Buddhist Monasticism in East Asia

Places of practice

Edited by James A. Benn, Lori Meeks, and James Robson

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5 The monastic institution in medieval Japan

The insider's view

William M. Bodiford

The transition from the court-centered society of Heian Period (ca. 794–1221) Japan to the more tumultuous warrior administrations of the Kamakura Period (ca. 1185–1333) witnessed the unprecedented production of numerous first-person accounts of institutional Buddhism and its role in society. Despite having different formats, these works share a perceived need to provide a changing society with a comprehensive explanation of the key features of Japanese monasticism and their genealogical bases. Written both by laymen and by Buddhist monks, they provide us with a heretofore neglected perspective on the mainstream Buddhist monasteries. With only a few exceptions, previous scholars have examined these first-person accounts merely as raw databases to be mined for names and events, to be cited or dismissed according to modern standards of historical accuracy. In this chapter I propose a different approach to these sources. I wish to suggest ways that these insider accounts can be examined on their own terms as first-hand ethnographies of a world long lost, ethnographies which reveal the categories of knowledge, ceremonies, lifestyle, modes of learning, and religious concerns of Japanese monks and nuns. I hope that data from these accounts can contribute toward a historiography of medieval Japanese Buddhism that charts a middle way between (and thereby avoids some of the pitfalls of) the "Kamakura New Buddhism" and the "Exoteric-Esoteric Establishment" models of medieval Japanese Buddhist history.

These two historiographical models each have their own unique strengths, but they share a common weakness. They ignore important aspects of monastic Buddhism in medieval Japan. Scholarship on so-called Kamakura New Buddhism generally approaches religious life in terms of doctrinal and textual issues, especially those related to the emergence and growth of the Pure Land, Nichiren, and Zen movements that eventually became the dominant sectarian denominations of modern Japan. It emphasizes points of disagreement and divergence within these movements and between them and the main monastic institutions from which they broke away. Therefore it usually ignores the common religious landscape, beliefs, and practices common to broad cross-sections of society during the medieval period. The Exoteric-Esoteric Establishment (*kenmitsu taisei* 顕密体制) model proposed by Kuroda Toshio 黒田俊雄 (1926–1993) focuses more closely on the mainstream medieval monastic institutions and their relationships to the aristocracy and warrior

families in government. Kuroda's approach reminds us of the economic, political, geographic, and military power of Buddhist monasteries.[1] In spite of the importance of these topics for our understanding of medieval society, this approach tends to overlook the roles of monasteries as settings for religious life and learning.[2]

It is to this topic, monastic institutions as settings for religious life, learning, and ceremony, that I wish to draw our attention. For, while medieval Japanese Buddhist monasteries played an indispensable role in the exercise of all forms of social power, they also constituted a religious landscape that reveals as much about medieval religion as about social structures. By way of illustrating my approach, I will briefly examine a few of the religious themes found in the following seven texts: *The Three Jewels with Illustrations* (984), *Overview of Monastic Life* (1193), *Sand and Pebbles* (1283), *Miscellaneous Discussions* (1305), *Leaves Gathered from Stormy Streams* (1348), *Genkō Era Account of Buddhism* (1322), and *Chronicle of Gods and Sovereigns* (1339). All of these texts are well-known. English translations already exist for several of them. Nonetheless, in spite of the wealth of information they contain and their ready accessibility, they remain underutilized. Examined together these texts (and others like them) provide us contemporaneous overviews of monastic ceremonies, institutions, social distinctions among the clergy, monastic learning, and routine daily activities. This kind of overview of the religious landscape as it would have appeared to or been perceived by the authors of these works too rarely appears in published accounts of medieval Japanese Buddhism.

Limitations

First-person accounts naturally suffer from many limitations. Their authors inevitably tend to be men, members of the ruling elite, educated in Chinese modes of discourse and, therefore, uninterested in or even unaware of the possibility of other points of view. They generally write only about people, places, and events located near the court and urban centers. They can reveal little direct knowledge of the lives of women and commoners, or of regional customs. As pious insiders, they tend to obfuscate what Allan Grapard calls the "economics of ritual power" that reinforce the status quo.[3] Frequently they exhibit biases and sectarian prejudices. They cannot be relied on for historical accuracy, even when supposedly reporting events witnessed first-hand. We cannot always detect when they exaggerate the importance of minor matters or ignore truly significant ones, but we know for certain that such distortions occur.

The eminent scholar-monk Gyōnen 凝然 (1240–1321), for example, wrote *Jōdo hōmon genrushō* 浄土法門源流章, a detailed account of the new Pure Land movement founded by Hōnen 法然 (1133–1212; a.k.a. Genkū 源空). Gyōnen describes each of Hōnen's major disciples, but fails to mention Shinran 親鸞 (1173–1263)—the person now regarded not only as Hōnen's most important disciple but also as the founder of modern Japan's predominant denominational orientation. Obviously, Gyōnen lacked our historical perspective. It is precisely this kind of alternative to our own hindsight that interests me.

Tamenori's *Three Jewels*

The *Three Jewels with Illustrations* (*Sanbōe* 三寶繪, 984) by the nobleman Minamoto Tamenori 源爲憲 (d. 1011) presents one of our earliest surviving accounts of the annual cycle of major Buddhist ceremonies performed in Japan (see Appendix 1, on p. 141). From his description of some thirty-one annual events, we can learn that the most important monasteries were sponsored by high aristocrats or members of the royal family and founded by monks famous for their learning, their accomplishments, and the many miracles that accompanied their lives. Similarly, each of the yearly rituals can boast ancient pedigrees, scriptural justifications, and numerous examples of miraculous benefits. While lay people do not necessarily participate in the events described by Tamenori, he occasionally indicates that they can gain the most merit by practicing Buddhist rituals at the same time as they are being performed at major temples and palaces. For example, if women observe the eight restraints (*hassai kai* 八齋戒) during the eighth day of the second and eighth moons when nuns perform the Ānanda Rites of Repentance (*Anan senbō* 阿難懺法), then their prayers will be answered.[4] The springtime ordination of new monks constitutes prayers for abundant harvests.[5] Likewise, the best time to give robes to a temple is during the twelfth moon**,** when the court presents offerings of robes to all the major monasteries.[6] From these kinds of examples we can begin to detect something of the ways in which Buddhists configured the passage of time so as to assign cultural value to daily activities. Perhaps we can even gauge somewhat the relative prominence of the various monasteries near the capital. Mount Hiei 比叡山—the headquarters for Tendai—occupied a preeminent position. At least seven of the thirty-one Buddhist events described by Tamenori occur there. The other events were scattered about at a wide variety of locations near the capital. Three of them occur within the royal court. Seven more are located at the major temples near the former capital town of Nara: two at Kōfukuji 興福寺 (Yamashinadera 山階寺), two at Yakushiji 藥師寺, and one each at Daianji 大安寺 and at Tōdaiji 東大寺.

Eisai's *Overview of Monastic Life*

The *Overview of Monastic Life* (*Shukke taikō* 出家大綱, 1193) by the Buddhist monk Eisai 榮西 (1141–1215) presents a concise list of prescriptive exhortations concerning robes, meals, and deportment. Eisai laments widespread acceptance in Japan of monastic norms that he regards as non-Buddhist. From the content of Eisai's complaints, we know that during cold winter months Japanese monastics would wear the same clothes as lay people to provide extra warmth. They frequently ate meals after the noon hour and drank alcohol. Many of them had acquired religious identities and religious titles simply by self-declaration or by adopting the appearance of a religious practitioner. The adoption of these titles did not require that they undergo a Buddhist initiation ceremony, become affiliated to a Buddhist institution, or receive any Buddhist training. In other words, distinctions between secular or religious status could be based on social conventions, not on government regulations or on Buddhist ceremonial procedures.

