ANCIENT BUDDHISM IN JAPAN
PUBLISHED UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE JAPANESE SOCIETY FOR INTERNATIONAL CULTURAL RELATIONS (KOKUSAI BUNKA SHINKOKAI)
ANCIENT BUDDHISM IN JAPAN
SUTRAS AND CEREMONIES IN USE IN THE SEVENTH AND EIGHTH CENTURIES A.D. AND THEIR HISTORY IN LATER TIMES

BY

Dr. M. W. DE VISSE
LATE PROFESSOR OF JAPANESE IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LEYDEN

VOLUME II

LEIDEN
E. J. BRILL
1935
TO THE LOVING MEMORY
OF HIS BELOVED PARENTS, WIFE AND SISTER
AND TO HIS DEAR SON
THIS BOOK IS AFFECTIONATELY DEDICATED
BY THE AUTHOR.
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BOOK II

THE EIGHTH CENTURY
CHAPTER X.

THE SŪTRAS USED IN THE EIGHTH CENTURY.

List of the sūtras, in chronological order.

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CHAPTER XI.

THE KONKWÔMYÔKYÔ (DHARMARAKSA II’s TRANSLATION, NANJÔ No. 127) AND THE KONKWÔMYÔ-SAISHÔÖKYÔ (I-TSING’s TRANSLATION OF THE SUVARÑAPRABHÄSA-SÛTRA, NANJÔ No. 126). JAPANESE BUDDHISM IN GENERAL IN THE EIGHTH CENTURY.

A. The Konkwômyôkyô (Dharmaraksa’s translation).

§ 1. Contents of the Konkwômyôkyô (Nanjô No. 127).

This sûtra, translated A.D. 414—423 by Dharmaraksha II, is as Nanjô (No. 127) says, “an earlier and incomplete translation of No. 126, the Konkwômyô SaishôÖkyô (commonly called SaishôÖ-kyô, and translated A.D. 700—712 by I-tsing; 10 fasc., 31 ch.). In China this is the most popular translation, having two famous commentaries of the T‘ien-t‘ai school), viz. Nos. 1548 and 1552”.

In Ch. I, § 8, pp. 14—16 we dealt with its use in Japan during the 7th century, and with its different translations and T‘ien-t‘ai commentaries. In Ch. VIII, § 7, pp. 263 sqq. we treated the passages of the Konkwômyôkyô and the SaishôÖkyô concerning the doctrine of repentance. In Ch. VIII, § 15, pp. 309 sqq. we gave the meaning and the history of the Kichijô-kekwa or “Rites of Repentance in worship of the Devî Śrî”, based upon the SaishôÖkyô.

According to Nanjô’s terminology the Konkwômyôkyô consists of 4 fasciculi and 19 chapters (卷, kwan, and 品, hon, in the present work usually translated by “chapters” and “sections”).

It is divided as follows (we omit the word hon, section).

1 With regard to the Lotus sûtra we translate hon by chapter and kwan by fasciculus.
Ancient Buddhism in Japan.

I  1. Preface.
I  2. 壽量, Juryō, Length of (the Buddha's) life.
I  3. 憾悔, Sange, Repentance.
I  4. 許歎, Sandan, Praise (of all the Buddhas of the 4 quarters).
I  5. 空, Kū, "Emptiness".

II  6. 四天王, Shi-Tennō, The Four Deva Kings (Guardians of the World).
II  7. 大辯天神, Dai-Benten-jin, the Goddess Sarasvati.
II  8. 功德天, Kudoku Ten (i.e. Kichijō Ten), the Goddess Srī.
II  9. 坚牢地神, Kenrō Jishin, the Earth goddess Drītha,
III 10. 散脂鬼神, Sanshi kijin, the Demon Sañjaya, protector of the Law.
III 11. 正論, Shōron, "Correct discussion" (as means to rule a country well).
III 12. 善集, Zenshū, (King) "Collection of Virtues".
III 13. 鬼神, Kijin, Demons and Spirits.
III 14. 授記, Juki, Prophecy of Buddhahship (given by the Buddha to the Bodhisattva Shinsō (信相) and his two sons).
III 15. 除病, Jobyō, "Taking away diseases".

IV 16. 流水長者子, Rusui chōja shi, The son of the elder (śreṣṭhin) Jalavāhana ("Flowing Water").
IV 17. 杖身, Shashin, Throwing away (sacrificing) one's body.
IV 18. 訚佛, Sambatsu, Praising the Buddha.
IV 19. 嘆累, Zokurui, (The Buddha) commits the sūtra (to the Bodhisattvas, Devas, Nāga kings, the 28 kinds of Demons (subjects of the Four Deva Kings), and to Sañjaya, Great General of the Demons). ¹

¹ A similar Shokuruthon forms the end of many sūtras (e.g. of the Ninno-kyō and the Yuimakyō), but it is the 22nd of the 28 sections of the Lotus sūtra.
The Preface consists of 108 (the holy number) lines of 4 characters, forming a hymn in honour of this sūtra, which is called the “King of Sūtras”. This term, sometimes used in the Japanese annals, is not confined to this text, for it is also used in the Lotus sūtra (Yaku-ō-hon), in the Saishōkyō (Ch. I, of course, because it is the same sūtra), and in the Shinjikwangyō (心地観経, Nanjō No. 955, Ch. VIII). The Buddha says that the Four Buddhas of the four quarters (mentioned also above, Ch. VIII, § 7, p. 268), Akṣobhya (East), Rānaketu (South), Amitāyus (West) and Varaśvara (“Delicate and Wonderful Voice”, Mīmyōshō, 微妙聲) (North), always protect this sūtra, which is unsurpassed in its wondrous beauty and depth of meaning. He (the Buddha) will explain the blessings of the Rites of Repentance and of listening to the reading of this sūtra with a pure heart, a clean body and clean clothes. All evil shall be “extinguished”; and the Four Deva Kings with their whole retinues, as well as the numberless Yakshas, shall come to protect those who faithfully keep this sūtra. Night and day Sarasvati (Dai-Bentenjin), the god of the river Nairājñana, Hāriṇī, the Earthgoddess Drśha (Kenro), Mahā-Brahma, the 33 devas, the Great Divine Nāgakings, the Kings of the Kinnaras, Garuḍas and Asuras with their followers, they all shall protect them. If they who hear this sūtra, explain it on behalf of others, follow (the virtuous deeds of others) and rejoice in them (zuiki), and make offerings (to the Buddhas), for innumeral kalpas they shall be revered by the Devas and by all the beings of the eight classes (hachibu), shall obtain wonderful and immeasurable felicity, and be protected by all the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas of the ten quarters. And all the Buddhas shall praise the highly virtuous root of those who grasp and keep in their hearts the Repentance preached by this text.

The contents of the second, third and fourth sections have been treated above (Ch. VIII, § 7). The fifth is a hymn on

1 Daijiten, p. 253, 3, s.v. kyō-ō. The Ninnōkyō is also designated by this term.
2 Preface, p. 45, a.
“Emptiness”. In the sixth the Four Deva Kings, the Guardians of the World, promise with all their numberless followers (demons and spirits) to protect the kings (together with their families and their countries), who attentively listen to this sūtra and respectfully make offerings, reading, receiving and keeping this holy text. Then they praise the Buddha’s pure moon with its thousand-fold light, and the Buddha answers them with a hymn of praise of this sūtra’s blessing power. This is the main part of the text and the principal reason for the great importance attached to it, as we may deduce from the fact that in A.D. 741 (Tempyō 13, Ill 24), when the Emperor Shōmu established the Kokubunji or Provincial State Monasteries, he called them Konkōmyō Shitenno gokokuji, or “Monasteries for the protection of the country by the Four Deva Kings (to be obtained by means of) the Konkōmyōkyō”.

As to the protection promised in the other sections by Sarasvatī, Kudoku Ten (“Devi of Blessing Power”, i.e. Kichijō Ten or the Devī Śrī), the Earth goddess Dr̥g̥ha, and the Demon King Sañjaya (Sanshi kijin), who with all his followers shall protect those who devoutly listen to this sūtra, we saw above (Ch. VIII, § 15, p. 309) that the Devī Śrī (Lakṣmī), the Goddess of Felicity, was worshipped by means of the Kichijō-kekwa or “Rites of Repentance in honour of the Devī Śrī”, based upon the Konkōmyō-Saishōkyō. Thus we see that next to the Four Deva Kings this goddess was considered to be the mightiest protectress of faithful believers in the holy “King of Sūtras”, the “Sūtra of the Golden Light”.

§ 2. The Konkōmyōkyō in China.

According to the Kao-sāng-ch’wen (Kōsōden, 高僧傳, A.D. 519)\(^1\) Kaśyapa Mātaṅga (pañcha, Shōmatō), who A.D. 67

\(^1\) Nanjō No. 1490, Ch. 1; compiled in A.D. 519 by Hwui-kia, 慧皎, a Chinese priest of the Liang dynasty (App. III 8).
arrived in China, where he translated Nanjö No. 678 (the Sūtra of 42 sections) (Nanjö App. II, 1), had expounded the Konkwōmyōkyō in a small country attached to India.

In China, however, it was not until the Northern Liang dynasty (A.D. 397—439) that the Suvarṇaprabhāsasūtra was translated by Dharmaraksha II (A.D. 414—423). Shortly before (A.D. 402—412) Kumārajīva had translated the Ninnōkyō (cf. above, Ch. V, § 2), and during the fifth century both sūtras were very often explained together.

The sixth century (Ch‘en and Sui dynasties, A.D. 557—618), however, was the period when the Emperors began to pay much attention to the Konkwōmyōkyō and the T‘ien-t‘ai priests included it among its most important texts.¹ In A.D. 558 (Ying-ting 2) (11th month) the Emperor Wu Ti went to the Chwang-yen-szê (莊嚴寺, Shōgonji), where he devoted special study to this subject, and in A.D. 563 (T‘ien-kia 4) his successor Wen Ti held a meeting of Buddhist priests in the Ta-kih-tien (Daigokuden) of his Palace in order to perform the Konkwōmyōsen (懺) or “Ceremony of Repentance based upon the Suvarṇa-prabhāsa-sūtra” (the Konkwōmyō-sammai-sen or Kichijō-kekwa or Kichijō-sembō) (cf. above, Ch. VIII, §§ 7 and 15).

During the Sui dynasty (A.D. 581—618) Chi-i (智顕), i.e. Chi-chê ta-shi, the founder of the T‘ien-t‘ai school (A.D. 531—597), expounded the Konkwōmyōkyō (cf. Nanjö No. 1548 and 1552, commentaries orally given by him and recorded by his disciple Kwan-ting (A.D. 561—632)), and thenceforth the priests of this sect attached increasing importance to this sūtra (cf. Nanjö Nos. 1549 and 1553, commentaries on those two works, written about A.D. 1020 by the T‘ien-t‘ai priest Chi-li, 智禮).

The first commentary on the Konkwōmyōkyō was written by

¹ As to Nanjö No. 130 (A.D. 597), a compilation of three incomplete translations of this sūtra (No. 127 and those of Paramārtha and Yaśōgupta, made A.D. 548—557 and 561—578, cf. above, Ch. I, § 8; Daijii, I, p. 1442, 2, s.v. Konkwōmyōkyō).
Paramärtha (真諦) (Shintai), an Indian priest who in A.D. 548 arrived in China and worked till his death (in A.D. 569) (Nanjō App. II 104 and 105). He also wrote a translation of the sūtra (cf. above, Ch. I, § 8, p. 15); his commentary (疏) consists of 13 chapters (fasc.). Other commentaries on the old translation are those of Kih-tsang (吉藏, Kichizō) (A.D. 549—623), the founder of the San-lun (Sanron) sect in China, also called Kia-siang ta-shi (嘉祥大師) after the monastery of that name (Kajō Daishi), who also wrote a commentary on the Ninnōkyō (cf. above, Ch. V, § 2 A, p. 120); of Tsung-hiao (宗暐) (A.D. 1151—1214) (光明照解, 2 chapters); and of Sheu-t'ai (受汰) (time?) (4 chapters).

§ 3. The Konkōmyōkyō in Japan (A.D. 676—728).

As seen in Ch. I, § 7 (p. 13), in A.D. 676 (XI 20) “messengers were sent (by the Emperor Temmu) to all provinces to expound the Konkōmyōkyō and the Ninnōkyō”. In A.D. 680 (V I) “the expounding of the Konkōmyōkyō was begun in the Palace and in the various Buddhist temples”. In A.D. 686 (VII 8) “one hundred priests were invited into the Palace and made to read this sūtra” (to save the Emperor Temmu’s life). In A.D. 692 (Interc. V 3) the Empress Jitō ordered it to be expounded in the capital and the four Home provinces on account of great floods. As to the expounding of the Ninnōkyō and the Konkōmyōkyō in A.D. 693 (X) in the Palace, this is not mentioned in the Nihongi; as the text is wrongly called Saishōkyō in the Genkō Shakusho, the statement is untrustworthy. In A.D. 694 (V 11) “one hundred copies of the Konkōmyōkyō were sent (by the Empress Jitō) and deposited in the various provinces, to be read without fail when the moon of the first month was in her first quarter. The fees (to the priests) were to be defrayed from the public

1 Daijō I, p. 1442, 2, s.v.
revenues of the province”. In A.D. 696 (XII 1) the same text was again ordered to be expounded.

In A.D. 702 (XII 13), when the Emperor Mommu was ill, a great amnesty was granted throughout the Empire, a hundred men were caused to become monks, and order was given to expound the Konkwômyökyô in the four Home provinces.¹

In A.D. 703 (VII 13), it was read by Imperial order in the four great temples of Nara: Yakushiji, Gwangôji, Kôfukuji and Daianji (薬師寺, 元興寺, 興福寺, 大安寺) (Nos. 1 and 3 belonging to the Hossô sect, Nos. 2 and 4 to the Sanron sect); four days later messengers were sent to Shintô gods of Famous Mountains and Great Rivers to pray for rain.²

In A.D. 705, in the fourth month, when heavy drought prevailed, the Emperor Mommu had the same sûtra read in the five great temples of Nara (Hôryûji probably being the fifth), in order to save the people from suffering (為救民苦).³

In A.D. 728 (XII 28) (in the Emperor Shômu’s time) (724–749) 640 chapters of the Konkwômyökyô, in 64 covers (帙, chitsu), were distributed, 10 chapters to each province; the provinces possessed already eight or four chapters of it. According to the day on which the copies arrived in the different provinces they were ordered to have them partly read (tendoku, 轉讀) for the sake of the peace of the State (為令國家平安也, kokka heian narashimen ga tame nari).⁴

In A.D. 734 (XI 21) I-tsing’s translation of the text, called Saishôkyô, was mentioned for the first time. The Dajôkwan, in a memorial to the Throne, stated that of late the monks and nuns, who had to propagate the Buddhist doctrine, did not investigate their task of study, and that henceforth all those who wished to be included into the religious order, should learn by

¹ Shoku Nihongi, Ch. ii, p. 25.
² Shoku Nihongi, Ch. iii, p. 29.
³ Shoku Nihongi, Ch. iii, p. 34.
⁴ Shoku Nihongi, Ch. x, p. 168.
heart the whole texts of the Hokkekyō and the Saishōkyō, understand the service of Buddha and lead a pure life (with religious austerities) for three years. ¹

Thenceforward the Saishōkyō was used instead of the Konkwōmyōkyō, and if, as in A.D. 749, the latter is mentioned, we may be sure that the former is meant, because its full title is Konkwōmyō-Saishōkyō. The fact that the Kokubunji, established in A.D. 741, were called Konkwōmyō-Shitennō-gokokuji, although they were destined to promote the peace of the State by reading the Saishōkyō, is clear evidence of the use of the term Konkwōmyō in the sense of I-ting’s translation of the Suvarṇaprabhāsasūtra. Moreover, the Gosai, a festival celebrated in the first month (I 8—14) in the Imperial Palace (from A.D. 768), was also called Konkwōmyō-e, although its text was the Saishōkyō.

B. The Konkwōmyō-Saishōkyō (I-ting’s translation of the Suvarṇaprabhāsasūtra).


I-ting’s translation (A.D. 700—712) (Nanjō No. 126) is far more extensive than that of Dharmaraksha, which was three centuries earlier and incomplete. It is divided into 10 kwan (which Nanjō calls “fasciculi”, but we term “chapters”) and 31 hon (本) (Nanjō’s “chapters”, our “sections”).

I 1 and I 2, the Preface and the section on the length of the Buddha’s life, are found in both works, but II 3 of the Saishōkyō (Bumbetsu sanshin, where the Buddha explains the three bodies of all Buddhas, the化身, 観身 and 法身, keshin, ōjin and hōshin, i.e. the inferior and the superior Nirmāṇakāya (the

¹ Shoku Nihongi, Ch. xi, p. 196.
Sambhogakāya being omitted) and the Dharmakāya,¹ is lacking in the older translation.

II 4, entitled Muken konku sange, 夢見金鼓懺悔, “Repentance (preached by) the Golden Drum seen in a dream”, is I 3 of the Konkwōmyōkyō. Cf. above Ch. VIII, § 7, p. 268.

III 5, Metsugōshō, 滅業障, “Anihilating the obstacles of deeds” (i.e. the four kinds of evil actions, obstacles on the Road to Nirvāṇa). At the end of this section four kinds of blessings are promised to the countries where this sūtra is read:

1. The kings of those countries shall be free from diseases and all other calamities.
2. Their life shall be long and without obstacles.
3. They shall have no enemies, and their warriors shall be brave and strong.
4. There shall be peace, abundance and joy in those countries, and the Correct Law (Saddharma) shall spread everywhere. The Four Deva Kings and the crowd of Yakshas shall always protect those kings.

After these words of the Buddha the Four Deva Kings and the Yakshas promised to fulfill this task.

This section is omitted in the Konkwōmyōkyō, as well as the next one (IV 6, 最浄地陀羅尼, Saijōji darani, “Dhāraṇī (given by the Buddha) (obtained by the Bodhisattvas) of the (ten) priest stages (of Bodhisattvaship)”). Here the Buddha gives the magic formulae obtained by the Bodhisattvas of each of the ten stages, dasabhūmi, into which their career is divided.

The fifth chapter consists of five sections (7—11), the first of which (Renge yusan, 蓮華喻讚, “Praise (of all the Buddhas of the four quarters) by means of the comparison of the Lotus flowers”) agrees with I 4 of the older translation. The second

¹ Concerning these three bodies cf. Daijiten, p. 629, 2; p. 146, 2, s.v. おしん; Daijít, I, p. 446, s.v. おじん; Mc Govern, Introduction to Mahāyāna Buddhism, Ch. iii, pp. 75, sqq.
(V 8, Konshō darani, 金勝陀羅尼, “The Golden Superior Dhāraṇī”, enabling one to see and worship the Buddhas of the past, present and future) and VII 13 (Muzenjaku, 無染著, “Undeﬁned”, darani) are not found there. Of V 9 and 10, devoted to Emptiness, the former section (Jāken kūshō, 重顯空性, “The nature of Emptiness, carefully explained” by the Buddha, by means of a gāthā) corresponds to I 5 of the Konkwo-myōkyō, whereas V 10 (Ikū mangwan, 依空滿願, “Fulfilling of vows, relying on Emptiness”), at the end of which Brahma and his followers, Indra, the Four Deva Kings and all the Yakshas utter a solemn vow to protect and propagate this sūtra and to protect the priests who explain it as well as the peoples of the countries where this takes place, is lacking in the older translation.

V 11 (Shitenno kwansatsu jinten, 四天王観察人天, “The Four Deva Kings meditate upon (and protect) men and devas”) and VI 12 (the whole chapter, entitled Shitenno gokoku, 護國, “The Four Deva Kings protect the countries” where this sūtra is read) correspond to II 6 of the Konkwo-myōkyō (“The Four Deva Kings”), forming the principal part of the sūtra.

VII 14 deals with dhāraṇī, called Nyoi hōju, 如意寶珠, or “Precious pearls, which grant all desires” (cintāmaṇi). These magic formulae protect against all kinds of calamities, also against thunder and lightning. This section, like the other sections or magic formulae, are not found in Dharmaraksha’s translation.

Then follow the sections regarding Daibenzaitennyo (Sarasvatī, VII 15a, VIII 15b), Daikichi-jōtennyo (the Devī Śrī, giver of felicity and wealth to the readers of this sūtra, VIII 16 and 17), Kenrō Jishin (the Earth goddess Drāhā, VIII 18), Sāñjaya, the Great General of the Yakshas (VIII 19), and Shōbō Shōron, “Correct discussion on the Saddharma” (as means to rule a country well) (VIII 20), which agree with II 7, 8, 9 and III 10, 11 of the Konkwo-myōkyō. Also IX 21—25 correspond to III 12—15 and IV 16 (cf. above, Ch. XI, § 1, p. 432) of the older translation; X 26 (“Throwing away, i.e. sacriﬁcing one’s body”) is IV 17 of
the *Konkwōmyōkyō*, IV 18 of which is divided here into the four sections X 27—30 (Praise of the Buddha by the Bodhisattvas of the ten quarters, by the Bodhisattva *Myōdō*, 妙幢 (*Rucirāketu*), by the Spirit of the Bodhi tree, and by *Daibenzaitennyo*, the *Devi Sarasvatī*). Finally X 31, entitled *Fuzoku* (付図) (*parīndana*), corresponds to IV 19 of the *Konkwōmyōkyō*; the Buddha commits the *sūtra* to the Bodhisattvas, Devas, etc., and the Bodhisattvas, the Four Deva Kings, Indra, the Devas of the Tushita heaven, Brahma, a son of Māra (called Śreshṭhin), Māra himself, Manjuśrī (*Myōkichijō Tenshi*), Maitreya, Makākāśyapa and Ānanda join their hands in reverence to the Buddha, and in short hymns (gāthās of 8 lines of 5 characters each) promise to protect this *sūtra* and its readers. They are then praised by the Buddha for these virtuous words.

The fact that this translation was far more extensive than that of Dharmaraksha, and that it contained many magic formulae (entirely lacking in the *Konkwōmyōkyō*) must have been the reason why in Japan the latter was soon superseded by the *Saishōkyō* (after A.D. 734, whereas the new translation dated from the beginning of that century).

§ 5. *The Saishōkyō commentaries in China and Japan.*

Nanjō (sub No. 127) states that in China Dharmaraksha’s translation is the most popular, on account of the two famous *T‘ien-t‘ai* commentaries, orally given by Chi-ché ta-shi (during the Sui dynasty, A.D. 589—618), and recorded by his principal disciple Kwan-ting (Nos. 1548 and 1552). Also in later times commentaries were written on these works (about A.D. 1020 by the *T‘ien-t‘ai* priest Chi-li, Nanjō Nos. 1549 and 1553) and on Dharmaraksha’s version itself (cf. above, Ch. XI, § 2, pp. 435 sq.).

Only one Chinese commentary (of 10 chapters) on I-tsing’s translation is mentioned in the *Daijii*,¹ namely the 疏 (*shu, ¹ *Daijii*, I, p. 1442, 2, s.v. *Konkwōmyōkyō*.
Jap. sho, "detailed explanation"), written by the T'ang priest Hwui-chao (慧沼, Eshō), a pupil and follower of the celebrated Fah-siang (Hosso) priest Kw'ei-ki (窺基, Kiki, A.D. 632—682, called Ts'ë-ngân Ta-shi, Jion Daishi, 慈恩大師, after his monastery). The Chinese T'ien-t'ai school, however, appears to have kept to the old translation,¹ and the other sects seem to have followed this example.

In Japan two commentaries on I-tsing's work were written by Kōbō Daishi (A.D. 774—835); the Shingon sect, as a matter of course, must have preferred this translation on account of the magic formulae, not found in Dharmaraksha's work. Hosso commentaries were those of Zenshu (善 珠) (A.D. 723—797), Jōrō (常 樂) (A.D. 741—814), Gyōshin (行 信) († 750), Hyōbi (平 備), and (probably also a Hosso or Kegon priest) Myōichi (明 一) (A.D. 728—798). So far as we know the Sanron priests (as Dōji, 道 慈, A.D. 737, and Gonsō, 勤 操, A.D. 810) only expounded this sūtra orally in the Palace, and did not write about it.²

In the ninth century the great Tendai priests Saichō (Dengyō Daishi, A.D. 767—822) and Enchin (Chishō Daishi, A.D. 814—891) wrote on the Saishōkyō, which in A.D. 872 the latter added to the Hokkekyō and the Ninnōkyō as the three gokoku-kyō or "sūtras protecting the country".³

As to the Shingon priests, in A.D. 813 Shinen (真 圓) († 822), guided by Kūkai (Kōbō Daishi), made a study of the "secret meaning" of the Saishōkyō, and in A.D. 860 Sancho (三 澄) explained this sūtra and the Hokkekyō orally for the welfare of

¹ Nanjō No. 1516, the Konkwōmyō-saishō-sengi, "Rites of Repentance, (based upon) the Konkwōmyō-saishō", written by Chi-li (about A.D. 1020) may refer to the Saishōkyō.
² Washio, p. 709, 1; 674, 1; 207, 2; 1023, 2; 1076, 2; 874, 1; 387, 2, under the names of these priests.
³ Washio, p. 396 sqq.; 95, 1, s.v. Saichō and Enchin.
the state.1 Kōbō’s commentaries were, of course, with regard to this sūtra the leading texts to the adherents of the Tantric doctrine. Their titles are: Saishōkyō kaidai (開題) (2 kwan) and Saishōkyō ryakushaku (略釋) (“abridged explanation”, 1 kwan).

§ 6. The Three Festivals of Nara (Nanto san(n)e).

The Three Buddhist festivals of Nara (Nanto or Nankyō san(n)e, 南都, 南京三會) were:

1. The Yuimae (維摩會) of Kōfukuji (興福寺, the main shrine of the Hossō sect, originally called Yamashina-dera, 山階寺), celebrated yearly X 10—16. In the second year of the reign of the Empress Saimei (A.D. 656), when Nakatomi no Kamatari (the first of the Fujiwara’s, who in A.D. 669, shortly before his death, received this name from Tenchi Tennō for himself and his descendants) was seriously ill, the Empress was much distressed and, in consequence of a memorial to the Throne of the Korean nun Hōmyō, 法明, from Kudara, caused this nun to read the “Section on asking about illness” (問疾品, Monjichibon) of the Yuimakyō (Nanjō No. 146) and to pray for his recovery. This was successful, and two years later (A.D. 658) Kamatari made his house in Suehara into a Buddhist temple (Yamashina-dera, later Kōfukuji in Nara) and requested the Chinese Sanron priest Fukuryō (福亮), who lived in Gwangoji, to act as kōshi and expound the Yuimakyō.2 This was the origin of the Yuimae, which was celebrated for 12 years as a special festival of the Fujiwara family, and then was temporarily stopped until A.D. 706 (Keiun 3), when under Mommu Tennō’s reign the Dainagon Fujiwara no Fubito (A.D. 659—720) reestablished it and made it a festival celebrated on behalf of his father Kamatari’s soul. In A.D. 710 (Wadō 3) he transplanted the family sanctuary

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1 Washio, p. 453, 2; 407, 2, s.v. Shinen and Sanchō.
2 Genkō Shakusho, Ch. xxi, p. 993; Fusō ryakkō, Ch. iv, pp. 516 sq.
Yamashina-dera to Nara and called this new temple Kōfukuji; there in A.D. 712 (Wadō 5) the Yuima-e took place for the first time. After the Nambokuchō (A.D. 1336—1392) it was celebrated only once in two or five years, sometimes even omitted for 15 years, but it was not abolished before the Restoration in 1868.

2. The Gosaie (御齋會) or Misai-e or Saishōe or Konkwō-myō-e, "Imperial vegetarian entertainment of priests", or "Meeting devoted to the Suvarṇaprabhāsā sūtra", dealt with below (same paragraph, C 1); from A.D. 802 to 1467 it took place yearly 18—14 in the Daigokuden of the Imperial Palace. The Saishōōkyō was the text expounded during those days. It belonged to the three festivals of Nara, although it took place in the Palace of Kyōto, because it was originally a Nara ceremony performed by priests of the six sects of Nara.

3. The Saishōe (最勝會) or "Meeting devoted to the Saishōōkyō", also treated below (Ch. XI, § 8 B). From A.D. 830 (Tenchō 7) to 1445 (Bunan 2) this was held yearly III 7—13, in the Hossō sanctuary Yakushiji at Nara. As the Yuima-e was originally a Fujiwara festival, the Saishōe was connected with the Minamoto family.

In A.D. 859 (Jōkwan 1, I 8) the Emperor Seiwa combined these three festivals of Nara and fixed their leadership in the following way. Every year, in the tenth month (X 10—16), the kōshi of the Yuima-e of Kōfukuji had to be appointed. He could be chosen from all sects, but only priests of great learning, belonging to the gokaisō (五階僧) or "priests of the five degrees" were taken for this important function. The following year the

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1 Genkō Shakuho, Ch. xxi, pp. 1007 sq. (A.D. 712 for the first time in Kōfukuji); Fusō ryakki, Ch. vi, pp. 539, 543 (A.D. 714 given as first date).
2 Daijiten, III, p. 4425, 1, s.v. Yuima-e; p. 3556, 1, s.v. Nankyō saiec.
3 These five degrees were instituted in Seikō 2 (A.D. 855); the third was Yuima-ryūgi, the fourth kōshi of the ango or Summer-retreat; those who had passed these five degrees could become kōshi of one of the provinces (cf. this chapter, § 7, B; Daijiten, p. 513, 1, s.v. gokaisō).
same priest would become kōshi of the Gosai e of the first month, celebrated in the Daigokuden, and of the Saishōe of Yakushiji, performed in the third month (III 7—13). Those who had led these three ceremonies would be successively appointed sōgō (priests of the three highest ranks, risshi, sōzu, sōjō). They were called ikō (己講), “those who have expounded”, after having fulfilled their threefold task, and gikō (擬講), “those whose expounding has been fixed”, when they had received the Imperial command but had not yet accomplished this task. Afterwards there were also ikō and gikō of the three choku-e of the Northern capital (Hokkyō, i.e. Kyōto) (勤會, meetings held by Imperial order, similar to the Nankyō san(n)e, mentioned above), namely the Hokke-e and Saishōe of Enshōji (圓宗寺), and the Daijōe (大乘會) of Hōshōji (法勝寺), i.e. the Hokkyō san(n)e or Tendai san(n)e (instituted A.D. 1072 and 1078).  

According to the Daijiten the Nankyō Suikō no san(n)e (南 京遂講三會) or “Three Festivals of the Southern Capital, accomplishing the expounding (of sūtras)” were the Yuimae of Kōfukuji (X 10—16), the Gosai e of the Daigokuden (I 8—14), and the Hokke-e of Kōfukuji (IX 30—X 6), whereas the Nankyō Suigō (遂業) no san(n)e or “Three Festivals of the Southern Capital, accomplishing the task (of the priests)”, thus called because the priests who had taken part in those three ceremonies were suigō or tokugō (得業), i.e. “fulfillers of the task”, were the Yuimae of Kōfukuji, the Saishōe of Yakushiji (III 7—13) and the Hokke-e of Kōfukuji (IX 30—X 6). This Hokke-e, however, which was a festival of the Fujiwara family, celebrated in order to promote the felicity of the soul (tsuifuku, 追福) of the Udaijin Fujiwara no Uchimaro (A.D. 756—812 X 6) by

1 Nihon sandai jitsuroku, Ch. ii, p. 17; Nihon Kiryaku, Zempen, Ch. xvii, p. 567.
2 Daijiten, I, p. 120, 1, s.v. ikō; p. 636, 2, s.v. gikō; III, p. 3399, 3, s.v. Tendai san(n)e; p. 3556, 1, s.v. Nankyō san(n)e; Ōkagami, Ch. vii, pp. 647 sq.
3 Daijiten, p. 1007, 1, s.v. suigō; p. 1273, 2, s.v. tokugō; p. 672, 1, s.v. san(n)e.
his son Fuyutsugu, who began to perform this ceremony in Kōnin 8 (A.D. 817, IX 30—X 6, the day of his father’s death being the *kechigwan*, 結願, “closing the vow”, i.e. the last day of the ceremony), was not a *choku-e* or “meeting by Imperial order”. Therefore, although it was held yearly until A.D. 1467 (the Ōnin era), and afterwards every once in two, three, five or eight years until the Restoration (1868), it was not so important as the three *choku-e* mentioned above, the *Nankyō san(n)e*: Yuimaе, Gosaie and Saishōe.¹

§ 7. *The Saishōōkyō, the Kokubunji, Kokushi, and Japanese Buddhism in general in the eighth century.*

§ 7, A. *The Emperor Shōmu (A.D. 724 II 4—749 VII 2).*

The three *gokoku-kyō* (護國經), “Sūtras protecting the country”, of Japan were the *Hokkekyō*, the *Ninnōkyō* and the *Konkwōmyō-Saishōōkyō*. They were also called the *Chingo-kokkasambu* (鎮護國家三部) or “Three works protecting the State”.

As stated above (Ch. XI, § 3), in A.D. 734 (IX 21) the *Saishōōkyō* was mentioned in Japan for the first time. Thenceforth all those who wished to become monks and nuns had to learn this text by heart as well as the *Hokkekyō*, and to lead a pure life for three years.²

In A.D. 737 (Tempyō 9, VIII 2) the Emperor Shōmu ordered the monks and nuns of all the provinces to purify themselves by ritual baths, and to read the *Saishōōkyō* two or three times a month; he also forbade the killing of living beings on the six fast-days of the month (*roku sainichi*, 六齋日, 8, 14, 15, 23,

¹ Daいjii, III, p. 4093, 1, s.v. *Hōke-e*.
² Shoku *Nihongi*, Ch. xi, p. 196.
29 and 30th of each month, when the Four Deva Kings examine carefully the virtuous and wicked deeds of mankind and evil demons are especially dangerous.¹ And in the same year (VIII 15) he invited 700 monks to read the Daihannyaokyō (evidently 600) and the Saishōōkyō (100) in fifteen apartments of the Palace, in order to promote the peace of the State (為天下太平國土安寧).² Two months later (X 26) a famous Sanron priest, the Vinaya-Master (Risshi) Dōji (律師道慈), who during his stay in China (A.D. 701—717) had led a Palace meeting in the Chinese capital Ch‘ang-an to expound the Ninnō-hannyaokyō, and in 737 had been permitted by the Japanese Emperor to read partly (tendoku) the 600 chapters of the Daihannyaokyō in order to pray for the protection of the State (鎮護國家祈禱),³ was appointed Leader (kōshi, 講師, “Ex-pounding Master”), and the priest Juzō (豊藏) Reader (tokushi, 讀師, “Reading Master”) of the first Konkwōmyō Saishōōkyō-meeting in the Daigokuden (大極殿), one of the principal buildings of the Imperial Palace, with one hundred hearers (chōshu, 聽衆, listening priests) and one hundred śrāmaneras (shami, 沙彌, religious novices).⁴

In A.D. 738 (IV 17) (Tempyō 10) the Emperor Shōmu proclaimed that the Saishōōkyō should be read by means of the tendoku system throughout the country, in order to promote the peace of the State (為令國家隆平, kokka ryūhei narashimen ga tame ni).

¹ Bukkyō daljiten, p. 1822, 3, s.v. roku sajnichi.
² Shoku Nihongi, Ch. xii, p. 210. The number 600 is proper to the Daihannyaokyō because it is the number of its chapters (Nanjō No. 1); as to the Sūtra of the Golden Light, in A.D. 686 a hundred priests recited this text (§ 3).
³ Washio, p. 874, s.v. Dōji; Shoku Nihongi, Ch. xii, p. 206.
⁴ Shoku Nihongi, Ch. xii, p. 212.
§ 7, B. The Kokubunji and Kokubun-niji or Provincial State Monasteries and Nunneries. The Kokushi or "Provincial Masters".

In A.D. 741 (Tempyō 13) (III 24) the same Emperor issued a very important proclamation, stating that the year before he had ordered that each of the provinces should make one golden Shaka image, 16 feet high, and write out one copy of the Daihannyakyō, which had caused the storms to cease and the crops to grow abundantly. Now, on account of the vow of the Four Deva Kings, made in the presence of the Buddha, that they would always protect against calamities, sorrow and pestilence the countries where the Saishōdōkyō were explained, read and propagated devoutly, in order to avert pestilence and famine His Majesty ordered that each of the provinces should build a seven-storied pagoda and write out ten copies of the Konkōmyō-Saishōdōkyō and the Myōhō-rengekyō. He himself intended to make special copies, in golden characters, of the former sūtra and to have one of them deposited in each of the pagodas. In every province there was to be one official monastery, connected with the pagoda, and one nunnery; all these monasteries to be called Konkōmyō-Shitenno-gokokuji (金光明四天王護國寺), "Monastery for the protection of the country by the Four Deva Kings (the Four Guardians of the World) (to be obtained by means of) the Konkōmyō (Saishōdō) kyō", and their twenty monks to expound this sūtra on the 8th day of every month. As to the nunneries, they were all to be called Hokke-metsuzai no tera (法華滅罪之寺), "Monastery for the extinction of sin (by means of) the Lotus sūtra", and their ten nuns should expound the Hokkekyō on the 8th day of every month (according to the

1 Each of these monasteries obtained a sustenance-fief of 50 houses and 10 chō of rice-land, and each nunnery 10 chō of rice-land. Afterwards, in A.D. 747, XI 7, the Emperor granted 90 more chō to the monasteries and 40 to the nunneries (Shoku Nihongi, Ch. XVII, p. 273).
Bukkyō daijiten¹ this was the case; according to the text of the Shoku Nihongi the nuns had also to expound the Konkwomyō (Saishōō)kyō, but the name of the nunneries is evidence of the fact that in them the Lotus sūtra was the main text; although in A.D. 758 (VII 28) the Daithannyakyō was made the secondary text, next to the Saishōōkyō, also in the nunneries. All these monks and nuns were to read the kaikamma (戒羯磨), a text on the commandments, in the middle of every month; and on the six fast-days it was publicly and privately forbidden to fish, hunt and kill living beings.² As to the monasteries and nunneries, mentioned in this passage, these were the so-called kokubun-sōji and kokubun-niji (國分僧寺, 尼寺), “Provincial monasteries and nunneries”. In the Tempyō Shōhō era (A.D. 749–757) Tōdaiji was made the Sōkokubunji (總國分寺) or “General State Monastery” and Hokkeji (also in Nara) the Sōkokubun-niji or “General State Nunnery”.³

The Bukkyō daijii⁴ gives an interesting account of the history of these kokubunji and the measures taken by former Emperors and by Shōmu Tennō himself before their establishment, in order to spread Buddhism throughout the country.

In A.D. 685 (14th year of Temmu Tennō’s reign, III 27) “orders were sent to all the provinces that in every house a Buddhist shrine should be provided, and an image of Buddha with Buddhist scriptures (sūtras) placed in it. At these shrines worship was to be paid and offerings made”.⁵

In A.D. 694 (8th year of the Empress Jitō) (V 11) “one hundred copies of the Konkwōmyōkyō were sent and deposited in the various provinces to be read without fail when the moon of the first month was in her first quarter. The fees (to the priests)

¹ Daijiten, p. 463, s.v. kokubunji and kokubun-niji.
³ In A.D. 749 (VII 13) they obtained far more chō than the other kokubunji.
⁴ Daijii, I, p. 1282, 1, s.v. kokubunji.
⁵ Nihongi, Ch. xxix, p. 536; Aston II, p. 369.
were to be defrayed from the public revenues of the province (no money, everything being in kind)].

