒律思想.” *Nanto Bukkyō* 南都仏教 28 (1972): 1–17.
- . *Hirakawa Akira chosaku shū* 平川彰著作集. 19 vols. Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1988–2002.
- . *Shoki daijō Bukkyō no kenkyū* 初期大乘仏教の研究. Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1968.
- Hiraoka Jōkai 平岡定海. *Nihon jinshi no kenkyū* 日本寺院史の研究. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1981.
- Hirose Kan'yū 広瀬観友. *Gujinshō josetsu* 弘深抄序説. *Seizan gakuin* 西山学報 6 (1934): 15–35.
- Honda Kōyū 本多鋼裕. *Yakuchū Jikaku Daishiden* 訳注慈覚大師伝. Ōtsu: Tendaishū kyōgaku, 1963.
- Hoshimiya Chikō 星宮智光. “Henjō no Gangyōji keiei to sono igi” 遍照の元慶寺経宮とその意義. *Mikkyō bunka* 密教文化 112 (1975): 30–43.
- . “Henjō no shukke” 遍照の出家. In *Eizan Bukkyō kenkyū*, edited by Eizan Gakkai 叡山学会, 298–309. Kyoto: Nagata Bunshōdō, 1974.
- Huang Minzhi 黄敏枝. *Songdai Fojiao shehui jingji shi lunji* 宋代佛教社會經濟史論集. Taipei: Xuesheng Shuji, 1989.
- Hurvitz, Leon. *Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Dharma: The Lotus Sutra*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1976.
- Ibuki Atsushi 伊吹敦. “Dōsen-sen Chū bosatsukai kyō itsubun shūsei” 道璿撰『註菩薩戒經』佚文集成. *Tōyō shisō bunka* 東洋思想文化 3 (2016): 1–40.
- . “Dōsen wa Tendai kyōgaku ni kuwashikatta ka?” 道璿は天台教学に詳しかったか? *IBK* 139 (2013): 193–200.
- Ichikawa Hakugen 市川白弦, Iriya Yoshitaka 入矢義高, and Yanagida Seizan 柳田聖山, eds. *Chūsei zenke no shiso* 中世樵家の思想. Vol. 16 of *Nihon shisō taikei* 日本思想大系, edited by Ienaga Saburō, et al. 67 vols. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1972.

- Iida Masahiro 飯田真宏. “Jōkei ni okeru kikon kaishaku” 貞慶における機根解釈. *IBK* 57, no. 1 (2008): 223–226.
- Inada Sogen 稲田祖賢. “Godai’in sentoku denkō” 五大院先徳伝考. *Eizan gakuho* 観山学報 11 (1936): 8–24. Reprinted in *Eizan Gakkai, Anmen oshō no kenkyū*, 1:8–24.
- Inagaki Shintetsu 稲垣真哲. “Rongishō ni tsuite: Rokkanbon wo chūshin to shite” 論義鈔に就て一六巻本を中心として. *Seizan gakuho* 西山学報 8 (1936): 48–61.
- IBK. *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度学仏教学研究 (abbreviated IBK).
- Ishida Mizumaro 石田瑞磨. “Anrakuritsu no funsō” 安楽律の紛争. *Nihon Bukkyōshi* 日本仏教思想研究. 5 vols. 2 (1957): 7–18; 3 (1957): 33–42.
- . *Bonmōkyō* 梵網經. Tokyo: Daizō Shuppan Kabushiki Kaisha, 1971.
- . “Gakushōshūki mondō no gisen ni tsuite” 学生式問答の偽撰について. *IBK* 8, no. 2 (1960): 495–499.
- . *Ganjin: Sono kairitsu shisō* 鑑真—その戒律思想. Tokyo: Daizō Shuppan, 1974.
- . *Nihon Bukkyō ni okeru karitsu no kenkyū* 日本佛教における戒律の研究. Tokyo: Zaiko Bukkyō Kyōkai, 1963.
- . *Nihon Bukkyō shisō kenkyū: Kairitsu no kenkyū* 日本仏教思想研究—戒律の研究. 2 vols. Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1986.
- . *Nyobon: Sei no sei* 女犯—聖の性. Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1995.
- . “Nyobon: Sono furerarenai jittai ni tsuite” 女犯—その触れられない実態について. In *Bukkyō no rekishūteki tenkai ni miru shokeitai: Furuta Shōkin nakase koki kinen ronbunshū* 仏教の歴史的展開に見る諸形態：古田紹欽博士古稀記念論集, edited by Furuta Shōkin Hakushi Koki Kinenkai 古田紹欽博士古稀記念会, 424–439. Tokyo: Sōbunsha, 1981.
- . *Reibun Bukkyōgo daijiten* 例文仏教語大辞典. Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1997.
- Ishida Mosaku 石田茂作. *Shakyō yori mītaru Narachō Bukkyō no kenkyū* 写経より見たる奈良朝仏教の研究. Tokyo: Hara Shobō, 1982.
- Ishigaki Gensen 石垣源胆. “Seizan ni okeru endonkai no mondai” 西山に於ける円頓戒の問題. In *Bukkyō ni okeru kai no mondai* 仏教における戒の問題, edited by Nihon Bukkyō gakkai 日本仏教学会, 315–334. Kyoto: Heirakuji Shoten, 1967.
- Itō Shōjun 伊藤正順. “Ryō Rongishō no sōiten” 両論義鈔の相違点. *Seizan gakuho* 西山学報 33 (1985): 106–108.
- Jaffe, Richard. *Neither Monk nor Layman: Clerical Marriage in Modern Japanese Buddhism*. Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2001.
- Janousch, A. “The Emperor as Bodhisattva: The Bodhisattva Ordination and Ritual Assemblies of Emperor Wu of the Liang Dynasty.” In *State and Court Ritual in China*, edited by J. P. McDermott, 112–149. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Jingū shichō 神宮司廳, ed. *Koji ruien* 古事類苑. 50 vols. in Western binding. Tōkyō, Jingū Shichō, 1868–1926.
- Jōdoshū daijiten hensan iinkai 浄土宗大辞典編纂委員会, ed. *Jōdoshū daijiten* 浄土宗大辞典. 4 vols. Tokyo: Sankibō Busshorin, 1975.
- . *Shinsan Jōdoshū daijiten* 新纂浄土宗大辞典. Tokyo: Jōdoshū shūmūchō, 2016.
- Jōdoshū kaishū happyakunen kinen kyōsan junbikyoku 浄土宗開宗八百年記念慶讚準備局, ed. *Jōdoshū zensho* 浄土宗全書. 23 vols. Tokyo: Sankibō Busshorin, 1972–1976.

- . *Jōdoshū zensho: Zoku* 浄土宗全書続. 19 vols. Tokyo: Sankibō Busshorin, 1972–1974.
- Kaishū sen nihyaku nen keisan daihōe jimukyoku, Hieizan Enryakuji gakumonsho 開宗千二百年慶讚大法会事務局・比叡山延暦寺学問所. *Endon jukai shidai* 円頓授戒次第. Tokyo: Shinkonshōdō, 2003.
- Kameda Hiroshi 亀田博. “Tachibanadera no henkaku to garan” 橘寺の沿革と伽藍. In *Katada Tadashi sensei koki kinen ronbunshū* 堅田直先生古稀記念論文集, edited by Katada Tadashi Sensei koki kinen ronbunshū kankōkai 堅田直先生古稀記念論文集刊行会, 513–523. Kyoto: Shin'yōsha, 1997.
- Kanno Hiroshi. “On the Concepts of ‘Salvific Impetus’ and ‘Resonant Stimulus and Response’ in the Early Period of Chinese Buddhism, Focusing on the Cases of Daosheng and Sengliang.” In *Bukkyō to bunka: Tada Kōshō Hakushi koki kinen ronshū* 仏教と文化—多田孝正博士古稀記念論集, edited by Tada Kōshō Hakushi koki kinen ronshū kankōkai 田孝正博士古稀記念論集刊行会, 51–74 (left pagination). Tokyo: Sankibō Busshorin, 2008.
- Katsuura Noriko 勝浦令子. “Hokke metsuzai no tera to Rakuyō Ankokuji Hokke dōjō: Ama to amadera no Nittō hikaku kenkyū no kadai” 法華滅罪之寺と洛陽安国寺法華道場—尼と尼寺の日唐比較研究の課題. *Shiron* 史論 46 (1993): 1–18.
- Kieschnick, John. *The Impact of Buddhism on Chinese Material Culture*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003.
- Kiuchi Gyōō 木内堯央. “Asa daimoku yū nenbutsu” 朝題目夕念仏. *Nihon Bukkyō gakkai nenpō* 日本仏教会年報 43 (1978): 233–244.
- . “Godai’in Annen sonja no shudōron” 五大院安然尊者の修道論. In *Bukkyō no jissen genri* 仏教の実践原理, edited by Sekiguchi Shindai 関口真大, 539–554. Tokyo: Sankibō Busshorin, 1977.
- . “Godai’in Annen sonja to mikkyō” 五大院安然尊者と密教. *IBK* 20, no. 2 (1972): 260–263.
- . “Henjō to mikkyō” 遍照と密教. *IBK* 21, no. 2 (1973): 758–763.
- . “Rōzan hotsuganmon” shinsen-setsu e no shiken” 「籠山発願文」真撰説への私見. *Tendai gakuho* 天台学报 28 (1986): 60–64.
- . *Tendai mikkyō no keisei* 天台密教の形成. Tokyo: Keisuisha, 1984.
- . “Tendaishū no kindai ni tsuite” 天台宗の近代化について. In *Nihon ni okeru Tendaishū no tenkai* 日本における天台宗の展開, edited by Kiuchi Gyōdai 木内堯大, 467–491. Kanagawa: Shūkyō kōgeisha, 2012.
- Kiyohara Ekō 清原恵光. “Tendai no rongi no keisei katei” 天台の論議の形成過程. In *Rongi no kenkyū* 論議の研究, edited by Chisan kangakkai 智山勸学会, 65–109. Kanagawa: Seishi Shuppan, 2000.
- . “Tendai no rongi to kankyō” 天台の論議と看経行. In *Tendai Hieizan ni hibiku hotoke no koe* 天台—比叡に響く仏の声, edited by Michimoto Tesshin 道元徹心, 239–266. Kyoto: Jishōsha Shuppan, 2012.
- Kiyota Jakuun 清田寂雲. “Kongōchō hyō giketsu no kōgō ni tsuite” 金剛頂経義訣の校合について. *IBK* 57 (1985): 57–64.
- Kobayashi Sojō 小林祖承. “Jōza zanmai no taiken wo tōshite” 常坐三昧の体験を通して. In *Tendai: Hieizan ni hibiku hotoke no koe* 天台—比叡に響く仏の声, edited by Michimoto Tesshin, 181–203. Kyoto: Jishōsha Shuppan, 2012.