Mujū's stories

The Buddhist essayist Mujū Dōgyō 無住道暁 (Ichien 一圓; 1226–1312) wrote—or collected and retold—more than 280 didactic stories in two compilations: *Sand and Pebbles* (*Shasekishū* 砂石集, 1283; about 160 stories) and *Miscellaneous Discussions* (*Zōdanshū* 雜談集, 1305; about 67 stories). In many respects Mujū's stories are typical of Buddhist edifying tales found across Asia. Just as in other examples of this genre, Mujū describes the mysterious results of karma from previous lives, the dangers of moral transgressions, the rewards of piety and acts of worship, and the miracles worked by buddhas and bodhisattvas. Many of the stories, however, focus on topics of particular concern to Buddhists of Mujū's own time and place: medieval Japan. Mujū repeatedly emphasizes the equivalence of Sanskrit *dhāraṇī* and Japanese-language verse (*waka* 和歌), devoting at least thirteen stories to this notion. Likewise the local gods (*jinmyō* 神明) frequently appear in dreams and oracles as the voice of the buddhas, whose teachings they promote and protect. The unity of buddhas and gods is the main subject of at least nine stories. The failure of Japanese monks to observe monastic vows is another reoccurring theme (six stories), as is the importance of facing death with the correct spiritual composure (five stories). Although we cannot assume that Mujū's stories meet even journalistic standards of reporting, they nonetheless allow us to see the human faces of medieval Japanese Buddhists and to detect something of their activities, opinions, follies, and spiritual values. Just as important, his reporting allows us to see the growing importance of Buddhism outside the central provinces. Since Mujū did not live in the capital, he seems uninterested in its annual cycle of ceremonies (mentioning only the Eight Lectures Assembly, *Hakkō'e* 八講會, by name). The range of monasteries he mentions also differs. Most often he simply says "a certain mountain temple" (*aru yamadera* ある山寺; 35 times). The Shingon mountain monastery on Mount Kōya 高野山 (in modern Wakayama Prefecture) is named most often (31 times), followed by various monasteries of Nara (31 times), the two main Tendai monastic complexes at Mount Hiei and Onjōji 園城寺 (a.k.a. Miidera 三井寺; 23 times), three of the new Zen monasteries (17 times), and Kiyomizudera 清水寺 in Kyoto (11 times).[7]

Kōshū's *Leaves from Stormy Streams*

The fourth example, *Leaves Gathered from Stormy Streams* (*Keiran shūyōshū* 溪嵐拾葉集, 1348), consists of excerpts from treatises, brief notes, and secret initiations (*hiketsu* 秘訣) compiled by a Tendai monk on Mount Hiei named Kōshū 光宗 (1276–1350) over the course of his education. Even though most of his collection was lost, 113 fascicles (out of 300 total) of notes along with a detailed table of contents for the entire work still remain. Taken together, Kōshū's notes and table of contents provide an unparalleled, detailed overview of his academic training during a 36-year period (from 1313 to 1348). Kōshū names 85 teachers from whom he received initiations in more than fifteen separate subjects. He learned the following (T. 74.505–507):

	Subject	*Learned from # teachers*
1	tantric (*shingon* 眞言) traditions	33 teachers
2	Tendai 天台 traditions	24 teachers
3	Zen 禪 meditation traditions	12 teachers
4	Sanskrit (*shittan* 悉曇) traditions (i.e., writing *dhāraṇī* in Siddhaṃ letters)	6 teachers
5	secular literature (*zokusho* 俗書)	5 teachers
6	Abhidharma (Kusha 倶舎) traditions	4 teachers
7	poetical (*kadō* 歌道) traditions	"
8	military strategy (*hyōhō* 兵法)	"
9	Yogācāra (Hossō 法相) traditions	3 teachers
10	Pure Land (*jōdo* 浄土) traditions	"
11	mathematical (*sanjutsu* 算術) traditions	"
12	medical (*ihō* 醫方) traditions	"
13	arts and crafts (*jutsuhō* 術法)	"
14	Kegon 華嚴 traditions	2 teachers
15	Sanron 三論 traditions	"

This long list of fifteen subjects, each with multiple teachers, testifies to the broad range of learning available to elite monks on Mount Hiei. It encompassed not just Buddhism, but also secular subjects such as artistic crafts, medical arts, mathematics, and military affairs—all of which Kōshū learned from other monks. It should alert us to the medieval marriage of Buddhism to all aspects of Japanese life.

Not apparent from the above enumeration of subjects are two of the most important characteristics of Kōshū's compilation. First, the Tendai traditions he studied consisted largely of initiations into the secret Buddhist significance of the gods of Japan. These initiations reveal the formative development of what subsequently came to be known as "Shintō" or, more precisely in this case, Sannō Shintō 山王神道. Kōshū (T. 76.503b) refers to these initiations as consecrations that invoke the powers of the buddhas who "soften their radiance and meld with dust to benefit the kingdom" (*wakō dōjin riyaku kokudo kanjō* 和光同塵利益國土灌頂). These rituals aimed to transform the land of Japan into a sacred realm where buddhas became localized as the tutelary gods of the ruling houses (*kuge* 公家). Thus, Buddhist practices can never be purely soteriological, but always involve local places (identified as localized gods) and the elites (identified as descendants of the gods) who rule over the people living in those places. Second, in spite of the fact that Kōshū cites large numbers of Buddhist scriptures and uses transliterated Sanskrit and complex Chinese Buddhist terminology, his notes exhibit almost no interest in Buddhist doctrines. That is, if one understands "doctrine" as entailing some kind of systematic presentation of teachings, ideals, philosophy, or terminology, then it cannot be found.

Rather than presenting doctrines themselves, Kōshū's notes simply cite doctrinal points to substantiate and legitimate his real concern, which is ceremonial lore. This lore, recorded in documents called chronicles (*ki* 記), concerns ritual expertise, historical precedents, royal power, local places, secret relationships, and gossip.

The teaching of ritual lore already had a long history among the court aristocrats. Members of certain familial lineages, known as ceremonial houses (*yūsokuke* 有職家), specialized in knowing the precedents, established practices, and customary forms of behavior that were believed essential to assure proper control of the realm. By Kōshū's day every one of the ruling houses—not just those of court officials (*kanke* 官家), but also clerical houses (*shakke* 釋家), shrine houses (*shake* 社家),[8] and warrior houses (*buke* 武家)[9]—had begun to compile their own collections of established procedures (*kojitsu* 故實) that would allow them to lay claim to their own unique spheres of professional expertise. Kōshū's notes, therefore, reveal the range of expert lore that allowed the monks of Mount Hiei to claim control over the gods of the land, the divine rights of rulership, and the security of the realm.

This medieval Buddhist lore rested on a logic of resemblances, consisting primarily of linguistic and performative (i.e., ritual) homologies. Linguistic resemblances developed out of an education that stressed the acquisition of literacy in at least three mediums: *siddhaṃ* glyphs used for Sanskrit *dhāraṇī*, pictorial glyphs used for Chinese, and syllabic glyphs used for Japanese. All three of these mediums could be converted phonetically into one another and could be translated from one language into equivalent vocabulary from either or both of the other two languages. The resulting vocabulary could be interpreted semantically according to either the rules of Chinese grammar or the very different word-order of Japanese grammar (*jikunshaku* 字訓釋). Moreover, Chinese glyphs could be given new resemblances simply by breaking them apart into their component elements (*jizōshaku* 字象釋), each of which could be recognized as separate glyphs in their own right, or by interpreting them as homophones for other words (*tenshōshaku* 轉聲釋). In this way, every single word became pregnant with limitless significance.

To cite a couple of well-known examples, Kōshū states that the name of the mountain god, Sannō 山王, who protects Mount Hiei actually signifies the perfect integration of unity (i.e., the horizontal line of 山 and the vertical line of 王) and trinity (i.e., the triple vertical lines of 山 and triple horizontal lines of 王) so that it is none other than a revelation of the highest Tendai teachings of one mind viewing three truths (*isshin sankan* 一心三觀; T. 76.510a–b) and each instant of thought encompassing three thousand realms (*ichinen sanzen* 一念三千; T. 76.514a–b). Similarly, Kōshū reveals that the name of the Japanese kingdom, Dai Nippon koku 大日本國, actually signified Mahāvairocana's homeland (*Dainichi honkoku* 大日本國; T. 76.511a), the original dwelling of the great sun buddha.