In A.D. 702 (2nd year of Mommu Tennō, II 20) "Provincial Masters" (kokushi, 國師) were appointed in all the provinces. These kokushi were quite different from the "State-Masters" (kokushi, same characters). The task of the former was to rule the monks and nuns of their province and to expound sūtras; hence from A.D. 795 they were called kōshi (講師, "Expounding Masters"). In A.D. 770 (Hōki 1) their number was increased, so that there were 3 or 4 in one province, but in A.D. 783 (Enryaku 2, X 1) in the largest provinces one Daikokushi or "Great Provincial Master" was appointed, in the smallest one Shōkokushi or "Small Provincial Master", and in the middle provinces an ordinary kokushi. The edict of A.D. 795 placed one kōshi in each province, and limited his task to the expounding of sūtras, and in A.D. 805 (Enryaku 24, XII 25) the term of his function was fixed at six years, and tokushi, "Reading Masters", were also appointed for this period. In A.D. 837 (Shōwa 4, XI) the order of examinations was fixed, and in the Engi era (A.D. 901—923) the Emperor Daigo ordered that these masters should be chosen from priests, 45 or more years old. As to the other kokushi, the "State Masters", priests of eminent virtue obtained this title as a special honour, and they had no connection with the provinces. In China in A.D. 550 (T’ien-pao 1) the Emperor Wen-süen of Northern Ts’i was the first to bestow this title upon the priest Fah-shang (法常), when the latter had expounded the Nehangyō (Nirvāṇa-sūtra, Nanjō No. 113) in the Imperial Palace. Many priests were honoured in this way under the T’ang dynasty. In Japan in A.D. 1312 (Shōwa 1) the Rinzai priest Ben-en

1 Nihongi, Ch. XXX, p. 567; Aston II, p. 416.
2 Shoku Nihongi, Ch. II, p. 21.
3 Shoku Nihongi, Ch. XXXVII, p. 693.
4 Nihon kōki, Ch. XIII, p. 56.
5 Daijii, I, p. 1189, 1, s.v. kōshi.
(杉圓, A.D. 1202—1280) obtained from the Emperor Hanazono
the posthumous title of Shōichi kokushi, 聖一國師, or "Master
of State, the First in Holiness"; he had not received it during
his life time, as the author of the article on the kokushi in the
Daijii appears to suppose. 1 Afterwards several high-priests,
mostly of the Zen sect, were honoured in this way whilst still
alive. Thus in A.D. 1346 (XI 26) the Rinzai priest Soseki (叡
石, A.D. 1275—1351) first received a purple robe and then the
title of Musō-shōgaku-kokushi (夢窓正覺國師), to which
in A.D. 1351 (VIII 15) the word shinshū (心宗) was added
before kokushi; the next month he died, at the age of 76 years. 2
In China as well as in Japan the title kokushi was usually pre-
ceded by an honorary name. 3

In A.D. 728 (XII 28) (Shinki 5) the Emperor Shōmu divided
among the provinces 4 64 bundles of the Konkōmyōkyō (640 kwan,
10 to each province).

In A.D. 737 (Tempyō 9, III 3) the same Emperor issued an
ordinance to the effect that in every province one image of
Śākyamuni and one of his attendant Bodhisattvas Mañjuśrī and
Samantabhadra (Monju and Fugen) should be made and a whole
copy of the Daitennyakyō (Nanjō No. 1, 600 kwan) be written
out and read by tendoku for the peace of the State. 5

In A.D. 740 (Tempyō 12, VI 19) Shōmu Tennō ordered every
province to make ten copies of the Hokkekyō and to build a
seven-storied pagoda. 6

In A.D. 741 (Tempyō 13, I 15) the family of the late Daji-daijin
Fujiwara no Ason Fubito (A.D. 659—720), Kamatari's son,

Shakusho, Ch. vii, p. 750.
2 Washio, p. 735, s.v. Soseki.
3 Cf. Washio, p. 43, s.v. Egen (a Rinzai priest).
4 Shoku Nihonigi, Ch. x, p. 168.
5 Shoku Nihonigi, Ch. xii, p. 206.
6 Shoku Nihonigi, Ch. xiii, p. 225.
returned to the Emperor the subtenance-fief of 5000 houses. His Majesty gave 2000 back to the family, and divided the remaining 3000 among the “kokubunji of all the provinces”, in order to defray expenses for the erection of a Buddha image, sixteen feet high. This is the first time the term kokubunji appears in Japanese history. Two months later (III 24) the famous ordinance was issued establishing the Konkwōmyō-Shitenno-gokokuji and the Hokke-metsuzai no tera, followed in A.D. 744 (VII 23), 747 (XI 7) and 749 (VII 13) by regulations as to their incomes from fiefs and regular taxes.

In A.D. 748 (VIII) the Emperor Shōmu ordered the Saishōkkyō to be expounded at each Summer Retreat (ango) of all the provinces (see above, Ch. IX, § 3; not mentioned in the annals).

In A.D. 758 (Tempyō-ji 2) (VII 28) the Empress Kōken issued an ordinance (three days before her abdication) commanding all provinces to copy 30 kwan of the Kongō-hannyakyo (Nanjō Nos. 10—15, only 14—21 leaves, so it meant 30 copies) and to deposit 20 of these in the kokubunji and 10 in the kokubunji-niji (evidently one copy for each of the monks and nuns), in order that they might be constantly used and read by means of the tendoku system as secondary text, together with the Konkwōmyō-Saishōkkyō. This agrees with the statement, made in the ordinance of A.D. 741 (III 24), that the Saishōkkyō was to be read by tendoku on the 8th day of every month also by the nuns of the Hokke-metsuzai no tera. The Empress Kōken added that the copying, dedicating and reading of the Kongō-hannyakyo in the provincial monasteries and nunneries was to be done “for the sake of the Repose of the Court and the Great Peace of the Realm”.

As to the monks of the kokubunji, they were Sanron, Hossō

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1 Shoku Nihongi, Ch. xiv, p. 232.
2 Shoku Nihongi, Ch. xiv, pp. 233 sq.; xv, p. 252; xvii, pp. 272 sq.; xvii, p. 288; 4000 chō to the main kokubunji of Yamato, 1000 to the other kokubunji and to the main nunnery Hokkeji, and 400 to the other kokubun-niji.
3 Shoku Nihongi, Ch. xx, p. 347.
and Kegon priests, but since the Shōwa era (A.D. 834—848) Tendai and Shingon priests were also allowed to share this honour, and from the Kamakura era monks of the Zen and the Jodo sects too were often appointed to this function. ¹

In A.D. 822 (Kōnin 13, VII 1) on account of the bad condition of the crops, caused by the drought, the Emperor Saga ordered kekwa (Repentance) of seven days and seven nights to be performed in the Provincial Monasteries and Nunneries (kokubun-nijii) as well as the purification of the Shintō shrines. ² These were, as remarked above (Ch. VIII, § 15, p. 316), Kichijō-kekwa, and the text was the Saishōōkyō.

In the same year the kōshō of all provinces had to examine the kokubunji of both kinds. In the Engi era (A.D. 901—923) the domains of these monasteries and nunneries produced from 5000 to 50000 bundles of rice. ³

In A.D. 1290 the Emperor Go-Uda (who had abdicated in A.D. 1287) recompensed the Kairitsu (Vinaya) priest Shinkū (信空, A.D. 1231—1316) of Saidaiji (西大寺), one of the seven great temples of Nara, who had initiated him and held a Bommo-fusatsu or “Uposatha (Sabbath) according to the Brahma-jāla-sūtra” (Nanjō No. 1087) in the Imperial Palace, by making all kokubunji branch-temples of Saidaiji. ⁴

The kokubunji were always situated near the central seat of the provincial government, with which they cooperated in ruling people and priests. In the course of time the nunneries and also many of the monasteries were destroyed by calamities or decayed and were not rebuilt; the Daijii (I.1.) gives a long list of places (villages) where they had their sites.

The so-called rokujūroku-bu or rockubu (六部), “66 or 6 copies”, are the pilgrims who have made a vow to travel about

¹ Daijid, I, p. 1282, 2, s.v. kokubunji.
² Nihon kiryaku, Zempen, Ch. xiv, p. 439.
³ Engishiki, Ch. xxvi, Main taxes, pp. 777 sqq.
⁴ Washio, p. 447, 1, s.v. Shinkū.
with 66 copies of the Lotus *sūtra*, in order to sacrifice a copy in one sacred place of every province. This is called *nōkyō suru* (納経); its origin is not clear. Probably it dates from the 13th century (the Taiheiki mentions it, written about A.D. 1382); they began with *Saidaiji* and used to visit the different *kokubunji*.  

§ 7, C. *The last years of Shōmu Tennō's reign (A.D. 741—749).*

After this digression concerning the *kokubunji* and the *kokushi* we return to our present subject: the *Saishōkyō*, which was so closely connected with those provincial state sanctuaries.

In A.D. 741 (intercalary III 24) one copy of the *Saishōkyō* and one of the *Hokkekyō*, written in golden characters, were presented to the *Hachiman jingū* at Usa; 18 persons were admitted into the religious order; 5 horses were given to the temple, and the building of a three-storied pagoda was commanded. This was all done in order to present prayers and thank-offerings with regard to former lives (*shukutō*, 宿禱) to Hachiman (who, as seen above, Ch. VIII, § 14, p. 298, was welcomed 8 years later, in 749, XII 18, to the Capital, where a shrine was built for him within the compound of the Palace).  

In A.D. 743 (I 13) the monks were invited to the *Konkwōmyōji* (i.e. *Tōdaiji*) in order to read (by *tendoku*) the *Konkwōmyō Saishōkyō* for *seven times seven days*, from the fourteenth of the first month to the fourth of the third. During all that time it was forbidden to kill living beings and to eat various kinds of food. This was done to promote the prosperity of the temples, the happiness of the Imperial House and the people, and the purity of the country. It was a special meeting, led by

2 *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. xiv, p. 235.
49 eminent priests, respectfully consulted by the Emperor; and during that time all the monks of the country had to read the same sūtra in their monasteries. ¹

In A.D. 745 (Tempyō 17) (V 2) an earthquake occurred which evidently was the reason that the Emperor ordered tendoku of the Saishōkyō during seven days in all the temples of the capital. ² On the tenth day of the same month the Daihannyakyō was read in the Palace, on account of daily earthquakes. In the ninth month, when the Emperor was ill, we read of the Daihannyakyō and the Yakushi kyō, but the Ninnōkyō is not mentioned; as stated above, the latter sūtra was used in the two following years. ³

In A.D. 747 (Tempyō 19) (XI 7) the Emperor Shōmu issued a proclamation with regard to the provincial monasteries and nunneries, established in A.D. 741. In his opinion the severe earthquakes were due to the fact that the local authorities had been neglectful in fulfilling the ordinance. Therefore he sent three high officials to examine the locality and the condition of the monasteries, and ordered that within three years the pagodas and kondō (golden halls) and cells for the monks should be ready; everything having been done, the local authorities had to add 90 chō of rice-land to the sustenance-fief of the monasteries and 40 to that of the nunneries. ⁴

In A.D. 749 (Tempyō Shōhō 1, I 1), the last year of his reign, the Emperor Shōmu ordered kekwa (rites of repentance) and reading of the Konkwōmyō (Saishōō)kyō in all the temples of the Empire, and throughout the country forbade the killing of living beings during the first seven days of the year. ⁵ As remarked above (Ch. VIII, § 15, p. 311), the connection with

¹ Shoku Nihongi, Ch. xv, pp. 242 sq.
² Shoku Nihongi, Ch. xvi, p. 258.
³ Shoku Nihongi, Ch. xvi, p. 261.
⁴ Shoku Nihongi, Ch. xvii, p. 273.
⁵ Ibid., p. 277.
the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra* proves that these rites were *Kichijō-tekwa*; as to the *sūtra*, after A.D. 734 I-tsing's translation having superseded that of Dharmaraksha, we may be sure that the *Konkwōmyō-Saishōkyō* was the text of this New-year's festival.

In the same year (VII 2) the Emperor abdicated in favour of his daughter, the Empress Kōken.

§ 7, D. *The Empress Kōken (A.D. 749 VII 2—758 VIII 1)*

*(Takano, Shōtoku, A.D. 765 I 1—770 VIII 4).*

This Empress, who, after having abdicated in A.D. 758, returned to the Throne in A.D. 765 (I 1) as Shōtoku Tennō (often indicated as Takano Tennō), cherished a fervent belief in Buddha's doctrine. She paid, however, more attention to the *Ninnōkyō* (A.D. 750, 753, 756, 757, 770) than to the *Saishōkyō*, which we do not find specially mentioned during her first reign, except in an extensive address to the Buddha *Vairocana of Tōdaiji*, A.D. 749, IV 1.¹

In A.D. 758 (VII 28), two days before her abdication, she ordered all the provinces to promote the peace of the realm by each copying 30 chapters (i.e. copies) of the *Kongō-hannyakyō* and presenting twenty of them to the *kokubunji* and ten to the *kokubun-niji* (the same numbers as those of the monks and nuns), as a permanent addition to the *Konkwōmyō-Saishōkyō*, to be read by means of the *tendoku* system.²

During her second reign the *Saishōkyō* is mentioned in three Imperial proclamations (A.D. 767 VIII 16; 769, V 29, X 1).

In her proclamation of A.D. 767 (VIII 16) she states that in the first month of that year the high-priests of all the great temples had been invited and ordered to explain the *Saishōkyō* during the second seven days of that month (I 8—14, the same

¹ Ibid., p. 279.
² *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. xx, p. 347.
days on which in later times the Saishō-e took place), and that the Kichijō-kekwa had been performed (in all the Kokubun-
Kwōmyōji) during those same days. This meritorious act was
held to cause great peace of the country, seasonable weather,
good crops, and happiness of the people. ¹

In her proclamation of A.D. 769 (V 29) she praises the wonderful,
divine power of Vairocana Buddha, the Saishōkyō, Kwanzeon
Bosatsu and the gohō zenjūn (護法善神, “Good Spirits that
protect the Law”) Bonten (Brahma), Taishaku Ten (Indra), and
the Four Great Deva Kings. ²

Finally, in the third proclamation (A.D. 769, X 1) she refers
to the Ōbō shōron section (王法正論品) of the Saishōkyō
(VIII 20, in reality entitled Shōhō (正法) shōron-bon; the term
Ōbō shōron is found in the title of Nanjō No. 1006 and in the
abbreviated form of the title of Nanjō No. 1200), which she
devoutly and respectfully read. ³

In A.D. 770 (I 15) she held a Ninnōe in the Palace, gave
presents to the monks of the 12 great temples (IV 3), and ordered
tendoku of the Dalhananyakyō during seven days (VII 17—23) in
all the temples of the capital (against pestilence). ⁴ In the same
year (IV 26), “when the civil war, which had lasted eight years,
had been brought to an end, the Empress made an extensive
vow and ordered the production of one million small three-storey
pagodas, each four sun five bu (4½ inches) high, and three
sun five bu (3½ inches) in diameter at the base. Within each of
them the kombon, jishin, sōrin, and rokudo darani (根本,

¹ Shoku Nihongi, Ch. xxviii, pp. 470, 480. The term 二七 is either
a mistake or it must mean “the second seven days”, cf. p. 470 (A.D. 767,
I 8), Ch. xxxii, p. 565.
² Shoku Nihongi, Ch. xxix, p. 506. Cf. Genkō Shakusho, Ch. xxiii, p. 1030,
A.D. 769 VII, the God Hachiman’s words to the Empress; tendoku of 10000
copies of the Saishōkyō.
³ Ibid., p. 514.
⁴ Shoku Nihongi, Ch. xxx, pp. 519, 521, 525.
慈心, 相輪, 六度陀羅尼) were placed. When this meritorious work was finished, she distributed them among the temples, and bestowed divers titles of nobility to 157 officials and others who had taken part in the work”.

According to the temple record of Tōdaiji the distribution of the pagodas, containing the charms, took place in A.D. 764 (Tempyō hōji 8), and the name of the Empress is there given as Kōken (her previous reign, A.D. 749—758). In A.D. 764 she wore the title of Takano Tennō and banished the Emperor Junnin (X 9), but she had not yet returned to the throne (765, I I). The same temple record gives Jingo keiun 1 (A.D. 767) as the date when two small halls for the pagodas were built on the East and West sides of Tōdaiji. Probably the Empress made the vow shortly before the beginning of her second reign, during the civil war, and the work was completed in A.D. 770. According to the temple record the pagodas were distributed among ten temples; Tōdaiji and nine other important temples may have obtained them much earlier than the other shrines. “In each was preserved a charm (dhāraṇī) from the Muku jōkwō dai-daranī kyō (無垢浄光大陀羅尼經)”. This is the Vimalaśuddha-prabhāsa-mahādhāraṇī-sūtra, “Sūtra on the great magic formulae of the stainless, pure light” (Nanjō No. 380, translated A.D. 705 by Mi-t’o-shan, 彌陀山, Mitraśānta (?) from Tukhāra, App. II, no. 147). In this sūtra the Buddha says that whoever wishes to gain power from this magic formula, or save his life, or blot out his sins, and obtain salvation, must make many copies of it and place these in pagodas of clay. These pagodas must be honoured with offerings and incense and flowers, and seven circumambulations must be made around them, while the dhāraṇī is recited.

With regard to these earliest block prints, a number of which are preserved in Hōryūji, together with the little pagodas in which

1 Ibid., Ch. xxx, p. 522. The names of the magic formulae are: “Original dhāraṇī”, and “dhāraṇī of the compassionate heart, of the nine wheels on the top of pagodas (sōrin), and of the six pāramitās”.

they were contained (three are in the possession of the British Museum, and one is in the museum at Leipsic), we may refer the reader to Carter’s interesting work on “The invention of printing in China”, where two of the charms are reproduced.  

§ 7, E. The Emperors Junnin (Awaji haiitei) (A.D. 758 VIII 1—764 X 9) and König (A.D. 770 X 1—781 IV 1).

Junnin Tennō, known in history by the name of Awaji haiitei, 淡路廢帝, “The Emperor banished to Awaji”, was on the Throne between the two reigns of the Empress Kōken. Apparently the constant rivalry between his minister Emi no Oshikatsu (Fujiwara no Nakamaro), by whom he was greatly influenced, and the Hossō priest Dōkyō (道鏡), who dominated the Empress Takano (Kōken, Shōtoku) and in A.D. 764 caused Junnin Tennō’s banishment to Awaji, in these days impeded the development of Buddhism.

In a proclamation of A.D. 758 (VIII 18) the Mahāpāramitā, the “Mother of all the Buddhas” (represented mainly by the Daihannyakyō, Nanjō No. 1), is praised as expelling the demons of drought, pestilence and war.  

In A.D. 759 (Tempyō hōji 3, VI 22) the councillor of state Chiu and the Shōetsuzu Jikun (慈訓), a Hossō priest of Kōfukuji, reported to the Throne, that the yearly kekwa of the first month (the Kichijō-kekwa, see above, Ch. VIII, § 15, p. 311), performed in all the Buddhist temples of the empire, had lost their blessing power, because the monks and nuns in the provinces tried greedily to obtain as many official gifts as possible, without fulfilling their duty. Therefore they requested the Emperor, henceforth to stop these gifts.  

1 Thomas Francis Carter, The invention of printing in China and its spread westward, New York 1925, Ch. vii, pp. 33—38.  
2 Shoku Nihongi, Ch. xxi, p. 355.  
3 Shoku Nihongi, Ch. xxii, p. 370.
In A.D. 760 (Tempyō hōji 4, II 29) Ninnō-e were held in the Palace and in Tōdaïji;¹ in the same year (intercalary IV 23) tendoku of the Daihannyaikyō took place in the Palace,² and in V 9 sūtras were read in the six great temples of Nara, in order to suppress the prevailing pestilence.³ In the same year (VI 7) died the Kwōtaigō or Empress Dowager, i.e. Kwōmyō Kwōgō (A.D. 701—760), Fujiwara no Fubito’s daughter, Shōmu Tennō’s Consort and Kōken Tennō’s mother. On the 7×7 th day after her death (VII 26) vegetarian entertainments of priests took place in Tōdaïji and in all the small temples of the capital; in every province a picture of Amītābha’s Paradise was made and monks and nuns, distinguished inhabitants of the province, were caused to copy the Shōsan-jōdo-kyō, “Sūtra in praise of the Pure Land” (Nanjō No. 199) (translated in A.D. 650 by Hūen-tsang). These pictures and copies of the sūtra were offered in the Kokubun-Kwōmyōji of every province.⁴ Towards the end of the year (XII 12) the Emperor issued an ordinance to the effect that henceforth the graves of the Great Empress Dowager and of the Empress Dowager (Grandmother and Mother of the Empress Kōken) should be called Imperial Mausolea (misasagi) and that the anniversaries of their death (kijitsu) should be celebrated as days of national mourning (kokki) with entertainments of monks (sessai) according to the rule.⁵ A curious specimen of the morals of the monks of that time is the fact stated by the annalist sub XII 22, namely the murder of a monk of Yakushiji by another monk of the same sanctuary, who had gambled and quarrelled with him, and who was punished with expulsion from the religious order and exile to Riku-oku province.⁶

In A.D. 761 (VI 7) the shākisai (周忌齋) or vegetarian

¹ Ibid., p. 379.
² Ibid., p. 380.
³ Ibid., p. 381.
⁴ Shoku Nihongi, Ch. xxiii, p. 384.
⁵ Ibid., p. 387.
⁶ Ibid., p. 387.
entertainment given to celebrate the first anniversary of the Empress Dowager's death took place in the Amida-jiôdo-in, an Amitābha chapel erected for this purpose in the south-western corner of the compound of Hokkeji, the main kokubun-niji at Nara. In all kokubun-niji an image of Amida was made, sixteen feet high, and those of his attendant Bodhisattvas, Kwannon and Seishi (cf. above, Ch. VIII, § 16, B, p. 325). In Yamashina-dera (the Hossō sanctuary Kōfukuji in Nara) this anniversary had to be celebrated yearly by expounding the Bomōkyō (梵網経, Brahmagāla-sūtra, Nanjō No. 1087), for which ceremony the Emperor presented to the temple 30 chō of rice-fields, situated south of the capital. He further presented 10 chō of rice-fields to Hokkeji and ordered that henceforth on this anniversary and the six following days ten priests should be invited to that nunnery and caused to worship the Buddha Amitābha.¹

The same year (VII 12) Takano Tennō and the Emperor went to Yakushiji, where they worshipped the Buddha Bhaisajyaguru and listened to Chinese music in the court-yard; they presented the monks with a thousand rolls of silk.²

In A.D. 763 (V 28), when drought prevailed, no Buddhist measures were taken to put an end to this calamity, but gohei were sent to the district Shintō gods of the Home provinces and a black horse was presented to the Shintō god of Nibu-kawakami, the famous rain-god in Yamato province.³

Thus we see that this Emperor considered the Mahāpāramītā and its sūtra (the Dāhannayakyō), the Amitābha cult and one of its holy texts in praise of him, the Brahmagāla-sūtra, the Ninnō-kyō and the Medicine Buddha to be powerful protectors of the living and the dead, but during his reign the Saishōokyō and the Kichijō-kekwa were neglected. The Empress Takano (Shōtoku),

¹ Ibid., p. 391.
² Ibid., p. 393.
³ With regard to the custom of offering horses to the rain-gods cf. the present writer's Dragon in China and Japan, Ch. III, § 2.
however, who two days after Emi no Oshikatsu’s death (A.D. 764, IX 20) issued a proclamation in praise of the Hossō priest Dōkyō Zenji, to whom she gave the title of Oho-omi Zenji with all the power of a Prime Minister, and soon (X 9) banished the Emperor to Awaji, spoke of the Saishōōkyō in the three ordinances mentioned above (§ 7, D, p. 456).

After her death (A.D. 770, VIII 4) sūtras were read on behalf of her soul, on the first seventh day in Tōdaiji and Saidaiji (Kegon and Hossō; Saidaiji afterwards Kairitsu), on the second in Yakushiji (Hossō), on the third in Gwangōji (Sanron), on the fourth in Daianji (Sanron); on the fifth a vegetarian entertainment was given (sessai) in Yakushiji, on the sixth in Saidaiji, and on the seventh in Yamashina-dera (Kōfukuji) (Hossō); on the last day the monks and nuns within the territories of every province held a service and performed tendoku of sūtras (especially the Saishōōkyō and the Hokkekyō) in the Konkhwōmyō and Hokke kokubunji and kokubun-niji.

In A.D. 771 (Hōki 2, I 13) the Emperor Kōnin (A.D. 770 X 1—781 IV 1) stopped the Kichijō-kekwa of all the provinces (I 8—14), and (V 29) instituted the celebration of the anniversary of the death of his father, Prince Shiki (whom he gave the title of Tawara (no) Tennō), by means of a vegetarian entertainment to be given in Kawara-dera (Gufukuji), VIII 9.

In the same year (X 27) the Tuṣita Hall (Tosotsuten no dō) of Saidaiji was built. In A.D. 772 (III 6) ten distinguished priests were appointed jūzenji, 十禪師 (“Ten Dhyāna-Masters”). This body of ten priests, who became lifelong functionaries of the Court, was afterwards called Naikubu (内供奉) jūzenji, because

1 *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. xxv, pp. 425 sq.
2 Ibid., pp. 430 sq.
3 *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. xxx, pp. 527—531.
4 *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. xxxi, p. 539.
5 Ibid., p. 546.
6 Ibid., p. 550.
they performed the Buddhist services in the Imperial Palace. In China the function of Naikubu had been instituted lately, in the Chi-teh era (A.D. 756—758) and in A.D. 759; afterwards, in A.D. 780, the Chinese Emperor presented a purple robe to the priest Yuen-chao and a sustenance-fief of three hundred houses, at the same time nominating him naikubu at the Court. In Japan the priests of the mystic doctrines, Shingon and Tendai (mystic branch), were those who afterwards had the naikubu function and performed the principal services in the Palace.¹

In A.D. 772 (IV 29) the Western pagoda of Saidaiji (the last of the seven Great Temples of Nara, built in A.D. 765 by the Empress Shōtoku) shook. This was ascribed by divination to a curse, due to the fact that in building the pagoda trees were used belonging to the Shintō shrine of Ono in Shiga district, Omi province.²

In the same year (VI 15) Ninnō-e were held in the Palace, in the large and small Buddhist temples of the capital, and in the Kokubun-konkwōmyōji of all provinces.³ Five months later (XI 10) the Emperor, wishing to save the country from the constant famine caused by the storms and rains which had spoiled the crops, re-established the Kichijō-kekwa of the first month, which thenceforth had to be celebrated yearly for seven days in that month (I 8—14) in all the kokubunji of the empire.⁴

In A.D. 773 (VII 10) worship was paid to the Shintō gods of pestilence (ekijin, ekigami) in all provinces,⁵ and in the same month (VII 27) presents were bestowed on the nuns and others, who served at the vegetarian entertainment given on the anniversary of the Empress Shōtoku’s death, the shiki-gosaie (also-

¹ Shoku Nihongi, Ch. XXXII, p. 557; Daijiten, p. 921, 3, s.v. jūzenji; Daijii, III, p. 3530, 3, s.v. naikubu.
² Shoku Nihongi, Ch. XXXII, p. 560.
³ Ibid., p. 561.
⁴ Ibid., p. 565.
⁵ Ibid., p. 570. Cf. p. 587, A.D. 775, VIII 22, the same worship in the five Home provinces.
called shūki-misaie). 1 Towards the end of the year (XII 25) the Emperor issued an ordinance, stating that the increase of “fields of felicity” depended on the vast saving power of the Buddha’s doctrine, and that the happiness of the dynasty was sustained by the divine merit of Great Compassion. For this reason he had followed the text of the Yakushikyō and respectfully invited wise Buddhist priests to a vegetarian entertainment (sessai) and a religious service (gyōdō, pradakṣiṇa circumambulations, performed at all great Buddhist festivals around the main image, honzon). In accordance with the same sūtra’s words with regard to the liberation of all kinds of living beings, the Emperor laid stress upon the great importance attached by him to this act, and put it into practice in the broadest sense of the word, liberating animals (hōjō) as well as men (amnesty). 2

In A.D. 774 (III 3) sūtras were read for seven days in order to expel the plague, which in all provinces caused much suffering. 3 In the fourth month (IV 11) this calamity still prevailed, and an ordinance of the Emperor commanded the people, men and women, old and young, to take refuge in the Mahāprajñāpāramitā (sūtra), i.e. to the Daihannyakyō (Nanjō No. 1); constantly thinking upon and reading this sūtra caused the countries to be free from pestilence and gave longevity to mankind. 4

In A.D. 775 (IX 12) the Emperor Kōnin ordered tendoku of sūtras and gyōdō to be practised on the 13th day of the 10th month, his birthday by the monks and nuns of all sanctuaries; on X 19 200 monks were invited to the Palace and the Court chapel to read the Daihannyaakyō. 5 The following year the same sūtra was read there by 600 monks, and also in A.D. 777 (III 21, with 100 shami, śrāmaṇeras). 6 Thereafter we do not hear any

1 Ibid., p. 571, cf. Ch. XL, p. 774 (A.D. 791, V 28, VI 3).
2 Ibid., p. 572.
3 Shoku Nihongi, Ch. xxxiii, p. 574.
4 Ibid., p. 578.
5 Ibid., p. 590.
6 Shoku Nihongi, Ch. xxxiv, pp. 596, 603.
more of Buddhist ceremonies during this Emperor's reign, not even on account of his illness, which led him to abdicate in A.D. 781 (IV 1) and caused his death eight months later (XII 23).

In A.D. 780 (Hōki 11, I 20) he devoted a last ordinance to Buddhism, which was written in a very pessimistic mood. The priests, he had heard, acted exactly like laymen; the higher ranks behaved contrary to the unsurpassable doctrine of kindness and compassion, and the lower monks transgressed the laws of the state. Neither the sōgō (the three highest ranks) nor the kokushi of the provinces, who had to rule the clergy, did their duty. They must improve this, and practise the gokoku no shōbō, the Saddharma which protected the country. ¹

The Saishōōkyō was not mentioned, but this was, of course, the text of the Kichijō-kekwa, performed in the kokubunji.

§ 7, F. The Emperor Kwammu (A.D. 781, IV 1—806, III 17, his death).

After Kōnin Tennō’s death (A.D. 781, XII 23) sūtras were read on behalf of his soul, on the first seventh day in the seven great temples of Nara, and on the six other seventh days in all the Buddhist sanctuaries of the capital.

His eldest son and successor, Kwammu Tennō, further ordered that on the 7 × 7th day after his predecessor's death in all provinces of the country a vegetarian entertainment of the monks and nuns of the kokubunji should be arranged, in order to promote the deceased Emperor’s happiness after death (tsuiljuku, 追福),² and on the first anniversary of his death the monks and nuns of all the kokubunji had to read sūtras (Saishōōkyō and Hokkekyō). ³ Thenceforth for many years we do not read

¹ Shoku Nihongi, Ch. xxxvi, p. 636.
² Ibid., p. 671.
³ Shoku Nihongi, Ch. xxxviii, p. 682. There was sessai in Daianji, Nihon kiryaku, zempen, Ch. xiii, p. 358.
about Buddhist ceremonies. It is evident that the Emperor Kwammu did not pay much attention to Buddhist doctrine. In times of heavy drought, as in A.D. 788 (Enryaku 7, IV 3), messengers were sent to the Home provinces in order to pray for rain (apparently to the Shintō gods), and (IV 10) a black horse was presented to the Raingod of Nibu-kawakami; this was also done in A.D. 791, VI, 26, and VII 1 gohei were sent to all the Shintō gods of the kinai. V 2 messengers went to the Great Shrine of Ise and to the famous Shintō gods of the whole country, and in A.D. 790 to avert this calamity the Shintō deities were again invoked. No sūtras were mentioned in those critical times.¹ In A.D. 789 (XII 23), only five days before the death of the Empress Dowager, the Emperor ordered that to save her life the Dai-hannyakyō should be read for seven days in all the temples of the country, and after her death (XII 28) for the peace of her soul sūtras were read on the usual days in the kokubunji and kokubun-nijji and in the other temples. On the first anniversary of her death a vegetarian entertainment was given in Daianji.² In A.D. 790 (intercalary III 10) he caused 200 men to enter the Buddhist priesthood, because his Consort was ill, but again this measure came very late, for she died that same day.³ In the ninth month, however, sūtras were read in the seven temples of Nara, because the Crown-prince suffered from want of sleep and appetite (IX 3).⁴

In A.D. 794 (Enryaku 13, IX 3) this Emperor began to pay more attention to Buddhism, for then he forbade for three days the killing of living beings throughout the country because he wished to have the Ninnōkyō expounded, and on the 29th of that month he invited a hundred monks to explain that sūtra in the New Palace (of Kyōto).⁵

¹ Shoku Nihongi, Ch. xxxix, p. 739, Ch. xli, pp. 763, 775.
² Shoku Nihongi, Ch. xli, pp. 755 sqq.; p. 768; cf. p. 774.
³ Ibid., p. 761.
⁴ Ibid., p. 765.
⁵ Nihon kiryaku, zempen, Ch. xiii, p. 372.
In A.D. 796 (Enryaku 15, X 27) the same Emperor during seven days caused forty priests to perform within the Palace the Yakushi kekwa or “Repentance in honour of the Buddha Bhaishajyaguru”.¹

In A.D. 797 (V 19) the Kōgō-hannya-kyō was read by means of the tendoku system, in the Palace and in that of the Crown-prince, on account of strange events (considered to be evil omens); the next day two monks were sent to Awaji province, to perform tendoku and kekwa (“Repentance”), in order to ask forgiveness of the spirit of Sudō Tennō (祟道). This was the posthumous title which he had conferred upon his younger brother Sawara Shinnō (早良), his former heir apparent, who in A.D. 785 (IX 27) had been banished to Awaji, because he had ordered the murder of the Chūnagon Fujiwara no Tanetsugu. The prince had refused all drink and food, and, having died at Takase-bashi on the way to his place of exile, was buried in Awaji. When in A.D. 792 his successor fell ill, the diviners explained this to be a curse of the “Cast-away Crown-prince” (hai-taishi), and the Emperor, who had endeavoured to appease his angry spirit by conferring upon him the posthumous title of Sudō Tennō (A.D. 792), sent eminent messengers to Awaji in order to implore his forgiveness at his tomb, which was called a misasagi or Imperial tomb (A.D. 792, VI 10).² The next time we read of him is in A.D. 797 (V 20); this time two priests were sent to Awaji to perform tendoku and kekwa at his grave. In A.D. 805 (I 14), when the Emperor was ill (died A.D. 806, III 17), he ordered a Buddhist temple to be built in Awaji on behalf of Sudō Tennō’s soul, and all temples and pagodas of the country to be repaired; at the same time he requested the daichōshi Shōku (a Hōso priest) to let loose falcons and dogs (because these were used in hunting, and to liberate living beings was a meri-

¹ Nihon kōki, Ch. v, p. 5; Nihon kiryaku, zempen, Ch. xiii, p. 377.
² Nihon kiryaku, zempen, Ch. xiii, p. 369.
A month later (II 6) he tried to appease the angry spirits of Inoue no Naishinnō and her son, worshipped in Reianji near Nara. The former was the Emperor Shōmu's daughter and Könin Tennō's Consort, who in A.D. 772 had been found guilty of ku sorcery (巫蠱)² and, after having been degraded and confined in Yamato, had died with her son, the heir apparent, who followed her in degradation and death.³ The Emperor Kwammu, who evidently was very afraid of those spirits of members of the Imperial House who had died in anger, in order to appease them had erected Reianji or "Spirit-rest-temple". And during his illness, which began in A.D. 804 (XII 25) and which terminated in his death (A.D. 806, III 17), he tried by every means to pacify them. Thus in A.D. 805 (II 6) he ordered 150 monks to read the Daihannyaakyō in his Palace and in that of the Heir Apparent (Haru no miya, "Spring Palace", generally called Tōgū, "Eastern Palace"), and he had a small store-house made in Reianji in which he caused 30 sheaves of rice and 300 pounds of cotton to be laid in store in order to soothe the angry spirits of the Empress and the Crown-prince.⁴ Two months later (IV 5) he ordered all provinces to build small store-houses on behalf of Sudō Tennō's spirit and to endeavour to obtain his forgiveness by offerings of 40 sheaves of rice and gohei and by national mourning (kokki, 国祭).⁵ He also appointed an official to direct the re-burial of that prince (IV 11)⁶ and presented Chinese objects to his tomb (VII 27) (on the previous day he had sent messengers with gohei to the famous Shintō gods of the Home provinces in order to pray for rain; his presenting Chinese objects to the three misasagi (Imperial Mausolea) of

¹ Nihon kōki, Ch. xiii, p. 393.
³ Shoku Nihongi, Ch. xxxii, p. 557.
⁴ Nihon kōki, Ch. xii, p. 44.
⁵ Nihon kōki, Ch. xii, p. 47.
⁶ Nihon kōki, Ch. xii, p. 47.
Tenchi Tennō, Kōnin Tennō and “Sudō Tennō” probably had the same reason. In A.D. 806 (III 17), on the very day of the Emperor’s death, a last attempt to save his life was made by ordering the monks of the kokubunji of all provinces to read the Kongō hannyakyō twice a year during seven special days in the middle of spring and autumn, i.e. in the second and eighth months, on behalf of Sudō Tennō’s soul (the Higan festival, cf. above, Ch. VIII, § 18, p. 372).²

In A.D. 799 (Enryaku 18) (VI 27) 300 priests and 50 novices read the Daihannyakyō in the Imperial Palace, in the Crown-prince’s palace and in the Chōdo (of the Palace).³

In A.D. 803 (Enryaku 22) (I 26) the Emperor Kwammu issued an ordinance concerning the Hossō and Sanron sects, which thenceforth should regularly “convert five men each” (度五人), i.e. they should obtain a fixed and equal number of new monks yearly.⁴

In A.D. 804 (Enryaku 23) (I 7) he showed his steadily increasing interest in Buddhist matters by promulgating a decree relating to the sūtras and abhidharmanas to be read by the students of the Sanron and Hossō sects, few of whom devoted themselves to the study of the former, and many to that of the latter sect. He stated that in such a way the number of the monks could not be replenished regularly; and he ordered students of both sects to read the sūtras as well as the commentaries; as formerly the Hokkekyō and the Saishōkyō together; the Kegonkyō and the Nehangyō separately. If they studied them thoroughly, they could become monks; but if they only read the abhidharmanas and not the sūtras, they could not be admitted into the religious order. They must learn the meaning of the texts, and not only the Chinese sounds; thenceforth this should be a constant rule.⁵

¹ Nihon kōki, Ch. xiii, p. 52.
² Nihon kōki, Ch. xiii, p. 62.
³ Nihon kōki, Ch. viii, p. 25.
⁴ Nihon kiryaku, zempen, Ch. xiii, p. 388.
⁵ Nihon kōki, Ch. xii, p. 32.
Here we see that neither the Daihannya-kyō nor the Ninnōkyō were considered as principal texts, to be studied by the young candidates for the priestly ranks; it was not until the ninth century that these two sūtras came to the fore. In 802 (I 13) by Imperial ordinance the Emperor Kwammu warned the priests of the Sanron and Ho(ss)ō priests against the bad consequences of their rivalry; thenceforth two meetings should be held, in the first month the congregation devoted to the Saishō-kyō, in the tenth month the assembly connected with the Yuima-kyō (Saishō-e and Yuima-e); the six sects should be purified in order to broaden their studies. During his illness he not only (as seen above) endeavoured to appease the angry spirits of Reianji and Sudo Tennō, but also ordered sūtra reading by 69 virtuous monks in the Ishigami-jinja, and Yakushi kekwa ("Repentance") in all kokubunji (A.D. 805, II 10 and 19). In the eighth month of A.D. 805 (VIII 9) the famous priest Saichō (最澄) (Dengyō Daishi, the founder of the Tendai sect in Japan), having returned from China, led a Repentance and Sūtra reading ceremony in the Palace, and presented Chinese Buddhist images to the Emperor; the next month (IX 17) His Majesty caused him to perform the Vairocana ceremony (毗盧遮那法, Birushana-hō) in the Palace. In the tenth month (X 28) sūtras were read there for three days, and in the second month of the following year (A.D. 806, II 23), shortly before the Emperor's death, pictures of Yakushi Butsu and the Hokkekyō were copied, and 21 monks received a vegetarian entertainment in the Palace. Thus the Emperor Kwammu, after having evidently been very critical and severe towards the Buddhist clergy, and not very devout with regard to its rites and doctrine, was at the end of his life sur-

1 Nihon kiyaku, zempen, Ch. xiii, p. 386.
2 Nihon kiyaku, zempen, Ch. xiii, p. 394.
3 Nihon Kökt, Ch. xiii, pp. 52 sq.; Nihon kiyaku, zempen, Ch. xiii, p. 395.
4 Nihon Kökt, Ch. xiii, p. 54.
5 Nihon Kökt, Ch. xiii, p. 61.
rounded by priests and holy texts, images and ceremonies! The
ninth century had begun; Saichō and Kūkai (Dengyō Daishi and
Kōbō Daishi) had returned from China, and appeared as powerful
personages in the Japanese Buddhist world.

§ 8. The Saishōkyō in later times.

A. *The Gosaie* (御齋会) or Mi-saie (“Imperial vegetarian
entertainment”) or Saishōe or Konkwōmyō-e, celebrated in the
Daigokuden of the Imperial Palace, I 8—14
(A.D. 802—1467).