- Kodera Bun'ei 小寺文穎. "Enkai to shi anrakugyō" 円戒と四安楽行. In *Bukkyō no jissen genri* 仏教の実践原理, edited by Sekiguchi Shindai 関口真大, 605–618. Tokyo: Sankibō Busshorin, 1977.
- . "Jitsudō Ninkū no mita Dengyō Daishi shinpitsuhon 'Rōzan hotsuganmon' no danpen ni tsuite" 実導仁空のみた伝教大師真筆本『菴山堯願文』の断片について. *Tendai gakuho* 天台学報17 (1975): 101–106.
- . "Ryōnin Shōnin saku 'Ryaku fusatsu shidai' no kenkyū" 良忍上人作「略布薩次第」の研究. In *Ryōnin Shōnin no kenkyū* 良忍上人の研究, edited by Yūzū nenbutsushū kyōgaku kenkyūjo 融通念仏教学研究所, 58–89. Kyoto: Hyakkaen, 1981.
- . *Tendai enkai gaisetsu* 天台円戒概説]. Ōtsu: Eizan gakuin, 1987.
- . "Tendai kuden hōmon to enkai: Hokkekai no tenkai" 天台口伝法門と円戒一法華戒の展開. *IBK* 23, no. 2 (1975): 875–879.
- Kodera, Takashi James. *Dōgen's Formative Years in China: An Historical Study and Annotated Translation of the Hōkyōki*. New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980.
- Kojima Tsūshō 小島通正. "Annen no shittangaku to sono tenkai" 安然の悉曇学とその展開. In *Eizan Gakkai, Annen oshō no kenkyū*, 40–61.
- Kokusho sōmokuoku* 國書總目録. Revised and expanded ed. 9 vols. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1989–1991.
- Kubo, Tsugunari, and Akira Yuyama, trans. *The Lotus Sutra*. Berkeley: Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 2007.
- Kubota Tetsumasa 窪田哲正. "Annen no samayakai setsu ni tsuite" 安然の三昧耶戒説について. *IBK* 69 (1986): 150–153.
- . "Enkai ni okeru shichigyaku jukai no mondai" 円戒における七逆受戒の問題. *IBK* 32, no. 2 (1984): 750–753.
- . *Hokke shugyō ron no kenkyū: Enkai to kanjin* 法華修行論の研究—円戒と観心. Kyoto: Heirakuji Shoten, 2017.
- . "Kōen no Endon bosatsukai jūjū shijūhachi gyōgi shō ni tsuite" 興円の『円頓菩薩戒十重四十八行儀鈔』について. *IBK* 65 (1984): 203–206.
- . "Myōdō Shōgen no Jippunimon kikigakishō" 明導照源の『十不二門聞書鈔』. *IBK* 49 (2000): 174–178.
- . "Shōgen no Shikan girei Inokuma shō ni tsuite" 照源の『止観義例猪熊鈔』について. *IBK* 55 (2006): 159–164.
- Kuranaka Shinobu 蔵中しのぶ. "Shōtoku Taishi Eshi takushō setsu to Enryaku sōroku 'Jōgu Kōtaishi bosatsuden'" 聖徳太子慧思託生説と延暦僧録「上宮皇太子菩薩伝」. In *Henbō suru Shōtoku Taishi: Nihonjin wa Shōtoku Taishi wo dono yō ni shinkō shiite kita ka* 『変貌する聖徳太子—日本人は聖徳太子をどのように信仰してきたか』, edited by Yoshida Kazuhiko 吉田一彦, 97–128. Tokyo: Heibonsha, 2011.
- Kuroita Katsumi 黒板勝美. *Shintei zōho Kokushi taikai* 新訂増補国史大系. 66 vols. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1929–1964.
- Kushida Ryōkō 榊田良洪. "Seizan kyōdan no bosatsukai sōjō wo megutte" 西山教団の菩薩戒相承をめぐって. In *Tōyō bunka ronshū: Fukui hakushi shōju kinen* 東洋文化論集：福井博士頌寿記念, 319–338. Tokyo: Waseda Daigaku Shuppanbu, 1969.
- Ludvik, Catherine. "In the Service of the *Kainōgyō* Practitioners of Mt. Hiei: The

- Stopping Obstacles Confraternity (*sokushō-kō*) of Kyoto,” *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 33, no. 1 (2006): 115–142.
- Mabuchi Kazuo 馬淵和夫 et al., eds. 1976 *Konjaku monogatari shū* 今昔物語集. Vols. 21–24 of *Nihon koten bungaku zenshū*. 51 vols. Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1971–1976.
- Makita Tairyō 牧田諦亮. “Tendai Daishi no gikyō kan” 天台大師の疑経観. In *Shikan no kenkyū* 止観の研究, edited by Sekiguchi Shindai 関口真大, 201–216. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1975.
- Mano Shin’ya 真野新也. “Annen ni okeru samayakai to enkai” 安然における三昧耶戒と円戒. *Tendai gakuhō* 天台学報54 (2012):115–123.
- Matsumoto Bunsaburō 松本文三郎 and Nakano Tatsue 中野達慧, eds. *Nihon daizōkyō* 日本大藏経. Tokyo: Nihon daizōkyō hensankai, 1914–1922.
- Matsumoto Shinsuke 松本真輔. “*Shotoku Taishi demryaku* no sesshō wo sazakeru Taishi-zō” 『聖徳太子伝暦』の殺生を避ける太子像. *Koten isan* 古典遺産53 (2003): 59–73.
- Matsumoto Tomomi 松本知己. “Shōshin no jissōron” 証真の実相論. *IBK* 60, no. 2 (2012): 597–602.
- Matsuo Kenji. 松尾剛次. *Kamakura Shin-Bukkyō no seiritsu. Nyūmon giri to soshi shinwa* 鎌倉新仏教の成立—入門儀札と祖師神話. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1988.
- Matsuo Kōichi 松尾恒一. “Nanto Jion’e ni okeru yumemi no gi: Denshō to keisei” 南都慈恩会における夢見の儀—伝承と形成. *Shinwa denshōgaku* 説話・伝承学5 (1997): 34–47.
- McCullough, Helen. *Brocade by Night*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985.
- , trans. *Kokin wakashū*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985.
- McCullough, William H., and Helen Craig McCullough. *A Tale of Flowering Fortunes: Annals of Japanese Aristocratic Life in the Heian Period*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1980.
- Mezaki Tokue 目崎徳衛. *Shukke tonsei* 出家遁世. Tokyo: Chūkō Ronsha: 1976.
- . “Sōryo oyobi kajin to shite no Henjō” 僧侶および歌人としての遍照. *Nihon rekishi* 日本歴史 219 (1966): 26–38.
- Minowa Kenryō 蓑輪顕了. *Chūsei Nanto kairitsu fukkō no kenkyū* 中世南都戒律復興の研究. Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1999.
- . “Hokkyō ritsu to Nanto ritsu no sōi to Sōdai Bukkyō: Jisei tsūju to shikan no shiten kara” 北京律と南都律の相違と宋代仏教—自警・通受と止観の視点から. *Kairitsu bunka* 戒律文化 7 (2009): 47–63.
- Misaki Gisen 三崎義泉. “Ryūroku kakō to chūsei no hongaku shiso” 「柳緑花紅」と中世の本覚思想. *Tendai gakuhō* 天台学報 28 (1986): 36–41 (right pagination).
- Misaki Ryōshū 三崎良周. “Hieizan no kaihōgyō to sono rironteki konkyō” 比叡山の回峯行とその理論的根拠. In *Taimitsu no riron to jissen* 台密の理論と実践, edited by Misaki Ryōshū, 214–230. Tokyo: Sōbunsha, 1994.
- . *Taimitsu no kenkyū* 台密の研究. Tokyo: Sōbunsha, 1988.
- Miyazaki Kenji 宮崎健司. “Nara shoki no kenzoku ni tsuite” 奈良初期の還俗について. *Bukkyō shigaku kenkyū* 仏教史学研究 32, no. 2 (1989): 24–42.
- Mizukami Fumiyoishi 水上文義. “Annen no Taizōkai daihō taijuki ni tsuite” 安然の胎藏界大法対受記について. *Tendai gakuhō* 天台学報 23 (1981): 117–120.
- . “Shoki taimitsu no soshitsuji sōjō ni tsuite” 初期台密の蘇悉地相承について. *Tendai gakuhō* 天台学報 24 (1982): 163–166.