Performative resemblances resulted from the application of these linguistic transformations to ceremonial rituals so that every gesture (*mudrā*), implement, and offering became a substitute for something else of greater value.[10] Thus, Kōshū notes that a single-pronged *vajra* is none other than the main island of Japan (T. 76.519a) while a branch of the evergreen *sakaki* 榊 tree is the timeless *prātimokṣa* (*haradaimokusha* 波羅提木叉; T. 76.516b), and so forth. The resulting resemblances consisted not simply of so-called Shintō-Buddhist combinations, but encompassed all human endeavors—Daoist, Confucian, military, mathematical, poetical, and so forth—and refracted them through a multifaceted Buddhist prism that tied each element to all the others. For this reason, it is a mistake to examine

the medieval logic of homologies only in terms of the relative equivalencies of buddhas and gods.

Kokan Shiren's perspective

The most fully realized attempt to provide an insider's perspective on mainstream monastic Buddhism can be found in the *Genkō Era Account of Buddhism* (*Genkō shakusho* 元亨釋書, 1322; hereafter cited as "*Shakusho*") by Kokan Shiren 虎關師錬 (1278–1346). Shiren was an elite monk who served as abbot of Nanzenji 南禪寺 and Tōfukuji 東福寺—two top-tier Five Mountain (*gozan* 五山) Zen monasteries in Kyoto—and authored numerous works written in Chinese, including Japan's first dictionary of Chinese poetics, the *Shūbun inryaku* 聚文韻略 (20 fascicles, 1306) and a textbook on writing Chinese prose and poetry, the *Zengi gemon shū* 禪儀外文集 (two fascicles, 1341)—both of which exerted a major influence on the genre we now know as Five Mountain literature (*gozan bungaku* 五山文學). His *Shakusho* is famous as Japan's earliest large (30 fascicles) and comprehensive (444 entries) hagiography of eminent monks.

Although famous, today the *Shakusho* is largely ignored. It might be cited when no other sources can be found, but it suffers a poor reputation for historical accuracy. Modern scholars frequently dismiss it as a work of sectarian scholarship designed to place the Zen 禪 lineage at the center of Japanese Buddhism.[11] The work begins, for example, with Zen, which implies that Japanese Buddhism also begins with Zen. Its very first biography is of Bodhidharma—the legendary Indian monk who supposedly introduced the Chan (Zen) lineage to China. Shiren's account, however, concerns neither China nor India. It locates Bodhidharma in Japan. According to the *Shakusho* (fasc. 1, K 31.27), Bodhidharma arrived in China in 520, returned to India nine years later, and then came to Japan in 613. Shiren's uncritical inclusion of this kind of fantasy causes modern historians to breathe a sigh of relief whenever they can find another source to cite instead. Among comprehensive Japanese Buddhist hagiographies, the one titled *Biographies of Eminent Monks of Our Kingdom* (*Honchō kōsōden* 本朝高僧傳, 1702; 75 fasc.) by Mangen Shiban 卍元師蠻 (1625–1710) enjoys far more prestige for its historiographical accuracy and even-handedness.

With its flawed reputation, it is not too surprising that—as far as I can detect—only two studies of the *Shakusho* have appeared in English. In 1970 it was the subject of an unpublished doctoral dissertation by the late Marian Ury. She provided a partial translation (consisting of the major biographies) along with an introduction that focuses on the *Shakusho*'s literary relationship to Chinese models and to Japanese popular literature (e.g., *setsuwa bungaku* 説話文學). More recently Carl Bielefeldt has published an essay in which he examines *Shakusho*'s "sectarian uses of history" as part of his on-going research on the formation of sectarian identities in medieval Japanese Buddhism.[12] Neither of these studies examines the *Shakusho* for what it might reveal in general about the practice of Buddhist monasticism in Shiren's time. That is a subject about which Shiren's *Shakusho* actually reveals a great deal.

Although scholars most frequently cite (and criticize) its hagiographies, Shiren modeled his work as much on Chinese dynastic histories (see Appendix 3, on p. 145) as on previous Chinese hagiographical (i.e., *gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳) collections.[13] Shiren titled his text (see fasc. 30; K 31.447 and 448) with the word *sho* 書 (of *Shakusho*; Chinese *shu*) to explicitly indicate that it is a comprehensive history (*zenshi* 全史) just like Chinese dynastic histories such as the *Hanshu* 漢書 (78), *Jinshu* 晉書 (644), and *Tangshu* 唐書 (1060).[14] The word *Shaku* 釋 (of *Shakusho*) refers, of course, to the Buddha Śākyamuni and to the monks and nuns who are his (spiritual) descendants. Shiren argues (fasc. 30; K 31.448) that because the buddha's body and the land are indivisible (*shindo funi* 身土不二) and since the labels "Han," "Jin," and "Tang" were as much family names (*shō* 姓) as dynastic designations, therefore Japanese Buddhism should be described according to the format of a dynastic history. Moreover, for Shiren a comprehensive dynastic history must include not just biographies (*den* 傳, Chinese *zhuan*), but also a chronological table (*hyō* 表, Chinese *biao*) as well as topical treatises (*shi* 志, Chinese *zhi*). Accordingly the *Shakusho* includes all three.

Shiren was not the first Buddhist historian to adopt the format of a dynastic history. The same section titles of biographies, tables, and treatises also were used in the *Unified Record of the Buddha and Ancestors* (*Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀, 1269) by the Chinese Tiantai monk Zhipan 志盤 (see Appendix 3, on p. 145). Zhipan goes even further than Shiren since he also uses the section titles of basic records (*benji* 本紀) and of hereditary houses (*shijia* 世家). Zhipan's use of section titles from dynastic histories, however, was completely different from that of Shiren. Zhipan's record focuses on the Tiantai lineage alone. Regardless of their titles, practically all the sections—basic records, hereditary houses, biographies, and the various treatises—consist of biographies of Tiantai patriarchs and their disciples. Zhipan did not reproduce the different types of content normally associated with each distinctive section title, and he made no attempt in his topical treatises to identify or describe the overall features of Chinese monastic life. In Shiren's *Shakusho*, in contrast, the topical treatises are exactly that: they provide an insider's perspective on the main topics concerning Buddhist monasticism in Japan.

Before discussing Shiren's topical treatises, though, let me point out another difference between him and Zhipan. While Zhipan focuses just on members of his own lineage (i.e., Tiantai), Shiren's hagiographies actually represent all manner of Japanese Buddhists regardless of lineage or doctrinal affiliation (see Appendix 4, on p. 146).[15] In spite of the prominence afforded to certain Zen patriarchs such as Bodhidharma (the first biography), Eisai and Enni Ben'en 圓爾辯圓 (1202–1280)—who receive one fascicle apiece—Shiren mentions very few Zen monks. Of the monks whose names are associated with specific temples, the temples mentioned most often are the two main Tendai monasteries of Mount Hiei and Onjōji 園城寺 (located near the base of Mount Hiei). The other temples frequently mentioned to identify monks consist almost entirely of those associated with the Buddhism of the former southern capital of Nara or with the Shingon lineage. The fact that the monks described by Shiren primarily represent rival (non-Zen) institutions tells us that, in his own mind at least, Shiren tried to draft a comprehensive

and nonsectarian account.[16] Shiren's rejection of the kind of partisanship displayed by Zhipan helps explain why Shiren never acknowledged the existence of Zhipan's work.[17]

Shiren's collected biographies display a few more noteworthy characteristics. First, he adopted the same tenfold division of bibliographies as found in previous Chinese hagiographical collections, but he rearranged and re-titled many of the sections (see Appendix 2, on p. 144). Since the Japanese rely on Chinese translations of the scriptures, he replaced the category of "translators" (*yakkyō* 譯經) with "transmitters of wisdom" (*denchi* 傳智). He replaced the category of "vinaya exegetes" (*myōritsu* 明律) with "*śīla* exegetes" to reflect the Japanese preference for Buddhist morality as an abstract ideal rather than as concrete discipline. He eliminated the category of "defenders of the dharma" (*gohō* 護法) altogether because (he explains) in Japan there were no anti-Buddhist rulers from whom the dharma needed defending (fasc. 30, K 31.448). Second, he self-consciously identified each of the ten categories with one of the ten bodhisattva perfections (*pāramitā*) so that every hagiography depicts Mahāyāna Buddhists who cultivate the bodhisattva path. Shiren, like many authors of his period, asserted that Japan (unlike either India or China) was populated entirely by followers of the Mahāyāna (*jundai mushō* 純大無小). No one followed the inferior vehicle (*hīnayāna*) and in Japan (unlike either India or China) there exist no other religions (*mu idō* 無異道).[18] In other words, Shiren asserts that in Japan the scholars of Confucian learning, the practitioners of Daoist longevity techniques, the celebrants at shrines to local gods as well as the god themselves all were Buddhists who practiced Buddhism. Shintō did not yet exist apart from Buddhism.