As stated above, the *Gosaie* was one of the *Nankyō san(n)e*
or “Three Festivals of Nara”, to wit: the Yuimae of Kōfukuji
(X 10—16), the *Gosaie* of the *Daigokuden* in the Palace (I 8—14),
and the *Saishōe* of Yakushiji (II 7—13).

The *Gosaie* was a festival intended to fulfill the Imperial vow
(made originally by Shōmu Tennō, A.D. 737) to protect the
State (chingo kokka, 鎮護國家) during the new year.
Buddhist priests were invited for a vegetarian entertainment, and
requested to expound the *Saishōkyō*; the festival took place in
the *Daigokuden* and lasted seven days (I 8—14). On the first
and the last days the Emperor came in person to listen to the
expounding of the *sūtra*, and on the other days he sent a *benkwan*,
an official of the *Dajōkwan* or Supreme Council of State, to take
the official leadership. Moreover, on the last day the new priests
were confirmed as such (*do suru*); this took place before the
explaining of the *sūtra*, whereas after the conclusion of the cere-
mony the *kōshi* and the learned priests were invited to another
building of the Palace, in order to discuss important points of
doctrine in the presence of His Majesty. This was the so-called
*Uchi-rongi* (內論義) or “Inner Discussion”, also called *Denjō*
(殿上) *rongi*, “Palace Discussion”, and *Tsugai-rongi* (番論
Coupled discussions', because it was divided into five ban or couples of two subjects (dai) each, thus comprising ten subjects in all. Similar rongi were also held after the Yuimae, the Hokke-e of Hieizan and other congregations, in order to enable the priests to put questions with regard to the explanation of the sūtras. The kōshi was not the only priest who answered, but for each of the five "couples" of subjects there was one priest who had to put the question and another who had the task of answering it. In the same way the Chinese Emperors (e.g. Wu Ti of the Liang dynasty, A.D. 502—549) appointed a so-called "general expounder" (都講, tu-kang) before Buddhist meetings devoted to the explanation of special sūtras, such as the Yuimakyo, in order to discourse on difficult problems.

At the Yuimae of Kōshosui and the Saishō of Yakushiji, but not at the Gosaie, there were nine, later (after A.D. 885) ten so-called ryūgi, appointed by the Emperor.1 These ryūgi (義, 立義), "those who set up the meaning", were learned priests who solved the problems, treated in these congregations. Thus the degree of Yuima-ryūgi was the third of the gokai (五階) or "five degrees", which a priest must obtain before becoming kōshi of a province or of the Yuima-e, the first of the three important ceremonies, leading their kōshi to the rank of sōgō or high-priest (risshī, sōzu, sōjō). The Tendai sect held a "Hokke-e no tsugai-rongi" on Hieizan, in imitation of the discussion after the Gosaie in the Palace, with ten śrāmaneras discussing five "couples" of subjects in the presence of an Imperial messenger. This took place on the middle day of the festival, and each "couple" of subjects was discussed by two shami (śrāmaneras). In the thirteenth century the Saishokō, celebrated in the Senjō (仙洞) palace (Toba-in), were also connected with a tsugai-rongi. The Tendai and Shingon sects called these discussions rongi, the Zen sect mondō ("asking and answering"). A rongi of

1 Daijii, III, p. 4479, 1, s.v. ryūgi. Cf. below, Ch. xv, § 4, C (Yuima-e).
seven “couples” of subjects, held at the shunshū midokkyō or “August reading of sūtras in Spring and Autumn”, is mentioned in A.D. 1070, in a diary of that time.  

In A.D. 737 (Tempyō 9, X 26) the Emperor Šōmu appointed the famous Sanron priest Dōji (道慈) kōshi and the priest Juzō tokushi of the first Konkwōmyō-Saishōkyō-meeting in the Daigokuden, with one hundred chōshu (hearers) and one hundred shami (śrāmaṇeras).  

In A.D. 767 (Jingo keiun 1, VIII 16) the Empress Šōtoku in a proclamation stated that in the first month of that year the high-priests of all the great temples had been invited and ordered to explain the Saishōkyō during seven days (I 8—14), and that Kichijō kekwa had been performed (in all the kokubun-kwōmyōji of the country) during those same days. This caused great peace of the empire, seasonable weather, good crops, and happiness of the people.

Two years later (A.D. 769, V 29) she praised the wonderful, divine power of Vairocana Buddha, the Saishōkyō, Kwanzeon Bosatsu, Brahma and Indra, and the Four Deva Kings.

These two Tennō, Šōmu and his daughter Kōken (Takano, Šōtoku), were devout worshippers of the Buddha Vairocana, whose celebrated sanctuary, the Kegon temple Tōdaiji (A.D. 728), and its huge Daibutsu (A.D. 746) were erected by Šōmu Tennō and visited and worshipped at with great pomp by his daughter (A.D. 752, IV 9, the Daibutsu completed; 754, I 5, 20000 lamps lighted in Tōdaiji, and the temple visited by the Empress; 756 VI 22, XII 5, performances in Tōdaiji, etc.). For this reason the main image (honzon) of the Gosaie was, in accordance with Šōmu Tennō’s vow, that of Vairocana, and his attendant Bodhisattvas (kyōji) were Avalokiteśvara and Ākāśagarbha (Kwannon.

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1 Daijiten, p. 1234, 3, s.v. tsugai-rongi; Daijii, Ill, p. 4627, 1, s.v. rongi.
2 Shoku Nihongi, Ch. xii, p. 212; cf. above, § 7, A, p. 447.
3 Shoku Nihongi, Ch. xxviii, pp. 470, 480, cf. above, § 7, D, p. 457.
4 Shoku Nihongi, Ch. xxix, p. 506, cf. above, ibid.
and Kokūzō); seats were arranged for the Four Deva Kings (Shitennō). The priests of the ceremony were one kōshi, one tokushi (Reading master), and 30 hearers (chōshu), some of whom were high-priests (sōgō), others ordinary priests (bonsō). First they belonged to the six sects, afterwards also to the Tendai (of Enryakuji and the other gogwanji, “Imperial votive temples”) and Shingon sects, together forming the hasshō or “eight sects”.  1

The place of worship was the Daigokuden, but when in A.D. 876, IV 10 a serious fire, lasting several days, had destroyed this building, in 877 and 878 the service took place in the Burakuden, another part of the Palace.  2 In A.D. 1058 (Tenki 6) the Daigokuden was again burnt down, and during 14 years the office of the Dajōkwan was used for this ceremony. With regard to the Emperor’s attendance at the meeting, this seems to have been omitted after the Chōhō era (A.D. 999—1004), although the other details remained the same even during the tumultuous times of Shirakawa Tennō’s reign (A.D. 1073—1086, but he actually continued reigning until his death, A.D. 1129), when the Tendai branches, followers of Jikaku Daishi (Ennin, A.D. 794—864) and Chishō Daishi (Enchin, 814—891), monks of Hieizan and Miidera, used to fight battles with mercenary troops (sōhei).

In A.D. 802 (Enryaku 21, I 13) the Emperor Kwammu instituted the annual New-year’s Saihōe of the Palace together with the Yuima-e of the tenth month (Kōfukuji). As seen above, he considered them to belong to the Sanron and Hossō sects, whose rivalry he deplored and endeavoured to stop by giving each of them an important task for the benefit of the country.  3 We have seen (cf. § 5, p. 442) that in the 8th century it was not the Sanron, but the Hossō priests who wrote commentaries on the Saihōkkyō; although Sanron priests, such as Dōji in A.D. 737 and Gonsō in A.D. 810, expounded it in the Palace.

1 Daijitt, I, p. 1310, 3, s.v. gosaié.
2 Nihon kiryaku, zempen, Ch. xviii, p. 664; Ch. xix, pp. 671, 678.
3 Nihon kiryaku, zempen, Ch. xiii, p. 386.
Although Kwammu Tennō had established this ceremony as an annual festival, we do not find it mentioned in the Nihon kōki or Nihon kiryaku as actually being celebrated earlier than A.D. 813 (Kōnin 4), when on the last day of the Saishōkyō or “Expounding of the Saishōkyō” (I 14) the Emperor Saga (A.D. 810—823) invited eleven priests of great learning to the Palace, in order to hold a Rongi (論義) or “Discussion” (on the sūtra) and to receive Imperial robes.¹ In A.D. 824 (I 14) “the priests of the Saishōe held a Rongi in the Palace; this was the custom”.² In A.D. 832 (I 14) we read that the Emperor Junna went to the Shishinden, another building of the Palace, and requested the Sōgō to protect his life etc., ordered them to hold a rongi, and distributed Imperial robes among them.³ In the following year it is stated that the sōgō (the three highest ranks of the priests, sōjō, sōzu and risshi) were requested to hold a discussion, evidently in the Shishinden, where His Majesty went in person, and where the Imperial robes were distributed.⁴ In A.D. 834 (Shōwa 1, I 8) the Saishōkyō was expounded in the Daigokuden, where it used to take place because, as stated above (Ch. VIII, § 15, p. 315, Kichijō-kekwa), it was there that the Emperors ascended the throne and received the New-year’s congratulations. The Emperor Nimmyō (A.D. 833 III 6—850 III 21), accompanied by the Prince Imperial, came there to listen, and returned to the inner buildings after the expounding of the text.⁵ He was a faithful believer in the protecting power of the Saishōkyō, for in the same year (II 10) he ascribed the peace and felicity of the people and abundant harvest to its unequalled influence, and ordered that all temples which had sustenance-fiefs, rice-fields and gardens and thus could afford to present gifts to the

¹ Nihon kōki, Ch. xxii, p. 144.
² Nihon kiryaku, zempen, Ch. xiv, p. 447.
³ Ibid., p. 467.
⁴ Ibid., p. 469.
⁵ Shoku Nihon kōki, Ch. iii, p. 187.
monks, should be caused to perform the rites of the Saioshōkyō with great zeal. ¹

Towards the end of the same year (XII 19) the Daisōzu dentō-

daihōshi Kūkai (Kōbō Daishi) (died the following year, A.D. 835,

Ill 21) pointed out in a memorial to the Throne the difference

between the public and the mystic belief. There were, he said,

two ways in which the Buddha had preached the Law. The first

was shallow and abridged, the second mystic; the former con-

sisted in the prose and the hymns (gāthās) of the sūtras, the

latter in the magic formulae (dhāraṇī), found in the sūtras. The

former were like medical books explaining the origin of the dis-

eases and the nature of divers medicinal herbs; the latter were

like the prescriptions as to their compounding and use, by means

of which the disease was removed, and which were necessary

to cure the patient and preserve his life. In the same way the

reading of the text of the Saioshōkyō, as it was now done in

expounding this sūtra, was not sufficient. He, Kūkai, spoke about

its meaning. Neither the painting of the images, nor the defining

of the altar (kechidan, cf. kekkai), nor the rites were in accord-

cance with the Law. The sweetness of the amṛta (kanro) (i.e.

the Buddha's doctrine) was explained, but he was afraid that the

taste of the maṇḍah was lacking. This maṇḍah, daigo, 醍醐,

is an unctuous rich liquor skimmed from boiled butter or ghu;

metonym. the beneficent mildness of Buddha; ² its taste is the highest

of the five tastes, and it cures all diseases in a wonderful way;

in accordance with the Nirvāṇa sūtra (Nanjō No. 113) the Tendai

sect uses it as a metaphor for Nirvāṇa, the Shingon sect, in

accordance with the Shatpāramitā-sūtra (Nanjō No. 1004), in this

way indicates the Dhāraṇī-piṭaka. ³ Therefore he humbly addressed

this petition to His Majesty, that thenceforth the sūtra should be

explained according to the Law of the sūtras, during seven days,

¹ Ibid., p. 190.
² Wells Williams, Chin. Dict., p. 883, s.v. て.
³ Daijiten, p. 1134, 2, s.v. daigo; Daijii, Ill, p. 3150, 2, s.v. daigo.
and that 27 priests and 27 šrāmaṇeras should be specially chosen for this ceremony, which should take place in a separate room, adorned for the occasion. The images of the saints were to be arranged in a row, the offering utensils placed in due order, and magic formulae (shingon) read. In this way the public and the secret paths would unite (the two parts of) the original will of the Buddha, much felicity would be caused, and the (fulfilment of the) vow of compassion, made by the saints, would be obtained. After having read this petition, the Emperor Nimmuyō issued an ordinance, stating that the ceremony should be performed in accordance with Kūkai’s request, and that this was a constant rule, binding for ever. ¹ We learn from the Genkō Shakusho,² that the ceremony, established in accordance with Kūkai’s memorial, was the Goshichinichī no mishiho, 後七日御修法, a Shingon ceremony celebrated on the same days as the Gosaie (I 8—14) in the Shingon-in or Tantric chapel in the Palace.³

In A.D. 836 (I 8), after having heard the explanation of the sūtra in the Daigokuden, the Emperor returned to the Shishinden. On the 14th, when the Saishōe had come to an end, its kōshi and the sōgō were led (to the Shishinden) in order to hold the usual discussion (rongi); at the same time the Den-do-daihōshi Enshō was appointed Gonrisshi. According to the Shoku Nihon kōki Enshō (延祥) (A.D. 766—853) belonged to the Sanron sanctuary Gwangōji, but Washio (p. 109, 1) calls him a Hossō priest of Kōfukuji, who in Tenchō 7 (A.D. 830) expounded the Saishōōkyō in the Daigokuden.

In A.D. 837 (I 8) the Emperor, accompanied by the Crown-prince, went to the Daigokuden to listen to the expounding of the Saishōōkyō; and on the last day (I 14) the kōshi and the “priests of wisdom and virtue” held a rongi in the Jijuden (仁

¹ Shoku Nihon kōki, Ch. iii, p. 200.  
² Genkō Shakusho, Ch. xxiii, p. 1047.  
and received Imperial robes. The following year the number of those "famous priests" is given; more than ten of them took part in the discussion. Thenceforth the festival is regularly mentioned in the annals (I 1—8); first it was called Saishōe, in A.D. 859 (Jōkwan 1) we read of the Daigokuden Gosaie, in A.D. 860 the term saikō (齊講, "Vegetarian entertainment and expounding") is used, in A.D. 861 the term saie, in 862 and following years Daigokuden saikō, in 874 Saishōe, in 875 Gosaie, which term returns in 907, 914, 924, 946 (the year before, X 30, the kuge performed a Saishōōkyō chōkō ("long expounding", 長講) in the Hachimangū on account of robbery and riots in the Eastern provinces), 947, 948, etc.; thenceforward it was always called Gosaie (once, in A.D. 1028, Saishōe). The Englishiki (A.D. 927) speaks of "Shōgwatsu Saishōōkyō-saie".

In A.D. 859 (Jōkwan 1, I 8) an interesting ordinance, given above (§ 6, p. 444) was issued by the Emperor Seiwa as to the kōshi of the Yuima-e of Kōfukuji (X 10—16), the Gosaie of the Daigokuden (I 8—14), and the Saishōe of Yakushi jī (III 7—13). Chosen from priests of the five degrees of all sects, these monks of great learning, after having fulfilled their threefold task, had the title of ikō and were successively appointed sōgō (risshī, sōzu, sōjō).

From A.D. 859 to 887 twenty-one kōshi of the Gosaie are mentioned in the Nihon sandai jitsuroku and the Nihon kiryaku; 13 of the Hossō sect, 4 of the Sanron, 3 of the Kegon and 1 (in A.D. 868, the priest Hosei of Enryaku ji) of the Tendai sect. Five of them belonged to Gwangōji, four to Yakushi jī, five to Kōfuku ji, three to Tōdai ji, one to Hōryū ji, one to Saidai ji, one

1 Shoku Nihon kōki, Ch. vi, p. 231.
2 Ibid., Ch. vii, p. 242.
3 Nihon kiryaku, zempen, Ch. xvii, pp. 567, 575, 580, 585, 589, 595, etc.
4 Nihon kiryaku kōken, Ch. ii, p. 834.
5 Englishiki, Ch. xv, p. 531.
6 Nihon sandai jitsuroku, Ch. ii, p. 17; Nihon kiryaku, zempen, Ch. xvii, p. 567.
to Daianji, and one to Enryakuji. Thus we see that Hossô was absolutely predominant and that of the seven great temples of Nara Gwangôji (Sanron), Kôfukuji (Hossô) and Yakushiji (Hossô) were the principal sanctuaries of that time. It is remarkable that notwithstanding the great rivalry between Hossô and Sanron (the former gaining more and more ground), there were both Hossô and Sanron priests in Gwangôji. The Hossô sect was even divided into two branches: that of the tradition of the N. temple, Kôfukuji (Hokuji-den or Kôfukuji-den) and that of the tradition of the S. temple, Gwangôji (Nanji-den or Gwangôjiden (the older one, of Chitsu). A Hossô priest of the Kegon shrine Tôdaiji is also mentioned as kôshi of the Gosaie, as well as a Kegon priest of the Hossô shrine Yakushiji.¹

As stated above, for many centuries the ceremony was performed yearly, without interruption or important alterations. In the thirteenth century, during and after Shijô Tennô’s reign (A.D. 1233—1242), it was often intermitted, but in the Kemmu era (A.D. 1334—1336) Go Daigo Tennô restored it to its full glory, and also the Uchi-rongi or “Inner Discussion” was held as of old. The Ônin war (A.D. 1467—1477), however, put an end to this as well as to the other Court ceremonies, and even after the Genwa embu or restoration of peace in the Genwa era (1615—1624), when many ancient rites were re-established, the Gosaie did not come to life again.²

§ 8, B. The Saishôe of the Hossô temple Yakushiji at Nara (III 7—13), performed for the peace of the state (A.D. 830—1445).

In A.D. 830 (Tenchô 7, IX 2) the Emperor Junna established this festival, which was one of the Nankyô san(n)e, mentioned

¹ Sandai jitsuroku, Ch. ii—xl; Nihon kiryaku, zempen, Ch. xvii—xx.
² Daijiti, I, p. 1310, 3, s.v. Gosaie.
above (§ 8, A, p. 471), i.e. one of the three great festivals of Nara: the Yuimae, the Gosaie, and the Saishōe of Yakushiji, the leadership of which opened the way to the ranks of Ikō and Sōgō.

The year before the Hossō priest Chūkei (仲継, † 843) of Yakushiji in consequence of his “original vow” (hongwan) performed a Saishōōkyō ceremony in that sanctuary, which he called Saishōe. This was praised by the Nakatsukasa-kyō (中務卿) of the Nakatsukasa department, Prince Saneyo (直世), one of the first Minamoto’s, who in a memorial to the Throne requested the Emperor Jinnō to make it a regular festival, celebrated annually. This was granted, and thenceforth it was in Yakushiji, III 7—13.

When in the second month of Tenroku 4 (A.D. 973) the temple had been destroyed by fire and only the two pagodas had escaped this calamity, for five years the festival took place in the Saiindō (西院堂) in Kyōto, but in A.D. 978, when the sanctuary had been rebuilt by Imperial order by ten provinces (Yamato, Iga, etc.), the Saishōe was again celebrated in the new expounding hall (kōdō). Thus it was continued without any interruption until A.D. 1445 (Bunun 2), when a severe storm destroyed the main building and the ceremony was stopped for ever.

Instituted in the Kwankō era (A.D. 1004—1012) and performed in the Seiryōden of the Palace during five days of the fifth month, the Saishōkō replaced the Saishōe as the third of the Three Festivals.

The honzon or main image of the Saishōe of Yakushiji was an old embroidery, representing Amida, Kannon and Seishi (his attendant Bodhisattvas), and angels, more than a hundred figures in all. This embroidery, which was three jō (30 shaku) high and two jō, one shaku, eight sun broad, dates from A.D. 698, XI 59, when the Emperor Mommu had ordered the Hossō priest Dōshō (道昭) (A.D. 629—700), the founder of the Hossō sect, whom

1 Washio, p. 815, 2, s.v. Chūkei.
2 The days are given in the Ōkagami, Ch. vii, p. 648, and in the Kuji kongen (A.D. 1422), Nihon bungaku zensho, xxii, p. 46.
on the same day he appointed Daisōzu, to "open the eyes" and lead the dedicatory ceremony in the expounding hall of Yakushiji. We did not find this, however, in the chief annals.

It is remarkable that Amitābha was the principal Buddha of this ceremony, although the Saishōkyō has no special connection with his cult. One would have expected the Buddha Śākyamuni with Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra to have been the honzon of the Saishōe, or, because it was a ceremony of Yakushiji, the Buddha Bhaisajyaguru with his two attendant Bodhisattvas Suryaprabha (Nikkō, Nikkō, 日光, Sunlight) and Candraprabha (Gwakkō, Gwakkō, 月光, Moonlight). The close connection between the two Sun-buddhas Yakushi and Amida, and the fact that Amitābha was one of the four Buddhas manifesting themselves to the Bodhisattva Ruciraketu (Myōdo) in Ch. I, section 2 of the sūtra (see above, Ch. VIII, § 7, p. 264) may have been the reason of this choice.

§ 8, C. *The Saishōe of Enshūji, one of the Three Tendai Festivals of Kyōto (II 19—23) (A.D. 1082—1268).*

In A.D. 1070 (Enkyū 2, XII 26) the Emperor Go Sanjō (A.D. 1069—1072) dedicated the new Tendai shrine Enshūji (圓宗寺), South of Ninna-ji, in Katono district, Yamashiro. He invited 600 priests and went to the temple with the Prince Imperial.

In the Imperial gwammon or votive text the Ordinance was quoted by which His Majesty announced the erection of a sanctuary for causing the Buddhist doctrine to continue for a long time and the country to enjoy eternal peace. In this shrine were gold-coloured images of Mahāvairocana (20 feet high), Bhaisajyaguru (16 feet high), Ichiji Kinrin (一字金輪), and the Rokuten (六天) or Devas of the Six Heavens of the World of Desire (Kāmadhātu) (16 feet high, in various colours), placed in the

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1 Daijō, II, p. 1476, 3, s.v. Saishōe; Washio, p. 877, 2, s.v. Dōshō.
Golden Hall; and gold-coloured images of Śākyamuni (18 feet high), Samantabhadra, Mañjuśrī, Avalokiteśvara and Maitreya (each 16 feet high) in the Expounding Hall (kōdō). In spring the Wonderful Text of the Saishōkyō was to be expounded there, and prayers were to be offered for a long existence, of 10000 years, of the state. In autumn, in order to save the beings of the six gāti, the True Words of the Hokkekyō were to be explained. Therefore a Hokkedō was built and a kondō (gold-copper) pagoda, 3 feet high, was placed there, with a copy of the Myōhō-rengekyō (the Lotus sūtra) written in golden characters, and consisting of eight fasciculi (kwan) (cf. Nanjō No. 139). Beginning with that day (XII 26) six priests were appointed, whose task it was to perform the Hokke-samurai, in order to protect the country and save all living beings (cf. above, Ch. VII, § 18 B, pp. 360, Hokke sembō).  

In A.D. 1072 (X 25) the same Emperor went to Enshūji and began to practise the Hokke-e, one of the Ni-e hakkō (二會八講) (the Saishōe was not performed until ten years later), with the Ajari Raizō (賴增) of Muidera as kōshi and the Hōin Daisōzu Raishin (賴真) of Kōfukuji as ichimon (一間), and an immyō-rongi (因明論議) or "Discussion on the hetuvidyā" (i.e. on the nature of truth and error). He also instituted the rank of Tendai ikō (已講), thus making these two festivals of Enshūji (the Saishōe and Hokke-e) the Tendai and Kyōto counterparts of the Nankyō (or Nanto) san(n)e, the Three Festivals of Nara. The term hakkō, "Eight expoundings", was borrowed from the Hokke hakkō of the Tendai sect. On the last day of this festival (the Hokke-e) the kōshi Raizō was appointed Gonrisshi. As to the images of the two ceremonies, these were those of the kōdō: Shaka, Fugen, Monju, Kwannon and Miroku, dedicated in A.D. 1070.

1 Fusō ryakki, Ch. xxix, pp. 817 sq.
2 Ibid., p. 820; Genkō Shakusho, Ch. xxv, p. 1090. Cf. below, Ch. xvi, § 8, C. (Hokke hakkō).
The Hokke sambu (the Murōgikyō, Hokkekyō and Fugen-kwangyō, Nanjō Nos. 133, 134, 394) were expounded in the Hokke-e, the Saishōkyō in the Saishōe.  

In A.D. 1078 (Shōryaku 2, X 3) the third of the Tendai san(n)e was started in the Tendai shrine Hōshōji (法勝寺), a gogwanji (御願寺) or "temple erected in consequence of an Imperial vow", dedicated the previous year (A.D. 1077, XII 18), with the images of Vairocana, Śākyamuni, Amitābha and other Buddhas in the Golden Hall, and Śākyamuni, Samantabhadra and Mañjuśrī (Shaka, Fugen, Monju) in the Expounding Hall. The five classes of Mahāyāna sūtras (bu, sections of the canon), written in golden characters, were presented, forming part of the whole canon, copied in this way. On the sixth (the 4th day of the festival) the Emperor Shirakawa (A.D. 1073—1086) went to Hōshōji, nominated the kōshi of this Daijōe (大乗會) or "Mahāyāna meeting" Gonrisshi, and praised the head of the temple.  

This annual festival took place X 24—28, and the sūtras, explained before the images of Shaka, Fugen and Monju in the Expounding Hall, belonged on the first day to the Kegon-bu or Avatāmsaka class (Nanjō Nos. 87—112); on the second to the Hōdō-bu or Vaipulya class (Nanjō Nos. 61 sqq.), on the third to the Hannya-bu or Prajñāpāramitā class (Nanjō Nos. 1—22); on the fourth to the Hokke-bu or Lotus class (Nanjō No. 134—139); and on the fifth day to the Nehan-bu or Nirvāṇa class (Nanjō Nos. 113—125).  

In A.D. 1082 (Eihō 2, II 19—23) the Saishōe of Enshūji was held for the first time, with the Tendai priest Myōjitsu (明實, a priest of Hieizan) as kōshi. The Emperor Shirakawa issued

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1 Daijō, I, p. 398, 1, s.v. Enshūji Saishōe and Hokke-e. The Daijō refers to the Butsu-e kiyō, 佛會紀要, written by the head of the Hongwanji branch of the Jōdo Shinshū, the priest Myōnyo, 明如.

2 Fusō ryakki, Ch. xxx, pp. 827, 829; Genkō Shakusho, Ch. xxv, p. 1091.

3 Daijō, III, p. 4125, 3, s.v. Hōshōji Daijōe.

4 Washio, p. 1081, 1, s.v. Myōjitsu.
an ordinance, uniting the three festivals and thus instituting the Tendai san(n)e: 1

1. The Saishōe of Enshūji (II 19—23).
2. The Daijōe of Hōshōji (X 24—28).
3. The Hokke-e of Enshūji (during five days of the twelfth month, fixed yearly by Imperial ordinance (e.g. in A.D. 1103, XII 19—23, fixed two days previously; when it was performed for the first time, it took place in the tenth month, A.D. 1072, X 25—29). 2

The number of days of these three festivals was five, whereas that of the Three Festivals of Nara was seven; both sacred numbers of great importance.

It is a curious fact that a Shingon priest, the Imperial Prince Shōshin (性信) (A.D. 1005—1085), fourth son of the Emperor Sanjō, should be the leader of the dedicatory ceremony of Hōshōji in A.D. 1077, XII 18, and the head of the temple, 3 and that the Imperial Princes Kakugyō (覺行) (A.D. 1075—1104) and Kakuhō (覺法) (A.D. 1091—1153), the third and fourth sons of Shirakawa Tennō, who were also Shingon priests, held important functions in Enshūji and Hōshōji (A.D. 1098 and 1112). 4 This is evidence of the close connection in those days between the Shingon sect and the mystic branch of Tendai.

After Bunei 5 (A.D. 1268) the ni-e (Saishōe and Hokke-e of Enshūji) are not again mentioned; they appear to have been abolished. 5

1 Genkō Shakusho, Ch. xxv, p. 1092.
2 Honchō seki (Kokushi taisetsu, VIII), Kōwa 5, XII, p. 387; Daijō, I, p. 398, 1, s.v. Enshūji Hokke-e.
3 Himitsu jirin, p. 600, 1, s.v. Shōshin; Washio, p. 599, 1, s.v. Shōshin.
4 Himitsu jirin, pp. 125, 2 and 130, 2; Washio, pp. 135, 1 and 147, 2.
5 Daijō, I, p. 398, 1, s.v. Enshūji.
§ 8, D. The Saishōkō of the Seiryōden (in the Palace), performed in the fifth month (A.D. 1002—after 1445).

In A.D. 1002 (Chōhō 4, V 7) the Emperor Ichijō invited to the Palace priests of four great temples, Tōdaiji (Kegon), Kōfukuji (Hossō) (both in Nara), Enryakuji (Tendai, on Hieizan) and Onjōji (Miidera, Jimon branch of the Tendai sect, Ōmi province), and caused them to expound the Saishōkōkyō in the Seiryōden. This was not then yet an annual ceremony, but seven years later, in A.D. 1009 (Kwankō 6, VI 19) he established it as a regular congregation, held yearly in the Seiryōden during five days of the fifth month, in which famous priests of those four sanctuaries explained the sūtra and discussed it. Beyond the kōshi and the shōgi (正義) (“he who proves the meaning”, i.e. who from a high seat gives a final judgment concerning the questions and answers of the discussion;¹ this shōgi, being mentioned before the kōshi, appears to have been considered to have a still more important function than the latter), there were a certain number of chōshu (聴衆), “listeners”, who all had their fixed places (the shōgi on the North side, the kōshi on the South-east side of the hall, whereas the chōshu were seated along the southern wall). Since under the reign of the Emperor Go Suzaku (A.D. 1037—1045) the Four Deva Kings (Shitennō) had manifested themselves during the meeting, seats for them were always arranged (like Pindolā’s seat in the Chinese monasteries). Hymns were sung, flowers were strown, and on the last day (kechigwan) incense was presented to the priests (gyōkō, 行香) and burned as an offering to the Buddha.²

¹ Daijiten, p. 845, 1, s.v. shōgisha.
² Ceremonies of the Kemmu era (A.D. 1334—1336), described in the Shūkaishō, 柿芥抄, written by Fujiwara no Sanehiro (資熙) (born A.D. 1409, retired A.D. 1457), Ch. 下; Kuji kongen (A.D. 1422), p. 66, s.v. Saishōkō.
In later ages it often took place V 24—28. When after A.D. 1445 the Saishōe of Yakushiji at Nara was no longer practised, the Saishōkō of the Seiryōden was made the third of the Three Festivals (san(n)e). Thus we see that it was still performed in the fifteenth century of our era. 

In the Eigwa monogatari and the Taiheiki (about A.D. 1100 and 1382) we read about the Saishōkō no Mihakkō (御八講) or “The Imperial Eight Expoundings of the Saishōkō” of the fifth month, and of the Saishōji no hakkō of the second day of the 7th month (12th cent.). This term was used in imitation of the name of the Hokke hakkō, the famous Tendai festival. It is clear that the Hokke hakkō was indicated in this way because of the eight chapters of the “Lotus Sūtra with additional sections” (Nanjō No. 139; Nanjō No. 134 consists of 7 chapters or fasciculi); therefore the proper name of the Saishōkō was Saishō jūkō or the “Ten Expounding of the Saishōkōkyō” on account of its having ten chapters or fasciculi (kwān).

The term Saishōkō gokwan (御五卷) means the central, i.e. the third, of the five days of the festival, because there was a morning and an evening session, and in each session one kwān was treated, so that the fifth chapter was dealt with in the morning session of the third day; this was considered the principal day of the festival. The Masu kagami (A.D. 1340—1350) speaks of the 28th day (of the fifth month) as the Uchi no Saishōkō gokwan.

1 In A.D. 1322 (V) the Jōdo-Shinshū priest Kōgen (光玄) (A.D. 1290—1373) (Washio p. 346, 1, s.v. Kōgen) was leader of the Saishōkō at the Court.

2 Daijii, II, p. 1477, 1, s.v. Saishōkō, where the Saishōe of Yakushiji is said to have been abolished in the Namboku-chō period (A.D. 1336—1392); but in the same work (II, p. 1476, 3, s.v. Saishōe) the date of Bunan 2 (A.D. 1445) is given.

3 Eigwa monogatari, Ch. xxxiv, Kokushi taikei, Vol. xv, p. 1606; Taiheiki, Ch. xxiv, p. 16. The Saishōji no hakkō appears to have been a festival of the beginning of the seventh month.

4 Daijiten, p. 586, 2, s.v. Saishō jūkō.
no hi, or "the day of the fifth chapter of the Saishōkō of the Imperial Palace". It began on the 26th of the fifth month of A.D. 1243 (Kwangen 1).  

§ 8, E. *The Saishōkō of Shirakawa Hōō's Palace (Toba-in, his Sentō gosho, 仙洞御所) (III 19–23?) (performed for the first time in A.D. 1113).*

In A.D. 1113 (Eikyū 1, VII 24) another Saishōkō was established by the Emperor Shirakawa, who after his abdication in A.D. 1086 resided in a so-called Sentō gosho or "Cave of the Genii" (name of the palace of a retired Emperor); after his death in A.D. 1129 it was inhabited by his grandson Toba Tennō, who had abdicated in A.D. 1123 (hence its name Toba-in).

From A.D. 1206 (Kenei 1, III 19) Tsugai-rongi (番論義) or "Coupled Discussions" were annexed to this ceremony, in imitation of the Uchi or Tsugai-rongi of the Gosaiie (also imitated at the Hokke-e of Hieizan) ² (cf. above, § 8, A, pp. 471 sq.). This discussion took place on the third day (III 21), i.e. probably the central day of the festival, which, as we saw above (§ 8, D), used to be the principal day. If this be right, in A.D. 1206 the days of the ceremony were III 19–23 (the Saishōe of Enshūji was held on II 19–23). There were ten tsugai (番) or "couples" of subjects; in some years there were nine, or seven, or even none at all. The number ten was due to the fact that the Saishōō-kyō consists of ten chapters (Nanjō's fasciculi, kwan). ³

We do not read when this In (院, i.e. Toba-in) or Sentō gosho no Saishōkō was abolished, but the fact that the Gosaiie, the Saishōe of Yakushiji and that of the Saiyōden lasted till the fifteenth century, and the Saishōe of Enshūji till the thirteenth,

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1 *Masu kagami, Ch. v (Uchino no yuki), Kokushi taikei, Vol. xvii, pp. 1038 sq.*
2 *Daijiten, p. 1235, 1, s.v. Hokke-e no tsugai-rongi.*
3 *Daijiten, p. 586, 2, s.v. Saishōkō.*
is clear evidence of the great importance attached to the Saishōkyō by the Japanese Court. For many centuries this sutra was believed to be one of the most powerful expedients for the protection of the Emperor and State. When in A.D. 1281 Japan was in utmost danger, being attacked by Kublai Khan’s fleet and army, the Kairitsu priest Eison (睿尊) (A.D. 1201—1290) explained the Saishōkyō and the Emperor Go Uda himself copied the sixth chapter of this holy text, devoted to the protection of the country by the Four Deva Kings. ¹ And even in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries of our era the Tendai priests Ryōgon (良厳) (1742–1814) and Ryō-a (亮阿) (1800–1882), the former in 1794, in 1817 the latter (together with the Hokkekyō and the Ninnōkyō), paid special attention to this “King of the Sutras”, this great text of the Golden Light. ²

¹ Washio, p. 77, 2, s.v. Eison.
² Washio, pp. 1177, 2, 1207, 2, s.v. Ryōgon and Ryō-a (who wrote the three texts with his blood).
CHAPTER XII.

THE DAIHANNYAKYŌ OR MAHĀPRAJÑĀPĀRAMITĀ-SŪTRA
(NANJŌ No. 1).

§ 1. Prajñāpāramitā and its principal text.

Prajñā (hannya, 般若, translated by chie, 智慧, Wisdom) is the highest of the six Pāramitās (六度, rokudo, "six means of passing", namely to Nirvāṇa, the other shore, higan, 彼岸), the perfect virtues (charity, morality, patience, energy, contemplation and wisdom), leading the Bodhisattvas to Nirvāṇa.

This Prajñāpāramitā, being the knowledge of the illusory character, emptiness, of all things (dharmas), is fully explained in the Daihannyakyō or Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra. For this reason it is the first and principal of all Mahāyāna-sūtras, and opens the Chinese Tripiṭaka with its stately number of 600 chapters (fasciculi).

According to Fah-hien (who travelled A.D. 399—413) in the beginning of the fifth century A.D. the Mahāyānists in the Indian kingdom of Mathurā presented offerings to the Prajñā-pāramitā, to Mañjuśrī and to Avalokiteśvara. This was the present text, worshipped as a deity by the Northern Buddhists, just as the Southern Church pays honour to the Sacred Books in general. ¹

It represents Wisdom itself, and as such it is the Mother of all Buddhas to the Mahāyānists.

"Prajñā not only means knowledge of the absolute truth, that is to say of śūnyatā or the void, but is regarded as an onto-

¹ Kern, Manual of Buddhism, p. 128.
logical principle synonymous with Bodhi and Dharma. Thus Buddhhas not only possess this knowledge in the ordinary sense but they are the knowledge manifest in human form, and Prajñā is often personified as a goddess. All these works (on Prajñā-pāramitā) lay great stress on the doctrine of śūnyatā, and the non-existence of the world of experience. The longest recension (this text) is said to contain a polemic against the Hīnayāna".  

Chi-ché ta-shi, the founder of the T‘ien-t‘ai sect in China (A.D. 531—597) “divided the teaching of the Buddha into five periods, regarded as progressive not contradictory, and expounded respectively in (a) the Hwa-yen (Kegon) sūtra; (b) the Hīnayāna sūtras; (c) the Leng-yen-king (Ryōgonkyō, i.e. Śūraṅgama-samādhi-sūtra, Nanjō No. 399, 446); (d) the Prajñā-pāramitā; (e) the Lotus Sūtra, which is the crown, quintessence and plenitude of all Buddhism”.  

Thus to the T‘ien-t‘ai sect (apart from the “opening” and “closing” sūtras of the Hokkekyō, Nos. 133 and 394) the Dai-hannyakyō is the second in rank and importance after the Lotus sūtra.

As to its worship as a female deity, we find Prajñāpāramitā side by side with Mañjuśrī and Tārā in the Singasari temple of Java (cf. Fah-hien’s statement about her being worshipped in Mathurā together with Mañjuśrī and Avalokiteśvara); also the famous statue in the Leiden Ethnographical Museum, representing a beautiful female Bodhisattva with the sacred text lying on the lotus in her left hand, is evidence of her cult in Java.

In Japan and China we find Hannya Bosatsu, i.e. the Bodhisattva Prajñā (pāramitā), in the centre of the Jimyō-in (持明院) of the Taizō-mandara (the maṇḍala of the phenomenal world) of the mystic cult, and among the ten Pāramitā Bodhisattvas of the Kokūzō (Ākāśagarbha)-in of the same mandara. Tradition

1 Eliot, Hinduism and Buddhism, II, p. 52.
2 L.l., III, p. 311.
identifies her also with the *Kongō-go (金剛護)* Bosatsu or "Vajra-protecting (Vajraraksha) Bodhisattva", one of the "Four Near Ones", *Shishingon (四親近)*, of the Buddha Amoghadhādhi on the Northern side of the *Kongō-mandara* (the manḍala of the Vajra or Diamond World). Her mystic name is *Dai-e Kongō* or "Great Wisdom Vajra" and as the *honzon* or principal saint of the *Daihannyakyō* she is called the "Mother of Wisdom" (*Chimo, 智母*) who gives birth to all the Buddhas of the three worlds (past, present and future). She is represented with six arms, seated upon a red lotus.

The first of the five classes of Mahāyāna sūtras in the Chinese canon, the *Prajñā-paramitā* class, consists of 22 numbers (Nanjō Nos. 1—22). No. 1 is the *Daihannyakyō* (600 fasc., 200000 ślokas), translated A.D. 659—663 by Hūen-tsang. The other texts are nearly all earlier or later translations of some of the 16 sūtras contained by the *Daihannyakyō*. From the second to the sixth century of our era Nos. 2—12, 15—17, 19, 21 and 22 appeared, and of these texts only No. 17, the *Ninnō-gokoku-hannya-haramitsu-kyō* (2 fasc., 8 ch., cf. above Ch. V, § 2, p. 119), and No. 19 (the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-mahavidyā-mantra-sūtra*, 大明咒經, one leaf, i.e. the famous *Prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya-sūtra, 心經*), both translated by Kumārajīva (A.D. 402—412), are not found in the *Daihannyakyō*. This famous translator’s name is also connected with Nos. 3 and 6 (*小品, A.D. 408*), as well as with the celebrated *Kongō-hannya-haramitsu-kyō* (No. 10, 14 leaves, with an Imperial preface of A.D. 1411), rendered successively by Kumārajīva, Bodhiruci I (508—535), Paramārtha (562), Dharmagupta (590—616), Hūen-tsang (645—664) and I-tsing (700—712) (Nos. 10—15, the last three of which are called the "Well cutting Diamond sūtra" (*能斷金剛, Nōdan kongō*). As to the *Sūtra*

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1 *Himitsu jirin*, pp. 885 sq.