- Mochizuki Shinkō 望月信亨. *Bukkyō kyōten seiritsu shiron* 佛教經典成立史論. Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1946.
- . *Jōdokyō no kigen oyobi hattatsu* 浄土教の起原及發達. Tokyo: Kyōritsusha, 1930.
- Mochizuki Shinkō 望月信亨 and Tsukamoto Zenryū 塚本善隆, eds. *Mochizuki Bukkyō daijiten* 望月佛教大辞典. 10 vols. Tokyo: Sekai Seiten kankō kyōkai, 1966–1968.
- Mori Eijun zenshū kankōkai 森英純全集刊行会, ed. *Mori Eijun zenshū: ronbun hen, kaidaihen* 森英純全集—論文篇開題篇. Kyoto: Seikōsha, 1996.
- Muller, Charles A., ed. and trans. *Exposition of the Sutra of Brahma's Net*. Vol. 11 of *Collected Works of Korean Buddhism*, edited by Robert E. Buswell, Jr.. Seoul: Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism, 2012.
- Murakami Akiya 村上明也. “Bosatsukai gisho no Tendai Daishi setsu wo utagau” 『菩薩戒義疏』の天台大師説を疑う. *IBK* 57, no. 2 (2009): 218–221.
- . “Bosatsukai gisho to Bonmōkyō to no kanrensei” 『菩薩戒義疏』と『梵網經』との関連性. *IBK* 60, no. 1 (2011): 46–51.
- . “Chigi-setsu Kanjō-ki Bosatsukai gisho no seiritsu ni kansuru kenkyū” 智顛説灌頂記『菩薩戒義疏』の成立に関する研究. *Hokke Bukkyō kenkyū* 法華仏教研究 25 (2017): 106–156.
- Murayama Shuichi 村山修一. *Hieizan to Tendai Bukkyō no kenkyū* 比叡山と天台仏教の研究. *Sangaku shūkyōshi kenkyū sōsho* 山岳宗教史研究叢書, edited by Wakamori Tarō 和歌森太郎. 18 vols. Vol. 2. Tokyo: Meicho Shuppan, 1976.
- . *Kōzoku jin henkakushi: Tendai shū Myōōin monzeki no rekishi* 皇族寺院変革史—天台宗妙法院門跡の歴史. Tokyo: Hanawa Shobō, 2000.
- Nagasawa Kazutoshi 長沢和俊. *Hokkenden chūshaku kaisetsu: Hokusō-hon, Nansō-hon, Korai daizōkyō-hon, Ishiyamadera-hon shishu ein to sono hikaku kenkyū* 法顯伝 訳注・解説—北宋本・南宋本・高麗大藏経本・石山寺本四種影印とその比較研究. Tokyo: Yuzankaku Kabushiki Kaisha, 1996.
- Nakane Chie 中根千絵. “Mokuroku okugaki ni mirareru Hosshōji” 目録奥書に見られる法勝寺. *Aichi kenritsu daigaku bungakubu ronshū* 愛知県立大学文学部論集 52 (2004): 1–17.
- Nakanishi Zuikō 中西随功. *Shōkū Jōdokyō no kenkyū* 證空浄土教の研究. Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 2009.
- Nakao Ryoshin 中尾良信. “Enrin no Bosatsukaigisho shō ni tsuite” 円琳の『菩薩義疏鈔』について. *IBK* 27, no. 2 (1979): 618–619.
- . “Enrinshō ni okeru Shōshin no in'yō” 『円琳鈔』に於ける証真の引用について. *Komazawa Daigakuin Bukkyō kenkyūkai nenpō* 駒澤大学院仏教研究会年報 13 (1979): 66–73.
- Nara Hiromoto 奈良弘元. “Godai'in Annen no chosaku ni tsuite” 五大院安然の著作について. *Seishin kagaku* 精神科学 13 (1974): 32–46.
- Nasu, Eishō. “Invocation of Tendai Abbot Ryōgen.” In Paul Groner, *Ryōgen and Mount Hiei: Japanese Tendai in the Tenth Century*, 345–366, 458–461.
- Ninomiya Shunin 二宮守人 and Asukai Shuntatsu 飛鳥井舜達. “Nihon Tendai ni okeru Enkai gisoku no hattatsu” 日本天台における円戒儀則の発達. *Eizan gakuho* 叡山学報 7 (1933): 41–71.
- Nishitani Osamu 西谷功. *Nansō Kamakura Bukkyō bunkashi ron* 南宋・鎌倉仏教文化史論. Tokyo: Bensei Shuppan, 2018.

- Nomoto Kakujō 野本覚成. “Genshi kanjō yori kaikanjō e,” 玄旨灌頂より戒灌頂へ. In *Shioiri Ryōdō Sensei tsuitō ronbunshū: Tendai shisō to Higashi Ajia bunka no kenkyū* 塩入良道先生追悼論文集—天台思想と東アジア文化の研究, edited by Shioiri Ryōdō Sensei tsuitō ronbunshū kankōkai 塩入良道先生追悼論文集刊行会, 703–724. Tokyo: Sankibō Busshorin, 1991.
- . “Hongaku shikaku funi no shisō: Isshin sankan denju no shōmeisho” 本覚始覚不二の思想—一心三觀伝授の証明書. In *Ōkubo Ryōjun sensei sanjū kinen ronbunshū: Bukkyō bunka no tenkai* 大久保良順先生傘寿記念論文集—仏教文化の展開, edited by Ōkubo Ryōjun Sensei Sanju Kinen Ronbunshū Kankōkai 大久保良順先生傘寿記念論文集刊行会, 683–710. Tokyo: Sankibō Busshorin, 1994.
- . “Jōjōbō Gigen no gyōseki: Kamakura-matsu Hieizan no gakushō” 戒灌頂の行跡—鎌倉末比叡山の学匠. *Tendai gakuho* 天台学報 27 (1985): 103–106.
- . “Kaikanjō ni okeru Kanjin jūnibu kyōgi no imi” 戒灌頂における『観心十二部経義』の意味. *Tendai gakuho* 天台学報 28 (1986): 113–118.
- . “Saichō no kaikanjō ni mirareru daijōkai rinen” 最澄の戒灌頂に見られる大乘戒理念. *IBK* 35, no. 2 (1988): 686–690.
- Oda Tokunō 織田得能. *Oda Bukkyō daijiten* 織田仏教大辞典. Tokyo: Daizō Shuppan, 1969.
- Ogami Kanchū 尾上寛中. “Chūko Tendai ni okeru dangisho” 中古天台における談義所. In Ogami, *Nihon Tendaiishi no kenkyū*, 17–23.
- . “Hokke daie.” In Ogami, *Nihon Tendaiishi no kenkyū*, 977–1134.
- . *Nihon Tendaiishi no kenkyū* 日本天台史の研究. Tokyo: Sankibō Busshorin, 2015.
- . “Tendai gakumonji ni mirareru hatto jōsei” 天台学問寺に見られる法度条制. In Ogami Kanchū, *Nihon Tendaiishi no kenkyū*, 671–684.
- . “Tenshō igo no kōgaku ryūgi seido” 天正以後の広学整義制度. In Ogami, *Nihon Tendaiishi no kenkyū*, 137–176.
- Okano Kōji 岡野浩二. “Enryakuji no naibu kōzō: Enryakuji no kinseigata jinhō ni tsuite” 延暦寺の内部構造—延暦寺の禁制型寺院法について. In *Enryakuji to chūsei shakai* 延暦寺と中世社会, edited by Kawane Yoshiyasu 河音能平 and Fukuda Eijirō 福田栄次郎, 5–35. Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 2004.
- Ōkubo Ryōjun 大久保良順. “Jūju kaikanjō no kōki” 重授戒灌頂の興起. *Tendai gakuho* 天台学報 22 (1980): 1–9.
- Ōkubo Ryōshun 大久保良峻. *Taimitsu kyōgaku no kenkyū* 台密教学の研究. Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 2004.
- . *Tendai kyōgaku to hongaku shisō* 天台教学と本覚思想. Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1998.
- Okumura Gen’yu 奥村玄祐. *Fukakusa-ha so Enkū Ryūshin Shōnin* 深草派祖円空立信上人. Kyoto: Jōdoshū Seizan Fukakusa-ha Jimusho, 1986.
- Onjōji 園城寺, ed. *Onjōji monjo* 園城寺文書. 7 vols. Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1998–2004.
- Ono Genmyō 小野玄妙 and Maruyama Takao 丸山孝雄, eds. *Bushō kaisetsu daijiten* 仏書解説大辞典. 15 vols. Tokyo: Daitō Shuppansha, 1974–1988.
- Ōno Hōdō 大野法道. *Daijō kaikyō no kenkyū* 大乘戒經の研究. Tokyo: Risōsha, 1954.
- Ono Katsutoshi 小野勝年. *Nittō guhō gyōreki no kenkyū: Chūshō Daishi Enchin hen* 入唐求法行歴の研究—智証大師円珍篇. 2 vols. Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1982.
- . *Nittō guhō junrei kōki no kenkyū* 入唐求法巡礼行記の研究. 4 vols. Tokyo: Suzuki Gakujutsu Zaidan, 1964.

- Orzech, Charles D. "A Buddhist Image of (Im)Perfect Rule in Fifth-Century China." *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 8 (1995): 139–154.
- Ōsumi Kazuo 大隅和雄. *Shōbō: Rigen Daishi* 聖宝—理源大師. Kyoto: Daigoji jimusho, 1976.
- Ōtani Yuka 大谷由香. "The Controversy over the Principal Doctrine of the Nanshan Vinaya School in the Southern Song and Japan." *IBK* 145 (2018): 188–194 (left pagination).
- . "Nanbokuchōki ni okeru Risshūgi ni tsuite: Seisan-sen *Ryōhōki* zenhan bubun honkoku" 南北朝期における律宗義について：附.青算撰『靈峰記J前半部分翻刻. *Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 仏教学研究 64 (2008): 41–75.
- . "Tōdaiji kaidan no tō" 東大寺戒壇の塔. In *Tōdaiji no shisō to bunka* 東大寺の思想と文化, edited by Satō Makoto 佐藤信 and Sakehara Towao 柴原永遠男, 95–131. Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 2018.
- Ōtani Yuka 大谷由香 and Utsunomiya Keigo 宇都宮啓吾, eds.. "Chishakuin shōgyō ni okeru tenseki bunsho no kisōteki kenkyū" 智積院聖教における典籍・文書の基礎的研究. Ōsaka: Nihon gakujuitsu shinkōkai kagaku kenkyūhi kiban kenkyū B hōkokusho 大阪:日本学術振興会科学研究費基盤研究(B)報告書 (2011), 136–150.
- Ōtsuka Norihiro 大塚紀弘. *Chūsei Zenritsu Bukkyōron* 中世禅律仏教論. Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppansha, 2009.
- Ōtsu Ken'ichi 大津健一. "Myōkō ni tsuite no kisōteki kenkyū: Jiseki narabi ni *Tendai bosatsukai showo chūshin ni*" 明曠についての基礎的研究—事績ならびに『天台菩薩戒疏』を中心に. *Sōka daigaku jinbun ronbunshū* 創価大学人文論文集 31 (2019): 87–113.
- Ōwakizashi 大諳語. Ōtsu: Myōtokuin Mudōji 明徳院無動寺, 1656. Copy obtained from the Tendai shūten hensanjo 天台宗典編纂所, Ōtsu, Japan.
- Ōyama Kōjun 大山公淳. "Godai'in Annen ni tsuite" 五大院安然について. In vol. 1 of *Ōyama Kōjun chosaku zenshū* 大山公淳著作全集, edited by Ōyama hakushi chosaku kankōkai 大山博士著作集刊行会, 497–515. Osaka: Pitaka, 1979.
- Pandey, Rajyashree. "Women, Sexuality, and Enlightenment: *Kankyo no tomo*." *Monumenta Nipponica* 50 (1995): 325–356.
- Penkower, Linda. "T'ien-t'ai during the T'ang Dynasty: Chan-jan and the Sinification of Buddhism." Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1993.
- Prip-Møller, J. *Chinese Buddhist Monasteries*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1967.
- Pruden, Leo. "Some Notes on the *Fan-wang-ching*." *IBK* 15, no. 2 (1967): 915–925.
- Rhodes, Robert F., "The *Kaihōgyō* Practice of Mt. Hiei," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 14, nos. 2–3 (1987): 185–202.
- Ryōjō 良助. *Endonkai myakufu kuketsu* 円頓戒脈譜口決. Woodblock dated ca. 1486. Preserved at Taishō and Ryūkyō University.
- Saeki Akiyo 佐伯有清. *Jikaku Daishi den no kenkyū* 慈覺大師伝の研究. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1986.
- Sakaino Kōyō 境野黄洋. *Shina Bukkyō seishi* 支那仏教精史. Tokyo: Sakaino Kōyō hakase ikō kankōkai, 1935.
- Sakakura Atsuyoshi 坂倉篤義, ed. *Taketori monogatari, Ise monogatari, Yamato monogatari*