The third notable feature of his hagiographical collection reflects this assertion: All beings in Japan practice Mahāyāna Buddhism. As indicated by Shiren's tenth category concerning the perfection of vows (*praṇidhāna*), "all beings" includes not just the usual eminent monks (*kōsō* 高僧) or virtuous patriarchs (*kotoku* 古德), but also: kings and ministers (*ōshin* 王臣), aristocrats and commoners (*shisho* 士庶), nuns and women (*ni'nyo* 尼女), local gods and wizards (*jinsen* 神仙), and apparitions (*ryōkei* 靈恠). These categories represent Shiren's sociological taxonomy of Japanese Buddhists. The lack of any clear distinction between the members of the clergy and lay people is especially noteworthy. We have already seen in Eisai's *Overview of Monastic Life* that rigid distinctions between secular or religious status did not exist. This lack of distinction reflects the Mahāyāna precepts used for clerical ordinations on Mount Hiei, which also can be bestowed on lay people without affecting their lay status.

Who are mainstream Buddhists?

This section on the biographies of lay people and spirits contains 107 entries, making it the second largest category among Shiren's collected biographies. The largest section, which concerns miracle workers (those who cultivate the perfection of vigor, *vīrya*) contains 117 biographies. Together they constitute nearly half of the hagiographies included in the *Shakusho*. In other words, Shiren saw miracle

workers, the pious lay people who support them, and supernatural spirits as the mainstream Buddhists. He argues (fasc. 30, K 31.452) that Buddhist wisdom is valuable precisely because it generates supernatural events that benefit the realm. He criticizes Chinese Confucian scholars, such as Ouyang Xiu 歐陽脩 (1007–1072), for their failure to appreciate the supernatural and to mention it in their records.[19]

Shiren provides individual entries for only five gods. Naturally, he begins with Tenshō *daijin* 天照大神, the god enshrined at Ise whose worship signifies legitimate succession to the throne.[20] Tenshō is none other than Vairocana (Birushana 毘盧遮那), the great buddha of the sun (Dainichi). Hakusan *myōjin* 白山明神, the god enshrined on the White Mountain (Mount Hakusan 白山) who is worshiped throughout northern Japan, actually is Izanagi 伊奘諾 (i.e., the father of Tenshō), a bodhisattva of marvelous wisdom (*myōri bosatsu* 妙理菩薩). Niu *myōjin* 丹生明神, the god that protects Mount Koya, insures the spread of esoteric (tantric) Buddhism throughout Japan. Shinra *myōjin* 新羅明神, a god that came from Korea, protects the Tendai monastery Onjōji—which competes against Mount Hiei as the second branch of Japanese Tendai. Kitano *tenjin* 北野天神, the deified minister Sugawara Michizane 管原道眞 (845–903) who is worshiped as god of thunder and lightning, works to control the unruly demons who otherwise cause disasters and hardships. Surprisingly, Shiren does not provide entries for perhaps the three most important gods: Hachiman 八幡 (Yahata, who protects Tōdaiji) Sannō (who protects Mount Hiei), and Zaō 藏王 (who protects Mount Kinpusen 金峰山). He might have regarded separate entries for these deities as redundant, since all three of them figure prominently in the *Shakusho* (Sannō is mentioned 30 times, Hachiman 27 times, and Zaō 13 times).[21] Shiren's subsection on apparitions reminds us of the importance of dreams and oracles in Japanese Buddhism. Shiren argues that fervent faith results in visions of the buddhas, revelations via dreams, and reports from the afterlife. Religious dreams figure prominently in all literature from premodern Japan.

Shiren's overview of monastic Buddhism

The least studied portion of the *Shakusho* are Shiren's topical treatises. They cover the following ten areas: (1) learning (*gakushu* 學修), (2) ordinations (*doju* 度受), (3) doctrinal lineages (*shoshū* 諸宗), (4) ceremonies (*egi* 會儀), (5) ecclesiastical titles (*fūshoku* 封職), (6) monasteries and icons (*jizō* 寺像), (7) aural arts (*ongei* 音藝), (8) strange phenomena (*shūi* 拾異), (9) avoiding strife (*chussō* 黜争), and (10) Shiren's explanation of the *Shakusho*'s organization (*josetsu* 序説). If the *Shakusho*'s collected biographies constitute Japan's earliest comprehensive hagiography, then its treatises are the earliest attempt at a systematic description of mainstream monastic Buddhism. Unfortunately, all of the treatises are too short and Shiren's explanations too terse to satisfy the curiosity of modern scholars. He fails to describe any one of his topics in detail. His intent is historical, rather than ethnographical. For that very reason, however, the details that he does provide must be given due consideration. Shiren would not have included them unless they were (to his eyes, at least) especially significant. I will briefly summarize them below.

Learning

In this section, Shiren explains that learning consists of the standard Buddhist category of threefold learning (*sangaku* 三學; i.e., morality, mental cultivation, and wisdom). All of these ultimately derive from letters (*monji* 文字; i.e., literacy), but encompass all forms of cultivation from chanting words of dharma (*hokku* 法句; *dharmapada*) to practicing austerities (*zuda* 頭陀; *dhuta*). Monks on Mount Hiei gain fame for their chronicles (*chūki* 注記; i.e., compilations of lore), while the monks of Nara become renowned for participating (*tokugō* 得業) in lecture ceremonies. This last statement tells us that Kōshū's *Leaves Gathered from Stormy Streams* (*Keiran shūyōshū*) is representative of the type of learning pursued in Tendai and that the three lecture ceremonies (the Yuima'e 維摩會 at Kōfukuji, the Misai'e 御齋會 at the court, and the Saishō'e 最勝會 at Yakushiji) described in Tamenori's *Three Jewels* (*Sanbōe*) remained central events for the monks for the Nara schools.

Ordinations

This section constitutes one of the *Shakusho*'s longer treatises, reflecting the complicated and controversial nature of this topic in Japan. (a) First, Shiren identifies Japan's two separate ordination systems, the one based on the Chinese Vinaya school introduced by Ganjin (Jianzhen 鑑眞, 688–763) and the Mahāyāna method established by Saichō 最澄 (767–822), the monk responsible for winning Mount Hiei's independence from the Buddhist monasteries of Nara. (b) Second, the vinaya ordinations distinguish between the fourfold saṃgha of monks, nuns, laymen, and lay women, while Mahāyāna ordinations can apply equally to everyone. (c) Third, there exist only three ordination platforms in Japan. The one in Nara (at Tōdaiji) and the one in western Japan (at Kanzeonji 觀世音寺) both conduct ordinations according to the vinaya, while the one on Mount Hiei conducts Mahāyāna ordinations.[22] The Tendai monastery Onjōji had been granted court permission to erect another Mahāyāna ordination platform, but armed opposition from Mount Hiei had prevented it from ever being built. (d) Fourth, there exist both universal (*tsū* 通) precepts and distinct (*betsu* 別) ones. Shiren's explanation of this distinction differs from our usual understanding of these terms.[23] According to Shiren, the precepts conveyed either via the vinaya ordinations or the Mahāyāna ordinations are universal. The esoteric precepts (*sanmaya kai* 三摩耶戒) and Zen precepts (*zenkai* 禪戒) are distinct because they can be conveyed only to someone who is initiated, respectively, either into an esoteric lineage or into a Zen lineage.