2 Nos. 2—4 are identical with No. 1b (the second *sūtra* of the *Daihannya-kyō*); Nos. 5—8 with No. 1d; No. 9 with No. 1f; Nos. 10—15 with No. 1f; No. 16 with No. 1h; No. 18 with No. 1j, and Nos. 21 and 22 with No. 1g.
of the Heart (*Hṛdaya sūtra*) (No. 19), 250 years after Kumārajīva Hūen-tsang translated this small but famous text (No. 20, one leaf), deemed worthy of an Imperial preface by the founder of the Ming dynasty, T'ài-tsu (A.D. 1368—1398). In the titles of Nos. 16, 21 and 22 (translations of the 5th and 6th centuries) the name of the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī is found, which reminds us of the fact, that his cult was mentioned in India and in Java together with that of Prajñā-pāramitā.

The *Daihannyakyō* consists of the so-called “Sixteen Meetings in Four Places” (四處十六會, *shisho jūroku-e*), i.e. the 16 sermons of the Buddha, held on the Vulture Peak (no. 1, Ch. 1—400; nos. 2—6, Ch. 401—573; no. 15, Ch. 591—592), in Anāthapiṇḍada’s park at Śrāvasti (nos. 7—9, Ch. 574—577; no. 11—14, Ch. 579—590), in the highest of the six Devalokas (*Take-jizai-ten, 他化自在天*), the abode of the *Paranirmita-vasavartin*; no. 10, Ch. 578), and at the Snowy Heron pond in the Bamboo Park (Karanḍa Veṇuvana) near Rajagṛha (no. 16, Ch. 593—600).

Probably the numbers four and sixteen are not accidental. We may compare them with those of the Arhats in Mahāyānism: the Four Great Śrāvakas and the group of the Sixteen Arhats, protectors of the four quarters of the world. ¹ Similarly the idea of the four quarters and their protection may have been the leading thought in composing this sūtra.

No wonder that this supreme text of the Mahāyāna church played for centuries a prominent part in Chinese and Japanese Buddhism as well as in that of the other countries where Mahāyāna prevailed. The following paragraphs will show its great importance to ceremonial Japan.

As to its commentaries, the principal work is Nāgārjuna’s *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra* (大智度論, *Daichidoron*, Nanjō No. 1169, generally called *Dairon*, 大論, or “The Great Šāstra”,

¹ Cf. Sylvain Lévi and Chavannes, *Les seize Arhats protecteurs de la Loi*; *Journal Asiatique*, 1916, p. 190 (51); the present writer’s treatise on the *Arhats in China and Japan*, Ch. III, § 2.
translated A.D. 402—405 by Kumārajīva, and consisting of 100 fasciculi.

As stated above (Ch. VIII, § 13, p. 292), the Liang Emperor Wu Ti (A.D. 502—549) held penitential services based upon the Daihannyakyō and the Kongō-hannyakyō, and the Ch'ên Emperor Süen Ti (A.D. 569—582) followed his example by celebrating rites of repentance in accordance with the sixth sūtra of the former text.

In A.D. 663 (X 30) the Emperor Kao-tsung of the T'ang dynasty (A.D. 650—683), who had heard with great joy that Hüen-tsang had completed the translation of the Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra, gave a vegetarian entertainment to the monks in the Kia-sheu-tien (嘉壽殿), a palace which in honour of the sūtra had been splendidly adorned with precious flags and canopies and all kinds of offering utensils. Hüen-tsang had translated it in four years (659—663) in the Yüh-kwa-szê (玉華寺), a palace made a Buddhist temple in A.D. 659 on behalf of the soul of the preceding Emperor (T'ai-tsung, 627—650). The Emperor invited the sūtra to the Kia-sheu-tien, where it was expounded and the festival was held. When he went to meet it on its way to this palace, it emitted light over a great distance, a rain of heavenly flowers descended, and a wonderful odour filled the air! This was the first instance of celebrating the ceremony called Daihannya kuyō (大般若供養) or “Offering to the Mahāprajñāpāramitā”.

The sūtra itself and those who make offerings to it are protected by 16 good spirits, in accordance with the number of the sermons which it contains.

1 Tao-süen, Nanjō No. 1481, Ch. xxviii, sect. 9, pp. 291b—296a.
2 Daijiten, p. 1156, 3, s.v. Daihannya kuyō.
3 Daijii, III, p. 3207, 3, s.v. Daihannya-e.
§ 2. Daihannya-e (大般若會) or "Meetings in honour of the Daihannyakyō", held in the Imperial Palace during the eighth century.

Daihannya-e were meetings in which the Daihannyakyō was expounded or read by means of the tendoku system, in order to give peace and rest to the Empire and to avert calamities (鎮國除災, chinkoku josai). The first time we read of the Daihannyakyō in Japan is in A.D. 703 (III 10), under the reign of Mommu Tennō (697—707). Then the monks of the four great temples of Nara (Daianji, Yakushiji, Gwangōji and Kōfukuji) were ordered by Imperial edict to read this sūtra, and a hundred men were made to enter religion. This may have been done in connection with the death of the Emperor's aunt, the Empress Jitō, who had abdicated in A.D. 696 and after whose death (A.D. 702, XII 22) two vegetarian entertainments had taken place in the same four great temples (XII 25 and 703, I 5). On the 49th day after her death (II 11) a similar entertainment was given there and in 29 other sanctuaries.

It is, however, not stated, whether the Daihannyakyō was read for this or for some other reason. 1

The first Palace meeting of this kind, however, was held in A.D. 725 (Jinki 2, intercalary I, 17), when the Emperor Shōmu (724—749) invited 600 monks to read this sūtra in the Palace, in order to avert calamities and strange events. 2 The number 600 is peculiar to this sūtra in connection with the number of its chapters (fasciculi). According to the Genkō Shakusho 3 as early as A.D. 708 (X) a yearly ceremony was established by Imperial edict, with tendoku of the Daihannyakyō and vegetarian entertainment of the monks, invited for this purpose;

1 Shoku Nihongi, Ch. III, p. 27.
2 Ibid., Ch. IX, p. 153.
3 Genkō Shakusho, Ch. XXI, p. 1007.
but neither the Shoku Nihongi nor the Fusô ryakki mention this fact.

The tendoku of this sūtra, called ten-daihannyaokyō or “turning the Mahāprajñā-sūtra”, is prescribed in a passage of the Susid-dhikāra sūtra (蘇悉地羯羅経, Soshitsuji-kara-kyō, Nanjō No. 533, translated A.D. 724 by Šubhakarasimha, a very important sūtra of the Tantric school. There it is said that it must be repeated seven or a hundred times.¹ The term tendoku was used already in A.D. 642, in the first year of the Empress Kōgyoku’s reign, when Soga no Oho-omi said that rain should be caused by tendoku of the Mahāyāna sūtras in the temples, and by repentance of sins.² Probably, however, this was not the later tendoku system, the opposite of shindoku (真読) or “true reading”, but simply “reading”, for the kana pronunciation is yomi-matsuru, and the Daijiten refers to other passages where it is used in this sense and not in that of “reading by way of extract”.³

The Emperor Shōmu appears to have had a firm belief in the protective power of the Prajñāpāramitā, for in A.D. 735 (Tempyō 7) (V 24) he ordered tendoku of the Dainhannyaokyō in the Palace and in the four great temples, in order to expel calamity and to give peace and tranquillity to the State.⁴ And in the same year (VIII 12) he had the Kongō-hannyaokyō read in the great temples of Dazaifu (Tsukushi) and in the sanctuaries of the divers provinces (of Tsukushi) against the pestilence there prevailing.⁵

In A.D. 737 (III 3) the same Emperor issued a proclamation to the effect that in every province a Shaka image and those

¹ Nanjō No. 533, Chapter 成就具支法品, quoted Daijiten, p. 1253, 3, s.v. ten-daihannyaokyō.
² Nihongi, Ch. xxiv, p. 410; Aston II, p. 175.
³ Daijiten, p. 1255, 3, s.v. tendoku.
⁴ Shoku Nihongi, Ch. xxii, p. 199.
⁵ Ibid., Ch. xii, p. 199.
of his two attendant Bodhisattvas Monju and Fugen (Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra) should be made and one copy of the Dairannyakyō written. The following month (IV 8) the Risshī Dōji (道慈), the famous Sanron priest mentioned above (Ch. XI, § 7 A, p. 447), in connection with the Ninnokyō, expounded by him in the Palace of the Chinese Emperor at Ch'ang-an, and with the first Konkwōmyō-Saishōō meeting in the Daigokuden (A.D. 737, X 26), informed the Emperor that after the Daianji (where he lived) had been repaired, he had privately requested some monks of pure conduct to read the Dairannyakyō, performing yearly tendoku of the whole work. “For that reason the temple was not damaged, although there were thunderstorms”. He now prayed His Majesty thenceforth to demand from every province a tax of three pieces of cloth, in order to complete the alms (fuse) (to the clergy) and to invite 150 monks, causing them to perform tendoku of the Dairannyakyō, that it might protect the temples, tranquillize the country, and give peace and rest to His Majesty’s Court. Further he requested the Emperor thenceforth to make this virtuous act a constant rule. This petition was granted by the Emperor.¹

The same year (V 1), when there was an eclipse of the sun, His Majesty invited 600 monks to the Palace and caused them to read the Dairannyakyō, and again (VIII 15) 700 monks in fifteen apartments of the Palace to perform tendoku of this sūtra and the Saishōōkyō, for the sake of the peace of the State and the repose of the country (太平国土安寧). At the same time 400 men became monks, and in the Home provinces and other parts of the country 578 persons followed their example.² Among the 700 priests who

¹ Ibid., Ch. xii, p. 206: 功德永為恒例。勅許之。
² Ibid., Ch. xii, pp. 208, 210.
had to read the two *sūtras*, probably 600 had the task of reading the *Daihannya*kyō and 100 the *Saishōkkyō* (10 fasc.).

In A.D. 740 the storms ceased and the crops improved, because, as the Emperor stated in his famous proclamation on the *kokubunji* and *kokubun-niji* (A.D. 741, Ill 24), he had commanded each of the provinces to make one golden *Shaka* image and write out one copy of the *Daihannya*kyō.¹

In A.D. 744 (Ill 14) the *Daihannya*kyō of *Konkōmyōji* (i.e. *Tōdaïji*) was transported to the *Shikōraku* (紫香樂) Palace and welcomed at the *Suzaku* gate by the officials with music and ceremonial honours (as in China A.D. 663, X 30). Thence it was brought into the Palace and placed in the *Anden*; 200 monks were invited to perform *tendoku* during one day. The next day 300 priests read the same *sūtra* in the high building situated near the Naniwa Palace.²

An *earthquake* was the reason that in A.D. 745 (V 10) the *Daihannya*kyō was read in the *Heijō* Palace: a week before in all the temples of the capital the *Saishōkkyō* was read (for 7 days), and the *Daishūkyō* (Nanjō No. 61) in the *Daianji*, *Yakushiji*, *Gwangōji* and *Kōfukuji* (for 21 days), all on account of earthquakes. Against the continual drought, however, praying for rain took place in the *Shintō* temples of all provinces; no *sūtras* or Buddhist prayers were used to avert this calamity.³

In the same year (A.D. 745, IX 19) the Emperor Shōmu fell ill, and not only were *Yakushi-kekwa* ordered in all the temples of the capital and Home provinces and in the “pure places of the famous mountains” (Buddhist temples), but also 3800 persons had to become monks, and falcons and cormorants were to be let loose in all provinces, because *hōjō* (放 生) was a meritorious act and hunting was wicked. At the same time, however, *gohei*

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¹ Ibid., Ch. xiv, p. 233.
² Ibid., Ch. xv, pp. 251 sq. the *Chūgū anden* is also mentioned in A.D. 750, V 8 (Ch. xviii, p. 294) in connection with the *Ninnōkyō*.
³ Ibid., Ch. xvi, p. 259.
and prayers were sent to the Shintō temples of Kamo and Matsu-
no-o and to the shrine of Hachiman at Usa. Moreover, in the
capital a hundred copies of the Daihannyaakyō had to be written
out, and in all provinces seven images of Yakushi Nyorai, 6 shaku
7 sun high, and seven copies of the Yakushikyō had to be made
(the number seven being proper to this Buddha, worshipped in
seven different forms). Three days later (IX 23) the Daihannyaakyō
was read by 600 monks in the Heijō no Chūgū, the Palace of the
Empress in Nara.¹

In A.D. 758 (Tempyō Hōji 2, VIII 18) the Empress Kōken issued
an ordinance, saying that in all provinces men and women, old
and young, should think of and read about the Mahāprajñā-
pāramitā, the Mother of all Buddhas, daily, in order to avert
storms and drought and pestilence.²

In A.D. 760 (Tempyō Hōji 4, intercalary IV 23) tendoku of the
Daihannyaakyō took place in the Palace by order of the Emperor
Junnin,³ and in A.D. 770 (Jingo Keiun 4, VII 15), shortly before
the Empress Shōtoku’s death, her last Imperial Ordinance, devoted
to the Buddhist doctrine, prescribed tendoku of this sūtra in all
the large and small temples of the Capital, during seven days
(VII 17—23), “in order to avert pestilence and other
calamities, and to counteract evil omens, by the
power of Wisdom and Compassion”. She forbade the
use of meat and wine throughout the Empire, and ordered officials,
monks and nuns of all provinces to do their utmost to control
and fulfill the reading of this sūtra in all the temples of their
territories.⁴

In A.D. 774 (Hōki 5, IV 11), when pestilence prevailed,
the Emperor Kōnin (A.D. 770—781), following evidently the words
of the Empress Kōken’s proclamation of A.D. 758 (VIII 18) and

¹ Ibid., Ch. xvi, p. 261.
² Ibid., Ch. xxi, pp. 355 sq.
³ Ibid., Ch. xxii, p. 380.
⁴ Ibid., Ch. xxx, p. 525.
quoting the same text, by Imperial Ordinance admonished the whole people to think of and read about the *Mahāprajñā-pāramitā*, in order to put a stop to the terrible epidemic. ¹

The following year (A.D. 775, Hōki 6, X 19) 200 monks read the *Daihannyakyō* in the Palace and in the Court Hall (*Chōdō*), and in A.D. 776 (V 30), when several evil omens had appeared and an ō-harai, a great Shinto lustration, had been held (V 19), the same *sūtra* was again read there by 600 monks. ² In A.D. 777 (III 21) the same number of priests, assisted by 100 novices, performed *tendoku* of this text in the Palace. ³

During the reign of the Emperor Kwammu (A.D. 781 IV1–806 III 17) very few ceremonies are mentioned. Only once do we read about the *Daihannyakyō*. It was read by his order for seven days in all the temples of the Home and other provinces, to save the life of the Empress. She died, however, on the fifth day (A.D. 789, XII 28). ⁴ Afterwards the *Kongō-hannyakyō* was used and not this *sūtra* (A.D. 797, V 19, against strange apparitions in the Palace and in that of the Prince Imperial, ⁵ and A.D. 806, III 17, on the very day of the Emperor's death, as a last means of saving his life). ⁶

§ 3. *The Daihannya-e, celebrated in the Daigokuden of the Imperial Palace and in temples during the ninth century.*

The ninth century was a glorious age with regard to this *sūtra*. It was the principal text used in protecting the State and Court against all kind of evil influences.

In A.D. 806 (V 7) it was read in the *Daigokuden* and in the

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¹ Ibid., Ch. xxxiii, p. 578.
² Ibid., Ch. xxxiii, p. 589; Ch. xxxiv, p. 596.
³ Ibid., Ch. xxxiv, p. 603.
⁴ Ibid., Ch. xl, p. 755.
⁵ *Nihon kiryaku, Zempen*, Ch. xiii, p. 378.
Tōgū (the Palace of the Prince Imperial), probably in connection with the death of the Emperor Kwammu (III 17), the 7th day after his death having been celebrated two days previously by a vegetarian entertainment of monks in the Palace. In A.D. 809 (I 18) the Emperor Heijō ordered this sūtra to be copied in all provinces "on behalf of the famous (Shintō) gods" (myōjin, 名神), and to be read, worshipped with offerings, and placed in the Kokubunji, or, if there was no Provincial Temple, in a jōgakuji (定額寺, a "temple with a fixed tablet", namely for its name): This was probably done to avert the evil omens of three days before, when a day had ascended the Western tower of the Daigokuden and barked, and several hundred crows had hovered over this building of the Palace.

In A.D. 819 (VII 18) tendoku of the Daihannyakyō took place during three days in the 13 Great Temples and in all the jōgakuji of Yamato province, in order to "pray for sweet rain". This was also the case in A.D. 827 (V 16), when during three days 100 priests performed tendoku of this sūtra in the Daigokuden, and in A.D. 829 (II 28) (100 priests and 100 śrāmaṇeras, three days in the Daigokuden). In A.D. 834 (VI 30) 100 priests had again to perform tendoku in the same building of the Palace, in order to pray for fertilizing rain and to avert storms. In the same way these rain ceremonies took place in A.D. 839 (IV 27) (100 priests tendoku for 3 days in the Hasshō-in, 八省院, also called Chōdō-in, 朝堂院, and Daigokuden-in, because the Daigokuden was its front building; in the Hasshō-in the Emperors ascended the Throne (soku-î), held audience and ruled the state with the principal officials). Ten days before

1 Nihon kōki, Ch. xiii, p. 68.
2 In A.D. 783 (VI) the Emperor Kwammu had issued an ordinance stating that there was a fixed number of jōgakuji in the Capital and Home provinces, and forbidding the people to build private Buddhist temples (Genkō Shakusho, Ch. xxiii, p. 1034).
3 Nihon kiryaku, Zempen, Ch. xiv, pp. 433, 456, 459.
4 Shoku Nihon kōki, Ch. iii, p. 195.
messengers were sent with gohei and prayers for rain to the Shinto shrines of Matsu-no-o, Kamo, Kibune, Nibu Kawakami (the "Rain-Master") and Sumiyoshi, and the Ninnōkyō was read for 7 days in the 15 Great Buddhist Temples.¹

The Daihannya-kyō, however, was the main text used in times of drought² and during the first half of this century there always were 100 priests who for three days performed tendoku of this text in the Hasshōin, especially in the Daigokuden. After Nimmyō Tennō’s death (A.D. 850, III 21), under the reign of the Emperor Montoku (A.D. 850—858, VIII 27), their number varied, also for other purposes (as averting pestilence and earthquakes), between 28 and 250 (A.D. 856, V 9, against pestilence). Montoku’s ordinance of A.D. 852 (III 11) is strong evidence of the great importance he attached to this sūtra in causing rain, for he ordered the priests of all the great Buddhist temples to read a chapter of this text daily during five months (IV 1—VIII 3), after having assembled in the dining-hall at the time of the meal. He added that they must keep this rule every year, in order to save the country from the calamity of drought.³

This sūtra was, of course, also used to protect the harvest against storms and rain (A.D. 835, VI 29, in the 15 great Buddhist temples; 850, VII 5; 851, VIII 1, praying for good crops),⁴ but especially at times of pestilence it was believed to be a mighty saviour (A.D. 826, VI 6, against pestilence and for good crops, 100 priests in the Emperor’s own palace and in the Daigokuden, for three days; A.D. 830, V 6, for seven days, against earthquake and plague; 833, III 20, 100 priests in the Daigokuden,

¹ Shoku Nihon kōki, Ch. viii, pp. 256 sq.
² A.D. 842, VII 20; 844, VI 10; 845, V 1; 848 VII 6; 850 V 9, 13; 852, III 11; 857 X 3; Shoku Nihon kōki, Ch. xii, p. 317; Ch. xiv, p. 352; Ch. xv, p. 361; Ch. xviii, p. 402; Montoku Tennō jitsuroku, Ch. i, p. 456; Ch. iv, p. 488; Ch. ix, p. 560.
³ Montoku Tennō jitsuroku, Ch. iv, 488.
⁴ Shoku Nihongi, Ch. iv, p. 207; Montoku Tennō jitsuroku, Ch. ii, p. 459; Ch. iii, p. 477.
three days, for good crops and against pestilence; 836, VII 16, in all provinces, and gohei sent to the famous Shintō gods; 836, VIII 24, 50 priests in the Hasshōin). ¹ In A.D. 840, VI 13, the Emperor Nimmyō, who in A.D. 838, XI 1 had praised the great and unequalled blessing power of the Hanna myōkyō, the "wonderful sūtras of the Prajñāpāramitā", and of Mahāyāna in general, in averting plague and giving good harvests, and who had then commanded men to copy and offer the Hanna Shinkyo (Nanjō No. 20, Prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya-sūtra, translated by Huen-tsang, one leaf), ² now took refuge in the Daihannya kyō on account of the prevailing drought and pestilence. Tendo ku of this sūtra had to take place during seven days in the day-time and Yakushi kekwa at night in the 15 great temples and in all famous Buddhist temples outside the Capital, and if in some mountain temple the Daihannya kyō might chance to be lacking, the Kongō-hannya kyō was to be read in its stead. The high officials were to do their utmost to promote this means of giving protection to the state and rest to the people (gokoku anmitsu), and it was forbidden to kill living beings (kindan sesshō) during the seven days of the ceremony. The Ninnō-hannya kyō had been expounded seven days before (VI 14) by a hundred priests, seated on high seats in the Palace, in order to counteract evil forebodings. ³ Thus the four great Prajñāpāramitā-sūtras (Daihannya kyō, Kongō-hannya kyō, Ninnō-hannya kyō and Hanna-shinkyō, Nanjō Nos. 1, 10, 17 and 20), especially the two former texts, were in constant use against the demons of pestilence; with regard to the Ninnō kyō, as seen above (Ch. V, § 4, C, pp. 182 sqq.), this was destined in the following centuries to surpass all other sūtras.

Sometimes the Daihannya kyō and the Kongō-hannya kyō were combined, as in A.D. 834 (IV 26), when in all Buddhist temples

¹ Nihon kir yaku, Zempen, Ch. xiv, pp. 453, 462; Ch. xv, p. 488; Shoku Nihon kōki, Ch. i, p. 175; Ch. v, p. 227.
² Shoku Nihon kōki, Ch. vii, p. 248.
³ Ibid., Ch. ix, p. 279.
of the capital *tendoku* of one copy of the former and 100,000 chapters of the latter was commanded "on behalf of the Spirits of Heaven and Earth", in order to drive away the violent pestilence.\(^1\) Even in Shintō shrines under such dangerous circumstances the *Daihannya* was read, e.g. in A.D. 856 (V 9), when 250 monks had to perform this ceremony for three days in the *Daigokuden*, the *Reinen-in*, and the Shintō sanctuaries of *Kamo* and *Matsu-no-o*.\(^2\) "On behalf of the great god of Kamo" 1000 chapters of the *Kongō-hannya* were read for three days in A.D. 839 (V 11) (probably to obtain rain);\(^3\) in this way the protection of these gods against the demons of disease and drought was secured by causing their salvation by means of the *sūtras*. They were not yet, as in later times, considered as *avataras*, manifestations, of Buddhas or Bodhisattvas.

Earthquakes were stopped by reading the *Daihannya* in the *Daigokuden* (100 priests, 3 days; A.D. 827, XII 14), or seven days (830, V 6), or in the *Shishinden* (850, III 5), or in the *Tōgū* (the Palace of the Prince Imperial) (50 priests, 3 days; probably on account of the heavy earthquake of some days before; 852, X 27).\(^4\)

Bad omen, especially when they had appeared in the Imperial Palace, were also suppressed by means of this powerful *sūtra*. When in A.D. 836 (XII 6) the pagoda of *Shitennoji* had been destroyed by lightning, the Emperor Nimmyō ordered *tendoku* of the *Daihannya* for three days and three nights, incessantly, in 19 temples, namely Tōdaiji, Shin-Yakushiji, Kōfukuji, Gwangōji, Daianji, Shitennoji etc.\(^5\) The following year (A.D. 837, IV 25) at the request of the high-priests in twenty important temples this

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\(^1\) ibid., Ch. iii, p. 193.
\(^2\) Montoku Tennō jitsuroku, Ch. viii, p. 534.
\(^3\) Shoku Nihon kōki, Ch. viii, p. 258.
\(^4\) Nihon kiryu, Zempen, Ch. xiv, pp. 457, 462; Shoku Nihon kōki, Ch. xx, p. 430; Montoku jitsuroku, Ch. iv, p. 491.
\(^5\) Shoku Nihon kōki, Ch. v, p. 230.
sūtra was read in the day-time and Yakushi Nyorai’s holy name was praised at night during three days of each of the three decades of three months (V—VII), in order to expel the evil influences of calamitous and strange events in heaven and on earth, which had happened of late.¹

In A.D. 839 (II 15) a comet caused the Hannya-shinkyō to be read in Tōji and Saiji, the two celebrated Shingon sanctuaries of Kyōto, and five months later (VII 5) tendoku of the Daihannya-kyō took place in the Shishinden and the Jōneiden of the Palace, performed by 60 priests, because of strange apparitions within the “forbidden” residence of the Emperor.² For the same reason in A.D. 843 (V 8) a hundred priests read the Yakushikyō for three days in the Seiryōden, practised the Yakushiho in the Jōneiden, and performed tendoku of the Daihannya-kyō in the Daigokuden; moreover, all the leading officials had to eat acid food, and the killing of animals was strictly forbidden. Three months later such evil omens were again averted by a hundred priests, performing tendoku of the latter sūtra in the Daigokuden, thirty of whom had besides to practise mystic ceremonies during five days in the Shingon-in, Kōbō Daishi’s chapel in the Palace, and the chief officials had again to fast.³ We might doubt whether the sūtra was also read in the mystic chapel, did not the annals state that in A.D. 845 (III 6) on account of strange apparitions (evil influences of spirits, called mono no ke, 物怪, the usual term) a hundred priests performed tendoku of the Daihannya-kyō during five days in the Shishinden, Seiryōden, Jōneiden and Shingon-in, and that at the same time they practised darani-hō or mystic rites.⁴

Not only in the country, but also at sea and abroad the protecting power of this sūtra was supreme. In A.D. 838 (V 1)

¹ Ibid., Ch. vi, p. 235.
² Ibid., Ch. viii, pp. 254, 259.
³ Ibid., Ch. xiii, pp. 337, 343.
⁴ Ibid., Ch. xv, p. 360. Cf. A.D. 847, III 11, Ch. xvii, p. 383.
the Emperor Nimmyō, who a month before (IV 5) had ordered the reading of the *Kairyūō-kyō* (海龍王經, Sāgara-Nāgarāja-sūtra), the *Sūtra* on the Nāga-king of the Sea, Nanjō No. 456, translated by Dharmaraksha I of the Western Tsin dynasty between A.D. 266 and 317) in the gokinai and all other provinces from the month of departure to China of the Ambassador Fujiwara no Ason Tsunetsugu and the Vice-Ambassador Ono no Ason Takamura until the day of their return to Japan, at their request issued an ordinance to the effect that not only that *sūtra* should be strictly expounded the whole of that time in all provinces, but that also during the same period *tendoku* of the *Daihannya-kyō* should be performed there.¹ The following year (A.D. 839, III 1) in a similar ordinance he stated that these ceremonies had to take place also in the 15 Great Temples, and that in this way the three ships of the Ambassadors should be protected against wind and waves.²

The person of the Emperor himself was protected against evil spirits by three days *tendoku* of the *Daihannya-kyō* in the Palace when he was about to change his place of residence, as e.g. in A.D. 842 (XI 14) (59 priests).³

These facts are clear evidence of the eminent blessing power ascribed to this *sūtra* during the first half of the ninth century, especially by the Emperors Nimmyō and Montoku, its power to avert all kinds of evil from His Majesty and all his subjects, from high to low, from minister to peasant. But it was not yet used at fixed times of the year, as instituted by Montoku Tennō's son and successor, Seiwa Tennō (A.D. 858—876), the Emperor of the famous *Jōkwan* era (859—876), in the beginning of his reign (A.D. 859, II 25). It was, of course, not Seiwa himself, who established this rule, for he was the first child on the Throne and his grandfather, Fujiwara no Yoshifusa (804—872), governed

¹ Ibid., Ch. vii, pp. 244 sq.
² Ibid., Ch. viii, p. 255.
³ Ibid., Ch. xii, p. 328.
in his place as *Sesshō* or Regent, in this way initiating the glorious Fujiwara period. From A.D. 859 to 876 sixty (sometimes 100, 120, or 80, but mostly 60) priests used to perform *tendoku* of the *Daihannya*kyō for 3 days in the four seasons (*shiki*, 四季), namely in the second (or third), fifth, eighth and tenth months, first in the Tōgū (A.D. 859 and 860), then in the Naiden, Shishinden or Daigokuden. The days were not fixed, as was the case with the *Gosaie* or *Saishōe* of the Daigokuden (I 8—14) (see above, Ch. XI, § 8, A, p. 471) and the Butsumyō sange (also celebrated in the Palace, namely in the Naiden, XII 19—21), the latter having in A.D. 858 (XII 18) been instituted as a regular yearly ceremony (cf. above, Ch. VIII, Rites of Repentance, § 19 B, pp. 384). After Seiwa’s abdication (A.D. 876) Fujiwara no Mototsune, *Sesshō* of the young Emperor Yōzei, changed the rule and caused the *Daihannya*-e to be held twice instead of four times a year, namely in spring and autumn (in the third and eighth months; the first time in A.D. 877, III 26 and VII 7, because that year it was also a prayer for rain).¹ In A.D. 898 (III 14, VIII 5), after Uda Tennō’s abdication, when the Emperor Daigo had ascended the throne, the term *Kā-midok(k)yō* (dokyō) (季御讀經), “Imperial Sūtra-reading of the (two) seasons” (spring and autumn), came into constant use to designate the vernal and autumnal Daihannya ceremonies.² As to the term *Midok(k)yō*, this was used for the first time in A.D. 891 (II 13), when 120 priests were invited to the Palace, to read this sūtra.³ In A.D. 906 (X 8) we read of *Hannya* *midok(k)yō*, performed in the Seiryōden, against bad omens,⁴ and from A.D. 915 (V 6) the *Ninnōkyō*-midok(k)yō and the *Rinji Ninnōkyō* midok(k)yō (VI 20, in the Daigokuden against pestilence and for rain)⁵ show

1 Nihon kiryaku, Zempen, Ch. xix, pp. 673, 676.
2 Nihon kiryaku, Köhen, Ch. I, pp. 774 sq.
3 Nihon kiryaku, Zempen, Ch. xx, p. 756.
4 L.l., Köhen, Ch. I, p. 786.
5 L.l., Ch. I, p. 797.
the ever increasing influence of that sūtra, gradually overshadowing that of the Daihannya kyō.

As to the sects which made use of the latter sūtra, we learn from the biographies of the priests, that Dengyō Daishi wrote on this text and that the Tendai sect was its principal propagator. In the ninth century we find the Tendai priests Enrei (延庭) (A.D. 860), Ensai (延最) (A.D. 885) and Sō (相應) (A.D. 900) mentioned as its devout readers and expounders.¹

§ 4. The Daihannya kyō in the tenth century.
Rain ceremonies in A.D. 948.

In the Engi era (A.D. 901—923) annual Daihannya-e were celebrated regularly with great pomp in Dainji, Köfukuji, Todaiji and Yakushiji, and being choku-e or “Meetings fixed by Imperial Ordinance” they were attended by musicians from the Department of Music or by Court officials (miyabito) sent by the Department of State Affairs.²

In the annals of the tenth century besides the vernal and autumnal midok(k)yō Daihannya reading is only mentioned from time to time, because the Ninnōkyō had acquired predominance. After a long period of silence we read about tendoku of the Daihannya kyō in 21 temples, and performed by 20 priests in the Kokiden of the Palace (A.D. 931, intercalary V 27). The reason is not given, but the heavy rains and earthquakes of that month may have caused this measure.³ In A.D. 935 (II 29) the Empress-Dowager made an offering of the Daihannya kyō on Tendai-zan (i.e. Hieizan), which indicates the close connection between this text and the Tendai sect.⁴

¹ Washio, pp. 108, 403, 742.
² Daijō III, p. 3208, 1, s.v. Daihannya-e.
³ Nihon kiryaku, kōhen, Ch. II, p. 815.
⁴ Ibid., Ch. II, p. 819.
or small-pox the ancient Palace ceremony was used,¹ and the Kongō-hannyakyō against evil omens (949 III 30, VII 25; 975 XII 21), but the Ninnōkyō had become the principal Prajñāpāramitā text.

A typical specimen of the various religious measures taken at this time against heavy drought is found in A.D. 948 (V and VI). First of all the Emperor Murakami went to the Hasshō-in and offered gohei to all Shintō temples, in order to pray for rain; then a Rinji Ninnō-e was held. Messengers with gohei were sent to the Shintō rain-gods of Nibu and Kibune. Midokyō followed in the "Dragon-hole" on Mount Murōbu in Uda district, Yamato province (Ryūketsu jinja, 龍穴神社, a Shintō shrine, famous for its rain giving power),² performed by 10 priests for three days. This ceremony was led by the Risshi Kūsei (崇晴), a Hessō priest of Kōfukuji. Not only the Emperor himself, but also the denjō-bito or Palace officials sent rain-prayers to the Shintō gods of Nibu and Kibune, with offerings of race-horses. From olden times horses used to be presented to the rain-gods.³ Messengers were also sent to the five Imperial Mausolea in order to pray for rain to the Imperial Ancestors, and Buddhist priests had to go to the shrines of Hachiman and Kamo, and for five days pray there for "sweet rain and a good harvest"; but when it began to rain in the evening of V 15, this was ascribed to the divine power of the Ninnōkyō. The next day, however, a hundred priests were invited to the Daigokuden and requested to read the Daihannyakyō. At the same time the Shingon priests began to try to obtain rain by means of the famous rite of the Peacock Sūtra (Kujakuyō-hō, 孔雀経法), which was afterwards so often used in times of drought, illness of the Emperor,

¹ A.D. 935, V 4 (rain); 947 VIII, 14 (Ninnōkyō and Daihannyakyō against small-pox); 948 V and VI (rain); 957 VI 18—21; 960 VI 14 (plague); 961 VI 25 (rain); 993 VI 20—24, 994 VIII 10—13, 995 V 26, 1001 V 29, all against pestilence.
² Cf. the present writer's "The Dragon in China and Japan", Book II, Ch. III, § 5, pp. 168 sqq.
³ Ibid., Ch. III, § 2, pp. 156 sqq.
or when the Empress was in labour.¹ This time it was practised in the Shingon-in of the Palace by the Risshī Kwankū (寬空, A.D. 882—970), in order to “pray for sweet rain”. When the reading of the Daihannyaakyō was finished, the Emperor presented dosha (度者, novices, new shami or śrāmaneras) to the monks, but no offerings (fuse, which he often gave after such ceremonies). Notwithstanding all these Shintō and Buddhist rites, the drought continued. Therefore on VI 2 tendoku of the Ninnōkyō commenced in seven Shintō Shrines; after three days the same ceremony began again, once more for three days, in all Shintō shrines, in the Dragon-hole, and in Tōdaiji. In the mean time the sōgo (Buddhist high-priests) and lesser monks were despatched to 11 Shintō sanctuaries and to the Dragon-hole, and the monks of the Seven Great Buddhist temples (of Nara), having assembled in the Daibutsuden of Tōdaiji, had to say prayers for rain. After having sent gohei to Ise and to the sixteen Shintō shrines, the Emperor ordered the Risshī Kwankū, the Shingon priest mentioned above, to practise the Shōukyōhō (請雨經法), i.e. the rite of the famous Mahāmegha (Great Cloud) sūtra, so often recited in the “Sacred Spring Park” (Shinzen-en, 神泉苑).² On the 25th day of the sixth month the Dairi shūhō or “Palace rites” (probably Shingon ceremonies) began, and from VI 30 to VII 2 ten priests performed a Rinji-midokyō or “Special Sūtra reading” in the (Shingon)in. On the fourth of the seventh month the festival was held of the wind gods of the Shintō shrines of Hirose and Tatsuta, also givers of rain;³ finally, on the sixth, the rain fell in torrents and a thunderstorm burst forth!⁴

As to the reading of sūtras in famous Shintō shrines, this was also done in A.D. 957 (VI 1), when one of the high-priests,

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³ Ibid., Book II, Ch. III, § 1.
⁴ Nihon kiryaku, köhen, Ch. III, pp. 852 sq.
leading ten others, recited the Ninnōkyō in each of the 14 Shintō shrines, known for their blessing power and designated for this purpose, in order to avert the prevailing drought and plague. This was soon followed (VI 18—20) by tendoku of the Daihannya-kyō by a hundred priests in the Nanden and the Emperor's private palace. In A.D. 960 (V 13) the Daisōzu Kwankū (the same Shingon priest as in A.D. 948) again practised the Kujakukyō-hō or "Rite of the Peacock-sūtra", to stop the calamity of drought and pestilence. Eight days later a Ninnōe was held (V 21), and on VI 5 the Emperor Murakami ordered the Daihannya-kyō to be read in the Dai Nichi-in (a sanctuary of Dai-Nichi Nyorai, probably belonging to the Shingon or Hossō sect) for 50 days! Moreover, a hundred monks were invited to the Nanden and the Seiryōden, to perform tendoku of the Daihannya-kyō against the prevailing pestilence, and the Daisōzu Kwankū celebrated a sacrificial service in honour of Fudō Myōō (Acala Vidyārāja) in the Jijuden (VI 14). The next month the Emperor endeavoured to expel the drought by specially sending gohei to Ise and to all the other great Shintō shrines; sūtras were read in the Dragon-hole, and the Onyōryō held a rain-praying festival (usai, amagoi no matsuri, 霧祭, in the Shinzen-en. At the same time messengers were despatched to the five Imperial Mausolea.

In the sixth month of the following year (A.D. 961, VI 12—28) similar rain-prayers and offerings of gohei were made by Imperial messengers in the Shintō sanctuaries of Ise, Iwashimizu, and 15 other Shintō shrines, and 180 monks of the Seven Great Buddhist temples of Nara read the Daihannya-kyō in Tōdaiji from VI 15 to 29, whilst sūtra reading in order to obtain rain also took place in the Daigokuden. At the same time the festival of the Windgods of Hirose and Tatsuta was held, and the Onyōryō celebrated the "Five Dragons Festival" (Goryūsai, 五龍祭).

1 Ibid., Ch. iv, p. 869.
2 Ibid., Ch. iv, p. 881.
When on the 29th it began to rain, this was specially ascribed to the recital of the sūtra. ¹

Thus we see how in the tenth century the Prajñāpāramitā, represented by the Daihannyakyō and the Ninnōkyō, was still used as a powerful saviour from drought and pestilence (the Kongō-hannyaakyō averting evil omens), but that at the same time the mystic rites of Mahāmayūri (Kujaku-ō) and Acala Vidyārāja (Fudō Myōdō), the rain-prayers to the Shintō gods and Imperial Ancestors, and the Taoistic usai and goryūsai, celebrated by the Onyōryō, were put into practice in order to save the country from those calamities.

Another version of the 10th sūtra of the Daihannyakyō, the Rishu-hannyaakyō (理趣般若若經, Nanjō No. 1033, a later translation of No. 18, in its turn a later version of the 10th sūtra of No. 1) was used in A.D. 960, XII 1, when for three days three priests read it at the Kenreimon, one of the outer gates of the Palace, in order to consecrate the Emperor's new place of residence. Tendoku of the same sūtra, of the Ninnōkyō and the Tenchi-hachiyō-kyō (天地八陽經, probably Nanjō No. 300, 佛說八陽神咒經, “Sūtra spoken by the Buddha on the eight pure and spiritual mantras (of Heaven and Earth)”) was performed by ten famous priests in the newly built Ryōkiden A.D. 961, IX 19, evidently also in connection with its consecration, i.e. to expel all evil influences from the new building. ² As to the Ninnōkyō, this was called the “King of Sūtras” (Kyō-ō), a term sometimes applied to and used in the Lotus Sūtra, the Saishōkyō and the Shinjikwangyō (Nanjō No. 955), ³ in A.D. 963 (VIII 23), when we read that the “King of Sūtras” was expounded in the day-time, and Mando-e held at night. ⁴

¹ Ibid., Ch. iv, p. 887.
² Ibid., Ch. iv, pp. 885, 888.
³ Daijiten, p. 253, 3, s.v. Kyō-ō.
⁴ Nihon kiryaku, Köhen, Ch. iv, p. 898.
§ 5. The Daihannyaokyō in the eleventh century.