- 竹取物語、伊勢物語、大和物語. Vol. 9 of *Nihon koten bungaku taikei*, edited by Asō Isoji 麻生磯次, et al.. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1957.
- Sakamoto Dōshō 坂本道生. "Ju hachikaigi ni okeru sangehō ni tsuite: Tonkō shahon wo chūshin ni" 受八戒儀における懺悔法について—敦煌写本を中心に. *Indo tetsugaku Bukkyōgaku* 印度哲学仏教学25 (2010): 114–127.
- Sasaki Shizuka 佐々木閑, *Shukke to wa nanika* 出家とはなにか. Daizō Shuppansha, 1999.
- Satō Tatsugen 佐藤達玄. "Bonmōkyō ni okeru shingaku bosatsu no kairitsu" 梵網經における新学菩薩の戒律. *Komazawa daigaku Bukkyōgakubu kenkyū kiyō* 駒沢大学仏教学部研究紀要 41 (1983): 107–127,
- . *Chūgoku Bukkyō ni okeru kairitsu no kenkyū* 中国仏教における戒律の研究. Tokyo: Mokujisha, 1986.
- Satō Tetsuei 佐藤哲英. *Tendai daishi no kenkyū* 天台大師の研究. Kyoto: Hyakkaen, 1960.
- . *Zoku Tendai daishi no kenkyū* 続天台大師の研究. Kyoto: Hyakkaen, 1981.
- Schlütter, Morten. *How Zen Became Zen: The Dispute over Enlightenment and the Formation of Chan Buddhism in Song-Dynasty China*. Kuroda Studies in East Asian Buddhism 22. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008.
- . "Vinaya Monasteries, Public Abbacies, and State Control of Buddhism under the Song (960–1279)." In *Going Forth: Visions of Buddhist Vinaya*, edited by William Bodiford, 136–160. Kuroda Studies in East Asian Buddhism 18. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005.
- Seita Yoshihide 清田美英. "Eizan no gōgisei" 叡山の合議制. In *Dengyō Daishi kenkyū bekkann* 伝教大師研究別巻, edited by Tendai gakkai 天台学会, 225–248. Tokyo: Waseda daigaku Shuppanbu, 1980.
- Seizan zenshū kankōkai 西山全集刊行会 ed. *Seizan zensho bekkann* 3 西山全集 別巻三. Kyoto: Bun'eidō, 1975.
- Sharf, Robert. "Buddhist Modernism and the Rhetoric of Meditative Experience." *Numen* 42 (1995): 228–283.
- Shibuya Jigai 渋谷慈鏡. *Tendai zasuki* 天台座主記, vol. 1. Tokyo: Daiichi Shobō, 1973.
- Shi Daoxuan 釈道宣. *Nanshan luxue cidian* 南山律学辞典. Taipei: Xi lian jing yuan, 1996.
- Shikii Shūjō 色井秀讓. "Jūju kaikanjō: Sokuji nishin no shōchōteki gyōgi" 重授戒灌頂—即事而真の象徴的行儀. *Tendai* 天台 4 (1981): 27–37.
- . "Kaikanjō hisho *Jūrokuujō kuketsu ni tsuite*" 戒灌頂秘書『十六帖口決』について. *Tendai gakuho* 天台学報 25 (1983): 1–10.
- . *Kaikanjō no nyūmonteki kenkyū* 戒灌頂の入門的研究. Tokyo: Tōhō Shuppan, 1989.
- . "Kai kanjō to gasshō" 戒灌頂と合掌. *Tendai gakuho* 天台学報 24 (1982): 18–23.
- . "Kurodani Hosshōji-ryū kaikanjō ni tsuite" 黒谷法勝寺流戒灌頂について. *IBK* 17, no. 1 (1968): 275–278.
- . *Tendai Shinzeishū shūgaku hanron* 天台真盛宗宗学汎論. Kyoto: Hyakkaen, 1961.
- Shimaji Daitō 島地大等. *Tendai kyōgaku shi* 天台教学史. Tokyo: Ryūbunkan: 1977.
- Shimizutani Kyōjun 清水谷恭順. *Tendai mikkyō no seiritsu ni kansuru kenkyū* 天台密教の成立に関する研究. Tokyo: Bun'ichi Shuppan, 1972.
- Shinran. "Hymns in Praise of Prince Shōtoku." In *The Collected Works of Shinran*, edited

- by Dennis Hirota et al. Kyoto: Jodo Shinshu Hongwanji-ha, 1997. Accessed Dec. 2019. <http://shinranworks.com/hymns-in-japanese/hymns-in-praise-of-prince-shotoku/>.
- Shioiri Ryūdō 塩入良道. *Chūgoku Bukkyō ni okeru senbō no seiritsu* 中国仏教の懺法の成立. Tokyo: Taishō daigaku Tendaigaku kenkyūshitsu, 2007.
- Shirato Waka 白土 わか. “*Bonmōkyō kenkyū josetsu*” 梵網經研究序説. *Ōtani Daigaku kenkyū nenbō* 大谷大学研究年報 22 (1970): 105–154.
- . “*Bonmōkyō no keitai* 梵網經の形態.” *Ōtani Daigaku Bukkyōgaku seminā* 大谷大学仏教学セミナー 16 (1972): 30–42.
- . “Inherent Enlightenment (*hongaku shisō*) and Saichō’s Acceptance of the Bodhisattva Precepts.” *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 14, nos. 2–3 (1987): 113–127.
- . “Ryōnin Shōnin to Manshūin-hon *Shukke saihō*” 良忍上人と曼殊院本『出家作法』. In *Ryōnin Shōnin no kenkyū* 良忍上人の研究, edited by Yūzū Nenbutsushū kyōgaku kenkyūjo 融通念仏宗教学研究, 90–101. Osaka: Dainenbutsuji, 1987.
- Shiryō Hensangakari 史料編纂掛, ed. *Dainihon shiryō* 大日本史料. Tokyo: Tōkyō teikoku daigaku, Tōkyō daigaku shiryō hensanjo, 1901–present.
- Silk, Jonathan. “The *Jifayue sheku tuoluoni jing*—Translation, Non-translation, Both or Neither?” *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 31, nos.1–2 (2008): 369–420.
- Stevens, John. *The Marathon Monks of Mount Hiei*. New York: Shambhala, 1988.
- Stevenson, Daniel. “The Four Kinds of Samadhi in Early T’ien-t’ai Buddhism.” In *Traditions of Meditation in Chinese Buddhism*, edited by Peter N. Gregory, 45–97. Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1986.
- . “The T’ien-t’ai Four Forms of Samādhi and Late North-South Dynasties, Sui, T’ang Devotional Buddhist Devotionalism.” Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1987.
- Stevenson, Daniel B., and Kanno Hiroshi, *The Meaning of the “Lotus Sūtra”’s Course of Ease and Bliss: An Annotated Study of Nanyue Huisi’s “Fahua jing anlexing yi.”* Tokyo: International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology, 2006.
- Stone, Jacqueline. *Original Enlightenment and the Transformation of Medieval Japanese Buddhism*. Kuroda Studies in East Asian Buddhism 12. Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1999.
- Sueki Fumihiko 末本文美士. *Heian shoki Bukkyō shisō no kenkyū: Anmen shisō no keisei wo chūshin to shite* 平安初期仏教思想の研究—安然思想の形成を中心として. Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1995.
- Sugizaki Daie 杉崎大慧. “Yūzū nenbutsushū no kechimiyaku” 融通念仏宗の血脉. In *Ryōnin Shōnin no kenkyū* 良忍上人の研究, edited by Yūzū Nenbutsushū kyōgaku kenkyūjo, 146–160. Kyoto: Hyakkaen 1981.
- Suzuki gakujutsu zaidan 鈴木学術財団, ed. *Dainihon Bukkyō zensho* 大日本仏教全書. 100 vols. Tokyo: Suzuki gakujutsu zaidan, 1972–1975.
- , ed. *Nihon daizōkyō* 日本大蔵經. 100 vols. Tokyo: Suzuki gakujutsu zaidan, 1973–1978.
- Suzuki Gihō 鈴木宜邦. “*Kyōen shingi ni tsuite*” 教苑清規について. *IBK* 47 (1975): 308–311.