Doctrinal Lineages or Schools (shū 宗*)*

This section also is lengthy and complicated. Shiren lived at a time when surveys of doctrinal lineages (*shoshū tsūsetsu* 諸宗通説) had begun to emerge as a new genre of Japanese Buddhist literature.[24] At this point, I want to turn to the author of one of those surveys who presents basically the same information as Shiren, but who organizes it in a way that I find more interesting.

That author is Kitabatake Chikafusa 北畠親房 (1293–1354), a man who is remembered today primarily as a supporter of the failed restoration of Godaigo 後醍醐 (1288–1339) and the author of a genealogical history of the royal family, the *Chronicle of Gods and Sovereigns* (*Jinnō shōtōki* 神皇正統記, 1339). Not so well-known today is the fact that Kitabatake had been ordained as a Buddhist monk in 1329 and actually was quite knowledgeable about Buddhism.[25] For Kitabatake—and for Shiren—a religion exists in practice only if its rituals and lore are handed down within a master–disciple lineage. Without a living lineage, it is just an abstract theory. It is on the basis of this criterion that Kitabatake and Shiren asserted that no followers of inferior (*hīnayāna*) schools of Buddhism exist in Japan. Japanese studied inferior doctrines (i.e., Abhidharma), but formed no master–disciple lineages based on them.[26]

Kitabatake recognizes seven doctrinal lineages in Japan, several of which can be subdivided into multiple branches (*Jinnō shōtōki*, pp. 110–116). Kitabatake calls the first one "Shingon" 眞言 (True Words), by which he means esoteric or tantric lineages. This school consists of three separate branches: Tōji 東寺 temple in Kyoto (i.e., the lineage now known as Shingon) and the two rival Tendai monasteries of Mount Hiei and Onjōji. Next, according to Kitabatake, there are four Mahāyāna schools: (1) the Tendai school (divided into the two rival branches of Mount Hiei and Onjōji), (2) the Kegon 華嚴 (Chinese Huayan) school located at Tōdaiji monastery in Nara, (3) the Sanron 三論 (Three Treatise) school also located at Tōdaiji, and (4) the Hossō 法相 (Yogācāra) school located at Kōfukuji monastery in Nara.[27] Of the aforementioned monasteries, Mount Hiei is responsible for the rituals that guard the emperor's life (*tenshi honmyō* 天子本命) while both Mount Hiei and Onjōji represent mixed exoteric-esoteric (*kenmitsu* 顯密) teachings.[28] Next is the Vinaya (Ritsu 律) school, which also is divided into two branches: the Saidaiji 西大寺 monastery (established by Eison 叡尊, 1201–1290) near Nara and the Sennyūji 泉涌寺 temple (established by Shunjō 俊芿, 1166–1227) in Kyoto. Finally, there is the Zen or Buddha-Mind (*busshin* 佛心) school, which also is divided into two branches: the Kenninji 建仁寺 and Tōfukuji 東福寺 monasteries in Kyoto. Kitabatake was completely unaware of distinctions between other divisions within Zen, such as the Five Mountain (*gozan* 五山); i.e., urban) and Forest (*rinka* 林下) lineages (of medieval times) or Sōtō 曹洞 and Rinzai 臨濟 (the two main Zen denominations of modern Japan). Kitabatake concludes his survey by saying that all seven of these doctrinal lineages are promoted by bodhisattvas and protected by the local gods. Neither Kitabatake nor Shiren acknowledged the existence of the new Buddhist movements that have dominated modern scholarship on this period: the Pure Land school (Jōdoshū 浄土宗) founded by Hōnen and the Lotus school (Hokkeshū 法華宗) founded by Nichiren 日蓮 (1223–1283).[29]

Ceremonies

Shiren briefly surveys the history of Buddhist ceremonies, which he describes as occasions when lay donors sponsor meals for members of the clergy. He primarily mentions events sponsored by the ruling courts—first of Chinese dynasties and

then of Japan—but without providing any indication of which ceremonies are most important or performed regularly.[30]

Ecclesiastical titles

Shiren is concerned primarily with titles awarded by the court. He begins by noting that originally in China there existed only three titles: elder (*jōza* 上座), temple supervisor (*jishu* 寺主), and group leader (*ina* 維那). The titles *upādhyāya* (*oshō* 和尚; master), *acārya* (*ajari* 阿闍梨; instructor), national teacher (*kokushi* 國師), treatise master (*ronshi* 論師), tripiṭaka master (*sanzō* 三藏), and venerable (*sonja* 尊者) all came from the western regions (i.e., Central Asia and India). Later, the Chinese court added the offices of saṃgha chancellor (*sōshō* 僧正), saṃgha dean (*sōtō* 僧統), saṃgha registrar (*sōroku* 僧録) as well as the titles of national teacher (*kokushi* 國師), great teacher (*daishi* 大師), and meditation teacher (*zenji* 禪師). In addition, they initiated the practice of honoring eminent monks with posthumous titles (a subject that Shiren discusses at length). In Japan the court adopted all of these and added saṃgha provost (*sōzu* 僧都) as well as the court post known as the ten meditation teachers (*jūzenji* 十禪師). Finally, each ecclesiastical title corresponds to one of the court ranks that are awarded to members of aristocracy. Shiren does not mention the title of disciplinarian (*risshi* 律師).[31]

Monasteries and icons

This treatise is one of the longest in the *Shakusho*. After discussing the legendary origins of the buddha image in India, Shiren describes thirty famous temples and monasteries in Japan. These are the places where pious monks, nuns, and lay people would travel on pilgrimage. He explains who founded them, what icons they house, and what miracles are associated with them. He includes most of the prominent monasteries that figure in the hagiographies of monks (see Appendix 4, on p. 146), but not all of them. (Out of this list, he includes Mount Hiei, Onjōji, Kōfukuji, Tōdaiji, Gangōji 元興寺, Daianji 大安寺, and Zenrinji 禪林寺 a.k.a. Taimadera 當麻寺, but omits Mount Kōya, Daigoji 醍醐寺, Ninnaji 仁和寺, Tōfukuji 東福寺, and Yakushiji.) Shiren adds: (a) temples associated with the legendary origins of Buddhism in Japan, such as Mukuharadera 向原寺 (supposedly founded 552 to house a buddha image from Paekche), Shitennōji 四天王寺 (supposedly founded in 587 by Shōtoku *taishi* 聖徳太子, 574–622, Chōhōji 頂法寺, which houses a buddha image once worshiped by Shōtoku); (b) monasteries that are famous for their miraculous origins, such as Inudera 犬寺 (which enshrines images of two magical dogs), Sufukuji 崇福寺, Saidaiji 西大寺, Tōshōdaiji 唐招提寺 (the monastery founded by Ganjin) and Kaimanji 蟹満寺; as well as (c) temples and monasteries that are famous for their gods and buddhas. This latter group includes two temples mentioned for the local gods they enshrine: Jinganji 神願寺 (a temple on Mount Hiei which enshrines the god Hiyoshi *daijin* 比吉大神, a.k.a. Sannō) and Jingoji 神護寺 (which enshrines the god Hachiman *daijin* 八幡大神).