In the eleventh century the Daihannyaokyō was used against pestilence (A.D. 1001, V 29, tendoku of it at the 12 gates of the Palace), but the principal text read for this purpose was the Ninnōkyō (A.D. 1001, III 10, Hyakuza-Ninnōkō in the Daigokuden, for seven days; the Emperor proceeded to the Hasshō-in in order to pray for deliverance from the plague; V 9 the eki-gami or Gods of Pestilence were worshipped; and III 22 a special festival of Hachiman of Iwashimizu was held). Other important texts were, of course, the Hokkekyō (the Hokke hakkō or "Eight Expounding of the Lotus sūtra" and the Hokke sanjūkō ("30 expoundings") were important festivals), and the Jumyōkyō (壽命 經, Sūtra of Long Life", i.e. the Bussetsu issai Nyorai kongō jumyō darani kyō, 佛說一切如來金剛壽命陀羅尼經, Nanjō No. 960). In A.D. 1027, XI 14, Jūōmon-in, i.e. Fujiwara no Akiko, Michinaga's daughter, consort of Ichijō Tennō and mother of Go-Ichijō and Go-Suzaku, who the year before had become a nun, ordered 26000 chapters of this Jumyōkyō to be read by means of the tendoku system in all Buddhist temples, in order to cure her father, the famous Michinaga, and at the same time the Empress, her sister Ishi, caused the Konkwōmyokyō, the Nehangyō, and the Yuimakyō to be read, whereas the Kwampaku Sadaijin Yorimichi, his eldest son, gave offerings to ten thousand monks; in the Yakushidō of Hōjōji a hundred priests read the Ninnōkyō, and a hundred other monks recited the Fudo Shingon or Mantra of Acala Vidya-rāja a million times. But the next month (XII 4) the greatest of the Fujiwara's died, as a faithful believer in Amitābha, in the Muryōjuin of Hōjōji. The fact that the Daihannyaokyō was not used in those critical days is clear evidence that it had lost its former importance. Yet it was still occasionally read in the Daigokuden by 60 priests (A.D. 1028,

1 Ibid., Ch. x, pp. 1046 sq.
2 Ibid., Ch. xiii, pp. 1144 sq.
V 3; 1030 IV 27)¹ or in the Nanden by 600 priests, for 3 days (A.D. 1099, VI 23)² against pestilence, but the Ninnokyō, the Jumyōkyō (A.D. 1017, VI 22; 1021, I 28; 1030, V 19, 1000 priests in the Daigokuden),³ the Kwannongyō (Nanjō No. 137) (A.D. 1030 V 24, tendoku in all provinces) and the Kujakukyō (the Peacock sutra) (1099, VII 1) were powerful rivals in this respect; and also the Yakushikyō was used against the plague by Michinaga (A.D. 1020, XII 21) who for seven days practised the Shichibutsu-Yakushiho on Hiezan.⁴

The same sutras as well as the Mahāmegha sutra (Shō-u-kyō) were read instead of the Daihannyakyō against drought, but when pestilence and drought came together, as in A.D. 1028 (V 3), the Daihannyakyō was still deemed a powerful protector.⁵ This was also the case when the Emperor was ill, as in A.D. 1020 (IX 13), when 20 priests were requested to perform tendoku of it, and in A.D. 1022 (VI 4), when midok(k)yō of the Daihannyakyō and the Hokkekyō took place in the Palace, Tōdaiji, and Kōfukuji.⁶

That greater importance was attached to the Jumyōkyō than to the Daihannyakyō is evident from the fact that the former sutra used to be read by a much larger number of monks, namely 1000 (as in A.D. 1017, VI 22; 1021, I 28 and 1030, V 19, in the Daigokuden, against pestilence); this was also the case with the Kwannongyō (as in A.D. 1032, VI 27, in the Daigokuden, for rain; 1099, II 24, in the same building, against the unrest of the world).⁷

The nobles of that time, in the first place the great Michinaga, used to copy and sacrifice sutras in the temples or in the Palace.

¹ Ibid., Ch. xiv, pp. 1148, 1155.
² Honchō seki (Kokushi taikei, Vol. VIII), Kōwa 1 (1099), p. 342.
³ Nihon kiryaku, kōhen, Ch. xiii, pp. 1110, 1125, 1154.
⁴ Ibid., Ch. xiii, p. 1125.
⁵ Ibid., Ch. xiv, p. 1148.
⁶ Ibid., Ch. xiii, pp. 1124, 1130.
⁷ Nihon kiryaku and Honchō seki, l.l.
These texts were the Daihannyakyō (as in A.D. 1004, III 25, in Ninnaji, by Michinaga; in 1005, X 22, and 1009, V 23, at the beginning of the midok(k)kyō, in the Seiryōden), the Hokkekyō (an offering of a thousand copies of this text and of more than 3000 pictures representing Buddhist figures was made in A.D. 1010, III 21 by the foreign Tendai priest Gyōen, called “the Saint with the furs”, Kawa shōnin); the Issaikyō (the whole canon, offered in the Zenden of the Palace); and the Jumyōkyō (copied by the Court nobles (kuge) against the pestilence prevailing in A.D. 1017, VI 23; 1000 priests, invited to the Palace, performed tendoku of this text in the Daigokuden). ¹

The term mido(k)kyō, “Imperial sūtra-reading”, was now used not only in connection with the Daihannyakyō (A.D. 1099, VI 23, against pestilence), but also with the Ninnōkyō (A.D. 1019, VIII 6), the Saishōkyō (A.D. 1068, VIII 8—10), the Kuja kuku kyō (A.D. 1087, VII 29, three days, for rain, in the Shinzen-en; this sūtra is called here the “King of Sūtras”, because it caused rain), and the Kwa nongyō (A.D. 1099, II 24, 1000 priests in the Daigokuden against unrest of the world). ² As to the ki-mido(k)kyō, the vernal and autumnal Imperial sūtra-reading, these ceremonies were still celebrated regularly in the third, fourth or fifth and tenth month, each time for three days, and since no other sūtras were mentioned with regard to these rites, we may suppose that the ancient tradition of using the Daihannya kyō for this purpose was still unchanged.

§ 6. The Daihannya kyō from the 12th to the 19th century.

In the 12th and 13th centuries the Daihannya mido(k)kyō is mentioned occasionally, as e.g. in A.D. 1145 (V 6), when the appearance of a comet caused mido(k)kyō by a thousand priests in Hōshōjī;

¹ Nihon kiryaku, kōhen, Ch. xi, xiii and xiv.
² Honchō seki, pp. 308, 320, 342; Nihon kiryaku, kōhen, Ch. xiii, pp. 1121.
they read the Ninnōkyō, but for three days (V 8—10) 60 priests read the Daihannyakyō in the Nanden, and 1000 monks held mido(k)kyō of the Kwannongyō in Tōdaiji and Enryakuji (Kegon and Tendai sects). Saishō-mihakkō, Ninnōe (in the Nanden, VI 16) and Ninnōkō were also held in order to expel the evil omen. 1

Two years later (A.D. 1147, II 10) the Daihannyakyō was copied and sacrificed by the highest officials in the Nanden, tendoku of it took place for three days, a Rinji-Ninnōe was held, and special amnesty was granted, because once more a comet had been seen in the first month of the year. 2

Between A.D. 1177 and 1181 the Tendai priest Nichi-in (日胤), having received a secret command from Minamoto no Yoritomo, prayed for the glory of the Minamoto family. For this purpose he went as a pilgrim to the Hachiman temple of Iwashimizu, a famous sanctuary, where he stayed during a thousand days, silently reciting the Daihannyakyō in order to obtain Hachiman’s divine assistance. 3 In the same way in later times another Tendai priest, Jishō (慈経) (1291—1368), made a pilgrimage to the Great Shrine of Ise, where he performed tendoku of the Daihannyakyō for a thousand days. He prayed for the divine protection of the Goddess (considered to be a manifestation of Dai-Nichi-Nyorai), and actually received a miraculous revelation from her. 4

In A.D. 1175 a karabitsu (“Chinese box”) was made for the Daihannyakyō, which is still preserved in Nanatsu-dera, Nagoya. The Kokkwa (No. 368, VII) gives the picture and the texts on either side of the inner lid of this box. Śākyamuni, attended by two standing Bodhisattvas (Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra) and two great Disciples (probably Ānanda and Mahākāśyapa), is seated cross-legged on a lotus throne, raising both hands (the right with its palm in front), and with two round haloes behind his

1 Honchō seki, Kyūan 1 (1145), p. 506.
2 Ibid., Kyūan 3, pp. 570, 579.
3 Washio, p. 911, 1, s.v. Nichi-in.
4 Washio, p. 430, 2, s.v. Jishō.
body and head. He is surrounded by the Sixteen Good Spirits (十六善神, jūroku zenjin), mentioned in the Dhāranī-saṅgraha-sūtra (Nanjō No. 363, translated A.D. 653—654 by the Central-Indian śramaṇa Atigupta (?). These are Yaksha generals, Nāga kings, etc., or according to some authors the Twelve Yaksha kings, known as Yakushi Nyorai’s attendants (cf. below, Ch. XIV, §§ 1 and 3) and the Four Deva Kings (Shitennō), who act as protectors of the Sūtra and its devout readers. Like those Twelve Spirit-Generals, they are represented as warriors armed with swords and spears, bows and arrows, ready to drive evil demons away.

In A.D. 1260 (III 16) Daihannya mido(k)kyō was performed in the Palace and (VI 12) tendoku of this sūtra was ordered to be practised in the Buddhist and Shintō temples of all provinces; also the Ninnokyo had to be read, on behalf of the repose of the country and in order to put a stop to the prevailing pestilence.¹ For the same reason in A.D. 1283 (VI 22) 30 priests celebrated the Daihannya mido(k)kyō for three days in the Nanden, and in 1291 (VI 15), when prayers for rain were said in Kōfukuji, the same sūtra was copied and sacrificed, and 1000 priests received offerings; that day it began to rain.² In 1296 (IX 25) we read of the “usual (kōrei) Daihannya tendoku in the Wakamiya of Kasuga”, which was lengthened, and XII 1 of the same year this festival is again mentioned; that night there was a strange light on Kasuga-yama.³

In A.D. 1275—81, when the Mongols attacked Japan, the Daihannya-kōdo is not spoken of until 1281. The Shingon rites were practised, such as the Fudō, Aizen-ō, Kujakukyō, Fukūkensaku ceremonies, in honour of Acala and Rāga Vidyā-rāja, Mahā-mayūrī and Amoghapāśa Avalokiteśvara, the Saishōkō and the

¹ Azuma kagami, Ch. XLIX, Bunō 1 (1260), Zoku Kokushi taikai, Vol. V, p. 654.
² Zoku Shigushō (Zoku Kokushi taikai, Vol. I), Ch. VI, pp. 164, 264.
³ Ibid., Ch. X, p. 310; cf. above Ch. XII, § 1, p. 493 (in China in A.D. 663).
Ninnōkō, and the ten kinds of offerings (jūshu kuyō) in connection with the "August Sūtra (the Lotus) according to the Law" (Nyohō mikyō) were made, the usual Hokke-e and Yuima-e took place, but no special Daihannya-ceremony is mentioned from 1275 to 1279. In 1281, however, when the Mongols returned and were more dangerous than ever, besides all those rites and the highly important Godampū (the Ceremony of the Five Altars in honour of the Godaison or "Five Great Venerable Ones", the Vidyārājas), for seven days (VII 26) in the Hachiman shrine of Iwashimizu tendoku was performed of the Sonshō-darani, the Issaikyō, a hundred copies of the Daihannyakyō and the Ninnōkyō, by 500 Vinaya priests led by Shien Shōnin of Saidaiji (思圓上人, i.e. the Kairitsu priest Eison, 睿尊, A.D. 1201—1290). The fact that at such a dangerous time the Daihannyakyō was so little used indicates that other texts and ceremonies, especially the Shingon rites, had taken its place as chief protectors of the country. Yet the Jōdo, Zen and other sects also used it, and from the Karoku era (A.D. 1225—1227) it was often printed for the tendoku at the Hannya-e. The work entitled Daihannya kōshiki (講式) or "Daihannya rites" deals with the 1297 gi (meanings) of the 16 e (meetings, i.e. the sūtras spoken in those meetings) of the sūtra.

In the fifteenth century (A.D. 1404, III 10) we find the Nyohō Daihannya-hō or "Ceremony of the Daihannya, celebrated according to the Law", performed on Kitayama near Kyōto (probably in the Tendai shrine Kōryūji) by order of the Shōgun Ashikaga no Yoshimitsu, who in 1395 had become a monk. The leader of the ceremony was a Shingon priest, the Daisōjō Dōi.

In A.D. 1449 (VII 28), when on account of floods, earthquakes and plague the name of the Bun-an period was changed into

1 Zoku Shigushō, Ch. iv, pp. 105 sqq.; Ch. v, pp. 143 sqq., 147; cf. Washio, p. 78, 1, s.v. Eison.
2 Daijii, III; p. 3208, 1, s.v. Daihannya-e.
3 Zoku Shigushō, Ch. xxxi, p. 77.
Hōtoku, tendoku of the Daihannya-kyō, Ninnōkyō and Hannya-shinkyō was ordered in all provinces. ¹

Otherwise the Daihannya-kyō was seldom mentioned. In A.D. 1598 (IX 16—22), shortly after Hideyoshi’s death (VIII 18), the Emperor Go Yōzei fell ill, and in order to pray for his recovery the Shingon priest Kūshō of Daikaku-ji, an Imperial Prince, performed the Daihannya-hō in the Small Palace for seven days. At the same time the Daisōjō Dōjō (evidently a Shingon priest) practised the Shōdengu in Kuroto, in worship of Daishō Kwangi-den (Ganeśa, Vināyaka). Goma (homa) offerings were made in the Shishinden and in Kuroto (“Black Door”), prayers were said in all Shintō and Buddhist shrines, and for seven days (X 8—14) the Ninnō-hannya-daihō was celebrated in the Palace by an Imperial Prince, Sai-in Nyūdō. The following month (XI 1—6) the Sonshōō-daihō in worship of the Great Bear was practised in the Seiryōden by the Daisōjō Dōjō and high Court officials. In short, the most elaborate and powerful ceremonies were performed in order to cure His Majesty, whose health was, however, not restored until the twelfth month, when a physician examined him and gave him medicine! ² It is a remarkable fact that the Prajñāpāramitā, as represented by its two most important sūtras, was still used by the Court among the more modern ceremonies of that time as a potent weapon against the demons of disease, menacing the precious life of the Emperor. Yet it had lost its prominent position in the ceremonical world, and in the annals of the seventeenth century we only find the Hannya-shinkyō, copied in A.D. 1651 (IV 16) by the Hon-in (the Emperor Go Mi-no-o, who had abdicated in 1629) and sacrificed in the Tōshōgū, Ieyasu’s mortuary sanctuary, four days before Iemitsu’s death.³ In A.D. 1693 the Shingon priest Jōgon (浄巌) (1693—1702) at the head of 30 other monks celebrated a kokutō a National

¹ Ibid., Ch. XXXVII, p. 284.
² Ibid., Ch. LI, p. 685.
³ Ibid., Ch LVIII, p. 68.
Praying service, performing tendoku of the Daihannya-kyō on behalf of the military fortune (bu-un) of the Shōgun Tsunayoshi, and in A.D. 1701 he cured the Shōgun's son of small-pox by means of tendoku of the Hannya (possibly the same text, or the Hannya-shinkyō or Kongō hannya-kyō).¹ A hundred years later (A.D. 1794) the Tendai priest Ryōgon (良厳) (1742—1814) copied more than 200 chapters of the Daihannya-kyō.² In the 18th century the Tendai priest Jishū (慈周) († 1801) read it 36 times from the beginning to the end.³

We thus learn from the biographies of those priests, that neither the Shingon nor the Tendai sect (from olden times its principal propagator) had quite forgotten the great blessing power of this sūtra.

¹ Washio, pp. 666 sq., s.v. Jōgon.
² Washio, p. 1178, 1, s.v. Ryōgon.
³ Washio, p. 426, 1, s.v. Jishū.
CHAPTER XIII.

THE KONGŌ-HANNAYAKYŌ OR VAJRACCHEDIKĀ-PRAJÑĀPĀRAMITĀ-SŪTRA ("THE DIAMOND CUTTER") (NANJŌ No. 10).

§ 1. The text and translations of the Kongō-hannyakyō.

This "Diamond Cutter" is, as Sir Charles Eliot remarks, "still one of the most venerated books of devotion in China and Japan". The Buddha explains to Subhūti, who in the Jetavana park in the presence of a crowd of 1250 great Bhikshus asks him about the Bodhisattva path, that "perfect knowledge transcends all distinctions; it recognises the illusory nature of all individuality and the truth of sameness, the never-changing one behind the everchanging many. In this sense it is said to perceive nothing and know nothing". ¹

It is curious indeed that a text with such extremely nihilistic ideas became so popular among the Chinese and Japanese Buddhists. The reason of this popularity may be the fact, that in this short text the Buddha repeatedly praises the great blessing power of the text for those who with a devout heart read, copy and keep it.

"Then again, o Subhūti, that part of the world in which, after taking from this treatise of the Law one gāthā of four lines only, it should be preached or explained, would be like a caitya (holy shrine) for the whole world of gods, men, and spirits; what should we say then of those who learn the whole of this treatise

of the Law to the end, who repeat it, understand it, and fully explain it to others? They, o Subhūti, will be endowed with the highest wonder (i.e. with what excites the highest wonder). And in that place, o Subhūti, there dwells the teacher, or one after another holding the place of the wise preceptor” . . . “And again, o Subhūti, if any sons or daughters of good families will learn this treatise of the Law, will remember, recite, and understand it, and fully explain it to others, they, o Subhūti, are known by the Tathāgata through his Buddha-knowledge, they are seen, o Subhūti, by the Tathāgata through his Buddha-eye. All these beings, o Subhūti, will produce and hold fast an immeasurable and innumerable stock of merit” . . . As to the one gāthā of four lines, to be taken from this sūtra, to be learned, repeated, understood and fully explained to others, in order to produce an immense stock of merit, it runs as follows.

“Stars, darkness, a lamp,
A phantom, dew, a bubble,
A dream, a flash of lightning, and a cloud,
Thus we should look upon all that was made”.

In Kumārajīva’s Chinese translation this gāthā, representing the essence of the sūtra, runs as follows:

一切有為法，如夢幻泡影，如露亦如電，應作如是觀. The “sons or daughters of good families” are, as always in Chinese translations, designated by 善男子善女人, “virtuous men and women”.

Although there are six Chinese versions of this famous text (enumerated above, Ch. I, § 9, p. 17), made by celebrated Indian or Chinese priests, such as Bodhiruci I (A.D. 509), Paramārtha (562), Dharmagupta (605), Hüen-tsang (648) and I-tsing (703), yet Kumārajīva’s translation (A.D. 402) retained its fame and was used in China for ages. In A.D. 1411 an Emperor of the Ming dynasty, Ch'eng Tsu, even wrote a preface thereto, which is clear

1 Sacred books of the East, Vol. XLIX, pp. 111–144.
evidence of the fact that it was still preferred to all other versions.
We saw above (Ch. I, § 9, p. 17), that in the sixth century A.D. the founder of the T'ien-t'ai school in China explained this sūtra orally, and that his disciple Kwan-ting recorded his words in No. 1550.
Two other great schools, the Avatamsaka (Hwa-yen, Kegon) (9th and 11th centuries), and the Dhyāna (Shen, Zen) (14th century) sects, wrote commentaries upon it and their priests have venerated and used it from ancient times down to the present day. It was printed in many editions, and treated as a separate work, although it was also the ninth sūtra of the Mahāprajñāpāramitā (the Dai-hannyakyō, Nanjō No. 1). Even in Sanskrit it was printed, in Lanja writing, as used in Tibet.1 Doubtless it was one of the most renowned Buddhist texts in Central Asia2 and China;3 with regard to Japan we shall see that its ceremonial splendour declined in the tenth century and ended in the eleventh.

§ 2. The Kongō-hannyakyō in Japan during the seventh and eighth centuries.

As seen above (Ch. I, § 9), in A.D. 685 (10th month), this sūtra was expounded in the Palace, evidently in order to cure the Emperor Temmu, who died the following year (IX 9). Other sūtras used for this purpose were the Yakushikyō (686, V 24), the Konkwōmyōkyō (686, VIII 8) and the Kwannongyō (686, VII 28, VII 2); vegetarian entertainments of monks, penitential services (kekwa), offerings, dedication of a hundred Kwannon images,

1 Max Müller, Buddhist texts from Japan, Anecdota Oxoniensia; Eliot, Hinduism and Buddhism, III, p. 301.
3 Cf. above Ch. VIII, § 13, p. 292: a penitential service at the Court of the Liang Emperor Wu Ti (502–549), based upon this text. Cf. Carter, Invention of printing in China, Ch. VIII, pp. 39 sqq.
general amnesty, everything was done in vain to save the Emperor’s life. 1

In A.D. 727 (Jinki 4, II 18) Shōmu Tennō invited 600 monks and 300 nuns to the Palace and ordered them to perform tendoku of the Kongō-hannyakyō, in order to dispel calamities. 2

In A.D. 735 (Tempyō 7, VIII 12) the same Emperor caused the monks of the great temples of Dazaifu (Tsukushi) and of all the temples of the other provinces to read this sūtra against the pestilence which was killing so many inhabitants of that region. At the same time gohei were offered to local Shintō gods. 3

In A.D. 758 (Tempyō hōji 2, VII 28) the Empress Kōken had 30 copies of this sūtra made in every province “for the Repose of the Court and Great Peace of the Realm”. Twenty of these copies (chapters, but the text consists of only 14 leaves) had to be deposited in the Kokubun sōji, and ten in the Kokubun niji (the provincial state monasteries and nunneries, instituted in A.D. 741), where thenceforth this sūtra had to be read by means of the tendoku system in addition to the Konkō-myō Saishōkyō, the principal text of those sanctuaries. 4

In A.D. 797 (Enryaku 16, V 19) the Emperor Kwammu ordered tendoku of this sūtra in the Palace and in that of the Heir Apparent, in order to avert the evil consequences of strange events (pheasants had assembled on one of the principal buildings of the Palace). 5

In A.D. 806 (Enryaku 25, III 17), on the very day of Kwammu Tennō’s death, the Kongō-hannyakyō was selected as the last means of saving his life, for the monks of all the kokubunji of the country were ordered to read it twice a year, during seven special days of the second and eighth months,

1 Nihongi, Ch. xxix, pp. 538 sqq., Aston II, pp. 371 sqq.
2 Shoku Nihongi, Ch. x, p. 160.
3 Ibid., Ch. XII, p. 199.
4 Ibid., Ch. xx, p. 347.
5 Nihon kiryaku, Zempen, Ch. xiii, p. 378.
in order to appease Sudō Tennō's angry soul (cf. above, Ch. XI, § 7 F, pp. 467 sqq.; origin of the Higan festival, Ch. VIII, § 18, pp. 371 sqq.).

From these facts we learn that the Kongō-hannyakyō was used to dispel calamities, pestilence, the influence of evil omens and angry spirits, and to promote the repose and peace of the Imperial Court and the whole country. In cases of illness, either of the Emperor or other persons, like the eye-disease of the Hossō priest Chōgi of Yakushiji, who in A.D. 772 was cured by means of this sūtra, read by the other monks for three days and nights, it was believed to possess great protective power. In A.D. 797 another Hossō priest, Zenshu (善珠) of Akishino-dera, was summoned to the Palace, where he cured the Emperor Kwammu's son by expounding the Hannyakyō, i.e. the Kongō-hannyakyō; he was rewarded by being promoted to the rank of Sōjō.

§ 3. Splendour of the Kongō-hannyakyō in Japan during the ninth century and its decline in the tenth.

Among the 230 sūtras and abhidhammas presented to the Emperor Kwammu in A.D. 805 (VIII 27) by Saichō (最澄) (Dengyō Daishi, 傳教大師, A.D. 767—822), the founder of the Tendai sect, after his return from China, were four celebrated sūtras written with golden characters, namely the Hokkekyō (the Lotus sūtra) (Nanjō No. 134), the Kongō-hannyakyō (Nanjō No. 10), the Bosatsu kaikyō (Bosatsu-kaihongyō, Nanjō No. 1096), and the Kwan-Muryōjukyō (the Sūtra on the Meditation on Amitāyus, Nanjō No. 198).

Another great Tendai priest, Enchin (圓珍) (Chishō Daishi, 1 Nihon kōki, Ch. xiii, p. 62.
2 Washio, p. 818, 1, s.v. Chōgi.
3 Washio, p. 709, 1, s.v. Zenshu.
4 Washio, p. 399, 2, s.v. Saichō.
智證大師, A.D. 814—891) wrote commentaries on the Dai-
hannyakyō, the Hannyashinkyo (Nanjō No. 20) and the Kongō-
hannyakyō. As seen above, in China the founder of the T'ien-t'ai school had explained the Kongohannyakyō orally, and his disciple Kwan-ting (A.D. 561—632) wrote his explanations in Nanjō No. 1550. No wonder therefore that the Tendai sect became the propagator of this text as well as of the Dainhannyakyō in Japan, where the Hossō sect had used it in the eighth century. Yet, as we learn from the biography of Ichi-en (壹演), a Shingon priest who lived A.D. 803—867, the Shingon priests too were sometimes devout “keepers” of this sūtra.

Although the Dainhannyakyō was the predominant sūtra of the age, from A.D. 830 we see the Kongohannyakyō gradually rising in the Buddhist ceremonial circles of the whole country. Against pestilence especially its power was believed to be great, but it was also often read in order to expel other lurking demons from the capital and country, as for instance when the crops did not grow, or when a comet, an eclipse of the sun, an earthquake alarmed men as evil omens of great calamities, or drought ominously threatened the dread approach of famine and disease. The Dainhannyakyō, however, being the most important text, used to be recited in the Palace for protection of the Court and country, whereas the Kongohannyakyō was nearly always read in the temples (Buddhist and Shinto) of the Home and other provinces. It is remarkable that the tendoku system was usually applied even to this short text.

In A.D. 830 (IV 26—28), when a serious plague raged in several provinces, slaying a large number of victims, Buddhist priests of great zeal were ordered to perform tendoku of this sūtra for three days in all the kokubunji of the gokinaï and other provinces; shortly afterwards (V 6—12) a hundred monks were invited to the Daigokuden, where for seven days they practised tendoku of

1 Washio, p. 98 sq., s.v. Enchin.
2 Washio, p. 16, 2 s.v. Ichi-en.
the *Daihannya*kyō against earthquakes and pestilence. The same year (intercalary XII, 24) strange apparitions, particularly dangerous towards the close of the year, caused the Emperor Junna to request five priests to read the *Kongō-hannya*kyō and to order the *jingikwan* to expel the evil influences.¹ In A.D. 832 (V 18) both *sūtras* (*Dai- and Kongō-hannya*) were read in all provinces to cause rain.²

During Nimmyō Tennō’s reign (A.D. 833—850) this *sūtra* was used repeatedly in combination with the Ceremony of Repentance in worship of *Bhaiṣajyaguru* (*Yakushi* kekwa, cf. above, Ch. VIII, § 14), in order to remove the pestilence prevailing, and to cause a good harvest. This system was commenced in A.D. 833 (VI 18), when the new Emperor, who was a devout believer in the blessing power of the *Prajñāparamitā*, ordered *tendoku* of the *Kongō-hannya*kyō in the daytime and *Yakushi*-kekwa at night, to be practised during three days in all provinces by Buddhist priests of great experience in religious rites. Each of them (20 in the largest and 17, 14 and 10 in the other provinces) received *fuse* (a donation) of three bushels of cereals from the regular taxes and ten bushels were offered to the *Triratna*. In this way the Emperor, whose health had just been restored by means of *kaji* (incantations), offerings to seven Buddhist temples and *tendoku* of *sūtras*, endeavoured to save the country from the severe plague.³

The following year (A.D. 834, IV 6) the same ceremonies took place for the same reason, once more during three days, in all *kokubun-sōji*, and *kindan sesshō* (prohibition of the killing of living beings) was, as usual, considered a necessary measure accompanying the rites. Twenty days later (IV 26) in all Buddhist temples of the capital “on behalf of the (Shinto) gods of Heaven and Earth” one copy of the *Daihannya*kyō and 100000 chapters (in this case full copies) of the *Kongō-hannya*kyō were read by means of the *tendoku* system, “in order to drive off the cala-

¹ *Nihon kōkyaku*, Ch. xiv, pp. 462, 464.
² L.l., p. 468.
mitous vapours” (of pestilence). ¹ In A.D. 837 (IV 25) the Dain-hannyakyō was combined with the nightly Yakushi hōgō (“precious name”) against the calamities of heaven and earth (tendoku in all Buddhist temples, 3 days in each of the three decades of every month);² in the same year (VI 21) the Kongō-hannyakyō was read in the kokubunji, with nightly Yakushi-kekwa and kindan sesshō (against pestilence).³ Shortly afterwards (VIII 3) 15 priests performed the same ceremonies in the Jōneiden, on account of strange apparitions in the Palace.⁴ Other sūtras used in those days were the Hannya-shinkyō (Nanjō No. 20), the Yakushikyō (No. 171), the Saishōkyō (No. 126), the Yuitakyō (No. 146), the Kairyūkyō (Sagara Nāgarāja Sūtra, No. 456, on behalf of the ambassadors to China), the Ninnōkyō (No. 17), the Hokkekyō (No. 134) and the Kongō-jumyō-darani-kyō (No. 960, the Jumyōkyō, translated A.D. 723—730 by Vajrabodhi and Amoghabhāvajra; a Shingon text used when the Emperor was ill). The principal rites were the Saishōe, Yuimae, Butsumyō-sange; also the Monju-e (in worship of Mañjuśrī), the Monju-hachiji-hō, the Emmeihō (“to lengthen life”) and the Sokusaihō (息災法, “to arrest calamity”, against evil omens) are mentioned in the annals of that time, an important period in ceremonial life. As to the Kongō-hannyakyō, this was also used in A.D. 839 (V 11—13), 840 (VI 14—20), 841 (IV 2), 842 (III 15) against pestilence and to obtain a good harvest.⁵ In A.D. 847 (XI 21), when a comet had appeared, fifty priests were invited to the Seiryōden of the Palace, where they performed tendoku of this sūtra in the daytime, and at night Jūichimen (Kwannon) hō (rites in worship of the Eleven-faced Avalokiteśvara, belonging to the mystic school).

¹ Ibid., Ch. iii, p. 193.
² Ibid., Ch. vi, p. 235.
³ Nihon Kiryaku, Zempen, Ch. xv, p. 492.
⁴ Shoku Nihon kōki, Ch. vi, p. 237.
⁵ Shoku Nihon kōki, Ch. viii, p. 258; Ch. ix, p. 279; Ch. x, p. 294.

Ch. xi, p. 309.
This lasted three days, and at the same time the Sokusaihō (another Shingon ceremony) was practised by 14 priests in the Shingon-in of the Palace.  

In Montoku Tennō’s time (A.D. 850—858) the Kongō-hannyakyō was used in A.D. 852 (XII 26) (in all provinces against pesti-

lence), and in A.D. 857 (V 3 and 8), when 150 priests performed tendoku of this text for three days in the great Shinto shrines of Kamo and Matsu-no-o, and 104 priests celebrated the same ceremony in the Daigokuden, because evidently an eclipse of the sun had aroused great dread of all kinds of calamity.  

Under Seiwa Tennō (A.D. 858—876) the years A.D. 865 and 866 were calamitous on account of plague and drought, against which the Daitkannakyō, the Hannya-shinkyō, the Ninnō-

hannyakyō, the Kongō-hannyakyō and the Kujaku-kyō (the Peacock sūtra, Nanjō No. 311) were used (the Ninnōkyō was read in 866, IV 26 on account of the fact that the Ōtenmon of the Palace had been destroyed by fire). As stated above, the Daithkannakyō was read in the Palace (Daigokuden, Shishinden, Naiden, Nanden) and sometimes in the great Buddhist sanctuaries; also the Hannya-

shinkyō was sometimes recited in the Palace (as in A.D. 865, IV 5 and V 13), but the Kongō-hannyakyō (repeatedly mentioned together with the two other Prajñā-pāramitā-sūtras, and in 867 (XI 29) also with the Ninnō-hannyakyō, the third text of this kind) was nearly always limited to the temples, Shinto as well as Buddhist, of the gokinai and other provinces. Only in A.D. 847 (XI 21) tendoku of this sūtra took place in the Seiryōden, as stated above, and in 865 (VII 12) it was read at the Kenreimon, one of the Palace gates, in order to ward off the prevailing pestilence from the Emperor’s residence; and in A.D. 878 (II 24) during three days ten priests performed tendoku of it in the

1 Ibid., Ch. xvii, p. 388.
2 Montoku, Tennō jitsuroku, Ch. iv, p. 495; Ch. ix, p. 553.
3 Nihon sandai jitsuroku, Ch. xi—xiv, pp. 168—262.
Hosshō-in, while fifty others read the Daihannyakyō in the Shishinden.  

In A.D. 868 (IV 16) a thousand chapters of the Kongō-hannyakyō were read by twenty Buddhist priests in the Shintō shrine of Keta in Noto province, because the Emperor was ill, and messengers were sent to ten Buddhist sanctuaries, in order to pray and perform meritorious works.

In A.D. 869 (Ill 3) gohei were sent to the local Shintō gods of all provinces, and tendoku of the Kongō-hannyakyō and the Daihannyakyō was ordered for three days, during which no killing of living beings was allowed. These measures were taken against the pestilence, predicted for that summer by the Onyōryō. The same year (XII 25) tendoku of the Kongō-hannyakyō took place in all provinces during three days, “in order to avert disastrous earthquakes, storms and inundations, and to suppress spying enemies from a neighbouring country (the Shiragi pirates)”.

In A.D. 871 (VI 13) the provinces of the Tōsandō, Hokurokudō, Sanindō, Sanyōdō and Nankaidō were ordered to offer gohei to the local Shintō gods of famous mountains and large marshes, and to perform tendoku of the Daihannyakyō and the Kongō-hannyakyō, “in order to pray for sweet rain.”

In A.D. 872 (Ill 23) on account of many strange apparitions, considered to be evil omens, messengers with gohei were sent to all Shintō temples, and in each of these shrines tendoku of the Kongō-hannyakyō was performed. Thus we see that the Shintō gods were often connected with this sūtra, and that their blessing power was believed to be strengthened by the recital of this text. With regard to evil omens, when in the same year (A.D. 872, V 30) in a separate chapel of the Kokubunji of Suruga province a big snake had devoured 31 chapters of the Hannya-shingyō (the
Prajňā-pāramitā-hṛdaya-sūtra, Nanjō No. 20), the diviners of the Jingikwan declared this to be an omen of fire and pestilence, which had to be averted by the governor of that province (VII 29). ¹

In A.D. 875 (XII 13) drought, pestilence, war and fire were expelled by means of tendoku of the Kongō-hannyakyō, practised by Imperial order by seven priests for three days in all kokubun-sōji and niji (provincial monasteries and nunneries) and in all jōgakuji (officially established Buddhist shrines), and gohei were sent to the famous Shintō gods of all provinces. The sūtra was read in the daytime, and at night the holy names of Yakushi and Kannon were invoked. ²

At the rain ceremonies of this and the following years (875, VI 15; 877, VI 26, VII 7; 878 IV 29; 880 VI 26) the Peacock and the Great Cloud sūtras as well as that of the Benevolent Kings (Ninnōkyō) and the Mahaprajňā-pāramitā sūtra (Daihannyakyō) were read, but the Kongō-hannyakyō was not mentioned. ³

As a matter of fact it was used more in times of pestilence than of drought.

In A.D. 884 (II 13), when the Emperor Kwōkō ascended the throne, 25 monks of Saidaiji, led by a dignified priest, on behalf of His Majesty performed tendoku of 50 kwan of the Kongō-hannyakyō and repeated the Emmei shingon ("magic formula for lengthening life"), in worship of Samantabhadra or Vajrasattva) ten thousand times. ⁴

In A.D. 885 (X 19), when the Jingikwan predicted pestilence on account of an evil omen, the Emperor endeavoured to avert this calamity by inviting 20 priests to the Jijuden, where they had to practise tendoku of the same sūtra. ⁵

The following year,

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¹ Ibid., Ch. xxi, p. 357; Ch. xxii, p. 358.
² Ibid., Ch. xxvii, p. 420.
³ Ibid., Ch. xxvii, p. 414; Ch. xxxi, pp. 465 sq.; Ch. xxxiii, p. 487; Ch. xxxvii, p. 543.
⁴ Ibid., Ch. xlv, p. 623.
⁵ Ibid., Ch. xlviii, p. 671.
however, when the Emperor was ill (he died in A.D. 887, VIII 26), the famous Tendai priest Enchin (Chishō Daishi) (814—891) celebrated the Goma (homa) rites for five days in the Shishinden, but the Kongō-hannyakyō was not used. ¹ This was the time when the ever growing influence of the Tendai sect caused the Hokkekyō (the Lotus sūtra) to begin its splendid task among the ceremonial texts of Japan. In A.D. 888 (IX 27) it was read on behalf of the deceased Emperor's soul, and in 889 (IX 24) the Hokke hakkō (probably then mentioned for the first time) took place in Kajōji. ² For many years we do not hear the name of the Kongō-hannyakyō, but in A.D. 898 (III 28) a thousand kwan of it were read by means of the tendoku system, for three days, in the 15 great buddhist temples, against the prevailing plague. ³

In the tenth century this sūtra is seldom mentioned. In A.D. 930 (VIII 25) the Udaijin Fujiwara no Sadakata had a hundred kwan of it read on Tendaisan (Hieizan), in order to restore the Emperor Daigo's health. ⁴ In A.D. 949 (III 30), when sagi (snowy herons) had assembled upon the roof of a Palace building, this evil omen was averted by reading this text in the Kwantōchō ("Official Eastern Government Department"), ⁵ and in the same year (VII 25) thirty priests recited it by means of tendoku in the Benkwanchō, another Government Office, once more in order to remove the evil influence of strange apparitions. ⁶

In A.D. 975 (XII 21), when a library was destroyed by fire at night, the cause of the disaster being unknown, this evil omen was averted by tendoku of the Kongō-hannyakyō. ⁷

This is the last time we found this text mentioned in the Annals. Even in A.D. 1276 and 1281, when the Mongols attacked

¹ Ibid., Ch. xlix, p. 699.
² Nihon kiryou, Zempen, Ch. xx, p. 752.
³ Ibid., Köhen, Ch. I, p. 774.
⁴ Ibid., Köhen, Ch. I, p. 812.
⁵ Ibid., Ch. III, p. 859.
⁶ Ibid., Ch. III, p. 862.
⁷ Ibid., Ch. vi, p. 951.
Japan, its blessing power was not used, and in the course of time the Ninnōkyō, Hokkekyō, Daihannyaokyō, Jumyōkyō, Saishōōkyō, Yuimakyō, Kwannongyō, Kujakuōkyō (the Peacock sūtra), and Shōukyō (the Great Cloud sūtra) were recited in its stead.

Thus its ceremonial influence soon came to an end, but it remained of course in the hands of thousands of priests, especially of the Tendai sect, and at the end of the eighteenth century we read that the Tendai priest Jishū (who died in A.D. 1801), was a faithful reader, not only of the Daihannyaokyō, which he perused 36 times, but also of the Kongō-hannyaokyō, which he read no less than fifty thousand times! ¹

¹ Washio, p. 426, s.v. Jishū.
CHAPTER XIV.


§ 1. Contents of the Yakushikyō (Nanjō No. 171).

The translations given by Poh Śrīmitra, Dharmagupta and Hūen-tsang (Nos. 167 (12), 170 and 171, A.D. 317—322, 615 and 650, cf. above, Book I, Ch. I, § 10, p. 19, where we dealt with the different translations and commentaries) are of the same length (three pages of the Kyōto edition printed with movable types).¹ Evidently they are all versions of the same text, and if we follow Hūen-tsang's translation we obtain practically the contents of all three. The title of this version, which was always used in Japan except at the Ceremony of the Seven Healing Buddhas (when I-tsing's text was used) is as follows: Yakushi Rurikwō Nyorai hongwan kudoku kyō, "Sūtra on the original vows and meritorious deeds of the Medicine-Master, the Tathāgata Vaiḍūrya-light".