- Suzuki Takayasu 鈴木隆泰. “Daijō kyōten ni okeru juki to kanjō” 大乘經典における授記と灌頂. In *Ajia no kanjō giri: Sono seiritsu to denpa* アジアの灌頂儀礼—その成立と伝播, edited by Mori Masahide 森雅秀, 36–57 (right pagination). Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 2014.
- Swanson, Paul. *Clear Serenity, Quiet Insight: T'ien-t'ai Chih-i's Mo-ho chih-kuan*. 3 vols. Nanzan Library of Religion and Culture. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2018.
- . “Glossary of T'ien-t'ai/ Tendai terms.” Accessed Dec. 3, 2019. https://nirc.nanzan-u.ac.jp/ja/files/2013/10/Glossary-of-Tendai-terms-10_2013.pdf, 2013.
- Tada Kōryū 多田厚隆 et al., eds. *Tendai hongaku ron* 天台本覚論. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1973.
- Tado Taichi 田戸大智. “Gosō jōshin kan no Nihonteki tenkai: Annen to Saisen wo chūshin ni” 五相成身觀の日本的展開—安然と濟暹を中心に. *Tōyō no shisō to shūkyō* 東洋の思想と宗教 25 (2008): 83–99
- . “Hannya-yaku kyōten ni okeru gosō jōshin kan” 般若訳經典における五相成身觀. In *Ōkubo Ryōshun kyōju kanreki kinen ronbunshū: Tendai Shingon shoshū ronkō* 大久保良峻教授還暦記念論宗：天台真言諸宗論考, edited by Ōkubo Ryōshun kyōju kanreki kinen ronshū kankōkai 大久保良峻教授還暦記念論集刊行会, 227–259. Tokyo: Sankibō Busshorin. 山喜房仏書林. 2015.
- Taehyōn. *Beommanggyeong gojeokgi* 梵網經古迹記. Edited and translated by Charles Muller as *Exposition of the Sutra of Brahma's Net*. Vol. 11 of *Collected Works of Korean Buddhism*, edited by Robert E. Buswell, Jr. Seoul: Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism, 2012.
- Taga Munehaya 多賀宗隼. *Eisai* 栄西. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1965.
- Tahara, Mildred, trans. *Tales of Yamato*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1980.
- Taira Ryōshō 平了照. “Den-Eshi hon Jubosatsukaigi ni tsuite” 伝慧思本「授菩薩戒儀」について. *Taishō daigaku kenkyū kiyō. Bukkyō gakubu bungakubu* 大正大学研究紀要—仏教学部文学部 40 (1955): 1–36.
- . “Dengyō Daishi sen Ju bosatsukai gi ni tsuite” 伝教大師撰「授菩薩戒儀」について. *IBK* 3, no. 2 (1955): 41–43.
- Takagawa Jishō 高川慈照, “Jōgyō zanmai no taiken wo tōshite” 常行三昧の体験を通して. In *Tendai Hieizan ni hibiku hotoke no koe* 天台—比叡に響く仏の声, edited by Michimoto Tesshin 道元徹心, 204–238. Kyoto: Jishōsha Shuppan, 2012.
- Takagi Yutaka 高木豊. *Kamakura Bukkyōshi kenkyū* 鎌倉仏教史研究. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1982.
- Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎, trans. *A Record of the Buddhist Religion as Practiced in India and the Malay Archipelago*. London: Clarendon Press, 1896.
- Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎 and Watanabe Kaigyoku 渡邊海旭, eds. *Taishō shinshū Daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經. 102 vols. Tokyo: Taisho Issaikyō Kankōkai, 1924–1932.
- Take Kakuchō 武覚超, ed. *Hieizan Bukkyō no kenkyū* 比叡山仏教の研究. Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 2008.
- . “Hieizan jūninen rōzan no hensen to igi” 比叡山十二年籠山行の変遷と意義. In Take, *Hieizan Bukkyō no kenkyū*, 18–37.
- . “Hieizan kaihyōgyō no rekishi” 比叡山千日回峰行の歴史. In Take, *Hieizan Bukkyō no kenkyū*, 38–51.

- . “Hieizan no gyō” 比叡山の行. In *Hieizan* 比叡山, edited by Watanabe Shujun 渡辺守順 et al., 170–185. Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1987.
- . *Hieizan santō shodō enkakushi* 比叡山三塔請堂沿革史. Ōtsu: Eizan gakuin, 1993.
- . “Hokke daie kōgaku ryūgi” 法華大会広学豎義. In Take, *Hieizan Bukkyō no kenkyū*, 122–167.
- . “Hokke daie kōgaku ryūgi ni tsuite” 法華大会広学豎義について. *Eizan gakuin kenkyū kiyō* 叡山学院研究紀要 18 (1996): 25–42.
- . “Tendai ni okeru shugyō no rinen” 天台における修行の理念. In *Tendai Hieizan ni hibiku hotoke no koe* 天台—比叡に響く仏の声, edited by Michimoto Tesshin, 57–62. Kyoto: Jishōsha Shuppan, 2012.
- Takeuchi Rizō 竹内理三, comp. *Heian ibun* 平安遺文. 14 vols. Tokyo: Tōkyōdō Shuppan, 1963–1976.
- . *Ritsuryōsei to kizoku seiken* 律令と貴族政権. 2 vols. Tokyo: Ochanomizu Shobō, 1957–1958.
- Tamamura Takeji 玉村竹二. *Gozan zensō denki shūsei* 五山禅僧傳記集成. Kyoto: Shimbunroku Shuppan, 2003.
- Tamayama Jōgen 玉山成元. “Tendai hokkeshū gakushōshiki mondō (Tōji-hon) no shiteki kachi” 『天台法華宗学生式問答』(東寺本)の史的価値. In *Dengyō Daishi kenkyū* 伝教大師研究, edited by Tendai gakkai 天台学会, 739–764. Tokyo: Waseda Daigaku Shuppanbu, 1980.
- Tendai Shinzeishū shūgaku kenkyūjo 天台真盛宗宗学研究所, ed. *Tendai Shinzeishū nenpyō* 天台真盛宗年表. Ōtsu: Tendai Shinzeishū sōhonzan Saikyōji, 2000.
- Tendaishū kaishū sennihyakunen keisan daihōe jimukyoku 天台宗開宗千二百年慶讃大法会事務局. *Hosshin'e tebumi* 発心会手文. Ōtsu: 2007.
- Tendaishū kankōkai 天台宗刊行会, ed. *Tendaishū zensho* 天台宗全書. 25 vols. Tokyo: Daiichi Shobō, 1973–1974.
- Tendai shūten hensanjo 天台宗典編纂所, ed. *Shōzoku Tendaishū zensho mokuuroku kaidai* 正統天台宗全書目錄解題. Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 2000.
- , ed. *Zoku Tendaishū zensho* 続天台宗全書. Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1988–.
- Terada Shunchō 寺田舜澄. “Annen sonja jiseki tokugyō ryōzuihen” 安然尊者事績德行靈瑞篇. *Eizan gakuin* 叡山学報 11 (1936): 153–178. Reprinted in Eizan Gakkai, *Annen oshō no kenkyū*, 2:153–178.
- Terai Ryōsen 寺井良宣. “Chūsei Tendai ni okeru rōzan shugyō” 中世天台期の叡山(黒谷)における籠山修行. *Eizan gakuin kenkyū kiyō* 叡山学院研究紀要 20 (1999): 71–86.
- . “Edo shoki ni okeru Tendai no nenbutsu hijiri Shinchō ni miru Mikkyō-kan no tokushoku” 江戸初期における天台の念仏聖・真沼にみる密教観の特色. *Eizan gakuin kenkyū kiyō* 3 叡山学院研究紀要 3 (2011): 71–86.
- . “Hieizan Kurodani ni okeru kairitsu fukkō to sono shisō” 比叡山黒谷における戒律復興とその思想. *IBK* 96 (2000): 281–288.
- . “Tendai *Bosatsukai gishō* ni okeru kaisōshaku no tokushoku” 天台『菩薩戒義疏』における戒相釈の特色. *Eizan gakuin kenkyū kiyō* 叡山学院研究紀要 25 (2003): 95–112.
- . *Tendai endonkai shisō no seiritsu to tenkai* 天台円頓戒思想の成立と展開. Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 2016.

- Teramoto Ryōshin 寺本亮晋. “Annen to sanmayakai” 安然と三昧耶戒. IBK 125 (2011): 102–105.
- . “Jūju kai kanjō ni okeru sanmaya kai” 重授戒灌頂における三昧耶戒. IBK 65, no. 2 (2017): 622–627.
- . “Taimitsu no samayakai no kaisō to sono gaikan” 台密の三昧耶戒の戒相とその概観. *Tendai gakuhō* 天台学報 53 (2011): 105–113.
- Tōdō Kyōshun 藤堂恭俊. “Kōnan to Kōhoku no Bukkyō: Bosatsukai deshi kōtei to kōtei soku nyorai” 江南と江北の仏教—菩薩戒弟子皇帝と皇帝即如来. *Bukkyō shisō shi* (*Bukkyō naibu ni okeru tairon—Chūgoku Chibetto*) 仏教思想史(仏教内部における対論—中国・チベット) 4 (1981): 1–18.
- Tokuda Myōhon 徳田明本. *Rissū gaion* 律宗概論. Kyoto: Hyakkaen, 1969.
- Tōkyō Daigaku Shiryō Hensanjō 東京大学資料編纂所, ed. *Dai Nihon shiryō* 大日本資料. Tokyo: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 1901–.
- Tomabechi Seiichi 苜米地誠一. “Taimitsu no samayakai sahō ni okeru kaitai no kōsei” 台密の三昧耶戒作法における「戒体」の構成. In *Mandara no shosō to bunka: Yoritomi Motohiro hakushi kanreki kinen ronbunshū* マンダラの諸相と文化：頼富本宏博士還暦記念論文集, edited by Yoritomi Motohiro hakushi kanreki kinen ronbun kinen ronbunshū kankōkai 頼富本宏博士還暦記念論文集刊行会, 361–374. Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 2005.
- Tomishima Yoshiyuki 富島義幸. “Hoshōji no garan keitai to sono tokuchō” 法勝寺の伽藍形態とその特徴. *Nihon kenchiku gakkai keikakuken ronbunshū* 日本建築学会計画系論文集 516 (1999): 243–249.
- Tonegawa Hiroyuki 利根川浩行. “Shoki Nihon Tendai no enkai” 初期日本天台の円戒. *Tendai gakuhō* 天台学報 27 (1985): 75–79.
- Toriimoto Yukiyo 鳥居本幸代. “Jie Daishi to hōe: Soken ranshō setsu wo megutte” 慈恵大師と衣衣—素綱濤觴説をめぐって. In *Issen-nen onki kinen Ganzan Jie Daishi no kenkyū* 一千年遠忌記念元三慈恵大師の研究, edited by Eizan gakuin 叡山学院, 287–298. Kyoto: Dōhōsha 1984.
- Tsuchihashi Shūkō 土橋秀高. “Daijōkai to shōjōkai” 大乘戒と小乘戒. In *Bukkyō ni okeru kai no mondai* 仏教における戒の問題, edited by Nihon Bukkyō gakkai 日本仏教学会, 112–128. Kyoto: Heirakuji Shoten, 1967.
- . “Ju hassaikai gi no hensen” 受八齋戒儀の変遷.” In *Iwai hakushi koki kinen: Tenseki ronshū* 岩井博士古稀記念—典籍論集, edited by Iwai Kōzō 田川孝三, et al., 379–400. Shizuoka-ken, Hamamatsu-shi: Kaimeidō, 1963.
- . “Jukai reigi no hensen” 受戒礼儀の変遷. In *Kairitsu no kenkyū* 戒律の研究, edited by Tsuchihashi Shūkō, 281–363.
- . *Kairitsu no kenkyū* 戒律の研究. Kyoto: Nagata bunshōdō, 1980.
- . “Kairitsu to ōron: Bonmōkai ni kanren shite” 戒律と王論—梵網戒に関連して. *Ryūkoku daigaku ronshū* 龍谷大学論集 404 (1974): 20–54.
- . “Perio-hon Shukkejin ju bosatsukai hō ni tsuite” ベリオ本「出家人受菩薩戒法」について. In *Kairitsu no kenkyū* 戒律の研究, edited by Tsuchihashi Shūkō, 832–886. Kyoto: Nagata bunshōdō, 1980.
- . “Shunjō no Rissei” 俊苧の律制. IBK 17, no. 2 (1969): 28–32.
- . “Shunjō Rissū no teiki seru bosatsukai jūju no mondai,” 俊苧律師の提起せる菩薩戒重受の問題. In Tsuchihashi, *Kairitsu no kenkyū*, 1033–1055.