Most of them are mentioned specifically for their buddha images. Temples housing famous images of Avalokiteśvara (Kannon 觀音) include: Hasedera 長谷寺, Ishiyamadera 石山寺, Kokawadera 粉河寺, Kuramadera 鞍馬寺, Seisuiji 清水寺 (a.k.a. Kiyomizudera), Kannōji 感應寺, Sannōin 山王院 (on Mount Hiei), Kachiodera 勝尾寺, and Enkyōji 圓教寺. Other famous icons include the Maitreya (Miroku 彌勒) at the nunnery on Mount Katsuragi 葛木山 and the Bhaiṣajyaguru (Yakushi 藥師) at Teidenji 鵜田寺. Clearly, for Shiren the practice of Buddhism could not survive without the worship of images. Finally, he mentions Jōkanji 貞觀寺 temple as being famous for its festivals of dance and music.

Aural arts

Shiren explains that sound is the primary medium for propagating the truth. He focuses on four types of aural communication: sūtra cantors (*kyōshi* 經師) who chant the scripture, hymns (*shōmyō* 聲明 or *bonbai* 梵唄) which are sung during ceremonies, sermonists (*shōdō* 唱導) who preach the dharma, and chanting the names of the buddhas (*nenbutsu* 念佛). He does not discuss music or the musical instruments used in Buddhist ceremonies.

Strange phenomena

This treatise is easily the longest one in the *Shakusho*. It consists of edifying tales of karmic rewards and retributions similar to other Japanese Buddhist literature.

Avoiding strife

The content of this treatise is less optimistic than indicated by its title. It actually recounts the origins of hostilities between the rival Tendai branches of Mount Hiei and Onjōji. Shiren laments how both sides have resorted to armed troops to settle their conflicts.

Conclusion

The works discussed above present us with an insider's perspective on the monastic institution in medieval Japan. It is a perspective that I believe deserves more attention. From this perspective, these monastic institutions are organized around annual ceremonies, populated with miraculous icons, and home to all kinds of people (monks, non-monks, nuns, and those in between) who strive to master rituals and secret lore for the purpose of obtaining dreams and oracles, acquiring political favors, and eliciting the blessings of gods and buddhas. In these endeavors they take pride in their evaluation of themselves as being the most devout Buddhists and most faithful adherents to Mahāyāna path. That path entails academic learning, rituals of ordination, initiation into doctrinal lineages, worship of gods and buddhas, participation in state-sponsored ceremonies, advancement to ecclesiastical titles awarded by the court, pilgrimages to famous temples, poetry, the performance

of music, chanting scriptures, preaching, singing, fighting in armed conflicts, and learning how to face death.

While this list does not include all aspects of mainstream monastic practice, it does depict a religious landscape that medieval Buddhists themselves probably would recognize. If we wish to understand how monasteries functioned in medieval Japan, then—in addition to whatever other interpretive approaches we employ—we must become familiar with the features of this landscape. If we want our students to understand the roles of monasteries in medieval society, then it behooves us to include this perspective among those that we present in the courses we teach, in our lectures, and in our publications.

Appendix 1

Annual ceremonies of Japan according to the *Three Jewels with Illustrations* (*Sanbōe* 三寶繪, 984) by Minamoto Tamenori 源爲憲 (d. 1011)

Month	*Ritual*	*Location*	*Notes*
1 *1*	New Year's (*shushō'e* 修正會)	all temples	on 1st day: visit temples, practice abstinence, make offerings to order of monks and nuns (saṃgha)
2	Royal Banquet (*misai'e* 御齋會)	Daigokuden 大極殿 (part of the Inner Palace)	on 8th–14th days: second of the three major ceremonies (*san'e* 三會); court sponsors chanting of and debates on the *Golden Radiance Sūtra* (*Kongōmyō saishōō kyō* 金光明最勝王經), Śrīmahādevī repentance (*Kichijō keka* 吉祥悔過), and vegetarian banquet
3	Lotus Repentance (*Hokke senbō* 法華懺法)	Mt. Hiei 比叡山	on 1st day (of 1st, 4th, 7th, & 10th months): performance of half-walking half-sitting samādhi (*hangyō hanza zanmai* 半行半坐三昧) based on *Contemplation of Samantabhadra Sūtra* (*Kan Fugen bosatsu kyō* 觀普賢菩薩經)
4	Bath (*unshitsu* 温室)	all temples	on 14th and 29th of each month: members of the order bathe in preparation for their fortnightly assemblies (*fusatsu* 布薩)
5	Fortnightly Assembly (*fusatsu* 布薩)	all temples	on the 15th and 30th of each month: members of the order recite the bodhisattva precepts as listed in *Brahmā Net Sūtra* (*Bonmō kyō* 梵網經)
2 *1*	Second Moon (*shuni'e* 修二會)	all temples	on 1st–7th days: cutting silk flower petals, burning incense, decorating altars, etc. (the second moon ceremonies at Tōdaiji 東大寺 in Nara are the most famous)
2	Ānanda Repentance	Saiin 西院 (Junnain 淳和院) near Kyoto	on 8th day (of 2nd & 8th months), nuns should perform repentance

Month		*Ritual*	*Location*	*Notes*
		(*Anan senbō* 阿難懺法)		ceremonies and lay women should observe eight restraints (*hassai kai* 八齋戒) to repay debt of gratitude to Ānanda for his help in founding the order of nuns
	3	Buddha's Nirvāṇa (*nehan'e* 涅槃會)	Yamashinadera 山階寺 (Kōfukuji 興福寺) in Nara	on 15th day: The Buddha's Nirvāṇa is commemorated at all temples, but the ceremonies at Yamashinadera (Kōfukuji) are famous for their music (Kōfukuji is associated with the Fujiwara family)
	4	Stone Stūpas (*sekitō* 石塔)	all locations	erect stone stūpas in the spring time, especially performed by (and for) children
3	*1*	Dharma Transmission (*denbō'e* 傳法會)	Sūfukuji 崇福寺 in Shiga 志賀	ceremonies actually revolve around worship of the bodhisattva Maitreya (*Miroku'e* 彌勒會), the founder of the Hossō lineage (Sūfukuji is associated with the Tachibana family)
	2	*Golden Radiance Sūtra* (Saishō'e 最勝會)	Yakushiji 藥師寺 in Nara	third of the three major ceremonies (*san'e*); chanting of and debates on the *Golden Radiance Sūtra*
	3	*Lotus Sūtra* (*Hokke'e* 法華會)	Takaodera 高雄寺 (Jingoji 神護寺) in Kyoto	chanting and lectures on the *Lotus Sūtra* (*Hokke kyō* 法華經)
	4	*Flower Garland Sūtra* (*Kegon'e* 華嚴會)	Hokkeji 法華寺 in Nara	nuns make doll images of Sudhana and his meetings with more than 50 teachers, then they make offerings to them (origin of doll festival?)
	5	Promotion of Learning (*gangaku'e* 勸學會)	Sakamoto 坂本 at the base of Mt. Hiei	on 14th day: monks and laymen gather together to lecture on the scriptures and to compose Chinese poems on Buddhist themes
	6	Ten Thousand Lanterns (*bandō'e* 萬燈會)	Yakushiji in Nara	lighting ten thousand lanterns at Yakushiji, each lantern symbolizes the light (i.e., wisdom) of an individual buddha
4	*1*	Relics (*shari'e* 舍利會)	Mt. Hiei	worship of relics that were brought back from China by Ennin 圓仁 (794–864); offerings to these relics will engender rebirth in heaven
	2	*Great Perfect Wisdom Sūtra* (*Daihannya'e* 大般若會)	Daianji 大安寺 in Nara	when *Great Perfection of Wisdom Sūtra* (*Daihannya kyō* 大般若經) is chanted all the dragons come to worship it, the dharma rain they bring anoints all the poisonous dragons and frees them from their suffering
	3	Buddha's birthday	Seiryōden 清涼殿	on 8th day: the Buddha's birthday is celebrated at all temples, but the