At Mañjuśrī's request the Buddha explained to a large crowd of Bodhisattvas, great Śrāvakas, kings, ministers, brahmans and merchants, devas, nāgas, asuras, gandharvas etc., how far in the East, beyond numberless ("ten Gaṅgā sands") Buddha lands, there is a world called "Pure Vaiḍūrya" (lapis lazuli) (Joruri, 淨瑠璃), ruled by a Buddha whose name is "The Medicine

¹ IX, 9, pp. 869—872; 895—898; 898—901.
Master, Vaiḍūrya-light Tathāgata” (Yakushi Rurikō Nyorai, 藥師瑤璃光如來, Bhaisajyaguru Vaiḍūryaprabhāsa Tathāgata), a Buddha perfect and unsurpassed in wisdom.

When walking the Bodhisattva road, this Buddha had originally made 12 great vows with regard to the resplendent body and the blessing power, to be obtained by him on having reached Buddhahship.

1. A bright and beautiful body, illuminating the numberless worlds by its brilliant light and causing all living beings to obtain bodies resplendent like his own.

2. A body like vaiḍūrya, inside and outside pure, without any stain, emitting a light brighter than that of sun and moon, and illuminating the darkness for the living beings of the world, so that they may walk and work at their will.

3. Causing, by means of the upāyas of immeasurable, unlimited wisdom, all sentient beings to obtain an inexhaustible abundance of things they use and to want for nothing.

4. Causing all heterodox sentient beings to find rest in the road of bodhi, and all Śrāvakas and Pratyekabuddhas (adherents of the Hinayāna doctrine, the Old Buddhists, and the solitary contemplative philosophers) ¹ to find peace in Mahāyāna.

5. Giving perfect purity of life to numberless sentient beings and causing those who have trespassed against the commandments on hearing his name to return to purity, so that they do not fall upon the evil roads.

6. Curing all those whose bodies are weak and whose organs (also the minds) are in a bad condition, and to cause them to gain wisdom and health by hearing his name.

7. Causing all sentient beings who are ill and helpless to obtain recovery, peace and joy of body and mind, and wealth, and to obtain the unexcelled bodhi, by hearing his name.

8. Causing suffering women, who desire to cast their female

bodies away, to become men and to gain insight into bodhi by hearing his name.

9. Liberating all sentient beings from heterodoxy and evil ideas and giving them correct views, causing them finally to practise the Bodhisattva actions and to testify speedily to the unsurpassed Bodhi.

10. Causing those who are in prison or are about to undergo capital punishment or other sufferings, imposed upon them by the law of a king, to be freed from all their misery by his power, felicitous, blessing, majestic, divine.

11. Causing all sentient beings who are suffering from hunger and thirst to obtain excellent drink and food, rest, joy and health.

12. Giving those who are poor and have no raiment plenty of beautiful garments and precious ornaments.

In this Buddha’s pure, beautiful land without women, evil paths and sounds of suffering, there are two Bodhisattvas, Sunlight and Moonlight (日光, 月光, Nikkō and Gwakkō, Suryaprabha and Candraprabha, his two attendant Bodhisattvas), leaders of an innumerable crowd of other Bodhisattvas, and guardians of this Buddha’s Correct Law.

Pretas, animals and beings in hell shall be reborn as virtuous men, once they have heard this Buddha’s name; and if wicked people, who worship the demons of mountains and woods, make offerings to Yakshas and Rakshasas, write the names of those they hate and make their images in order to commit evil sorcery and to kill them, if those people hear this Buddha’s name, all those evil actions become harmless, their hearts become benevolent and without hatred, they all enjoy what they themselves receive, and without attacking others they give one another mutual assistance.

If virtuous people who have kept the eight (commandments and) fasts or have received and kept the rules of the doctrine for one year or three months, in order to be reborn in Amitābhā’s Paradise, hear the name of the Buddha Bhaishajyaguru,
at the time of their death eight Bodhisattvas shall come (through the air), borne by their divine miraculous power, and show them the way thither, where they shall be reborn by transformation, spontaneously, amidst lotus flowers of various colours. And if they are reborn in a heaven, they shall not be exposed to rebirth on one of the three evil roads, but be reborn as a cakravartin rāja or as a Brahman or a rich merchant. And women who hear his name and keep it in mind shall never again have a female body.

Then Mañjuśrī promised to spread this doctrine in later times among virtuous men and women by means of all kinds of upāyas, and to cause Bhaishajyaguru’s name to penetrate into their ears. “If they receive, keep and read this sūtra, or explain it on behalf of others, or copy it themselves, or teach others to do so, or if they respectfully make offerings to it of all kinds of flowers, incense, garlands, flags, canopies and musical instruments, put it in a bag of variegated silk and place it on a high throne in a pure place, the Four Deva Kings with their followers and numberless other Devas shall all come thither to protect them. Where this sūtra shall be spread and that Buddha’s vows and blessing power and name heard, there shall be no more any cases of untimely death nor shall evil demons seize the vital spirits of the worshippers, and if they have seized them they shall be restored to their former bodily and mental peace and joy.

The Buddha said: “So it is, so it is, Mañjuśrī; it is as you have explained. If pure, devout and virtuous men and women wish to make offerings to that Buddha, they ought first to make and erect his image and place it upon a pure throne and scatter all kinds of flowers, burn all kinds of incense, and adorn that place with all kinds of flags. For seven days and seven nights they must keep the eight commandments and fasts, eating pure food and purifying themselves by bathing and perfumes, and putting on new and pure garments. Their hearts must be free from any impurity or anger, and towards all sentient
beings they must be full of blessing, full of peace and joy and mercy, compassionate, ready to sacrifice themselves, and composed of mind. They must beat drums and make music and sing in praise of that Buddha, and make pradaksīna circumambulations around his image, turning towards his right side (i.e. to the left, with their right side turned to the Buddha). Further, they must think of that Buddha's original vows and meritorious deeds, and reading this sūtra they must reflect upon its meaning and broadly explain it. Then all their wishes shall be fulfilled: long life, felicity, independence, sons or daughters, no bad dreams or visions, no strange birds assembling in their dwellings, or other apparitions (of evil foreboding), no fear of water, swords, poison, precipices, wild animals, poisonous snakes and other reptiles, invasions from other countries, robbery and riots. Those who make offerings to that Buddha and worship him shall be free from all those fears. Those who have trespassed against their commandments and fear lest they fall upon the evil roads, shall not receive that punishment if they make offerings to that Buddha; and women in labour shall be quickly freed from their pain and give birth to good and healthy children, if they invoke that Buddha and make offerings unto him”.

On the Buddha's questioning Ānanda as to whether he believed in the blessing virtue of that Buddha, Ānanda answered that he believed the Tathāgata's words and had no longer any doubt, whereupon the Buddha again extolled the great blessing power of Bhaishajyaguru and his great vows.

Then a Bodhisattva Mahāsattva, called “The Saviour” (救脱, Kudatsu)\(^1\) arose from his seat and with his right knee on the ground and joining his palms he said to the Buddha: “When in future times people are very ill and die and come before King Yama, they shall still return to life, awakening like as from a

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\(^1\) Cf. Daijiten, Fig. 21 (an image of this Bodhisattva, a national treasure of Shūjōji, 秋條寺, in Yamato province).
dream; regaining consciousness after 7, 21, 35 or 49 days, they shall remember the retributions of their good and evil deeds and be virtuous unto their death, if during their illness their relatives on their behalf take refuge in the Buddha Bhaishajyaguru, and request the monks to perform *tendoku* (partial reading) of this *sūtra*, to light seven rows of lamps and to hang up five-coloured sacred flags to prolong life. Therefore all virtuous men and women must make offerings to that Buddha”.

Then Ānanda asked the Bodhisattva which offerings these should be, whereupon the latter answered that on behalf of those who were seriously ill and wished to recover, their relatives must keep the eight commandments and fasts for seven days and seven nights and offer drink and food and all kinds of utensils to the monks, according to their competence. “Six times, (thrice) in the daytime and (thrice) at night, they must worship that Buddha and make offerings to him. They must read this *sūtra* 49 (7 × 7) times and light 49 (7 × 7) lamps and make seven images of him; and before each of those images they must place seven lamps, as large as the wheel of a wagon, which must burn incessantly for 49 days; they must also make banners of five-coloured silk, 49 feet long, and set free living beings of divers kinds, unto the number of 49”. Then they may escape from danger, untimely death and evil demons. As to kshatriyas and baptized kings, in times of calamity, sickness of the people, attacks from other countries, riots, strange phenomena with regard to the stars, eclipses of the sun or moon, bad weather, storms and drought, they must be benevolent and compassionate towards all living beings and grant amnesty to all prisoners and by means of the afore-said offering ceremony make offerings to the Buddha Bhaishajyaguru. Then in consequence of these roots of virtue and on account of the
power of the original vows of that Buddha, the countries of those kings shall forthwith obtain rest, seasonable weather, and good harvests, and all living beings of those countries shall have health and peace and joy, nor shall they be distressed by yakshas and other evil demons (rākshasas, piśācas, i.e. vampires, etc.), or by evil apparitions. Those kshatriyas and baptized kings shall have a long life, bodily strength and health, independence and increasing wealth. If Emperors, Empresses, Princes, officials or ordinary people are ill, they shall be cured and all other calamities shall be removed by erecting five-coloured sacred flags, lighting lamps and keeping them burning continually, setting living beings free, scattering flowers of various colours, and burning every kind of incense”.

Then at Ānanda’s request the Bodhisattva “The Saviour” explained the nine kinds of untimely death (九 横 死), in which cases life is exhausted and yet may be again prolonged. This is the case when patients die through lack of medicine and nursing or when the physicians give them wrong medicines; when they are put to death, punished in accordance with the law of a king; when through hunting, amusements, lewdness, drunkenness, dissipation and immoderation their vital spirits have been seized by the kinnaras (evil demons); when they die through fire; when they are drowned; when they are killed by wild animals; when they fall from a precipice; when they are injured by poisonous herbs, spells or krityas (“demons raising corpses”), and when they die of hunger and thirst. These are the nine kinds of untimely death, (formerly) explained in brief by the Buddha, but there are also innumerable other kinds.

Among the crowd were twelve Great Generals of the Yakshas, called Kumbhira, Vajra, Mihira, Anḍīra, Anila, Śaṇḍila, Indra, Vajra (?), Mahoraga, Kinnara, Catura and Vikarāla (cf. below), each of whom had 7000 Yakshas as his followers. They all addressed the Buddha in chorus, saying: “Now thanks to the Buddha’s majestic power we have heard the name of the Buddha
Bhaishajyaguru, the Tathāgata Vaiḍūrya light, and we no longer fear the wicked roads. Now until the end of our life we all unanimously take refuge in the Buddha, the Dharma and the Saṅgha. We shall carry on our back (i.e. we shall assist and protect) all living beings and cause righteousness and prosperity, abundance, peace and joy everywhere, in villages and towns and in the lonely woods. Those who propagate this sūtra, receive and keep in mind the name of that Buddha, revere him and make offerings to him, shall be protected by us and our followers and be saved from all sufferings, and all their wishes shall be fulfilled. And also those who are seriously ill and wish to be saved, must read this sūtra, and braid our names with five-coloured threads, unloosening them after the fulfilment of their wish.

Then the Buddha praised the Great Generals of the Yakshas and said that, thinking how to retribute the favours and blessing power of the Healing Buddha, they must thus give blessings, peace and joy to all sentient beings.

When Ānanda asked him about the name of this sūtra, the Buddha said: “Ānanda, this doctrine (gate of the Law) is called ‘The original vows and virtuous actions of the Buddha Bhaishajyaguru Vaiḍūrya-light explained’, and ‘The sacred incantations for the fulfilment of the vows, made by the twelve holy Generals to give abundance to all sentient beings, explained’, and ‘All obstacles of deeds (consisting in actions) removed’. Thus must you keep it in mind”.

After these words of the Bhagavat all the Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas, Great Śrāvakas, kings and ministers, Brahmins and merchants, and the whole of the big crowd of Devas and Nāgas, Yakshas, Gandharvas etc., having heard the Buddha’s explanations were greatly rejoiced, received them faithfully and respectfully, and went away.
§ 2. Contents of the Shichibutsu-Yakushikyō (Nanjō No. 172).

I-tsing’s translation, entitled Yakushi Rurikwō Shichi-Butsu hongwan kudoku kyō (Nanjō No. 172, A.D. 707), is much larger (pp. 901—908). It is divided into two fasciculi, the first of which deals with the vows (8, 8, 6, 4, 4, 4, 4, 12) of the Seven Healing Buddhas, Yakushi Shichibutsu, 藥師七佛, their names, and those of their paradises, all lying in the East, far away, beyond 4—10 myriads (grains of Gāṅgā river sand) of other Buddha lands. The last of the seven is Yakushi Rurikwō Nyorai, the “Medicine Master Vaiḍūrya-light” with his twelve vows. The series opens with the eight great vows to cure, relieve and save all living beings, uttered at the beginning of his Bodhisattva career by the Buddha “Virtuous Name, King of Felicity” 善稱名吉祥王如來, Zenshōmyō Kichijō-ō Nyorai, whose beautiful Eastern Paradise is named “Excelling in Light” 光勝 Kwōshō. Thereupon the Buddha explains the eight great vows of another Buddha, residing still further away in the East, in a Buddha land called “Wonderful Treasure” Myōhō, 妙寶. The name of that Buddha is “Precious Moon, Majesty of Wisdom, Sound of Light, Independent King” 寶月智嚴音自在王如來, Hōgwatsu Chigon Kwō-on Jizai-ō Nyorai; those who hear his name shall be protected and saved in various circumstances and ways.

So it goes on, the first fasciculus (or chapter) being entirely devoted to those Buddhas and their vows. The Bukkyō daijiten (pp. 740 sq.), where their names and those of their lands are enumerated with the numbers of other Buddha lands beyond which they are situated in the East, gives also another list of names of seven worlds and Buddhas, the two last of which are not in the East but in the South. Those names are found in Nanjō No. 528, a very short sūtra, where the Buddha explains to Śāriputra their names and blessing power (6 leaves, translated by Hūen-tsang in A.D. 651).
The so-called Shichibutsu-Yakushi or Yakushi-Shichibutsu, the “Seven Healing Buddhas”, are those found in the text translated by I-tsing (Nanjō No. 172). Although the sūtra treats them as seven different Buddhas, the fact that they were worshipped together and called by the name of the last of them (the only Buddha spoken of in the older text of Poh Śrīmitra, Dharma-gupta and Hūen-tsang) indicates that the worshippers considered them to be seven manifestations of the same Healing Buddha. Evidently I-tsing translated a text of later date, for the other translators, especially Hūen-tsang, would not have omitted the other six Buddhas if they had found them treated in their text. Moreover, there are several magic formulae in I-tsing’s text, explained by the Buddha for the sake of all living beings (pp. 903a, 905b, 907b, 908a); these are lacking in the older text, although one of the names, given by the Buddha to the sūtra at the end of that text, speaks of “sacred incantations” with regard to the vow of the Twelve Yaksha Generals (in the translations of Poh Śrīmitra and Hūen-tsang, not in that of Dharma-gupta). This seems to point to magic formulae, omitted by the translators. Otherwise the second fasciculus of I-tsing’s text gives the same details about the two attendant Bodhisattvas Śūrya and Candra, the eight Bodhisattvas “borne by their divine transcendental power”, who show the way to Amitāyus’ Paradise to those who have heard Bhaishajyaguru’s name, and the vow of the Twelve Yaksha Generals. Worship is prescribed, however, not to Bhaishajyaguru Buddha alone, but to the Seven Buddhas (p. 906b). Apparently the author of this text has enlarged the older work; as to the magic formulae, he introduced the Seven Buddhas explaining the largest of these dhāraṇī, after the vow of the Twelve Generals. Probably he added all these incantations except that regarding this vow. No. 173 seems to have been a copy of the Tibetan version of this later text.
§ 3. Famous images of Yakushi Nyorai, his attendant Bodhisattvas and the Twelve Yakṣa Generals.

A. Yakushi, Nikkō and Gwakkō.

The two attendant Bodhisattvas Nikkō and Gwakkō (日光, 月光, Sūryaprabha and Candraprabha, Sunlight and Moonlight), mentioned in Nanjō Nos. 167 (12), 170 and 171, formed with Yakushi Nyorai the so-called Yakushi sanzon (三尊), represented in sculpture and painting. According to the Kokon-mokuroku-shō (古今目録抄), written in the Kwangen era, A.D. 1243—46 the figures of the Northern wall of the Kondō of Hōryūji in Nara, which date from the seventh century, are Yakushi Nyorai with his Bodhisattvas; but according to the Kokkwa No. 315, II it is Hōshō (槇相) Nyorai (寶相, Ratnaketu, the Southern Buddha of the Konkōmyōkyō, cf. above, Ch. VIII, § 7), whose precious pearl has been mistaken for Yakushi’s medicine-pot. On the Eastern wall, where we should have expected to find Yakushi’s figure, another Eastern Buddha, Akshobhya, one of the Five Great Buddhas, is represented.

Famous bronze images of Yakushi dating from the seventh and eighth centuries are those of the Kondō of Hōryūji (Kokkwa No. 169, VII) (beginning of the seventh century, Suiko period; abhaya and varada mudrā, made with the right hand raised and the left held down, both with palm in front: fearlessness and blessings); Kō (香) Yakushi of Shin Yakushiji in Yamato province (Kokkwa No. 166, VI, standing on the lotus, right hand lifted with palm in front (abhaya mudrā, which gives fearlessness), a medicine box in the left hand, which is hanging down; attributed to Shōtoku Taishi, but made later, in the Hakuho era, A.D. 673–685); and the honzon of Yakushiji, Nara. This image was cast either by order of Temmu Tennō (A.D. 672–686) or by Gyōgi Bosatsu (行基, A.D. 670–749) at the command of the Empress Gemmei (A.D. 707–715). The Buddha is seated on a throne (Kokkwa
Nr. 96, V); on the left and right are represented the two attendant Bodhisattvas Nikkō and Gwakkō, standing on lotus seats, and one hand raised with its palm in front. Six Buddhas are seen in his halo (his own manifestations); his right hand makes the abhaya-mudrā, the left is lying in his lap with its palm upwards (varada-mudrā, bestowing blessings) (Kokkwa No. 153, VII).

The honzon of Shin-Yakushi ji is a wooden statue of this Buddha, seated cross-legged and making the abhaya-mudrā with his right hand; a medicine pot in his left, which lies on his lap in varada-mudrā. He has no crown, but a very elaborate halo with six Buddhas and a blazing pearl on top (Tempyō era, 8th century). A kanshitsu (乾漆, dried lacquer) image of Yakushi, made in the same era, is that of the Shingon shrine Kōzan-ji (高山寺) in Katono district, Yamashiro, where one of his two attendant Bodhisattvas (a magnificent kanshitsu image of the Tempyō era) is also preserved (Kokkwa No. 159, VI; 33, V). This Buddha has neither a crown nor a halo; he makes the abhaya and varada-mudrās and is seated cross-legged, whereas the Bodhisattva is seated with his right leg drawn up.

Wooden statues of Nikkō and Gwakkō, standing upon lotus seats, wearing a Bodhisattva crown and with a long lotus flower in their hands (the sun and the moon on top of the lotus flowers) are found in Jingoji, Kyōto; they date from the middle of the ninth century (Kokkwa No. 229, VII). With regard to pictures of Sūrya (Nitten), represented as a Bodhisattva, we may refer to Kokkwa No. 237, III (painter unknown, 9th century, Tōji, the famous Shingon sanctuary in Kyōto), and to Kokkwa No. 212, V and VI (Nitten, Gwatten and Bonten, three of the twelve protectors of the zodiacal signs, painted by Takuma Shōga in A.D. 1192; also in Tōji). Kokkwa No. 206 (I and II) gives similar screen-paintings of the Twelve Zodiacal Gods, attributed to the same painter and preserved in Jingoji, on Takao-san. Although they do not belong to Yakushi Nyorai’s retinue, they are represented as Bodhisattvas with crowns and lotus flowers.
The Fusō ryakki repeatedly mentions Yakushi images, made in the seventh and later centuries. In A.D. 668 (the seventh year of Tenchi Tennō’s reign) in Shiga district, Ōmi province, Safuku-ji (崇福寺) (i.e. Shiga-dera, 志賀寺, one of the 15 great Buddhist temples mentioned in the Engishiki) was erected. The following images were then made and offered to this shrine: one seated Miroku Butsu, 1 16 feet high (this was the principal image), with his two attendant Bodhisattvas Hokkerin and Daimyōsō, 法花林, 大妙相, “Dharma-flower-wood” and “Great Wonderful Shape” (these Miroku sanzon were also the principal deities of Taema dera, erected in A.D. 682), 2 placed in the kondō; one seated Yakushī Butsu with his two attendant Bodhisattvas (Nikkō and Gwakkō), placed in the kōdo (expounding hall); one seated Amida Butsu with his two attendant Bodhisattvas (Kwannon and Seishi) placed in the small kondō; and the seated Shiho-butsu, 四方佛, the “Buddhas of the four quarters”, probably Akṣobhya (E.), Ratnasambhava (S.), Amītābha (W.), and Amoghasiddhi (N.), (each) with two attendant Bodhisattvas, placed in the three-storied pagoda. 3

In A.D. 680 (the ninth year of Temmu Tennō’s reign, 11th month), when Yakushiji was built on account of the Empress’ illness, on the altar there were placed a bronze “ Schumer seat” (Shumi-za), 16 feet high, the images of Yakushi, Nikkō and Gwakkō, and two of Kwannon. Further, outside the curtain, beneath the altar and in front of the Buddha, on both sides the 12 Yaksha

1 A Miroku-e or Maitreya festival was held there in A.D. 756 (Tempyō Shōhō 8, III) by Tachibana no Naramaro; and in the same year (VIII) the Empress Kōken offered a hundred religious works to this temple. This Buddha Maitreya was also worshipped in A.D. 815 by Saga Tennō (Daïjū, II, p. 2061, 3, s.v. Shiga-dera.


3 Fusō ryakki, Ch. v, p. 520.
generals were placed, variegated images, seven shaku five sun high. In addition to these images there were embroidered figures of Amida, Kwanon and Seishi, and, in the Naiden, bronze images of these three; in the Western building sliding doors represented Maitreya’s paradise (Miroku jōdo). Further there were lions, demons, “Yaksha-shaped devas”, the Ni-ō and the Kongō-rikishi (Vajra-holding, Law-protecting Deva’s) (at the central gate), sixteen images in all.¹

In A.D. 726 (Jinki 3, VI 15), when the Dajō Tennō (the Empress Genshō) was indisposed, Shōmu Tennō ordered hōjō (the liberation of living beings) in all provinces, and in the Eastern kondō of Yamashina-dera (the Hossō shrine Kōfukuji), erected for this purpose, were placed the images of Yakushi and his two attendant Bodhisattvas.²

In A.D. 759 (Tempyō hōji 3, VIII 3) the Chinese priest Kien-chān (鑲真和尚, Kanshin Oshō, the founder of the Vinaya sect in Japan), on behalf of the soul of the Emperor Shōmu, who had made a vow, but died in A.D. 759, erected Tō-Shōdaiji, 唐招提寺, generally called Shōdaiji, one of the Seven Great Temples of Nara (later instead of this shrine Saidaiji, erected in A.D. 765, is enumerated among these seven).

In the kondō Locana’s image, 16 feet high, was placed; this had been made by the Chinese priest I-tsing (義靜, Gijō); in the kōdō the Buddha Maitreya with his two attendant Bodhisattvas, also made by a T’ang priest. In the dining-room Yakushi’s paradise (jōdo) and Amida’s figure with his two attendant Bodhisattvas Kwanon and Seishi were represented on sliding-doors (shōji), given by Fujiwara no Nakamaro Ason (Emi no Oshikatsu, conquered in A.D. 764 by Dōkyō, and killed). A Kensaku-dō was devoted to the images of Fukū-kensaku Kwanon (Amoghapāsa Avalokiteśvara, a gold-coloured image) and the hachibu-shū (八部衆, Devas, Nāgas, Yakshas, Gandharvas,

¹ Ibid., Ch. V, p. 527.
² Ibid., Ch. VI, p. 551.
Asuras, Garuḍas, Kinnaras and Mahoragas), presented by Fujiwara no Kiyokawa, the great ambassador to China, who had remained in China and obtained dignities from the Chinese Emperor. Finally, the Issaikyō, the whole Canon, consisting of 4208 kwan, had been copied on behalf of the State by the Daisōzu Kenkei, 賢影, written 賢影 by the Genkō Shakusho¹ and 賢影 by Washio, who says that 5048 (the ordinary number) was the number of kwan, and that he was a Hoṣo priest of Kōfukuji, the first who ascended the altar and received the commandments in A.D. 756 from the Chinese Vinaya priest Kanshin, when the latter practised the Kamma (karma) no hō in Tōdaiji.²

In A.D. 788 (Enryaku 7) Saichō (Dengyō Daishi, A.D. 767—822), 21 years of age, erected a chapel on Hieizan (which afterwards became the main hall (hondō) of the famous monastery called Enryakuji), and with his own hands made a life-size wooden image of Yakushi Nyorai. The name of his chapel was Kombon chūdō ichijō shikwan-in, 根本中堂 - 乘止観院, “Original central chapel, temple of deep meditation on the only vehicle” (to Nirvāṇa, according to the Lotus sūtra), generally abbreviated into Chūdō, “Central chapel”, the Northern and Southern buildings, also erected by him, being the Monjūdō and the Issai-kyōzō.³

In A.D. 803 (Enryaku 22, interc. X 23) Saichō made four images of Yakushi Nyorai, more than 6 shaku high, which he called “Tathāgata, King of Virtuous Name and Felicity, of the Unsurpassable Paradise” (Mushō-jūdo Zenmyōshō-kichijō-ō Nyorai). He

¹ Genkō Shakusho, Ch. xxii, p. 1026, cf. below, Ch. xv, § 5.
² Washio, p. 283, 2, s.v. Kenkei; Fusō ryakki, bassui (extract), Junnin Tennō, p. 573.
³ Fusō ryakki, Kwamma Tennō, p. 581; cf. p. 626 (A.D. 886), Yakushi image made by Saichō and placed in the Eastern Pagoda building; Shaka image made and placed in the Western Pagoda building; temple erected for the protection of the state. As to the Yakushi of the Chūdō cf. Ch. xxv, p. 698 (A.D. 936, saved from the fire which destroyed the Chūdō and more than 40 other buildings), and p. 720 (A.D. 955, worshipped).
made these images in Kamado-yama-dera in Dazaifu (Chikuzen), in order to obtain a good voyage to China for the four ships of the ambassador, with whom he went to that country. This is clear evidence of the great protective power ascribed by him to Yakushi Nyorai.¹

In A.D. 927 (Enchō 5, II 25) and in A.D. 929 (IX 17) an Imperial Prince and the four sons of the Sadaijin Fujiwara no Tadahira (who published the Engishiki) had Yakushi images made and a Yakushi jūdo painted to celebrate the 60th and 50th birthdays of Fujiwara no Kiyozane and Tadahira. The former held a religious ceremony in the Momosono palace and copied the Hokkekyō, Yakushikyō, Kongō-jumyō-kyō and Hannya-shin-kyō on variegated paper with illustrations in gold and silver. The latter gave a vegetarian entertainment (sai-e) to the monks in Hōshō-ji (法性寺) (erected by Tadahira), where they placed a silver Yakushi image before the Vairocana of the main hall, whereas the painting of this Buddha’s paradise was hung in the hexagonal Buddha hall.²

In A.D. 983 (Tangen 6, III 22) the Court nobles (kuge) “sacrificed” (kuyō, i.e. erected) Enyū-ji (圆融寺) (the Emperor Enyū abdicated the following year and was buried in A.D. 991 in the mausoleum north of this temple) in Yamashiro, Katono district, and placed there (as honzon) the statues of the Seven Healing Buddhas; East of the pond they built a Hokkedō.³

In A.D. 988 (Eien 2, III 26) the Udaijin Fujiwara no Ason Tamemitsu, lamenting the death of his daughter, concubine of Kwazan Tennō, erected Hōjū-ji (法住寺) in Kyōto. The central image in the Gokendō (五間堂) was a gold-coloured Shaka, sixteen feet high, seated cross-legged, and on the left and right there were gold-coloured images of Yakushi, Kwannon, Emmei

¹ Ibid., I.l. p. 598.
² Ibid., Ch. xxiv, pp. 684, 690.
³ Ibid., Ch. xxvii, p. 748.
and Nyoirin (Kannon), six feet high. In the Hokke-sammaidō \(^1\) Fugen (Samantabhadra) was represented, riding on a six-toothed elephant, and in the Jōgyō-sammaidō Amida with the Shishōshu (四攝衆, the “Four Ruling Bodhisattvas”, Shishō Bosatsu, belonging to the 37 saints of the Kongōkai, Kongō-ko, 金剛鉤, Kongō-saku, 索, Kongō-sa, 鑲, and Kongō-rei, 鈴, “Vajra hook, rope, chain and bell”). \(^2\) Two years later (A.D. 990, Eiso 2, III 20) the Dajō Tennō (Kwazan) had a five-storied pagoda built in the compound of Enyūji, with four pictures of Mahāvairocana and the statues of Amida, Shaka, Yakushi and Miroku upon the altar. \(^3\)

In A.D. 1010 (Kwankō 7, III 18) the Emperor Ichijō offered statues of Shaka, Monju and Fugen, gold-coloured statues of the Seven Healing Buddhas, and 1000 copies of the Lotus sūtra; it is not said where they were placed, \(^4\) but we learn from the Nihon kiryaku that it was in the Nanden, the “Southern building” of the Palace. \(^5\)

In A.D. 1050 (Eishō 5, III 16) the Kwampaku Sadajin Fujiwara no Yorimichi added a new chapel, a sūtra repository and a bell tower to Hōjōji (法成寺) in Kyōto (erected A.D. 1022 by his father Michinaga), with gold-coloured statues of Mahāvairocana, 26 feet high, Shaka and Yakushi, 16 feet high. Here we find Shaka and Yakushi as Mahāvairocana’s attendants, an idea of the mystic school; in addition to these statues the Shitenno, Fukūkensaku Kannon, Fudō Myōō and Daitoku were placed in the chapel. \(^6\) There was also a special Yakushidō in this compound, an Amidado and a Hokkedō, which were all destroyed by the

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\(^1\) Cf. above, Ch. viii, § 18 B, p. 359.
\(^3\) Fusō ryakki, Ch. xxvii, p. 756.
\(^4\) Ibid., Ch. xxviii, p. 767.
\(^5\) Nihon kiryaku, kōhen, Ch. xi, p. 1079.
\(^6\) Fusō ryakki, Ch. xxix, p. 794.
big fire of A.D. 1058 II 23, 1 but the two former chapels and the kondō were rebuilt in A.D. 1065, when the Emperor Go-Reizei was present at the dedicatory ceremony (X 18) and granted a great amnesty to the Empire. 2 In the Yakushidō the Seven Healing Buddhas were worshipped, for in A.D. 1091 (Kwanji 5, VIII 7) we read that a severe earthquake damaged their images. 3

In A.D. 1063 (Kōhei 6, X 29) the Court nobles erected a new shrine within the compound of Enryakuji on Tendaizan (i.e. Hieizan), with gold-coloured images of Yakushi, Nyoirin Kwannon and Monju. They called it Jissō-in (實相院), and in the Sammaidō they placed a Saptaratna stūpa (shippō toba) with a copy of the Hokke-rengekyō, decorated with gold paint (kondei), within it. 4 Similarly a gold-coloured Yakushi Nyorai, sixteen feet high, with Nikkō and Gwakkō, belonged to the new images of the newly erected Eastern kondō of Kōfukuji in A.D. 1067 (Chiryaku 3, II 5), 5 and to those of the kondō of Enshūji (圓宗寺), erected in A.D. 1070 (Enkyū 2, XII 26) (with Mahāvairocana, Ichiji-kinrin and the devas of the six heavens). 6 Finally, in A.D. 1083 (Eihō 2, X 1) the Emperor Shirakawa invited 160 monks and went in person to Hōshōji (法勝寺), where the Tendai zasu Ryōshin (良真) led the dedicatory ceremony of the nine-storied pagoda, the Yakushidō, and the octagonal chapel. 7 Evidently the Healing Buddha, either with his two attendant Bodhisattvas or in a group of seven Buddhas, occupied an important place in the Tendai cults of the great temples of the eleventh century.

1 L.l., p. 800.
2 L.l., p. 808.
3 Ibid., Ch. xxx, p. 843.
4 Ibid., Ch. xxix, p. 806.
5 L.l., p. 810.
6 L.l. p. 816.
7 Ibid., Ch. xxx, p. 34; octagonal because Mount Potalaka, Kwannon’s heaven, was said to have this form.
§ 3, B. The Twelve Yaksha Generals and the Eight Bodhisattvas.

The zodiacal signs are connected by the Chinese Buddhists not only with the twelve Devas mentioned above, but also with the twelve Yaksha Generals, spoken of in the Yakushikyō (Nos. 167 (12), 170 and 171), who promised to protect all faithful readers of that sūtra and devout worshippers of Yakushi Nyorai, and who were praised for this virtuous vow by the Tathāgata. Evidently their number has caused the Chinese Buddhists to worship them, not only as attendants of the Healing Buddha, but also as protectors of the twelve zodiacal signs, i.e. of the regions, months and hours connected with them.

The Butsuzō-zuī (published A.D. 1690; Ch. IV, p. 1), followed by the Bukkyō daijī (III, p. 4408, 1, s.v. Yakushi jūni jinshō), gives their names, honji (Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and one Devī), zodiacal signs, and attributes, but in the reverse order and therefore with other zodiacal signs than those given in the list of the Bukkyō daijiten (p. 934, 1, s.v. Jūni shinshō), which differs with regard to some of the honji too. The Bukkyō daijiten must have borrowed its details from an other work and not from the Butsuzō-zuī, for its list gives the names in the order of the sūtra and the zodiacal signs with which they correspond; moreover it mentions three other honji names, e.g. that of the Bodhisattva Nyo-i-rin Kwannon, instead of that of the Devī Marīcī, as fifth of the honji. They all follow Hūen-tsang’s transcription of the twelve names of the Yaksha Generals. The list of the Daijiten is as follows (See p. 552).

It strikes us at once that Amitābha and his two Bodhisattvas are placed in entirely wrong quarters: E.N.E., N.N.E., and E., instead of in the W., W.N.W. and W.S.W., where we find them correctly in the Butsuzō-zuī and the Daijī. There we find the following honji, zodiacal signs and attributes.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Zodiac</th>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Ionji</th>
<th>Japanese</th>
<th>Hitzen-sang</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>子</td>
<td>Maîtreya</td>
<td>Miroku</td>
<td>Kubira</td>
<td>1. 宮毗羅</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>丑</td>
<td>Mahasthāna-prāpta</td>
<td>Daiseishi</td>
<td>Basera</td>
<td>2. 伐折羅</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>寅</td>
<td>Amītābha</td>
<td>Amida</td>
<td>Meikira</td>
<td>3. 迦瞿羅</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>卯</td>
<td>Avalokiteśvara</td>
<td>Kwannon</td>
<td>Aniča</td>
<td>4. 安底羅</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>辰</td>
<td>Cintāmani-caakra</td>
<td>Nyoirin</td>
<td>Antera</td>
<td>5. 珍伽羅</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>巳</td>
<td>Avalokiteśvara</td>
<td>Kwanmon</td>
<td>Anira</td>
<td>6. 瑪伽羅</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>午</td>
<td>Śāla-garbha</td>
<td>Kokūzo</td>
<td>Šandila</td>
<td>7. 伽陀羅</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>未</td>
<td>Kṣhiṅga-saṅgha</td>
<td>Jizo</td>
<td>Indra</td>
<td>8. 斯底羅</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>申</td>
<td>Manjuśri</td>
<td>Monju</td>
<td>Vajra (?)</td>
<td>9. 麻虎羅</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>酉</td>
<td>Mahābālagunā</td>
<td>Dai Ito-ku</td>
<td>Vajra</td>
<td>10. 貞達羅</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>戌</td>
<td>Vidyārāja</td>
<td>Myo-ō</td>
<td>Mahoraga</td>
<td>11. 鎮社羅</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>亥</td>
<td>Samanta-bhadra</td>
<td>Dai Nichi</td>
<td>Kinnara</td>
<td>12. 毗羯羅</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanskrit</td>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>attributes</td>
<td>hours</td>
<td>months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maitreya</td>
<td>1. Kubira</td>
<td>big sword</td>
<td>9-11 P.M.</td>
<td>N.N.W.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahastharna-prapta</td>
<td>2. Basera</td>
<td>sword</td>
<td>7-9 P.M.</td>
<td>W.N.W.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amitabha</td>
<td>3. Meikira</td>
<td>single-pointed vajra</td>
<td>5-7 P.M.</td>
<td>9th</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avalokiteśvara</td>
<td>4. Anteira</td>
<td>precious pearl</td>
<td>3-5 P.M.</td>
<td>8th</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mañjūśrī</td>
<td>5. Anira</td>
<td>conch</td>
<td>1-3 P.M.</td>
<td>6th</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kshitigarbha</td>
<td>6. Santeira</td>
<td>arrow</td>
<td>11-1 P.M.</td>
<td>5th</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mañjūśrī</td>
<td>7. Indara</td>
<td>bow and arrow</td>
<td>9-11 A.M.</td>
<td>4th</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhaishajyaguru</td>
<td>8. Haira</td>
<td>halberd</td>
<td>7-9 A.M.</td>
<td>3rd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samantabhadra</td>
<td>9. Makora</td>
<td>axe</td>
<td>5-7 A.M.</td>
<td>2nd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vairapani</td>
<td>10. Shindara</td>
<td>precious pearl</td>
<td>3-5 A.M.</td>
<td>1st</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šakymuni</td>
<td>11. Štòra</td>
<td>big sword</td>
<td>1-3 A.M.</td>
<td>12th</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vajra</td>
<td>12. Bikara</td>
<td>three-pointed vajra</td>
<td>3-5 A.M.</td>
<td>11th</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Here Amitābha and Bhaishajyaguru are placed in their proper quarters, West and East, but it is strange that one of the honji of Yakushi’s attendants is that Buddha himself! Strange also is the figure of the devī Martēci among these Buddhas (Amida, Yakushi and Shaka) and Bodhisattvas. Vajrapāni has taken Mahā-vairocana’s place, whose name we can hardly dispense with in connection with Amitābha and Śākyamuni. Evidently the list of the honji is better in the Dait JITEN, but that of the zodiacal signs is correct in the Butsuzō-zui and the Daijji. In the Kokkwa (Nr. 116, VII, p. 149) the connection of the Twelve Generals with the zodiacal signs is given in a third way, apparently in order to combine the first month (寅) with the first General (Kubira), but in doing so the quarters do not agree with the honji (not given in the Kokkwa). Here the transcription of names, used in Nanjō No. 167 (12), Poh Śrīmitra’s translation, is followed, where e.g. the first general is called 金毘羅, Kompira (Kumbhīra).

The names of the Eight Bodhisattvas, who according to the sūtra shall appear at the death of devout worshippers and lead them to Amitābha’s Paradise, are not given in the text, but their number recalls the Eight Great Bodhisattvas of Nanjō Nos. 880, 981 and 997. These eight are: Mañjuśrī, Avalokiteśvara, Maitreya, Ākāśagarbha, Samantabhadra, Vajrapāni, Sarvanīvaraṇavishkambhi, and Kshitigarbha, probably the same as those grouped around the Buddha Śākyamuni in the Elūrā Cave temples. On comparing this list with those given above, we see that there too all are found, except the seventh (and the sixth, Vajrapāni, which is lacking in the list of the Daijiten). We find three Buddhas in the Daijiten (Amitābha, Mahāvairocana and Śākyamuni), who are often worshipped together, eight Bodhisattvas and one Vidyāraja. These eight Bodhisattvas may

1 Cf. Daijiten, p. 503, 3, s.v. Kompira shin.
2 Cf. the present writer’s treatise on “The Bodhisattva Ti-tsang (Jizō) in China and Japan” (1915), Ch. I, § 4, pp. 15 sqq.
have been considered by the author of the sūtra as the guides to Amitābha’s Paradise, namely Maitreya, Mahāsthānaprāpta, Avalokiteśvara, Cintāmanicakra Avalokiteśvara, Ākāśagarbha, Kṣitigarbha, Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra. Nos. 2 and 3 are Amitābha’s special attendants, and nos. 7 and 8 those of Śākyamuni.¹ They all belong to the 25 Bodhisattvas of Amitābha’s retinue (where Dai Itoku too is mentioned as a Bodhisattva, cf. Butsuzō-zuī, II, p. 9a).²

According to the Himitsu jirin, however, the Gojukwanshō (五十巻録, written by the Tendai priest Shingaku, 心覺, who died in A.D. 1181) and other works give the names of the Eight Bodhisattvas as follows: Monju, Kwannon, Daiseishi, Hödange (寶檀花)?, Mujin-i (無盡意, i.e. Aksaya-mati),³ Yaku-do (薬王), Yakujō (藥上) (Bhaiṣajyarāja and Bhaiṣajyamudgata, cf. Nanjō No. 305),⁴ and Miroku (Maitreya). These eight Bodhisattvas, except Hödange, are also found among Amitābha’s 25 followers in the Butsuzō-zuī.