- Tsuji Zennosuke 辻善之助. *Nihon Bukkyōshi* 日本仏教史. 10 vols. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1944–1955.
- Tsunoda Bun'ei 角田文衛. *Heian jidai shi jiten* 平安時代史事典. 3 vols. Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1994.
- Tsutsui Eishun 筒井英俊, ed. *Tōdaiji yōroku* 東大寺要録. Tokyo: Zenkoku Shobō, 1946.
- Uemura Teirō 上村貞郎. *Sennyūji kaisan Shunjō rissū kichō happyakunen kinen: Mitera Sennyūji to kaisan Gachirin Daishi* 泉涌寺開山俊苾律師歸朝八百年記念—御寺泉涌寺と開山月輪大師. Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 2011.
- Uesugi Bunshū 上杉文秀. *Nihon Tendai shi zoku* 日本天台史続. Tokyo: Kokusho kankōkai, 1972.
- Ujitani Tsutomu 宇治谷孟. *Nihon shoki: Zen gendaigo yaku* 日本書紀—全現代語訳. 2 vols. Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1988.
- Upasak, C. S. *Dictionary of Early Buddhist Monastic Terms Based on Pali Literature*. Varanasi: Bharati Prakashan, 1975.
- Verscheur, Charlotte von. *Across the Perilous Sea: Japanese Trade with China and Korea from the Seventh to the Sixteenth Centuries*. Ithaca: Cornell University East Asia Program, 2006.
- Washio Junkyō 鷲尾順敬, ed. *Kokubun Tōhō Bukkyō sōsho* 国文東方仏教叢書. 18 vols. Tokyo: Meicho fukyūkai, 1978–1992. Volumes are arranged according to topics; those on biography (*denki* 伝記) and doctrine (*shūgi* 宗義) are referred to in this book. The collection was published in two sets, hence references begin with 1 or 2, followed by the volume and page number.
- Watanabe Mariko 渡辺麻里子. *Chūsei ni okeru Tendai rongisho kankei shiryō* 中世における天台論義書関係資料. Heisei nijūichinen-heisei nijūyonnen do kagaku kenkyūhi hojō kin: Kenkyū seika hōkokusho 平成二十一年～平成二十四年度科学研究費補助金—研究成果報告書, 2013.
- Watson, Burton. *The Lotus Sutra*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1994.
- Welch, Holmes. *The Practice of Chinese Buddhism 1900–1950*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967.
- Wijayaratna, Mohan. *Buddhist Monastic Life. According to the Texts of the Theravāda Tradition*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Williams, Bruce. “*Mea maxima vikalpa*: Repentance, Meditation and the Dynamics of Liberation in Medieval Chinese Buddhism.” PhD diss., University of California, 2002.
- Xin wen feng chu ban gong si 新文豐出版公司, ed. *Wan xu zang jing: Zang jing shu yuan ban* 卍續藏經—藏經書院版. Taipei: Xin wen feng chu ban gong si, 1993–1994.
- Xuanzang 玄奘. *Daitō saiki ki* 大唐西域記. Translated by Mizutani Shinjō 水谷真成. In vol. 22 of *Chūgoku koten bungaku taikei* 中国古典文学大系, edited by Iriya Yoshitaka 入矢義高. 60 vols. Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1971.
- Yamada Etai 山田恵諦. *Hokeyō to Dengyō Daishi* 法華經と伝教大師. *Daichi Shobō* 第一書房, 1973.
- . *Keireki gyōkai no igi* 経歴行階の意義. Rev. ed. Ōtsu: Tendai shūmuchō kyōgakubu, 1995.

- Yamaguchi Kōen 山口光円. “Jitsudō Ninkū shi ni tsuite 1” 実導仁空師について (1). *Shinkō no tomo* 信仰の友 257 (1928): 5.
- Yamamura Kōbin 山村光敏. *Tokudo kaisetsu* 得度解説. Hieizan: Tendai shūmuchiō kyōgakubu, 1937.
- Yamano Toshiro 山野俊郎. “Aku to Butsudō: Nangaku Eshi no kyōgaku wo chūshin to shite” 悪と仏道—南岳慧思の教を中心として. *Ōtani daigaku kenkyū nenpō* 大谷大学研究年報55 (2003): 1–53.
- Yanagisawa Masashi 柳沢正志. “Ninkū no *Kangyōsho gujin shō* ni okeru in'yō bunken ni tsuite” 仁空の『観経疏弘深抄』における引用文献について. *IBK* 52 (2004): 511–514.
- Yoshikawa Tadao 吉川忠夫. *Chūgokujin no shūkyō ishiki* 中国人の宗教意識. Tokyo: Sōbunsha, 1998.
- Yoshizu Yoshihide 吉津宜英. “Hōzō izen no *Bonmōkyō* no shochūshakusho ni tsuite” 法蔵以前の『梵網経』諸註釈書について. *Komazawa daigaku Bukkyō gakubu kenkyū kiyō* 駒沢大学仏教学部研究紀要 47 (1989): 94–119.
- . “Hōzō no *Bonmōkyō bosatsu kaihōn shō*” 法蔵の梵網経戒本疏について. In *Chūgoku no Bukkyō to bunka* 中国の仏教と文化, edited by Kamata Shigeo hakase kanreki kinen ronshū kankōkai 鎌田茂雄博士還暦記念論宗刊行会, 265–280. Tokyo: Daizō Shuppansha, 1988.
- Yu, Chun-fang. *The Renewal of Buddhism: Chu-hung and the Ming Synthesis*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1981.
- Zhenhua 震華. *Zhongguo fojiao renming dacidian* 中國佛教人名大辭典. Shanghai: Shanghai Cishu Chubanshe, 1999.

Index

Bold page numbers refer to figures.

- administrative structure of Kurodani monastery, 163–164
Adornment Sutra, [xv](#), 16, 25–26, 40, 45, 105, 123, 278–279, 291, 305
Amoghavajra, 42, 71n57, 162n58, 285n28, 303
Aṅgulimālya, 10, 259, 271
Annen, 7–8, 26, 28, 32, 56–80, 114, 122–123, 249, 258–260, 284–290; fivefold hierarchy of precepts, 285, 286, 298, 299; lineages, **63**; plans to study in China, 62–64
Anrakuritsuin, 8, 30, 179, 182
Ashikaga Yoshimitsu, 229, 231
- Bonmōkyō jikidanshō*, 92, 266
Bosatsukai giki chiken besshi shō, 26, 137
Bosatsukai giki kikigaki, 139, 240, 317
Bosatsukai gisho shō, 155, 290–293
Brahma's Net Sutra, [xv](#), 12n1, 14–25, 53, 246; and confession, 103–104; decline of influence, 42; eighteen implements, 161, 204; in a hierarchy of scriptures, 51, 123, 133, 136–138, 143, 145; in *kai kanjō*, 194; as mixed distinct and Perfect or as purely perfect, 24, 94, 297, 299; Ninkū's claim that the precepts are a perfect teaching, 215; in Tendai lineage, 23, 142, 172, 237, 303, 304
Buddha-nature, identified with precepts, 42, 248, 282
- chief prelate (*zasu*), 89, 302, 315, 327
Church-state (lay-monastic) relations, 18, 19
Ci'en, 47, 270, 272, 273
circumambulating the mountain (*kaiñō-gyō*), 320–322
compassion, role in violations, 23, 259, 269
conch shell, 156, 176, 195, 204
confession, 8, 21, 25, 47–48, 61, 96–118, 130, 262; based on actual activities and based on nonsubstantiality, 113–114; in the *Brahma's Net Sutra*, 103, 282; de-emphasis of, 115–116, 130; as liturgy or contemplation, 112, 118; as part of bodhisattva precepts ordinations, 99, 239, 240; as part of full ordination, 98; three levels of, 112
constantly walking or sitting *samādhi*, 318, 319
Course of Ease and Bliss, 82, 87, 120, 124, 128
- Daijionji, 222, 228
Daikai shūnanshō, 140
Danna lineage, 166, 227
Daosui, 126n32, 151n8, 153, 253, 327
Daoxuan (of Nanshan lineage), 32, 83, 94, 165, 221, 223, 225, 250
Daoxuan (who travelled to Japan), 262
Dari jing, 43, 46, 49, 208

- Dari jing yishi*, 46, 228
Dazhidu lun, 45
 debate, 9–11, 162–164, 207–231; debate hell in modern Tendai, 323–327; as the paramount activity in Ninkū's temples, 213
 defilements, 291, 292; identified with enlightenment, 270, 271; and ordinations, 247, 248
Denshin kashōden, 150–158
 Devadatta, 28, 47, 259, 272, 287
dhāraṇī to vanquish wrongdoing, 48
 Dharmakṣema, 20, 105–106
 direct path, 49, 294
 distinct ordination, 37–38; and distinct observance, 237; Ninkū and, 92
 doctrinal temples, 211–219, 221–226; not mingling the teachings in Ninkū's system, 211
 dreams, 148, 151, 152, 153, 156, 177, 294, 325
- Egi, 150–153, 155, 166, 204, 294
 eight precepts, 97
 Eikū, 137, 140, 265
 Eisai, 30, 148, 167
 Eison, 86, 158, 221
Eizan daishi den, 6, 81, 120
 Emperor Wu of the Liang dynasty, 17, 97
 Enchin, 8, 24, 32, 38–40, 42, 58–59, 62, 67n44, 69–70, 88, 93, 102, 234–235; rules for conferring master of Esoteric Buddhism, 65n36, 68, 72n62
 Enchō, 27, 135n66, 152n17, 253
Endon bosatsukai jūjū yonjūhachi gyō gishō, 154, 155, 294, 295
Endonkai gyōji shō, 219, 233
Endonkai kikigaki, 295, 197
Endonkai myakufu kuketsu, 128, 287, 288–290
Endon kaitai shūkishin no koto, 137
Enkai gyōjishō, 140, 219, 251, 253
Enkai jūroku jō, 157, 166, 183, 185, 188, 190
 Enkan (aka Echin), 152, 153, 155, 156, 159, 186, 187
 Enkū, 222
 Ennin, 6, 24, 27, 41, 44, 57–58, 60, 62, 67, 69, 102, 135, 139–140, 157
 Enrin, 155, 290–293
- Eshin lineage, 13, 27, 52, 88–91, 124–134, 149, 227
 esoteric Buddhism, 28, 42, 43, 48–50, 52, 57–62, 253, 271; lineages, 62–64; as a possible interpretation of *kai kanjō*, 183–185; ritual to change the sex of a fetus, 68
 essence of precepts, 11, 26, 29, 126, 127, 128, 173, 236n14, 241–245, 277, 280, 281, 283, 286, 294, 315, 316; and Buddha-nature, 248, 316; contrasted with observance, 236, 276; identified with the three views in an instant, 91, 127; mental or physical, 279, 281; on whether it can be lost or not, 278–284, 292, 295, 299
- faith and ordinations, 245–249; relation to understanding, 245, 246; and worldlings, 246–247
 Faquan, 69, 73
 fasting between noon and sunrise, 161, 225
 Fazang, 261, 262, 266, 270
 filial piety, 17–18
 five mountains, 220, 226
 five stages of realization of Buddhahood, 49–50
 fly whisk, 200, 201, 205
 fortnightly assembly, 24–25, 38, 87, 94, 156, 163, 178
- Four-Part Vinaya*, xv
 four precepts and the three encouragements, 143, 247
 Fudō Myōō, 71, 320, 321
 Fujiwara no Yoshifusa, 60, 61, 66, 67
Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku, 25, 26, 32, 35–54, 258, 259, 284, 287–290, 303
- Ganchō, 167, 180, 181
 Gangyōji, 65, 70–73, 80; conciliatory attitude toward Nara schools, 72–73
 Ganjin, 1, 22, 23, 83–86, 94, 101, 119, 158
gasshō, 166, 171–175, 175, 181, 191–200, 205
 Genjō, 76, 78
 Gennōji, 157, 186
 Gishin, 6, 83, 88, 253
 Go-Daigo, 186, 221, 226, 231
Guanxin shierbu jingyi, 170n89