Month		*Ritual*	*Location*	*Notes*
		(*kanbutsu'e* 灌佛會)	(part of the Inner Palace)	ceremonial washing of the newborn buddha at the sovereign's residence (Seiryōden) inside the court is the most important one
	4	Ordination (*jukai* 受戒) at the same time	Mt. Hiei	bodhisattva ordinations for monks; prayers for abundant harvest also given
5	*1*	Lay Ordinations (*bosatsu kai* 菩薩戒)	Hasedera 長谷寺 near Nara	bodhisattva precepts for lay people
	2	Rice Donations (*semai* 施米)	all temples	each year the court donates 300 bushels of rice to temples where monks observe the summer monastic retreat
	6	Thousand Flowers (*senge'e* 千華會)	Tōdaiji 東大寺 in Nara	flower offering to Vairocana Buddha
7	*1*	Mañjuśri (*Monju'e* 文殊會)	all temples	whoever hears Mañjuśri's name will be freed from the sufferings of twelve million lifetimes
	2	Ghost Festival (*urabon* 盂蘭盆)	all temples	rituals for feeding hungry ghosts and confession rites on last day of summer retreat
8	*1*	Ceaseless Contemplation (*fudan nenbutsu* 不斷念佛)	Mt. Hiei	on 11th–17th days: Seven-days of Constant Walking Samādhi (*jōgyō zanmai* 常行三昧) of the Buddha during which monks contemplate, circumambulate, and chant the name of Amitābha Buddha in an effort to eliminate sins
	2	Releasing Living Beings (*hōjō'e* 放生會)	Iwashimizu Hachimangū Gokokuji 石清水八幡宮護國寺 near Kyoto	liberating animals in the presence of the great bodhisattva (*dai bosatsu* 大菩薩) Hachiman 八幡 (Yahata) brings long life
9		Initiation Rites (*kanjō* 灌頂)	Mt. Hiei	initiation rites (*abhiṣeka*) into Diamond and Womb maṇḍala conducted on alternate years
10		Vimalakīrti Sūtra (*Yuima'e* 維摩會)	Yamashinadera (Kōfukuji) in Nara	first of the three major ceremonies (*san'e*); monks who lead these ceremonies earn title of lecturer (*kōshi* 講師)
11	*1*	Eight Lectures (*hakkō'e* 八講會)	Kumano 熊野 in Kii Province	series of eight lectures on the *Lotus Sūtra* conducted at Buddhist temples attached to two Kumano shrines (Kumano ryōsho 熊野兩所): the New Shrine (Shingū 新宮) houses dual deities, mother (called Musubi 結, i.e., Bhaiṣajyaguru) and daughter (called

Month	*Ritual*	*Location*	*Notes*
			Hayatama 早玉, i.e., Avalokiteśvara); the old shrine houses Shōjo 證誠 (also called original deity, *mototsukami* 本神); lectures performed to eliminate sins of local hunters who kill living beings
2	Autumn Moon (*shimotsuki'e* 霜月會)	Mt. Hiei	memorial service for Tendai patriarch Zhiyi 智顗 (538–597); monks conduct ten lectures on the *Lotus Sūtra* (*Hokke jikkō* 法華十講) and make offerings in memory of all Tendai patriarchs
12	Buddha Names (*butsumyō* 佛名)	Seiryōden (part of the Inner Palace)	chant names of 3,000 buddhas; afterwards the court gives offerings of robes to protect monks from cold winter

Appendix 2

Categories of biographies used in Chinese and Japanese accounts of eminent monks

	Gaoseng zhuan 高僧傳 *by Huijiao* 慧皎 *(497–554)*	*Xu* 續 & *Song* 宋 *gaoseng zhuan by Daoxuan* 道宣 *(596–667) and by Zanning* 贊寧 *(919–1002)*	*Genkō shakusho* 元亨釋書 *by Shiren* 師錬 *(1278–1346)*	*Note: 10 bodhisattva perfections (pāramitā) (nos. 7–10 are aspects of no. 6)*
1	譯經 translators	譯經 translators	傳智 transmitters	智 (10) knowledge (*jñāna*)
2	義解 meaning	義解 meaning	慧解 wisdom	慧 (6) wisdom (*prajñā*)
3	神異 thaumaturges	習禪 meditators	浄禪 pure meditators	定 (5) meditation (*dhyāna*)
4	習禪 meditators	明律 vinaya exegetes	感進 thaumaturges	進 (4) effort (*vīrya*)
5	明律 vinaya exegetes	護法 protectors	忍行 self-immolators	忍 (3) tolerance (*kṣānti*)
6	亡身 self-immolators	感通 thaumaturges	明戒 śīla exegetes	戒 (2) morality (*śīla*)
7	誦經 cantors	遺身 self-immolators	壇興 fund raisers	施 (1) giving (*dāna*)
8	興福 promoters of works of merit	讀誦 cantors	方應 wanderers (incl. hijiri & yamabushi)	方便 (7) liberative technique (*upāya*)
9	經師 hymnodists	興福 promoters of merit	力遊 travelers abroad	力 (9) powers (*bala*)
10	唱導 sermonists	雜科聲德 (combines Huijiao's nos. 9 and 10)	願雜 accomplishing vows (incl. lay people & local gods)	願 (8) vows (*praṇidhāna*)

Appendix 3

Categories used in Chinese dynastic histories and in two Buddhist histories

Chinese dynastic histories	*Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀 *(1269)*	*Genkō shakusho* 元亨釋書 *(1322)*
本紀 *Basic Records* significant court (official) actions arranged by reigns	本紀 *Basic Records* 釋佛本紀 Śākyamuni's career 祖紀 careers of Tiantai 天台 ancestors in both India and China	列傳 *Collected Biographies* 1 傳智 transmitters of wisdom 2 慧解 wisdom exegetes 3 浄禪 pure meditators 4 感進 thaumaturges & cantors 5 忍行 self-immolators 6 明戒 śīla exegetes 7 壇興 fund raisers 8 方應 wanderers 9 力遊 travelers abroad 10 願雜 accomplishers of vows 古德 virtuous patriarchs 王臣 kings & ministers 士庶 aristocrats & commoners 尼女 nuns & women 神仙 gods & wizards 靈恠 apparitions
表 *Tables* chronological table of significant events during each year of the dynasty genealogical tables	世家 *Hereditary Houses* biographies of Chinese disciples in each generation of Tiantai patriarchs	表 *Tables* 資治表 chronological table of significant Buddhist events during each reign year from 540 to 1221
志 *Topical Treatises* 天文志 astronomy 律曆志 calendar 食貨志 financial administration 刑法志 penal law 河渠志 rivers & canals (etc.)	列傳 *Collected Biographies* biographies of other Tiantai monks	志 *Topical Treatises* 1 學修 learning 2 度受 ordinations 3 諸宗 doctrinal lineages 4 會儀 ceremonies 5 封職 ecclesiastical titles 6 寺像 monasteries & icons 7 音藝 aural arts 8 拾異 strange phenomena 9 黜争 avoiding strife
世家 *Hereditary Houses* accounts of aristocratic families	表 *Tables* 歷代傳教表 transmission of Tiantai doctrines during each reign 佛祖世繫表 genealogical chart of disciples of each Tiantai patriarch	
列傳 *Collected Biographies* accounts of eminent individuals — usually accompanied by: 贊 evaluations 論 critical comments	志 *Topical Treatises* 山家教典志 Tiantai texts 浄土立教志 Pure Land biographies 諸宗立教志 non-Tiantai lineages 達摩禪宗 Chan biographies 賢首宗 Huayan biographies 慈恩宗 Yogācāra biographies 南山律宗 Vinaya biographies 三世出興志 3,000 buddhas 世界名體志 cosmological schemes 法門光顯志 icons & worship	

法運通塞志 chronological table of how Tiantai overcame obstacles
名文光教志 eulogies & proclamations praising Tiantai
歷代會要志 chronological list of imperial edicts regarding worship

10 序説 rationale for this compilation

Appendixes
略例 abbreviations
智通論 wisdom & miracles

Appendix 4

Names of temples associated with the hagiography of three or more monks in *Genkō shakusho*