As to the images of the Twelve Yakṣa Generals, called the Juni shin (or jin) shō, 十二神將, the “Twelve Divine (or Spirit) Generals”, a clay figure in Shin Yakushiji at Nara, attributed to Hada Tori (秦度利) and dating from the middle of the 8th century (Tempyō era), represents Meikira, the third of the twelve, suijaku of Amitābha (Kokkwa No. 203, VII). Two reliefs, representing Meikira and Haira, preserved in Kōfukuji, Nara, were made in Kōbō Daishi’s time (Kōnin era, 810—823) and even attributed to him (Meikira with a single-pointed vajra, Haira without attributes, Kokkwa No. 222, VII). The wooden images of two of the Twelve Generals, found in the same temple

¹ Cf. Grünwedel, Mythologie des Buddhismus in Tibet und der Mongolei, p. 118 (8 Buddhas, namely Śākyamuni and seven others; “mit Amitābha und Gautama bildet er eine viel verehrte, beliebte Trias”).
² Cf. ibid., Ch. III, § 3, pp. 122 sqq.
³ Cf. Himitsu jirin, p. 1038, 2; Daitōnen, p. 1709, 2, s.v. Mujin-i.
⁴ Himitsu jirin, p. 1063; cf. below, Ch. XVI, § 2, Lotus sūtra, Ch. XXV.
and made by an unknown artist of the beginning of the 13th century, are reproduced in the Kokkwa No. 287, VIII: Haira (No. 8) with bow and arrow, and Shōtora (No. 11) drawing his sword; two menacing warriors full of vigour and life.

Makora (No. 9), with an axe in his right hand, holds his left above his eyes, keeping a sharp look out for the demons against whom he has to protect Yakushi’s worshippers, and another of the twelve Generals looks down with a menacing gaze as if the enemy were approaching from below (his attribute is lost). These two are beautiful wooden statues made by the great sculptor Unkei (蓮 慶, Unkyō), the famous Buddhist monk, who in A.D. 1197 made the Shiitenō of Tōdaiji, as well as Dai Nichi Nyorai, and in 1203 the Niō of the great Southern gate of the same temple; in 1218 by order of the Shōgun of Kamakura the Yakushi Nyorai of the Ōkura-shindō; the Vairocana of the Kondō of Közanji; Piṇḍola of the Rakandō, etc.¹ The two statues of Makora and the other General, formerly belonging to Kutaiji (九 體 寺) in Nara, are now in the possession of Mr. Masuda (Kokkwa No. 109, VII; 116, VII).

A painting of the end of the Fujiwara period (12th century), belonging to the Kose school (Yamato-e), is a so-called mandara (maṇḍala) of Yakushi Nyorai. This Buddha is seated on a high throne, cross-legged on a lotus, with a medicine pot in his hands, lying in his lap in dhyāna-mudrā, and two round haloes behind his body and head; twelve Buddhas (manifestations of the Buddha himself) are seen in the upper halo. The two Bodhisattvas Nikkō and Gwakkō, with sun and moon resting on lotus seats in their hands, are standing before his throne, and on either side six of the Twelve Divine Generals, frightful demons with swords and other weapons, are ready to protect all faithfull believers (Kokkwa No. 32, 1, private collection of Mr. Matsui).

About A.D. 1247 the priest Shunei (俊 英) of Kyōto, a well-

¹ Washio, p. 27, 1, s.v. Unkyō.
known painter whose sect is not mentioned, in fulfilment of a vow made a picture of Yakushi Nyorai and the Twelve Generals, which proved to have great divine power (reiken). \(^1\)

In the *Wakan sansai zue* (和漢三才圖會), written A.D. 1713 by Terajima Ryōan, 寺島良安) Yakushi Nyorai’s images are often mentioned among the honzon or “principal saints” of the temples of Japan. We find him e.g. in the Eastern Kondō of Kōfukuji (Tempyo 20, A.D. 748, dedicated by the Emperor Shōmu in order to save the life of his aunt Genshō Tennō, who died the same year). \(^2\)

Other statues are Yakushi, Shaka and Amida (with Kwanon) in the middle chapel, Western pagoda (Saitō-in) and in the Yogawa shrine of Enryakuji on Hieizan, \(^3\) Ishi (stone) Yakushi with his 12 spirits (神, the Yaksha generals), carved from the sparkling stone of the mountain at Ishi-Yakushi village, Ise province, \(^4\) and the same figures in the kondō of Takao-san Jingokokusoji (高雄山神護國祚寺), a temple erected in accordance with the vow of Kōnin Tennō (A.D. 770—781), \(^5\) in Yamashiro province. Yakushi as honzon of Kwōryūji (厩隆寺), and of three other temples in Yamashiro; one of these images was dedicated by Yōzei Tennō in A.D. 877, and another by Ichijō Tennō in A.D. 1003. \(^6\) Many Yakushi-dō (chapels) and Yakushi images as honzon of larger temples are mentioned also in other provinces. In Kamakura we find him twice with his 12 attendant spirits; one of these groups was made by Unkei (beginning of the 13th century). \(^7\)

All these sculptures and paintings are clear evidence of the

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\(^1\) Washio, p. 565, 1, s.v. Shunei.
\(^2\) *Wakan sansai zue*, Ch. LXXIII, p. 1283, 2.
\(^3\) L.I., Ch. LXXI, p. 1160, 2.
\(^4\) L.I., Ch. LXXI, p. 1184, 2.
\(^5\) L.I., Ch. LXXII, p. 1235, 1.
\(^6\) L.I., Ch. LXXII, pp. 1244, 1; 1242, 2.
\(^7\) L.I., Ch. L XVII, pp. 1083, 2; 1085, 1.
great importance attached from the seventh to the thirteenth century by Japanese Buddhists to the worship of the Healing Buddha.

§ 4. Expounding the Yakushikyô, and Yakushi-kekwa in Japan (A.D. 686—842 and 875).

As seen above (Ch. I, § 10), in A.D. 686 (V 24) "the Emperor Temmu's body was ill at ease. Accordingly the Yakushikyô was expounded in the Temple of Kawara, and a retreat (ango) was held within the Palace". ¹

As to the Yakushi-kekwa or "Rites of Repentance in worship of the Healing Buddha", we may refer to Ch. VIII, § 14. The fact is there mentioned that in A.D. 720 (Yôrô 4, VIII 2) the Empress Genshô endeavoured to save the life of the Right Minister Fujiwara no Fubito by causing the Yakushikyô to be read for one day and one night in 48 Buddhist temples in and near the capital (4 × 12, evidently in connection with Yakushi's 12 vows), and that (in accordance with the sûtra) two days previously great amnesty had been proclaimed throughout the Empire on his behalf. ²

The Minister died, however, the following day, and this may have been the reason that the sûtra and its rites were not again used for 24 years.

Then, in A.D. 744 (Tempyô 16, XII 4) Shômu Tennô ordered Yakushi-kekwa to be performed during seven days in all provinces, probably in connection with the worship of Vairocana and the offering of ten thousand lamps in order to purify the people from sin towards the end of the year.

In A.D. 745 (Tempyô 17, IX 19), when the same Emperor was indisposed, not only Yakushi-kekwa were practised in all

¹ Nihongi, Ch. XXIX, p. 541; Aston II, p. 376.
² Shoku Nihongi, Ch. VIII, p. 123.
Yakushi-kekwa.

Buddhist temples of the Capital and Home provinces and in all “pure places of renowned mountains”, but also seven Yakushi images, 6 shaku 3 sun high, and seven copies of the Yakushikyō (each of one chapter) were made in the capital and in all the provinces. The second sūtra then copied and read was the Daihannyaakyō. ¹ Evidently Shōmu Tennō was a devout worshipper of Bhaiṣhayāguru, for after his abdication in A.D. 749 (Interc. V 23) he became a monk by the name of Shōman and retired to Yakushiji; his consort became a nun and took the name of Mampuku. ²

The next year (A.D. 750, IV 4) his daughter, the Empress Kōken, who, too, had a fervent belief in this Buddha, stated by proclamation that she took refuge to the Yakushikyō and performed gyōdo kekwa, i.e. circumambulation of his image and rites of repentance in his honour, in order to purify the people from sin; at the same time she granted amnesty to the criminals of the whole country. ³

In A.D. 751, X 23, when her father was indisposed, she invited 7 × 7 wise monks to the Shin-Yakushiji, where they during 7 × 7 days had to perform the rites in worship of Yakushi Nyorai for lengthening life; at the same time they received vegetarian entertainment, and amnesty was bestowed upon the people, all in accordance with the sūtra. ⁴ Three years later (A.D. 754, XI 8) she repeated these measures for the health and long life of her parents. ⁵ Her father died in A.D. 756 (V 2), and a year after his death she entertained 1500 priests in Tōdaiji and had rites of repentance (probably Yakushi-kekwa) performed for seven days on behalf of his soul. ⁶ Yet the death of her father may have

¹ Shoku Nihongi, Ch. xvi, p. 261.
² L.l., Ch. xvii, p. 286.
³ L.l., Ch. xviii, p. 294.
⁴ L.l., Ch. xviii, p. 298.
⁵ L.l., Ch. xix, p. 311.
⁶ L.l., Ch. xx, pp. 322, 336.
diminished her belief in Yakushi’s saving power, for she never again ordered his rites to be practised, even not when her mother was ill (A.D. 758, VII 4).

In A.D. 770 (Hōki 1, VIII 16), on the second seventh day after the death of the Empress Shōtoku (Kōken), sūtra reading took place for her soul in Yakushiji. ¹

In A.D. 773 (Hōki 4, XII 25) the Emperor Kōnin in accordance with the Yakushikyō invited wise Buddhist priests to a vegetarian entertainment and requested them to perform circumambulatory rites; at the same time he granted great amnesty, because compassion caused fields of felicity and glory of the dynasty. ²

As to Kwammu Tennō (A.D. 781—806), not until A.D. 796 (Enryaku 15, X 21—27) did fear of drought and pestilence lead him to order Yakushi-kekwa in the Palace, to be practised by 40 monks, and in A.D. 805 (II 19), when he was ill, the same rites took place in all kokubunji; shortly before his death (A.D. 806, II 23) a copy of Yakushi’s image and of the Lotus sūtra were made to save his life. ³

It was stated above (Ch. VIII, § 14, pp. 303 sqq.), that under Nimmyō Tennō’s reign the nightly Yakushi-kekwa, during three days combined with tendoku of the Kongō-hannyakyō in the day-time and performed in all kokubunji against drought and pestilence, were mentioned from A.D. 833 (VI 8) to 842 (III 15); and that in A.D. 875 (XII 13) similar measures were taken by the Emperor Seiwa against drought, pestilence, war and fire. ⁴ After this we do not again read about these rites.

§ 5. Names of priests connected with the Yakushi cult.

The first well-known name connected with the Yakushi cult is that of Shōtoku Taishi (A.D. 574—622), who according to

¹ L.l., Ch. xxx, p. 528.
² L.l., Ch. xxxii, p. 572.
³ Nihon kōki, Ch. v, p. 2; Ch. xii, pp. 43 sqq.; Ch. xiii, p. 61.
⁴ Nihon kiryaku, Zempen, Ch. xviii, p. 662.
Priests connected with the Yakushi cult.

Tradition completed in A.D. 607, the 15th year of the Empress Suiko’s reign, the building of the two great shichidō-garan (Buddhist temples consisting in all of seven buildings) of Shitennoji in Naniwa and Hōryū-gakumonji (Hōryūji) in Ikaruga (斑鳩). He placed the images of the Shitenno in the former sanctuary, and in the kondō of the latter the bronze image of Yakushi Nyorai (Kokkwa No. 169, VII), made in the same year. He thus fulfilled his original vow, made in A.D. 587 at the time of his father Yōmei Tennō’s death. The maker of this Yakushi image is said to have been the celebrated Tori (止利), the first Bukkō (佛工) or Busshi (佛師), maker of Buddhist images, of Japan. 2

In A.D. 689, the third year of the Empress Jitō’s reign (VII 1) “in accordance with his request, the Buddhist priest Jitoku (自得), Yemishi of Michinoku, was granted a gold-copper image of Yakushi Butsu and a gold-copper image of Kwanzeon Bosatsu, a bell, a precious curtain, an incense burner, and a banner”. 3

Three priests of the Hossō sect are mentioned, namely Zenshu (善珠, A.D. 723–797), among whose many writings were some devoted to the Mirokukyō, Saishōkyō, Yakushikyō (a commentary of one chapter), and Bommōkyō; 4 Gomyō (護命, A.D. 750–834), who in A.D. 808 expounded the Yuimakyo in Yamashina-dera, in 826 performed tendoku of the Yakushikyō in Shin-Yakushiji, and the following year, after having become sōjō, was appointed kōshi (leader) of a meeting in which he explained the Hokkekyō for seven days and nights by order of the former Emperor Saga, who had himself copied this text with golden characters; 5 and Sehei (施平), who in A.D. 827 at a religious meeting in the Palace discussed the Law with Kūkai (Kōbō Daishi) and other

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1 Washio, p. 615, 1, s.v. Shōtoku Taishi.
2 Washio, p. 851, 1, s.v. Tori.
3 Nihongi, Ch. xxx, p. 552; Aston II, p. 393.
4 Washio, p. 709, 1, s.v. Zenshu.
5 Washio, p. 337, 1, s.v. Gomyō.
priests, when the Emperor Junna had made a Yakushi image and copied the Rengehō-mandara with golden ink.¹

In the same year the Sanron priest Gen-ei (立 友) of Saidaiji praised (and worshipped) a Yakushi image.²

Of the Tendai sect its founder, Dengyō Daishi (A.D. 767—822), in 788 expressed his devotion to this Buddha by carving his wooden statue and placing it in a shrine.³ Further, the famous Son-i (尊 意, A.D. 866—940), afterwards zasu of Enryakuji, as a boy had this Buddha as his tutelary image, which he presented to his teacher as a precious gift.⁴ Another priest of the mystic branch of the Tendai sect was Annen (安然), a very learned monk of Hieizan; among the enormous number of his mystic works were writings devoted to the shingon (mantras) of Yakushi, as well as to Amida, Monju, Fudō Myōō, Fukkōkensaku Kannon and Kokūzō (Akaśagarbha).⁵ This priest lived towards the end of the ninth century; two centuries later another monk of Hieizan (Myō-jitsu, 明 實, who died in A.D. 1093), proved to be a fervent worshipper of Mañjuśrī (nine of whose pictures he daily painted and dedicated) and of Bhaiṣajyaguru, in whose central chapel he offered incense and flowers during 2800 (4 × 7 × 100) days.⁶ The same combination of the Monju and Yakushi cults, connected with those of Amida and the Six Jizō’s, is found in the biography of Ennō (圓 能), who died in A.D. 1151.⁷ In the first half of the 14th century the Tendai priest Jishō (慈 紗, A.D. 1291—1368), when founding the Mitsuzō-in of the mystic branch of his sect in Owari province, made Yakushi the honzon of this temple.⁸

Finally, in A.D. 1635, the priest Tanshō (但 唱), the founder

¹ Washio, p. 688, 1, s.v. Sehei.
² Washio, p. 293, 2, s.v. Genei.
³ Washio, p. 396, 2, s.v. Satchō.
⁴ Washio, p. 753, 1, s.v. Son-i.
⁵ Washio, p. 5, 1, s.v. Annen.
⁶ Washio, p. 1031, 1, s.v. Myōjitsu.
⁷ Washio, p. 105, 1, s.v. Ennō.
⁸ Washio, p. 430, 2, s.v. Jishō.
of the Dainichi-in, a mystic Tendai shrine in Musashi province, was said to have been born by the favour of Yakushi of Arima, to whom his mother had prayed for a child.  

As to the Shingon sect, we found no names of its priests connected with the Yakushi cult before A.D. 1469, when Dōyu (道瑜) of the Shingi Shingon sect wrote a work on Yakushi goma (a burnt offering, homa, in worship of Bhaishajyaguru). The next name is that of the Shingon priest Shōkai (照海, 1552–1616), who in A.D. 1605 caused an image of Yakushi Nyorai to be made and placed it as honzon in Shimpukuji (真福寺), newly founded by him at the foot of Atago-san in Yedo. Finally, in A.D. 1674 the famous Shingon priest Jōgon (浄巌, 1639–1702), whose great activity in the service of Buddha's Law was highly appreciated by the devout Shōgun Tsunayoshi (reigned A.D. 1680–1709), expounded the Yakushiyō, which apparently was one of his favourite works together with the Daihannyaikyō, the Fumonbon (Kwannongyō), the Amidakyō and the Rishukyō (Nanjō No. 1034).

We learn from the above facts that in the eighth century and in the first half of the ninth the Hosso priests, and thenceforward during many centuries those of the mystic branch of the Tendai sect were the principal worshippers of Yakushi Nyorai; until the fifteenth century the Shingon priests did not pay much attention to his cult. Yet in the eighth century the Indian patriarchs of the Shingon sect, Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra, and the Chinese priest Yih-king had translated kalpas (ceremonial rules) on Yakushi's cult, and from the ninth century its mystic tendency was evident in Japan also.

1 Washio, p. 788, 2, s.v. Tanshō.
2 Washio, p. 889, 1, s.v. Dōyu.
3 Himitsu jirin, p. 581, 1, s.v. Shōkai.
4 Washio, p. 663, 2, s.v. Jōgon.
§ 6. The mystic Yakushi-hō.

When in A.D. 803 Dengyō Daishi (Saichō, A.D. 767—822), the founder of the Tendai sect, was about to go to China in order to study Buddhist doctrines, he is said to have held a hōjō-e (放生會) or "Meeting for setting free living beings" in Kamado-yamadera in Dazaifu (Chikuzen). We saw above, that Huen-tsang's translation of the Yakushikyō prescribes the liberation of $7 \times 7$ living beings. Evidently he hoped to obtain Yakushi's powerful protection while crossing the sea, for this was one of the blessings bestowed by this Buddha upon his worshippers (arresting calamity, increasing wealth, removing illness, giving easy child-birth and a safe voyage). According to the Shingon sect, however, he based his Yakushi-hō upon the Ashiku-hō (阿閦法), i.e. the ceremony in worship of the Buddha Akṣobhya. The Shingon priest Ningai (仁海, A.D. 955—1046, especially famous for his successful rain ceremonies) declared Yakushi to be identical with Ashiku (Akṣobhya) and placed him among the Five Buddhas of the Kongō-kai, because both are Buddhas of the East. Others identified him with Dai Nichi (Mahāvairocana) of the Taizokai (whose cult, as stated above, Ch. VIII, § 14, p. 301, was sometimes connected with that of Yakushi), or with Shaka (Sākyamuni) and Amida. The variety of these explanations is due to the fact that at the time of the introduction of the mystic creed he had no place in the Ryōbu mandara.

There are four kalpas (ceremonial rules, giki, 儀軌) of the Tantric school, explaining the meditation (kwangyo, 觀行) on and the prayers (nenju, 念誦) to Yakushi Nyorai. Two of them were translated in the eighth century by Vajrabodhi (who translated between A.D. 723 and 730) and Amoghavajra (who ended his work in A.D. 771). The third kalpa is entitled Yakushi

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1 He also made four Yakushi images, to protect the four ships, cf. above, § 3, A, p. 547.
2 Himitsu jirin, p. 1064, 1, s.v. Yakushi Nyorai.
The mystic Yakushi-hō.

Rurikō Nyorai shōsai jōnan nenju giki (消災除難念誦儀軌, “Ceremonial rules for worshipping the Healing Buddha Vaidūrya-light, in order to extinguish calamity and remove difficulties”). According to the Daijiten (p. 1751, 3) this work, consisting of one fasciculus, was translated by an unknown author; according to the Himitsu jirin (p. 1061, 2), however, it is a work of Yih-hing (行), a famous pupil of Śubhakara-simha (A.D. 637—735), who lived A.D. 687—727. The fourth kalpa dates from a much later time, for it was translated by the Tibetan Śramana Sha-lo-pa (沙羅巴, Nanjō App. II 170), who lived A.D. 1259—1314.

The third of these kalpas, which are not found in the Chinese Canon, became the base of the mystic Yakushi-hō in Japan, on having been introduced by So-ichi (祚一), but we do not know when this priest lived. Before that time the rules of the Akṣobhyā ceremony were followed.¹

As seen above (§ 3, A, p. 543), Yakushi’s mudrā is the abhaya mudrā, with the thumb slightly bent or, rarely, touching the middle finger. His other hand carries the medicine pot, or is sometimes making the varada-mudrā (hanging down with palm in front, as a sign of bestowing blessings upon the worshippers, yogwan-in or yomangwan-in, “fulfilling wishes”). This is the shape of the honzon of the Kondō of Yakushi-ji and Tōji. As to that of Hōkai-ji (法界寺) in Yamashiro province, this carries the medicine pot upon the hōkaijō-in (法界定印, “mudrā of the samādhi of the Dharma-world”, the hands lying in the lap, with the fingers joined and the tips of the thumbs touching each other: the so-called dhyāna mudrā). Evidently the oldest form in Japan is that with the abhaya and varada-mudrās (Kokkwa No. 169, VII: Hōryū-ji, beginning of the seventh century; cf. 315, II; No. 166, VI: Shin Yakushi-ji, the bronze Kō-Yakushi, 7th century; No. 153, VII: Yakushi-ji, 7th century or beginning

¹ Himitsu jirin, p. 1062, 2, s.v. Yakushi shōsai giki.
of the 8th; No. 159, VI: Közanji, Kyōto, Tempyō era, 8th century). The wooden honzon of Shin Yakushiji, however, also dating from the Tempyō era, bears the medicine pot in the left hand, which lies on the lap in varada-mudrā, whereas the right hand makes the abhya-mudrā. The dhyāna-mudrā with the medicine pot is found in the mandara, reproduced in the Kokkwa No. 32, I (end Fujiwara, 12th century, described above, § 3, B, p. 556); this appears to be a later form.

Chinese paintings represent him also as riding on an elephant, with a khakkhara (a staff with iron rings) in his right hand and an almsbowl in his left, whereas Nikkō is riding on a horse and Gwakkō on a goose.¹

Central-Asian pictures of his paradise show this Buddha seated in the centre, in an attitude of preaching, and surrounded by Sūryaprabha, Candraprabha (Nikkō and Gwakkō), his other Bodhisattvas (here we see ten of them instead of eight, and four priests) and the Twelve Yakṣa generals.²

In A.D. 843 (V 8) the mystic Yakushi-hō was preferred to the nightly Yakushi-kekwa. This ceremony took place during three days in the Jōneiden of the Palace, whereas the Yakushikyō was recited in the Seiryōden and the Dainihannyōkkyō in the Daigokuden, in order to avert calamities predicted on account of strange apparitions in the Palace and an uncommon colour of the sun.³

In A.D. 857 (Ten 1, X 15) the two Shintō gods of Ōarai-isosaki and Sakatsura-isosaki, two temples at the coast of Hitachi province,⁴ considered to be connected with the Yakushi cult,

¹ Himitsu jirin, p. 1063, 1.
² Sir Aurel Stein, Serindia, Pt. LVI and LVII, Vol. II, pp. 889 sq. (Caves of the thousand Buddhas, Tun-hwang); cf. Mission Pelliot en Asie Centrale, Les Grottes de Touen-houang, I—IV. About his cult in Tibet (often represented with his eight attendant Buddhas, or forming a trinity with Amitābha and Śākyamuni, cf. Grünwedel, Mythologie, p. 118, fig. 93—96; Waddell, Lamaism.
³ Shoku Nihon kōki, Ch. xiii, p. 337.
⁴ Dai Nihon chimei jishō, III, pp. 3674 and 3703.
got the title of *Yakushi Bosatsu myōjin* (名神). Evidently they were thus declared to be manifestations of Yakushi’s two attendant Bodhisattvas, *Nikkō* and *Gwakkō*.¹

§ 7. The Shichibutsu-Yakushi-hō or Ceremony of the Seven Healing Buddhas, performed by the mystic branch of the Tendai sect (9th—14th cent. A.D.).

In A.D. 849 (X 10) the monks of *Yakushiji* presented 40 copies of the *Yakushikyō* to the Emperor Nimmyō, on account of his 40th birthday; but five months later (A.D. 850, Ill 21) the *Shichibutsu Yakushi-hō* or "Rite of the Seven Healing Buddhas" (based upon Nanjō No. 172) was practised in order to save his life, two days before his death. This ceremony took place in the *Seiryōden*, and pictures of the Seven Buddhas were hung in front of the Imperial *sudare* (bamboo-blind). In the court-yard and in the Southern court-yard of the *Shishinden* seven double rows of round lanterns (*rinō*, as used at the nocturnal *Yakushi* rites) were lighted. This is the first time we find this ceremony mentioned in the annals. Evidently it replaced the ancient *Yakushi-kekwa*.²

The great importance of the *Saishōe* of *Yakushiji*, held for the peace of the state from A.D. 830 to 1445 (cf. above, Ch. XI, § 8, B, p. 479) is clear evidence of the fact that the cult of *Yakushi Nyorai* and his sūtra gradually gave way to that of another Sun-Buddha, namely *Amida* (the *honzon* of this festival), and the *Saishōkyō*. The latter sūtra, the *Yuimakyō*, *Daihannya-kyō*, *Ninnōkyō*, *Hokkekyō* predominated in the latter half of the ninth century and in the tenth and following centuries, the *Kongō-hannya-kyō* was often used in the ninth and sometimes in the tenth, the *Hannya-shinkyō* occasionally from the 9th to the 19th century, the *Kujaku-ō-kyō* and the *Shō-u-kyō* came into use in the middle

1 *Nihon Montoku Tennō jitsuroku*, Ch. IX, p. 560.
2 *Shoku Nihon kōki*, Ch. xix, p. 420; Ch. xx, p. 431.
of the tenth (A.D. 948, V 16, VI 14, for rain), the Nehangyō, Jumyōkyō and Kwannongyō in the eleventh (especially against drought and pestilence). As to the Yakushikyō, this sūtra and the cult based upon it, once so powerful, in the ninth and tenth centuries for more than a hundred years were rarely mentioned, after which the mystic Tendai worship of the Seven Healing Buddhas brought new life to this cult.

In A.D. 956 (Tenryaku 10, V 11) the Shichibutsu Yakushi-hō was performed by the Daisōjō Ji-e (慈慧) of the mystic Tendai branch, assisted by six other priests, namely Myōshō (明諸), an Amidist of Hieizan,¹ who recited the magic formulae (呪, ju, dhāraṇī), Kakunin, who sang the hymns of praise (唄, bai), and four others. It lasted seven days and seven nights, and was intended to promote the prosperity of the Kujō family; it took place in the Bōmon pavilion (Bōmontei).²

In A.D. 1015 (Chōwa 4, V 1) the same ceremony was used in order to cure the Emperor Sanjō, who the following year abdicated on account of blindness. Thereupon (1016, V 1) this Dajō Tennō himself ascended Tendaizan (i.e. Hieizan), accompanied by the Sesshō (Regent), the great Fujiwara no Michinaga, the Left General Yorimichi (his eldest son) and all the other Court nobles, and on account of his eye-disease during seven days performed the Shichidan mishihō (七壇御修法, the “August Ceremony of the Seven Altars”, i.e. the Shichibutsu Yakushi-hō).³

In A.D. 1020 (Kwannin 4, XII 14-20) Michinaga (called “the Nyūdō, the former Dajō-daijin”), who on the 13th had ascended Hieizan, celebrated the Shichibutsu Yakushi-hō there for seven days, returning to the capital on the 21st.⁴ Some days previously

¹ Washio, p. 1082, 2, s.v. Myōshō.
² Kakuzenshō, 覚禅抄, also called Hyak-kwanshō, 百巻抄, written about A.D. 1250 by the Shingon priest Kakuzen, and quoted by the Himitsu jirin, p. 502, 1, s.v. Shichibutsu Yakushi-hō.
³ Nihon kiryaku, kōhen, Ch. xii, p. 1098; Ch. xiii, p. 1104.
⁴ L.l., Ch. xiii, p. 1125.
he had presented a fief of 350 houses as a permanent gift to Muryōju-in (the Amitāyus temple in the compound of the Tendai sanctuary Hōjōji), dedicated by him that same year (III 22). ¹
Apparently he had a great belief in the blessing power of these two Sun-Buddhas, Yakushi and Amitābha, the rising and the setting sun.

In A.D. 1024 (Manju 1, VI 26) in the compound of Hōjōji the same great statesman dedicated a new chapel, Jōruri-in (“Pure Vaidūrya Temple”) to the Seven Yakushi, whose images were placed there together with those of the Six Kwanron. On this occasion an Imperial vegetarian entertainment was given to the monks, and the Tendai zasu Ingen (as kōshi) led the ceremony, which was attended by the Empress and the Kwanpakku Yorimichi, Michinaga’s eldest son and successor. ²

Four years later, in A.D. 1028 (Chōgen I, III 7), on the day of the beginning of the Vernal Imperial Sutra reading (Ki no mido(k)kyō), Yorimichi entertained a thousand monks on Hietzan and celebrated the Yakushi-hō. ³

In A.D. 1142 (Kōji 1, V 12) the Shichibutsu Yakushi-hō was performed by the Court in the central chapel of Enryakuji on Hietzan, again with an entertainment of a thousand monks, ⁴ and it was also one of the numerous ceremonies, practised in A.D. 1281 against the dangerous invasion of the Mongols. The Emperor Go Uda himself led this rite, which took place in the same chapel of Enryakuji; he was assisted by the Tendai zasu Kōgō. ⁵ Five years earlier (A.D. 1276, X 13—18; it must have been one day longer, for it always lasted seven days) the same Emperor and priest worshipped the Seven Healing Buddhas by means of this ceremony in the Konoe-dono, in order to pray for easy child-birth

¹ Cf. above, Ch. viii, § 16, B, p. 342.
² Nihon kiryaku, kōhen, Ch. xiii, p. 1134.
³ L.l., Ch. xiv, p. 1147.
⁴ Honchō seki, Kōji 1, V, p. 411.
⁵ Zoku Shigushō, Ch. v, Zoku Kokushi taikei Vol. I, p. 146 (Kōan 4, VI 18).
on behalf of Shinyōmei-Monin, Kameyama Tennō's concubine. ¹

There were seven altars, one before each of the Seven Buddhas, and seven ajari (ācāryas, professors) ² led the rites (Shichibutsu-ajari). ³ The Masu-kagami (増鏡, written A.D. 1340—1350) relates that an Imperial Prince, the Tendai zasu Jidō, 慈道, a well-known poet, who died in A.D. 1341, ⁴ was the leader of the Shichibutsu-Yakushi no hō, which was celebrated at the same time as the mystic Nyoirin-hō, Godampō, Ichiji-kinrin-bō, Nyohō-sonshō-hō (Great Bear rite), Nyohō-Butsugen-hō (Buddha-eye rite), Jundei (Cuṇḍī) (Kwannon)-hō, etc. ⁵ It did not belong to the rites of the Tō-mitsu (東密) or Mystic Sect of Tōji (the Shingon sect), but was a great ceremony of the Taimitsu (台密) (the mystic branch of the Tendai sect) for the increase of wealth (zōyaku, 增益), and arrest of calamity (sokusai, 息災), especially of disease; these aims were the same as those of the Yakushi-hō, practised by the Shingon sect. According to the sūtra those who wish to behold the Buddha and question him about good and evil must copy the text of the sūtra and make images of the Seven Buddhas and of the Bodhisattva Vajradhara or Vajrapaṇi (執金剛, Shūkongō, or 金剛手, Kongoshu, or 持金剛, Jikongō, “He who grasps or holds the vajra”, or “Vajra-hand”, a general term of the Shingon sect for the vajra-bearing Bodhisattvas of the Taizōkai. ⁶ A relic of the Buddha (Busshari) had to be placed in all these images, and before them sacrifice made and worship offered with a benevolent heart. Having received the eight commandments (and fasted), the worshippers must purify themselves by bathing and changing their attire three times a day, from the 8th to the 15th of the month. If they then recite the magic formulae 108 times daily with a

¹ L.L., Ch. iv, Kenji 2, pp. 113 sq.
² Cf. Kern, Manual of Buddhism, p. 84.
³ Dajiten, p. 742, 1, s.v. Shichibutsu ajari.
⁴ Washio, p. 429, 2.
⁵ Masu-kagami, Kokushi taikei Vol. XVII, Ch. xviii, p. 1211.
⁶ Himitsu jirin, p. 444; Dajiten, p. 754, 3, s.v. Shūkongō.
concentrated and calm mind, according to his own words in the sūtra the Buddha will manifest himself in their dreams, explain to them what they have asked, and cause all their wishes to be fulfilled.

The rites are about the same as those of the Yakushi-hō; as to the images, the central figure is Yakushi Nyorai, with his right hand raised, palm in front (abhaya-mudra, mu-i-in, 無畏印, bestowing fearlessness) and holding the medicine pot in his left, with three other Buddhas above, and three below him. ¹ The Himitsu jirin remarks, that Yakushi and Shaka are the only Buddhas who carry vessels (almsbowl and medicine pot). ²

In A.D. 1598 (Keichō 3, IX 20), when the Emperor Go Yōzei was ill, a Shichijo Yakushi mōde (七所薬師詣) or “visitation of the Yakushi’s of seven places” was performed by the ministers, whereas the Daisōjō Gyōjo, probably a priest of the Shingon sect or of the mystic Tendai doctrine, led the goma (homa) ceremony in the Shishinden. ³ This may have been the Yakushi-goma, a mystic rite in worship of the Seven Healing Buddhas, mentioned in the Bukkyō daijiten (p. 1752, 1, s.v.); the Yakushi-kō (講), “Discourse upon Yakushi”, (ibid.) was a ceremony for worshipping Yakushi Nyorai alone.

We do not afterwards read about the mystic cult of the Seven Healing Buddhas nor of the public worship of the main figure; but, as seen above, in A.D. 1713, when Terajima Ryōan wrote the Wakan sansai zue, many temples and chapels were still devoted to his cult, and we may be sure that this is still the case at the present day.

¹ Himitsu jirin, pp. 501 sq., s.v. Shichibutsu Yakushi-hō.
² Himitsu jirin, p. 1063, 2, s.v. Yakushi Nyorai.
CHAPTER XV.


§ 1. The sūtras copied in A.D. 722 (XI 19) on behalf of the Empress Gemmei’s soul, and the Bommōkyō (Brahmajāla-sūtra, Nanjō No. 1087).

In A.D. 722 (Yōrō 6, XI 19) the Empress Genshō (A.D. 715 IX 2—724 II 4) issued an Imperial Ordinance to the effect that several sūtras had to be respectfully copied on behalf of the soul of the Daizō Tennō, i.e. of her mother, the Empress Gemmei, who acquired this title after having abdicated in A.D. 714 in favour of her daughter, and who died in A.D. 721 (XII 7). The Empress gave this order because of the approaching first anniversary of her mother’s death, for in the same edict she stated that on that date (A.D. 722, XII 7) a vegetarian entertainment should be given to the priests and nuns of all Buddhist temples in the Capital and Home provinces, 2638 persons in all (a shūki gosaiie). For the same occasion 8 baptismal flags had to be made, a thousand altar flags, 36 (4 × 9) lacquer tables, covered with ivory, 168 (3 × 7 × 8) copper bowls, and 82 (probably 84, i.e. 4 × 3 × 7) boxes of willow wood.

The sūtras to be copied were:


5. *Kwanzeongyō* (觀世音経), *Avalokiteśvara sūtra*, i.e. Ch. 25 of the *Lotus sūtra* (Nanjo No. 137): 200 fasc.¹

The *Daishūkyō* (Nanjō No. 61) (30 fasc.) is only mentioned again in A.D. 745 (Tempyō 17, V 8), when it was read for 3 × 7 days in the four great temples of Nara, the *Santron* shrines *Gwangōji* and *Daianji*, and the *Hossō* sanctuaries *Yakushiji* and *Kōfukuji*; at the same time *gohei* were sent to the Shintō temples of all provinces, because it had not rained since the fourth month and the crops did not grow.²

As to the *Dai-Bosatsu-zōkyō* (Nanjō No. 1103), this was Sāṇghapāla’s translation of the *sūtra*, dealt with above in the Chapter on the Rites of Repentance (Ch. VIII, § 3, p. 258). We did not find it mentioned elsewhere in the annals. As it is a short text of only eleven leaves, the 20 fasciculi copied in A.D. 722 were 20 full copies.

The *Kwanzeongyō* (cf. above, Ch. I, § 11) will be treated below in Ch. XVI, seeing it is Ch. 25 of the *Hokkekyō* (Ch. 24 in Kern’s translation).

Here we may add the *Bommyōkyō* (梵網経), *Brahmajāla-sūtra*, Nanjō No. 1087, translated by Kumārajīva in A.D. 406 (2 fasc.). In the preface his disciple Sāṅg-chao (僧肇, App. III 2) states that it is the tenth chapter of a Sanskrit work on the *Bodhisattva hrdayabhūmi*, consisting of 120 fasc., 61 chapters. It belongs to the *Vinaya* of the *Mahāyāna*, and is translated as

¹ *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. ix, p. 141.
² *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. xvi, p. 259.
“Code du Mahāyāna en Chine” by Prof. de Groot. The first part deals with the qualities (hearts) of the Bodhisattvas and with their ten stages of perfection (daśabhūmi), preached by Locana Buddha; the second part gives the ten commandments (pratimokṣas) of the Bodhisattvas and the 48 secondary commandments of all the “sons of Buddha”, preached by Śākyamuni.

In A.D. 757 (Tempyō hōji 1, I 5) the Empress Kōken issued an ordinance concerning this sūtra, which she ordered to be expounded from IV 15 to V 2 in all provinces. The Retreat (ango) was to begin on the following day (V 3). The Genkō Shakusho calls this kokki (國忌, usually pronounced koki), “national mourning”, for the preceding Emperor, in this case Shōmu Tennō, who died in A.D. 756, V 2; in the 12th month of that year the Empress requested 62 priests to expound the Bomākkyō on behalf of the soul of the deceased Emperor. On the anniversary of his death 1500 monks were entertained in Tōdaiji. The Genkō Shakusho says too that this sūtra was expounded in anticipation of the Retreat.

In A.D. 761 (VI) her successor Junnin ordered the Bomākkyō to be explained on every anniversary of the death of the Empress Dowager, on whose behalf he built Jōdo-in in the S.W. corner of the compound of Hokkeji, dedicating to this shrine an Amida image, 16 feet high. Vegetarian entertainments were given in all the provincial state nunneries (kokubun-aji), and 400 acres of rice land were presented to Yamashina-dera (Kōfukuji).

The priests, mentioned in connection with the Bomākkyō,
belong to the following sects: Kairitsu, Hossō, Kegon, Shingon and Shingi-Shingon.