- Gudōbō Ejin, 85–86, 150, 151, 153, 155, 166, 197, 295
- Gyōnen, 47, 84–85
- Henjō, 58, 62, 64–76; political reasons for ordination, 66; significance of appointment to the Sōgō, 68
- hierarchies of precepts, 26–29, 51–52, 133, 134, 136, 143, 145, 187, 188, 285, 286
- Hīnayāna teachings, interpreted in Chinese Tiantai, 250; forbidden at Ninkū's temples, 211
- Hōchibō Shōshin, 148, 291, 318
- Hokke daie, 324–327
- Hōkū, 269–275
- Hōnen, 10, 27, 87, 136, 137, 140–141, 150, 214, 233
- Hongaku*, 9, 125, 129–132, 147–150, 165, 166, 177, 182, 211, 212, 221, 253, 270, 327
- Hongaku san shaku*, 129–130
- Hōrenbō Shinkū, 140–141, 253
- Hosshōji, and *kai kanjō*, 167, 173, 181, 186–187
- Huayan jing (Avatamsakasūtra)*, 16, 135n65
- Huisi, 120, 124, 137; attribution of ordination manual, 107, 116–117; robe, 205
- Ikkō daijōji kōryū henmoku shū*, 158–165
- Indra's net, 264
- initiation of novices and adherents of the eight precepts, 97
- Isshin myōkai shō*, 166, 189, 190
- Jiaojieinxue biqiu xinghu lüyi*, 225
- Jiaoyuan qinggui*, 229, 230
- Jidō Kōkū, 226, 228, 237, 241
- Jien, 24, 214, 224
- Jifayue*, 48
- Jikiō bosatsukai kanmon*, 187, 188
- Junzen, 16, 204
- jissō* (true aspect), 125, 131, 132, 196, 203, 242
- Jitsudō Ninkū. *See* Ninkū
- Jizō, 130, 190
- Jōgū Taisai shūi ki*, 268–272
- jōkakuji*, 70
- Ju ichijō bosatsu kanjō jukaihō (shiki)*, 166, 193, 204
- Jūrokujō kuketsu*, 157, 166
- Jūzenji, 189, 190
- Kaidan'in chūdai shōgon no ki*, 165, 254
- kaie*, 84, 87, 94, 187, 250, 251
- Kaiju shō*, 93, 143, 233, 297, 298
- Kaikan denju shidai*, 167, 180–206
- kai kanjō*, 9, 29, 31–32, 85, 165–176, 234, 296, 180–206; and esoteric Buddhism, 182–185, 205; inner hall, 195–205; Ninkū's critique, 206, 253, 254; outer hall, 190–195
- Kaike, 154, 196
- Kaike chi fukuro*, 183n14, 184, 190, 205n112
- Kakuchō, 286
- Kakujō, 35
- kanjō*, 167, 168, 170. *See also kai kanjō*
- Kankō ruijū*, 132
- Kechimyaku sōjō shūkenmon*, 132
- Keikō, 56n2, 64n33, 78n83, 161, 204
- Keiran shūyōshū*, 85, 86, 228
- Keisei, 222n56
- Ken'yō daikairon*, 139–140
- killing: Annen's interpretation, 258–260; *Brahma's Net Sutra* interpretations, 256–258; medieval doctrinal justifications of, 255–275
- Kōben, 181, 182
- Kōen, 9, 23–24, 26, 35, 86, 137, 147–169, 294
- Kōin gakudō tsūki*, 211–217
- Kōjō, 6, 28, 135, 139
- Kōkō, 74
- Kōshū, 85–87, 155
- Kūkai, 60, 78,
- Kumarājīva, 15, 92, 237
- Kurodani lineage, 9, 10, 13, 28, 31–32, 85–87, 116, 134–138, 147–206, 293–296; monastic schedule, daily, monthly, and yearly, 161–163
- Kuze Kannon, 268
- Kyōin zōji ryaku mondō*, 210, 217, 220, 227
- lecture halls, 211–215
- Light Up a Corner movement in modern Tendai, 309, 310, 313
- Lotus repentance, 98, 120, 310, 319;

- sometimes combined with *nenbutsu* at Tendai temples, 213
- Lotus Sutra*, [xv](#); key passages identified with the precepts, 123–124, 170, 305, 306; lineage, 120, 142, 143; Prabhūtaratna's pagoda, 84, 124, 142, 172, 191, 199, 313, 315, 316; and precepts 8–9, 26–28, 32, 35, 40, 46, 52, 119–146, 151; and Risshū, 83
- Mahāyāna criticisms of *Vinaya*, 20
- mapphō*, 10, 24, 86, 114–116, 118, 143, 159–160, 217, 219, 234, 245–247, 265, 295
- Mapphō tōmyōki*, 243
- Māra, 272, 273
- meditation, de-emphasized at Ninkū's temples, 213–215
- meditation temples, 214–215
- Mingguang, 140, 143, 154n30, 242, 243, 294
- mirror symbolism, 203, 204
- Mohe zhiguan*, 70, 80, 118, 123, 134, 140, 157, 279, 281, 290, 319
- monastic discipline, Japan and other Buddhist countries compared, 1; decline during the late Heian period, 55, 79; and warrior monks, 131–132. See also *Lotus Sutra* and precepts; violations of precepts
- monastic ranks, translations of, [xvi](#); revised system, 68
- monk: distinguished from novice, 39; as a translation of *sō*, [xv](#)
- Mononobe Moriya, 267, 268, 270, 272, 273
- Mon'yōki*, 34
- Myōdō Shōgen, 226, 227, 233n3, 237
- myōji kemyō biku* (provisionally named monks), 242, 243
- Myōkan, 141, 142
- Myōkū, 227, 228, 229, 230
- Nichiren tradition, 168, 182
- Nijōshō kenmon*, 127, 132, 133, 149
- Ninkū, 9–10, 24, 28, 32, 35, 92–95, 115–116, 148, 260–266, 296–299; author of monastic rules, 209–210; criticism of Song dynasty Tiantai, 224, 266; position that *Brahma's Net Sutra* is primary, 136
- Ninkū Jitsudō, 210. See also Ninkū
- Ninmyō, 66–69, 75
- Nirvāna Sutra*, 82, 97, 123, 129, 251, 262, 265, 266; compared with *Lotus Sutra* on precepts, 252
- Nison'in lineage, 137, 141, 253
- novices, precepts used in initiation, 39, 160, 250, 313–315; Ninkū's interpretation, 238
- Ōhara lineage, 139
- Onjōji, 34, 77, 301, 310; Jimon lineage of Tendai, 222n56
- Ono no Komachi, 75
- ordinations, general remarks, 4–5, 53, 327; *Brahma's Net Sutra*, 103–104; contrasting nuances of, 104–105; and *Lotus Sutra*, 90, 144–145; in modern Tendai, 310–316, 328; spouses ordaining each other, 19; structure of Tendai ceremony, 30; types in *kai kanjō*, 169; universal and distinct, 10, 23, 312; “universal ordination and distinct observance” (*tsūju betsujī*), 23, 236
- ordination platform, 132, 239; modern Tendai version, 315. See also *kai kanjō*
- ordinee, inclination or motivation of, 23, 37, 41, 44, 84n14
- Ōwakizashi*, 27, 134–136, 139–140
- Paramārtha, 92, 122
- precepts, meaning of *kai*, *kairitsu*, 2–4; accompanying meditation 4, 127; accompanying the path, 4, 127; difference between abandonment and losing the precepts, 292, 293, 298; difference between based on phenomena and on Principle, 129–130, 132, 134, 146, 148, 152, 173–177; inherent and acquired, 248, 249; in modern Tendai, 308, 309, 314; terms used in Tendai, 12–13
- privately ordained monks, 102
- provisional Hinayāna ordinations, 8, 44, 82–83, 85, 160, 252, 322
- proxy, 89–90, 94, 125, 225
- Pure Land, 116, 131, 141, 217, 229; practice in Seizan lineage, 214, 217–219, 225