Temple	*Main Affiliation*	*Number of Hagiographies*	*Times Mentioned Overall*
Mt. Hiei 比叡山	Tendai	48	156
Onjōji 園城寺	Tendai	15	54
Kōfukuji 興福寺	Nara	13	107
Mt. Koya 高野山	Shingon	7	45
Tōdaiji 東大寺	Nara	6	126
Daigoji 醍醐寺	Nara	6	21
Gangōji 元興寺	Nara	4	43
Ninnaji 仁和寺	Shingon	4	50
Tōfukuji 東福寺	Zen	4	19
Daianji 大安寺	Nara	3	49
Zenrinji 禪林寺	Nara	3	16
Yakushiji 藥師寺	Nara	3	38

Appendix 5

Distribution of biographies by category in *Genkō shakusho*

傳	*Biographical Categories*	*(subtotals)*
1	傳智 Transmitters of knowledge	10
2	慧解 Wisdom exegetes	85
3	浄禪 Pure practice & meditation	23
4	感進 Vigorous miracle workers	117
5	忍行 Patience in austerities	14
6	明戒 Śīla exegetes	10
7	壇興 Fund raisers	19
8	方應 Wanderers who promote Buddhism	9
9	力遊 Energetic travelers (across the ocean)	29
10	願雜 Accomplishers of vows (subsections & subtotals)	
	古徳 Virtuous patriarchs	8
	王臣 Kings & ministers	27
	士庶 Aristocrats & commoners	15
	尼女 Nuns & women	15
	神仙 Gods & wizards	13
	靈恠 Apparitions	19
		107
志	Categories of topical treatises	
8	拾異 Unusual phenomena	21
Total:		444

Notes

1 Adolphson 2000.
2 Regarding the study of religion in medieval Japan, see Bodiford 2006.
3 Grapard 2000.
4 *Sanbōe*, 158.
5 *Sanbōe*, 188.
6 *Sanbōe*, 222–224.
7 I calculated the number of times institutions are named by searching the digital version of the Nihon Koten Bungaku Taikei 日本古典文學大系 edition available on-line (http://www.nijl.ac.jp/index.html). A more precise breakdown would be: mountain temple (35 times), Mount Kōya (31 times) Nara monasteries (Tōdaiji 東大寺 12 times; Yakushiji 藥師寺 9 times; Daigoji 醍醐寺 6 times; and Kōfukuji 興福寺 4 times), Tendai monasteries (Miidera 12 times; Hie 日吉 6 times; Tōtō 東塔 2 times; Hiei 比叡, Saitō 西塔, and Yokawa 横川 1 time each), Kiyomizudera 11 times, and Zen monasteries (Kenninji 建仁寺 8 times, Jufukuji 壽福寺 5 times, and Tōfukuji 東福寺 4 times).
8 See Hagiwara 1962.
9 See Hurst 1997: 226–231.
10 See Hatta 1991.
11 See, for example, Yanagida 1972: 443.
12 Bielefeldt 1997.
13 Shiren expressly acknowledges (fasc. 30; K 31.447) relying on three Chinese hagiographical collections, which he refers to the Liang 梁 (i.e., T. no. 2059), the Tang 唐 (i.e., T. no. 2060), and the Song 宋 (i.e., T. no. 2061). Of course, these collections already had adopted many of the literary conventions of dynastic histories (see Wright 1990).
14 The *Hanshu* is a historical account of the Han Dynasty covering the years from 206 BCE to 24 CE; the *Jinshu* is a historical account of the Jin Dynasty covering the years 265–419; and the *Tangshu* is a historical account of the Tang Dynasty covering the years 618–907.
15 Appendix 4 is based on counting the names of temples that appear as part of the designation of the monks whose hagiographies are listed in the *Shakusho*'s table of contents and by computer searches of the electronic edition of the *Shakusho* published by the International Research Institute for Zen Buddhism (see *Genkō shakusho* 元亨釋書. 1322. By Kokan Shiren 虎關師錬 (1278–1346). 30 fascicles. (1) K vol. 31. (2) *Electronic Text of the Genkoo Shakusho by Kokan Shiren*).
16 Bielefeldt (1997: 315) suggests that Shiren's combination of a few prominent Zen hagiographies amidst more numerous ones devoted to non-Zen monks presents a different kind of sectarian construct that places Zen at the center of a new Japanese Buddhism order which transcends the old sectarian divisions of Nara versus Tendai. The net result is that Shiren attempts to provide Zen with a something akin to an "ecumenical hegemony."
17 Ury 1970: 170–171, n. 1.
18 Shiren writes (fasc. 30, K 31.448–449) that in India followers of the inferior vehicle always outnumbered followers of Mahāyāna and there also existed 95 varieties of Brahmanism. In China**,** Mahāyāna is more popular than Hīnyāna, but China is plagued by non-Buddhist religions such as Confucianism and Daoism. Thus, only Japan enjoys pure Mahāyāna. These kind of sentiments are common in the literature of this period. In the *Keiran shūyōshū* (fasc. 100, T. 76.835c), for example, Kōshū explains that Japanese have perfect, pure and mature Mahāyāna spiritual potential (*enki junjuku* 圓機純熟) as demonstrated by the fact that there are no non-Buddhist religions, unlike India where Brahmans slander Buddhism or China where Daoists slander Buddhism.
19 Ouyang Xiu supervised a new compilation of the Tang Dynastic History (*Tangshu*, 1060), which systematically eliminated the references to Buddhism and to supernatural

events found in the earlier Tang Dynastic History (*Jiu Tangshu*) that had been compiled by Liu Xu 劉煦 (887–946).

20 Okada (1985) has shown that the law codes of early Japan describe Ise not as a shrine of the government nor as an ancestral shrine of the royal family as a whole**,** but rather as being primarily a shrine of royal succession.

21 These figures are based on computer searches of the electronic edition of the *Shakusho* published by the International Research Institute for Zen Buddhism.

22 Shiren reports that the ordination platform that had been established in eastern Japan no longer existed.

23 Normally distinct and universal refer to two different types of ordination ceremonies. Distinct refers to ceremonies involving only one type or class of precepts, while universal refers to ceremonies involving all types or classes of precepts.

24 Bielefeldt 1993–1994: 227.

25 E.g., see Kitabatake's *Meaning of the Inner Realization of True Words* (*Shingon naishōgi* 眞言内證義, 1345).

26 Thus, Kitabatake writes (*Jinnō shōtōki*, p. 114) that abhidharma "exists as an academic subject (*shū*), but not established as a separate lineage (*shū*)" (*egaku no shū nite, betsu ni isshū wo tatsuru koto nashi* 依學の宗にて、別に一宗を立つることなし) and Shiren writes (fasc. 30, K 31.448) in practically identical words that abhidharma is provided for study, but not established as a doctrinal lineage (*gaku ni sonowaru nomi ni shite, shū wo tatezu* 備于學而已、不立宗). Shiren then goes on to uses the same logic (and language) to assert that Confucianism and Daoism do not exist in Japan.

27 Shiren refers to Hossō as the Yuishiki 唯識 (Consciousness Only) school.

28 The Sōjiin 総持院 temple in the Eastern Pagoda (Tōtō 東塔) region of Mt. Hiei performs tantric rituals directed to the ruler's birth star (*honmyōshō* 本命星), which consists of one of the seven stars of the Big Dipper (*hokuto shichishō* 北斗七星). Mt. Hiei and Onjōji represent mixed exoteric-esoteric because both function as headquarters for their own branches of Tendai (exoteric) and Shingon (esoteric).

29 Shiren merely says that Genshin 源信 (942–1017) and Hōnen promoted Pure Land practices, but lack a lineage (*mutōkei* 無統系). Nichiren is not mentioned by either author.

30 Shiren seems primarily concerned with showing that Japan's royal sponsorship of Buddhism surpasses that of China. He notes that when a Chinese monk witnessed a Saishō-e held at the court during the Bun'ei 文永 period (1264–1275), the Chinese monk could only sigh and lament that royal court in China had never staged such a grand ceremony for the Buddha.

31 The *Shakusho*'s chronological table (*hyō* 表) mentions several instances of the court appointing a disciplinarian, but Shiren does not explain that title in this section.