- Pusajie yi ji*, 10, 15n8, 26, 27, 28, 32, 53, 127, 137, 139, 141, 143, 154, 210, 223, 228, 240, 243, 245, 246, 249, 251, 276–300, 303, 317; authorship of, 256n2
- Pusajie yi shu*. See *Pusajie yi ji*
- Questions of Mañjuśrī*, 123, 136
- rainy season retreat, 87, 94, 156, 163, 178
- realization of Buddhahood with this very body, 32, 34, 50–52, 114, 117, 132, 133, 164, 316
- Renjitsubō Shōhan, 128
- Renwang jing*, 16, 51, 71
- Risshū, 83; different branches of, 87–88
- robes, 38–39, 94, 153, 154, 176, 200–203, 205, 223, 225, 315, 316
- Rōzan hotsuganmon*, 218n44
- Rozanji lineage, 13, 91–95; 138–143
- rules for monasteries, 208–234, 237, 239, 240, 252, 306, 307
- Ryōe Dōkō, 87–88, 141
- Ryōgen, 7, 24, 208, 216, 224, 324
- Ryōjo, 128, 287, 288
- Ryōnin, 24, 27, 136, 139, 224
- Saichō, 5–6, 22, 23, 35, 52, 57, 82–83, 134, 148–152, 158–159, 207–208, 232, 324, 327; ordination manual, 281, 283, 304; position on precepts, 121–122, 134, 252, 294; practice at mausoleum, 322, 323; steps in confession, 108–112
- Saikyōji, 169, 181, 186
- Śākyamuni, 23, 119, 120, 297; and Devadatta, 272; esoteric account of enlightenment, 28, 49; as preceptor, 90, 106, 135, 310, 328; and Shōtoku Taishi, 270
- Samantabhadra Sutra*, xv, 30, 38, 51, 81–82, 113, 123, 131, 143, 191, 239
- samaya* precepts, 28, 35, 48–50, 52, 258, 307
- Sange gakushō shiki*, 35, 81
- Sangoji, 138, 210, 211, 214, 217, 222, 225–227, 302
- Sasa gimon*, 42
- seclusion: at Gangyōji, 71; on Mount Hiei (*rōzan*), 6, 8, 9, 32, 33, 57, 79, 86, 134, 153, 155, 156, 158–159, 168, 217, 252; at other temples, 71n59; at Saichō's mausoleum, 322; three-year, in modern period, 318, 319
- Seizan lineage, 136, 137, 141, 207–231
- self-ordination, 30, 31, 35, 88, 98, 105–107, 118, 158, 239, 244, 322; in the *Adornment Sutra*, 105; in the *Brahma's Net Sutra*, 103, 104; texts, 100–101, 106; used by Shunjō and Eisai, 88; in Yogācāra in the *Zhancha jing*, 101–102
- Sengzhao, 15, 92n43, 272
- seven heinous deeds, 21, 22, 47, 48, 103, 224, 256, 272, 280–282, 285
- sex, 8, 45, 46, 60, 61, 75, 76, 271; married monks, ix, 21, 309, 328
- shakubuku*, 251, 264
- Shandao, 214, 228
- shaving the hair, 313, 314
- Shijōshiki* (Rules in four articles), 5–6, 22
- Shinchō, 182
- Shingaku gyōyō shō*, 94, 210, 216, 219, 225, 227
- Shinzei, 181, 187
- shōjū*, 251, 252, 264
- Shōkū, 28, 136, 141–142, 214, 220, 221, 226, 231, 265
- Shoshin gyōgo shō*, 216, 225
- Shōtoku, Prince, 266–274; as rebirth of Huisi, 267
- Shōtoku Taishi denryaku*, 268, 272
- Shūei, 73, 78
- Shunjō, 2, 10, 30, 33, 83, 87, 95, 142, 148, 160, 177, 178, 187, 224, 234, 250, 251, 292, 293
- Shuzenji ketsu*, 89–90, 125–126, 144
- Sifenlü shanbu suiiji jiemo shu*, 94, 224
- Siming Zhili, 223, 327
- six degrees of identity, 32, 51, 52, 114, 117, 172–174, 194–200, 286
- six types of mindfulness, 38n5, 94, 316
- Sōgō, 6, 68, 70, 73, 76, 79, 327
- Sōketsu shō*, 228, 229n83
- Sokushin jōbutsu shō*, 164
- Sonshun, 90–91, 123–124, 126, 127, 132, 133, 144, 149
- Sōō, 320, 321
- special invitations to meals, 18n22, 39
- special or supernatural sign, 20, 21, 100, 102, 104, 118, 130, 202, 280, 281

- Sutra of Myriad Meanings*, 51
Sutra on Perfect Enlightenment, 51
- Tachibanadera, 269
 Taehyōn, 36, 45–47, 261, 291, 292
 Tankei, 45, 60–62
 Tankū, 141, 167
 Tathāgata, as inherently evil, 192
 tea, 217, 223
Tendai gakushō shiki mondō, 25, 123, 124, 128, 138
 Tendai Risshū, 181
Tendai sōden hiketsu shō, 133
 ten good precepts, 107–108, 117, 160n51, 309, 315
 three categories of precepts according to Annen, 50, 190, 249
 three collections of pure precepts, 25, 31, 33, 46, 50, 84, 99, 101–102, 235, 240, 264, 285, 304, 305, 315
 three jewels in ordinations, 241, 243, 244, 264
 three types of temples in Song China and Ninkū's formulation, 220, 221, 223, 224
 three views in an instant as ordination, 90, 91n37, 127, 132, 134, 149–151, 153, 166, 176, 203, 204, 251
 Tōji, 78, 237
- Ūjōk, 23, 48, 265
 universal ordination, 36–37, 53; contrasted with distinct ordination, 234–241; with separate observance, 37
 Universal Precepts of the Seven Buddhas, 87, 310
 Unrin'in, 68–69, 72
- Vairocana, 23, 28, 49n56, 116, 121, 128, 142, 143, 176, 190, 194, 243, 247, 298, 315
 verbal identity, 51, 122, 172, 173, 196, 197
Vimalakīrti, 271, 272
Vinaya, 17; adoption for monastic procedures, 29, 32, 33, 88–92; effect on Tendai ceremonies, 81–95; harmoniously combined with bodhisattva precepts, 22, 37; used as a measure to augment bodhisattva precepts, 252
Vinaya temple, 221, 223
 violations of precepts, 21, 32, 43–49, 80, 103, 127–128, 264, 287, 303, 311, 312, 328; according to six senses, 108; at Ninkū's temples, 215; and nonsubstantiality, 274; when salvific impulse (religious faculties) are considered, 261, 263, 274
 Virūdhaka, 259, 260
- waka*, 69, 74, 76, 79
 wet nurse, 60, 74
 Wōnch'uk, 46, 47
 wordplay, 132, 133
 worldling as preceptor, 245–247
- Xindi guan jing*, 113
 Xuanzang, 46, 47, 163n60, 220
- yearly ordinands, 70, 76, 79, 207
 Yī'an Yīru, 229
 Yijing, 220–221
 Yogācāra sources of precepts, 45, 50, 279, 280, 290, 298, 305; cited by Ninkū, 224; and defilements, 247; ordination procedures, 99–101
 Yōzei, 68, 70
 Yuanzhao, 83, 85, 101, 221, 250, 251
 Yuishu, 65, 73, 77
Yuqie lun, 101, 261
- Zaushō*, 210, 216, 219, 227
 Zen, 223, 229, 230; critiques of by Ninkū, 217–218, 224, 225
Zhancha shan'e yebao jing, 101–102
 Zhanran, 37, 43, 84, 85, 153, 212; ordination manual, 106–107
 Zhiyi, 113, 118, 120, 212, 227, 315, 324
 Zhizhou, 15, 263n27, 265
 Zunshi, 114–115

About the Author

Paul Groner received his Ph.D. in Buddhist studies from Yale and spent most of his career at the University of Virginia. He is currently working on a heavily annotated translation of Eison's *Chōmonshū* with Lori Meeks. Among his major works are *Saichō: The Establishment of the Japanese Tendai School* and *Ryōgen and Mount Hiei: Japanese Tendai in the Tenth Century*. He is also the translator of the first volume of Hirakawa Akira's *The History of Indian Buddhism*.



Kuroda Institute
Studies in East Asian Buddhism

Studies in Ch'an and Hua-yen

Robert M. Gimello and Peter N. Gregory, editors

Dōgen Studies

William R. LaFleur, editor

The Northern School and the Formation of Early Ch'an Buddhism

John R. McRae

Traditions of Meditation in Chinese Buddhism

Peter N. Gregory, editor

Sudden and Gradual: Approaches to Enlightenment in Chinese Thought

Peter N. Gregory, editor

Buddhist Hermeneutics

Donald S. Lopez, Jr., editor

Paths to Liberation: The Margā and Its Transformations in Buddhist Thought

Robert E. Buswell, Jr., and Robert M. Gimello, editors

Sōtō Zen in Medieval Japan

William M. Bodiford

*The Scripture on the Ten Kings and the Making of Purgatory
in Medieval Chinese Buddhism*

Stephen F. Teiser

The Eminent Monk: Buddhist Ideals in Medieval Chinese Hagiography

John Kieschnick

Re-Visioning "Kamakura" Buddhism

Richard K. Payne, editor

Original Enlightenment and the Transformation of Medieval Japanese Buddhism

Jacqueline I. Stone

Buddhism in the Sung

Peter N. Gregory and Daniel A. Getz, Jr., editors

Coming to Terms with Chinese Buddhism:

A Reading of The Treasure Store Treatise

Robert H. Sharf

Ryōgen and Mount Hiei: Japanese Tendai in the Tenth Century

Paul Groner

Tsung-mi and the Sinification of Buddhism

Peter N. Gregory

Approaching the Land of Bliss: Religious Praxis in the Cult of Amitābha

Richard K. Payne and Kenneth K. Tanaka, editors

Going Forth: Visions of Buddhist Vinaya

William M. Bodiford, editor

Burning for the Buddha: Self-Immolation in Chinese Buddhism

James A. Benn

The Buddhist Dead: Practices, Discourses, Representations

Bryan J. Cuevas and Jacqueline I. Stone, editors

The Making of a Savior Bodhisattva: Dizang in Medieval China

Zhiru

How Zen Became Zen: The Dispute over Enlightenment and the Formation of Chan

Buddhism in Song-Dynasty China

Morten Schlütter

Hokkeji and the Reemergence of Female Monasticism in Premodern Japan

Lori Meeks

Conceiving the Indian Buddhist Patriarchs in China

Stuart H. Young

Patrons and Patriarchs: Chan Monks and Regional Rulers

during the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms

Benjamin Brose

Right Thoughts at the Last Moment: Buddhism and Deathbed Practices

in Early Medieval Japan

Jacqueline I. Stone

Ritualized Writing: Buddhist Practice and Scriptural Cultures in Ancient Japan

Bryan D. Lowe

Chan Before Chan: Meditation, Repentance, and Visionary Experience

in Chinese Buddhism

Eric M. Greene

The Poetry Demon: Song-Dynasty Monks on Poetry and the Way

Jason Protass

Memory, Music, Manuscripts: The Ritual Dynamics of Kōshiki

in Japanese Sōtō Zen

Michaela Mross

Precepts, Ordinations, and Practice in Medieval Japanese Tendai

Paul Groner