The Kairitsu priest Dōsen (道増) of Daianji, who died in A.D. 760, wrote a commentary (疏) of three kwan on this sūtra, and also expounded it orally. 1 The Hossō priest Hyōbi (平備) (time?) was also a commentator of this text. 2

Before A.D. 1205 the Kegon priest Kōben (高辨) (A.D. 1163—1222), 3 and in A.D. 1249 and 1312 the Kairitsu priests Zenkwan and Jōsen (禪觀, 定泉) preached on the Bommōkyō and explained it. 4 They “expounded the koseki (古迹, ancient traces, remains) of the Bommōkyō.” This expression seems to point to the fact that this sūtra was only the 10th chapter of an ancient Sanskrit work of 120 fasciculi. Another Kairitsu expeditor of this sūtra was Shinkū (信空) (A.D. 1231—1316), who in A.D. 1242, when a boy of eleven years, became a pupil of the Bodhisattva Kōshō (現正) when the latter came to the house of his parents and preached on the Bommōkyō. Afterwards, in A.D. 1290, he himself gave the commandments to the Emperor Go-Uda, and performed a Bommō-fusatsu (布薀) (Uposatha) in the Palace. The Emperor was so pleased, that he made the kokubunji of all the provinces dependent shrines (shi-in, 子院) of Saidaiji (西大寺), the Kairitsu sanctuary in Nara, which had that year come under Shinkū's direction. 5

In A.D. 1642 the Kairitsu priest Nyoshū (如周) (A.D. 1594—1647) was called to the Palace and performed the Nyohōkyō ceremony on behalf of the soul of the former Emperor. He also expounded the Bommōkyō, and thenceforth his monthly discourses in the Palace dealt with the Lotus and other sūtras. 6

1 Washio, p. 881, 1, s.v. Dōsen.
2 Washio, p. 1023, 2, s.v. Hyōbi.
3 Washio, p. 371, 1, s.v. Kōben.
4 Washio, p. 713, 1, 653, 2, s.v. Zenkwan and Jōsen.
5 Washio, pp. 446 sq., s.v. Shinkū.
6 Washio, p. 1008, 1, s.v. Nyoshū. As to the Nyohōkyō cf. above, Ch. VIII, § 18 E, pp. 373 sqq.
The following Shingon priests paid much attention to the Bom-myōkyō: Tsūgen (通 玄) († 1731), who wrote three works thereon; ¹ Jōgon (浄 厳) (A.D. 1639—1702), who in A.D. 1678 (VII) by his preaching on this sūtra in a village temple in Izumi province led 500 persons to accept the “great commandments”, ² and the Shingi-Shingon monk Kwaison (快 存) (A.D. 1647—1724), who in A.D. 1683 in Kazusa and Shimōsa provinces expounded the Bommyōkyō and the Ninnōkyō. ³ These facts indicate the importance attached to the Brahmajāla-sūtra by some of the Shingon priests of the 17th and 18th centuries.

§ 2. The Kegonkyō and the Kegon-e (the Avatāmsaka-sūtra, Nanjō No. 88, and its festival).

A. The Kegonkyō.

The first text mentioned in A.D. 722 is the second translation of the Buddhāvatamsaka-mahāvaipulya-sūtra (Nanjō No. 88), made by Śikṣānānda in A.D. 695—699; the number of the fasciculi (eighty) indicates that it was this version and not the older one, which consists of sixty fasciculi (No. 87, translated by Buddhabhadrā and others in A.D. 418). ⁴ The term “Seven places and eight assemblies”, Shichijo hachi-e (七 處 八 會), refers to the fact that the Buddha delivered this sermon at eight assemblies, held in seven different places, as we learn from Nanjō sub No. 87. No. 89, entitled “Chapter on the practice and prayer of the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra, in the Mahāvaipulya-buddhāvatam-

¹ Washio, p. 831, 1, s.v. Tsūgen.
² Washio, p. 665, 1, s.v. Jōgon.
³ Washio, p. 241, 1, s.v. Kwaison.
⁴ Cf. Kokkwa No. 376, II, the 15th of the 55 places of Zenzai dōji’s pilgrimage, described in Fasc. 49, Ch. 34, 5, 入 法 界 品 of the Kegonkyō of 60 fasciculi, and similar makimono’s in Todaiji. Probably the former picture (in colours on silk) belongs to the Kamakura period (A.D. 1192—1333).
saka-sūtra”, is “a later and fuller translation, made by Prajñā in A.D. 796—798 of a text similar to that of the last chapter of Nos. 87 and 88”; it consists of forty fasciculi, and the three works are generally designated by these numbers as the “Kegonkyō of sixty, eighty and forty (fasciculi)”.

The Hwa-yen (Kegon) school arose in China in the 6th and 7th centuries of our era, and was introduced into Japan by Ryōben (良辨, A.D. 689—773), who in A.D. 728 founded its central sanctuary, Tōdaiji at Nara. After flourishing for more than a thousand years, at the present time it has only about twenty temples. In China it is called Hien sheu tsung (賢首宗) after the posthumous name of its third patriarch, Fah-tsang, 法藏, who died in A.D. 712. This priest wrote four commentaries on the Kegonkyō (Nanjō Nos. 1591—1593 and 1595). The fourth patriarch, Ch'ing-kwan (澄觀), who died at the beginning of the ninth century, composed two enormous commentaries upon it, Nanjō Nos. 1589 and 1590, consisting of 60 and 90 fasciculi, and Nanjō Nos. 1598 and 1639. Tsung-mih (宗密), the fifth patriarch (A.D. 779—840), the “Great Teacher of the Kwēi peak” (圭峰大師, Nanjō App. III 38), published the text of No. 1596, composed by the founder of the school, Tu Fah-shun (杜法順, App. III 16, who lived A.D. 557—640). In about A.D. 700 Hwui-wen (慧苑, Eon, App. III 32) compiled a dictionary of this sūtra, entitled Hwa-yen-king yin-i (Kegonkyō ongi, 華嚴經音義, “sound and meaning of the Kegonkyō”, generally quoted as Eon ongi; 4 fasc., Nanjō No. 1606). Even in the Yuen dynasty (A.D. 1280—1368) a priest, called P'ü-shui (普瑞), wrote an extensive commentary of 40 fasciculi on this sūtra (No. 1622), which indicates its great importance for many centuries in China. ¹

In A.D. 749 (intercalary V 20), three days before his abdication and retirement to Yakushiji, the Emperor Shōmu, calling himself “Dajō Tennō, srāmañera (shami) Shōman (勝滿), made offerings

of silk, cotton, rice and rice-fields to 12 Buddhist temples (Daianji, Yakushiji, Gwangöji, Köfukuji, Tôdaiji, Höryöji, Gufukuji, Shitennoji, Sufukuji (篤福寺), Kaguyama Yakushiji, Konkôji (建興寺) and Hokkeji) and issued an Ordinance stating that, considering the Kegonkyō as the principal sûtra, all the sûtras, vinayas, abhidharmas, treatises and commentaries must of necessity be read by means of the tendoku system and explained in future for days and months; that he therefore now made these offerings to the temples. He hoped that the Buddhas would protect him, give him long live and fulfill all his wishes, and that they would cause the Law to remain a long time in this world, save all living beings, give great peace to the empire, joy to the people, and ultimate Buddhahood to all sentient beings of the Dharma world.

In A.D. 804 (17) in Kwammu Tennô’s ordinance regarding the rivalry between the high-priests (whom he even calls Bodhisattvas!) of the Sanron and Hossö sects, mentioned above (Book II, Ch. XI, § 7 F, p. 469), he ordered students of both sects to study the sûtras and abhidharmas and their meaning thoroughly, and especially the Hokke, Saishô, Kegon and Nehan sûtras.

Afterwards we do not read any more about this text in the annals, but whenever we hear of sûtra reading in Tôdaiji we may be sure that this principal text of the Kegon sect is meant. Yet in later times the Daihannya Kyô was especially mentioned as having been read there, e.g. in A.D. 961 (Ôwa 1, VI 15), when a serious drought prevailed and that text was chosen to be used in praying for rain by 180 priests of the Seven Great Temples of Nara, who were requested to recite it there for 19 days.

1 The 12 Great Temples; Kaguyama Yakushiji must be Shin Yakushiji, and Konkôji is mentioned here instead of Saiyôji, the last of the twelve enumerated in the Shoku Nihongi, Ch. XXXI, p. 548, and in the Genkô Shakusho, Ch. XXIII, p. 1031 (A.D. 771).
2 Shoku Nihongi, Ch. XVII, pp. 285 sqq.
3 Nihon kôki, Ch. XII, p. 32.
4 Nihon kiryaku kôhen, Ch. IV, p. 887.
For the same reason in A.D. 991 (Shōryaku 2, VI 13) 600 priests of those temples performed *tendoku* of the *Daihannya*kyō in Tōdaiji. And in A.D. 1022 (Chian 2, VI 4), when the Emperor Go Ichijō was ill, the *Daihannya*kyō and the *Hokke*kyō, not the *Kegon*kyō, were the texts used in the Palace, Tōdaiji and Kōfukuji, in order to cause his recovery. In A.D. 1145 (Kyūan 1, V 8) the evil omen of the appearance of a comet was averted by the recital of the *Kwannon*gyō, performed by a thousand priests in Tōdaiji and Enryakuji. These facts show that in those days even in the central sanctuary of the Kegon sect the protective power of the *Daihannya*kyō, *Hokke*kyō and *Kwannon*gyō was invoked instead of that of the *Kegon*kyō. Yet there was a *Kegon*-e of Tōdaiji, a yearly festival devoted to the expounding of this *sūtra* (see below, § 2, C).

§ 2, B. **Japanese priests who studied and expounded the *Kegon*kyō.**

About A.D. 748 the *Hosō* priest Gonchi (厳智), a monk of Gwangōji in Nara, completed his detailed study of the sixty fasciculi of the *Kegon*kyō (No. 87, the older version of A.D. 418). Another priest of the Tempyō era (A.D. 729—749), whose sect is not given, the hermit Saba no Okina (鰐翁) of Nara, was also a fervent reader of the *Kegon*kyō, but of the later translation by Śikṣānanda (No. 88), for it is said that he always carried 80 mackerels on his shoulders (*saba*, hence his name “The Old Man of the Mackerels”), thus representing the 80 fasciculi of the *Kegon*kyō!  

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1 L.l., Ch. ix, p. 1010.  
2 L.l., Ch. xiii, p. 1130.  
3 Honchō sekiki, Kyūan, 1, V, p. 505.  
4 Washio, p. 389, 1, s.v. Gonchi.  
5 Washio, p. 406, 2, s.v. Saba no Okina.
The Kojidan (古事談, written A.D. 1210—1220) and the Uji shūi monogatari (宇治拾遺物語, written A.D. 1213—1218) relate the story of this old man, who sold mackerels and lived at the time when Tōdaiji was erected (A.D. 728). The Emperor (Shōmu) summoned him and appointed him kōshi of the Great Meeting, held in the new sanctuary (the Kegon-e of III 14). He laid his 80 mackerels on the sūtra desk, whereupon they changed into the Kegonkyō of 80 fasciculi! Then the old man ascended the pulpit (kōza), erected in front of the Buddha, and explained the text, rapidly uttering (“twittering!”) Sanskrit sounds between his explanations. In the midst of meeting, while standing on the pulpit, he suddenly disappeared. The pole by means of which he had carried his mackerels and which he had placed in front of the corridor, suddenly became a tree with twigs and leaves. This is the so-called “White body tree” (shiromi-gi). Borrowing this tale from an older work, the Korōden (古老傳), the Kojidan adds that it was the custom that the kōshi of the Great Meeting of Tōdaiji, the Kegon-e of III 14, after having ascended the pulpit, erected in front of the Buddha, explained the Kegonkyō, but that in the midst of the meeting he descended, left the hall through the backdoor, and disappeared (chikuden, 逐電). As to the tree, this was burnt down on the occasion of a fire.

In A.D. 740 (Tempyō 12) the Hossō priest Jikun (慈訓) of Kōfukuji (died in A.D. 777), together with the Kegon priest Kyōnin (鏡忍), a high-priest of Tōdaiji, and the Kairitsu priest Enshō (圓證) of Shōdaiji assisted Shinshō (審祥) (a Korean monk from Shiragi, who had taught him the Kegon doctrine and caused him to enter this sect) in expounding the Kegonkyō. This was the first time Shinshō acted as kōshi of the Kegon-e of Tōdaiji.

1 This is a typical feature of the Arhat tales, cf. the present writer’s treatise on the Arhats in China and Japan, Ch. iv.
2 Kojidan, Kokushi taiseki Vol. XV, Ch. III, p. 60; Uji shūi monogatari, Kokushi taiseki Vol. XVII, Ch. VIII, p. 169.
Japanese priests connected with the Kegonkyō.

Four years later Jikun succeeded his teacher in this function and was assisted by the same monks. The text was that of the 80 fasciculi, and they were appointed by the Emperor.¹

The nun Shari (金利, śarīra, relic), born in A.D. 750, was said to have read the Kegon and the Hokkekyō on her seventh year (!); afterwards she held a great meeting of monks and nuns, after having requested the Kegon priest Kaimyō (戒明) of Daianji to expound the Kegonkyō; moreover she herself explained its deep meaning to the crowd. She was so much revered by her contemporaries that they called her Shari Bosatsu.²

The Hossō priest Myōtetsu (明哲), who in A.D. 860 (18) was appointed kōshi of the Saihōne, used to explain the Kegonkyō in his monastery, Yakushiji in Yamato.³

In A.D. 980 the great Shingon priest Kwanchō (寛朝, A.D. 936—998), who was highly honoured by the Emperors Enyū and Kwazan, was the kōshi of the Kegon-e of Tōdaiji, and in A.D. 1202 another Shingon priest, Seihō (成寶, A.D. 1159—1227) held the same function.⁴

The Tendai priest Jakushun (寂俊, A.D. 1035—1121), of Hieizan combined the copying of the Kegonkyō with the recital of nembutsu, prayers to Amida.⁵

In A.D. 1417 the Kegon priest Shigyoku (志玉, 1383—1463) went to China and was invited by the Ming Emperor Ch‘eng-tsu to the Palace in order to expound the Kegonkyō; he was rewarded with the title of Fuichin-kokushi (普一國師, “General Priest of the State”). After five years he returned to Japan, where he expounded the sūtra in the Great Hall of Tōdaiji and received

¹ Washio, pp. 421 sq., s.v. Jikun; p. 184, 1, s.v. Kyōnín, where the place of the meeting is called Konshō dōjō, 金鐘道場, i.e. Konshōji, the well-known shrine of Tōdaiji, erected in A.D. 733 (Konkōmyōjī).
² Washio, p. 485, 1, s.v. Shari.
³ Washio, p. 1085, 1, s.v. Myōketsu.
⁴ Washio, p. 260, 1, s.v. Kwanchō; Himitsu jirin, p. 640, 1, s.v. Seihō.
⁵ Washio, p. 486, 2, s.v. Jakushun.
also from the Japanese Emperor Shōkwō the title of Kokushi. Thereupon he successively acted as explainer of the sūtra in Gokurakuji, Shōmyōji and Amidaji, Amitābha shrines in Sagami province, in Daikegonji in Kaga, and in Kōzanji at Kyōto. Then this zealous propagator of the Kegonkyō travelled about in the Western provinces, always working for the same purpose, the conversion of the people to his doctrine. ¹

At the same time the Kegon priest Nyogen (如幻) founded Shōkaiji in Harima province and expounded the Kegonkyō there. ²

We gather from these facts that in the eighth century in addition to the Kegon sect the Hossō priests attached great importance to this sūtra. Shingon priests sometimes acted as leaders of the Kegon-e of Tōdaiji; some Tendai monks paid special attention to it. In the beginning of the fifteenth century a new activity of the Kegon sect was noticeable.

§ 2, C. The Kegon-e or Avatamsaka festival.

In the preceding paragraph the Kegon-festival of Tōdaiji, celebrated yearly in Tōdaiji on the fourteenth of the third month, was mentioned in connection with the “Old Man of the Mackerels” and the erection of the temple in A.D. 728. According to another tale ³ a happy omen appeared to a tokushi or “reading master” on the day of the “opening of the eyes” (kaigen) of the Daibutsu in the third month of Tempyō Shōhō 4 (A.D. 752), but according to the Shoku Nihongi ⁴ this ceremony took place on the ninth of the fourth month. It is also said that the Kegon-e of III ¹⁴ dates from A.D. 744 (Tempyō 16), when in the tenth month the Emperor Shōmu ordered a special sacrificial ceremony to be held

¹ Washio, p. 412, 1, s.v. Shigyoku.
² Washio, p. 1006, 2, s.v. Nyogen.
³ Daijii, I, p. 1004, 2, s.v. Kegon-e.
⁴ Shoku Nihongi, Ch. xviii, p. 299.
in this temple in connection with the "chishiki kegon" (智識華厳). Yet the words of a votive text (gwanmon) of the Kegon-e indicate the year A.D. 820 (Kōnin 11) as the time when this festival was instituted by the Emperor Saga, after the 80 fasciculi of the sūtra had been copied. The biography of the Hossō priest Jikun, however, referred to above (§ 2, B), is clear evidence of the fact that as early as A.D. 740 the Korean Kegon priest Shinshō acted as Kōshi of the Kegon-e, and that he was assisted by a Hossō, a Kegon, and a Kairitsu priest.

The Kegon-e of Tōdaiji was a very pompous festival, celebrated by 180 officiating priests (shikshu 色衆, 職衆), appointed by the Emperor, with officials as musicians. The Daijīī enumerates the following tasks of 131 monks: one zenten (前轉) and one goten (復轉) (this ten, "turning", must be the tendoku of the sūtra; the terms are not explained in the dictionaries); two indō (引頭) (leaders); two had the task of singing the hymns of praise (bai, 唄), two of scattering flowers (sange, 散花), two of sprinkling water (buntokusui, 分得水). Forty priests had to invoke the Buddhas and to sing hymns of praise (this may be the meaning of the term nōko, 納甲, not given in the dictionaries; nōmo, 納慕, is namo, the same as namu, 南無, Sanskrit namāh, the term of invocation,1 and kōsan, 甲讃, is singing hymns of praise).2 Forty others sang the bon-on (梵音, hymns accompanying the scattering of flowers, whereas the bombai, 梵唄, were sung after the burning of incense at the beginning of the ceremonies,3 and forty-one carried and shook the shakujō (錫杖, magical staffs with metal rings) while singing the khakkhara gāthā (shakujō-ge, 錫杖偈). The task of the 49 other monks is not mentioned, which seems to indicate some mistake or omission in the list.4

Daijiten, p. 1299, 1, s.v. nōmo.
2 Daijiten, p. 204, 1, s.v. kōsan.
3 Daijiten, p. 1634, 1, 2, s.v. bon-on.
4 Daijīī, 1, p. 1004, 2, s.v. Kegon-e.
In A.D. 1176 (Angen 2, VII), after the death of Keshun-Monin (建春門院, consort of the Emperor Go Shirakawa, and mother of Takakura Tennō) the ceremony was abbreviated, and in A.D. 1192 (Kenkyū 3), when Go Shirakawa Tennō had died, it was still further simplified, and thenceforth the so-called ranjō (亂聲, "confused sounds") and kembu (建舞, dances) were omitted. In A.D. 1212 (Kenryaku 2), however, at the time of the Bettō Jōken (成賢, a Shingon priest, zuzu of Daigoji, who belonged to the Fujiwara family; he lived A.D. 1162—1231, and became head of Tōji in A.D. 1210),¹ the festival was celebrated in a magnificent way, with boys’ dances (dōbu, 童舞) and rites for lengthening life (ennen, 延年).² In A.D. 980 and 1202 two other Shingon priests, Kwanchō and Jōhō, mentioned in the preceding paragraph, were leaders of the Kegon-e of Tōdaiji. In the 13th century the Uji shūi monogatari (written A.D. 1213—1218) also speaks of this festival as a great ceremony celebrated regularly in the Daibutsuden of Tōdaiji.³

§ 3. The Nehangyō (Nanjō No. 113) and the Nehan-e or Nehankō (Nirvāṇa sūtra and festival).

A. The Nirvāṇa sūtra.

In Nanjō's Catalogue the Nirvāṇa class of sūtras is the fifth of Part I, the Sūtras of the Mahāyāna. It contains Nos. 113—125, although Nos. 118 and 119 belong to the Hīnayāna. The same Hīnayāna text has been the subject of the four following translations, found in the Canon.

¹ Washio, p. 674, 2, s.v. Jōken; author of the Honzōshi and Sahōshū, cf. above Ch. iv, § 12, p. 110.
² Daijii, 111.
³ Kokushi taiseki Vol. XVII, Ch. viii, p. 169.
The Nirvāṇa sūtra.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>稲筒泥洹經</th>
<th>Poh Fah-tsu</th>
<th>A.D. 290—306</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>552</td>
<td>佛說泥洹經</td>
<td>transl. name lost</td>
<td>A.D. 317—420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>119</td>
<td>佛說方等泥洹經</td>
<td>Buddhayaśas</td>
<td>A.D. 412—413</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>545(2)</td>
<td>Dīrghāgama sūtra</td>
<td>Fah-hien</td>
<td>A.D. 414—420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>118</td>
<td>大般泥洹經</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Mahāyāna sūtras are represented by the following translations, the two former of which are renderings of the Caturdāraka-samādhi-sūtra, whereas No. 120 is an incomplete translation of the same text as Nos. 113 and 114, the Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>佛說方等般泥洹經</th>
<th>Dharmaraksha I</th>
<th>A.D. 266—316</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>116</td>
<td>四童子三昧經</td>
<td>Jñānagupta</td>
<td>A.D. 585—592</td>
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<td>121</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>大般泥洹經</td>
<td>Fah-hien</td>
<td>A.D. 414—420</td>
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<tr>
<td>120</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>大般泥洹經 (N.)</td>
<td>Dharmaraksha II</td>
<td>A.D. 423</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>113</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>南本大般泥洹經 (S.)</td>
<td>Hwuı-yen c.s.</td>
<td>A.D. 424—453</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>114</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No. 114, the "Southern Book", a revision of No. 113, made in the "Southern Capital", Nanking, although explained by Kwanting (灌頂) (A.D. 561—632, the fifth patriarch of the T'ien-t'ai school; Nos. 1544 and 1545), has never become popular in Japan, where all sects use the so-called "Northern Book", No. 113. This is the text indicated by means of the abbreviated term "Nehangyō" or "Nehankyō".

The Hinayāna text deals with the Buddha’s Nirvāṇa as an actual fact, the end of the keshinbutsu or Nirmāṇakāya; the Mahāyānists, however, lay stress upon the eternity of the Buddha’s
body notwithstanding the appearance of his having entered the state of extinction.  

The following are commentaries on No. 114 (Nanjō says 113 and 114): No. 1206, by Vasubandhu, translated by Dharmabodhi under the Eastern Wei dynasty, A.D. 534—550; No. 1544, Kwanteing’s “Hidden meaning” (玄義) of this sūtra, 2 fasc.; No. 1545, the same author’s “Commentary”, 論, on this sūtra, 33 fasc., revised by Chan-jan, 湛然, the ninth patriarch of the T‘ien-t’ai school, who lived A.D. 711—782; and No. 1546 (Chi-yuen’s commentary on No. 1544, written A.D. 1014).

At the time of the Liang dynasty (A.D. 502—557), in the eighth year of the T‘ien-kien era (A.D. 509), the Emperor Wu Ti ordered the priest Pao-liang (寶亮) and others to compile a great many commentaries on the Southern text, and the Emperor himself wrote a preface to this work, which is entitled Nehangyō shūge (浄槃經集解).

The Northern text was explained by Hwui-Yuen (慧遠, Eon) of the Sui dynasty (A.D. 581—618), who also gave the older commentaries of learned priests; from olden times this work was highly appreciated by the Buddhist scholars.  

The Nirvāṇa sūtra belonged to the principal texts of the T‘ien-t’ai school, as well as the Lotus sūtra and the Mahāprajñā-pāramitā-sūtra (Nanjō No. 1196, 大智度論, Daichidoron, translated A.D. 402—405 by Kumārajīva); hence the important T‘ien-t’ai commentaries mentioned above.

In China a special sect, the “Nirvāṇa sect” (浄槃宗, Nieh-p‘an-tsung, Nehanshū), was one of the of thirteen Buddhist sects of the country. Based on the Nirvāṇa-sūtra of Mahāyāna, it preached the eternity of the Buddha nature (佛性常住), and flourished exceedingly from the fifth century to the seventh; then it joined the ever increasing T‘ien-t’ai sect (which combined

1 Daijiten, p. 1373, 2, s.v. Nehankyō.
2 Daijiti, III, pp. 3758 sq.; as to the sūtra cf. Daijiti, III, pp. 3205 sqq.
The Nirvāṇa sūtra with the Lotus sūtra), and ceased to exist as a separate sect. In Japan this sect, also called Jō-shutara-shū (常修多羅宗, "Perpetual Sūtra sect"), was propagated by expounding the Nirvāṇa sūtra in the Shingon-in of the Sanron sanctuary Daianji at Nara. The word jō, "perpetual", points to the eternity of Nirvāṇa, i.e. of the Buddha’s absolute nature.  

§ 3, B. The Nehangyō, Nehan-e and Nehankō in Japan (from the eighth century to the present day).

Except in A.D. 722 (XI 19), when, as seen above (§ 1, p. 576) the Northern text of 40 fasciculi (Nanjō No. 113) was copied by order of the Empress Genshō on behalf of the soul of her mother, the Empress Gemmei, who died the previous year, this sūtra is not mentioned in the annals until A.D. 804 (I 7). Then the Emperor Kwammu ordered the Hossō and Sanron monks to study the Hokkekyō, Saishōkyō, Kegonkyō and Nehangyō.  

In A.D. 853 (IX 9), on the occasion of the death of the Hossō priest Enshō Sojō (延祥) (A.D. 766—853), it is stated among various details of his life that he heard the Hossō priest Gomyō (護命) expound the Nehangyō in Kasuga-dera (the famous Hossō sanctuary Kōfukuji at Nara) in A.D. 788 (Enryaku 7).  

When the great Tendai priest Ennin (Jikaku Daishi), often mentioned above, died in A.D. 864 (Jōkwan 6, I 14), we read that he had spent one summer of his stay in China (A.D. 838—847) in the "Nirvāṇa shrine of the Great Avatamsaka Temple" (Nehan-in of Daikegonji).  


2 Nihon kōki, Ch. xii, p. 32.  

3 Nihon montoku jitsuroku, Ch. v, p. 506. As to Gomyō cf. Washio, pp. 336 sq., where he is said to have preached about the Yuimakyo, Saishōkyō, Yakushikyō and Hokkekyō.  

4 Sandai jitsuroku, Ch. viii, p. 146.
In A.D. 884 (Genkei 8, III 26), when the Shingon priest Shū-ei (宗睿, A.D. 809—884) died, the Sandai jitsuuroku, dealing with the most important facts of his life, relates that in A.D. 877, when the Emperor Seiwa had abdicated, in order to take refuge in the Law of the Buddha, Shū-ei admonished him to listen to the expounding of the Kegonkyō and the Nehangyō.  

In A.D. 942 (Tenkei 5, III 17) the Kōtaigō (皇太后宮), the Empress Dowager Yasuko, sacrificed the Nehangyō in the Tendai temple Hōshōji (法性寺), erected about A.D. 926 by Teishinkō (Fujiwara no Tadahira) and belonging to Jikaku Daishi’s branch of the Tendai doctrine.  Three years later (A.D. 945, II 27) she made another offering to the same temple, namely of a Tahō-tō or Prabhūtaratna pagoda and a copy of the entire canon (Issalkyō).  

In A.D. 1027 (Manju 4, XI 14), shortly before the death of the great Michinaga (XII 4), his daughter Jōtōmon-in (Aki-ko) (A.D. 988—1074), who the year before had become a nun (the first Empress to take the title of Mon-in) endeavoured to save her father’s life by commanding all Buddhist temples to perform tendoku of more than 26000 chapters, i.e. copies, of the Jumyōkyō. This was Nanjō No. 960, 佛說一切如來金剛壽命陀羅尼經, Bussetsu issai Nyorai Kongō jumyō darani kyō, Buddhābhāshita-sarvatathāgata-vajrāyur-dhāranī-sūtra, “Sūtra spoken by the Buddha on the magic formulae of strong (vajra) life, to be recited in worship of all Buddhas”, translated in A.D. 723—730 by Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra (3 leaves). At the same time the Chūgū (中宮, the Empress I-shi, another daughter of Michinaga, Consort of the then reigning Emperor Go Ichijō) commanded the reading of the Konkwōmyōkyō, Nehangyō and Yuimakyō. The Kwampaku Sadaijin Yorimichi, Michinaga’s eldest son and successor, performed a mansō kuyō, i.e. “an offering to 10000 monks”, and a hundred priests recited the Fudō shingon a million times.

1 Ibid., Ch. xliv, p. 626; Fusō ryakki, Ch. xxii, p. 621.
2 Nihon kiryaku, kōhen, Ch. ii, p. 830; Daijiten, p. 1603, 1, s.v. Hōshōji.
3 Nihon kiryaku, kōhen, Ch. ii, p. 834.
This, and much more (e.g. the reading of the Ninnōkyō), was done to restore Michinaga's health, but it was all in vain.¹

This sūtra is not again mentioned, but, as in China, the Nehan-e was celebrated on the day of the Buddha's death, the 15th of the second month.² Then a picture representing his immense figure, lying as in quiet sleep amidst the surrounding crowd of 52 different beings, deploring his death, was (and is) hung up in the temples and sūtras were and are still recited. It was a day of worship and religious abstinence (忌日, imi-bi, day of mourning and abstinence, both for priests and laymen).

The Nehan-e of Ishiyama (石山), i.e. the famous Ishiyamadera in Ōmi province, built in A.D. 749 by order of the Emperor Shōmu (真辨, A.D. 689—773), the propagator of the Kegon sect and Ryōbu Shintō, head of Tōdaiji (where he erected the Daibutsu in A.D. 746, by order of the same Emperor) was instituted in the 24th year of the reign of Kwammu Tennō (Enryaku 23, A.D. 804), shortly after this Emperor's ordinance concerning the study by the Hossō and Sanron monks of this sūtra and the three other important ones.³

The most important Nehan-e, however, was that of Yamashinadera (山階寺), i.e. the Hossō sanctuary Kofukuji in Nara, which originally bore this name. This festival was instituted by the Emperor Seiwa in A.D. 860 (Jōkwan 2), when it was held again on the following day on behalf of the great Shintō god of Atsuta, who according to the legend had come to Nara, because he was so overjoyed by the institution of this festival. It was also called Jōraku-e (常楽會), "Festival of Perpetual Joy".⁴

¹ Ibid., Ch. xiii, pp. 1144 sq.
² Cf. Nanjō, No. 1661, 佛祖統紀, Ch. xxxiii. As to other dates of his death cf. Daijii, III, p. 3758, 2, s.v. Nehan-e.
³ Ranjōshō, 檀観抄, Gunsho ruiju Vol. XVI, No. 465, II, p. 979. It is not Enryaku 24, A.D. 805, for the characters 甲申 are added, indicating A.D. 804.
⁴ Daijiten, p. 1376, 2; Daijii, III, p. 3758, 3 s.v. Nehan-e.
In later times, however, Nehan-e were celebrated in all great temples, although the Kōfukujī festival remained the principal ceremony of this kind. It was not held in A.D. 1294 (II 15), but a Nehankō or “Expounding of the Nirvāṇa sūtra” took place in the Daitashō-in (太多勝院) of the Kameyama-dono, which was performed by the Hō-dō (法皇), i.e. the In (院), the Emperor Kameyama, who had abdicated in A.D. 1274. On the previous day he had led a Nehankō in Nanzen-in (南禪院).¹

In A.D. 1374 (Ōan 7, II 15) a Nehan offering ceremony was celebrated by the head of the Kurōdo Moto-aki Ason in Kyū-in (舊院), evidently a palace in Kyōto, and towards night a Nehankō was held with Kengwatsu Shōnin as reader.²

In A.D. 1717 (Kyōhō 2, II 15) in Tōfukujī in Kyōto the famous Nirvāṇa picture by Chō Densu (Minchō, 兆殿司, 明兆, A.D. 1352—1431) was hung up; in Hōonji (報恩寺)³ a Buddha relic (a tooth) was shown to the worshippers; in Daiunji (大雲寺) (either the temple of that name, belonging to the Jimon branch of the Tendai sect and situated at Iwakura village, Atago district, Yamashiro province, or the Jōdo Shinshū temple in Echigo)⁴ there was a “Nehan-e no neri-kuyō” (written 練供養 instead of 行道供養, as in the Daijiten,⁵ where it is explained as a gyōdō, i.e. a pradaksīna circumambulation ceremony around the Buddha image, accompanied by offerings). In Shōryōji (清涼寺), at Saga village, Kadono district, Yamashiro province, popularly called the Shakadō or “Śākyamuni chapel” after the Buddha image and its festival,⁶ the so-called Hashira shōmyō

² Ibid., Ch. xxvii, p. 781.
³ There are four important temples of this name: two of the Jōdo Shinshū, one of the Ōbaku, and one of the Nichiren sect, cf. Daijī, III, p. 4082, s.v. Hōonji.
⁴ Daijī, III, p. 3132, 3, s.v. Daiunji.
⁵ Daijiten, p. 1376, 3, s.v. neri (cf. Brinkley s.v. neri: walking slowly, as in a procession).
The Yuima-kyō and the Yuima-e.

(Cùnsuō) or Hashira-taimatsu (炷炬火), “Pillar-torches”, took place on this day. This was a nocturnal festival, lighted by means of two huge torch-pillars erected before the Shakadō; it consisted of dances in honour of Śākyamuni, whose name was at the same time invoked. In Yamazaki (Otokuni district, Yamashiro) the curtain of the Kwannon image of Takara-dera (寶寺) was opened, and in the Rokuji-dō (六時堂) of Tennōji (天王寺) in Osaka the Nehan-e was celebrated with dances and music. A Nehan-e was also held in the central sanctuary of the Jodo sect, Zojoji in Yedo; that of Kōfukuji in Nara was called Joraku-e (常楽會).2

In A.D. 1845 on the evening before the Nehan-e the Shingon priest Unshō (雲照) (A.D. 1827—1910) made an oath before the image of the Buddha, never to be together with women, and in consequence of this oath he practised the secret ceremony of Ashara (Acala, i.e. Fudo) Myōō three thousand times.3

Thus to all sects the Festival of the Buddha’s Nirvāṇa was of the greatest importance, although it is rarely mentioned in the annals.


A. Contents of the Yuimakyo.

As stated above (Ch. I, § 5, p. 11), in Japan Kumārajīva’s translation of this sûtra (Nanjō No. 146), entitled Yuimakitsu-shosetsu-kyō (維摩詰所説經) (abbreviated into Yuimakyo or Yuimakitsu-kyō), was in frequent use. Neither the older one

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1 Ueda, Daljiten, p. 1149, 4, s.v. hashira, No. 4871: hashira taimatsu.
2 Daljii, III, p. 3758, 3, s.v. Nehan-e, referring to the Shokoku nenjū gyōji, “Ceremonies of the whole year in all provinces”, printed in A.D. 1717 (Kyōhō 2).
3 Himitsu jirin, p. 81, 1, s.v. Unshō.
No. 147, was so popular, nor Huen-tsang's translation, No. 149. Alltogether Kumārajīva's translations were held in high esteem.

The text is divided into 14 chapters (品) and 3 fasciculi. Fasc. I consists of 4 chapters entitled: 佛國, 方便, 弟子, 菩薩, Bukkoku, hōben, deshi, Bosatsu, “Buddha lands, upāya (means of conversion), the disciples (of the Buddha), and the Bodhisattvas”. Chapters 5—9, forming Fasc. II, are called: 文殊師利問疾, 不思議, 觀衆生, 菩薩, 入不二法門, Monjushiri monjichi, fushigi, kwanshūjo, Butsudō, nyu-funi-hōmon, “Mañjuśrī asks (Vimalakirti) concerning the latter’s illness; miracles, contemplation on living beings, the Buddha road and entering the gate of the doctrine of equality”. Finally, Fasc. III contains the five last chapters (10—14), entitled: 香積佛, 菩薩行, 見阿闍佛, 法供養, 暮累, Kōshaku Butsu, Bosatsu-gyō, Ken-Ashuku, hō-kuyō, zokurui, “The Buddha Gandhālaya, the Bodhisattva practices, seeing the Buddha Akshobhya, offering of the Law (i.e. preaching and propagating it), and committing (the sūtra to Maitreya; in the last chapter the Buddha often commits a sūtra to special persons, cf. above the Ninnōkyō, Ch. V, § 2, D, p. 125).

The Buddha delivered this sermon to an immense crowd of beings in the Mango grove (芭羅樹園, Anraju-on) at Vaiśālī, presented by the famous courtesan Āmrapāli. 2 Brahma, the Mahābrahma Śikhī and the Four Deva Kings also came there to listen to his discourse. At that time there lived in Vaiśālī a śreṣṭhin (長者, chōja, a grhapatī), a man wealthy, wise and virtuous, who, although not a monk, was a very holy and merciful propagator of the Buddha’s Law, full of miraculous power, who by all means endeavoured to convert and save sentient beings. His name was Vimalakirti (維摩詰, Yuimakitsu, translated into 淨名, Jōmyō, or, by the later translators, 無垢稱, Mu-

1 Cf. Daijiten, p. 48, 1, s.v. anra.
2 Eitel, p. 10, s.v. Āmradārikā; Kern, Manual, p. 29, note 8; p. 41.
Kushô, “Pure name”). Just at that time he used illness as an upâya (hôben, means of conversion) (ch. 2) in order to cause the king, the ministers, the śreṣṭhin, merchants and Brahmins, as well as the royal princes and officials to come to his house and inquire after his disease. They did so, and he then explained to a crowd of several thousand people the inconstancy and debility of the physical body and the glorious virtues and wisdom of the Buddha body, Dharma-kâya; thus he caused them all to develop a Bodhi heart, with the wish to obtain a Buddha body and to abolish all diseases of living beings.

Then Vimalakirti thought: “Why does the Buddha in his great mercy not send down his compassion upon me, while I am lying upon my couch?” Knowing this thought the Tathâgata thereupon successively asked his disciples (ch. 3) Sâriputra, Maudgalyayana, Mahâ-Kâśyapa, Subhûti, Pûrṇa-Maitrâyaniputra, Mahâ-Kâtyâyana, Aniruddha, Râhula, Ânanda and all the other 500 Great Disciples, to go to Vimalakirti and ask him about his illness, but they all declined, giving their reasons for this refusal. Also Maitreya and two others would not go (ch. 4, Bosatsu).

Mañjuśrî alone (ch. 5) obeyed, albeit he stated the great difficulty of answering such a great sage whose miraculous power was so enormous. Surrounded respectfully by all the Bodhisattvas, Great Disciples and Devas, he entered the town. Then Vimalakirti, who knew that they were coming, by means of his miraculous power made his room empty, so that there was only the couch upon which he lay, without any attendant. To Mañjuśrî’s question concerning the cause of his disease, Vimalakirti answered that he was ill because all living beings are ill; if their diseases, caused by foolishness and love, were extinguished, he too would be cured. In this way on behalf of all living beings the Bodhisattva enters birth and death, and where these exist there is disease. If they get rid of it, he too is free from illness. And when Mañjuśrî asks why this room is empty, he answers that all Buddha lands are empty on account of their emptiness.
Thus the conversation goes on with regard to disease, emptiness, and the duties of a Bodhisattva. In ch. 6 Vimalakīrti shows his miraculous power by causing 32000 lion thrones, high and broad, majestic and pure, to appear in the room. In the following chapters (7—10) the conversation deals with various subjects, giving a bodhi heart to a hundred thousand devas and raising ten thousand Bodhisattvas to the fourth of the five kinds of forbearance. In ch. 11 Vimalakīrti places them all with the lion thrones on his right hand and thus they reach the Buddha’s place in the Mango-grove, where they listen to his explanations (ch. 11—14).

§ 4, B. Chinese and Japanese images and pictures of Vimalakīrti.

Vimalakīrti was a favourite subject of Chinese and Japanese Buddhist artists. In Japan his oldest images are the well-known statue of dried lacquer (kanshitsu) by an unknown sculptor of the 8th century, preserved in Hokkeji, Yamato province (seated, with a nyo-i sceptre in his hands, as a symbol of his magic power, Kokkwa No. 214, II).

The second figure of Vimalakīrti (Yuima), also belonging to the Tempyō era (8th century), is found in Hōryūji, Nara. There we see a group of clay statues, representing him and Mañjuśrī as the main figures, both seated and talking, in the presence of Śāriputra and other Bodhisattvas, a Deva king and other auditors. (Kokkwa No. 183, II).

Then follows, in chronological order, the magnificent painting.

1 Cf. above, Ch. v, § 2, G, note 1.
2 As to Kinzoku Hyorai, 金栗如來, identified with Yuima, cf. Daijiten, p. 259, 1, s.v. Kinzoku, "Golden millet (an ancient tradition, but not based upon the genuine sūtras); respecting Yuima’s silence as answer to Monju cf. Daijiten, p. 1738, 3, s.v. mokunen (默然) and 1739, 1, s.v. moku funi, 默不二.
in colours on silk, by an unknown artist of the Sung dynasty (A.D. 960—1279), preserved in Tōfukuji, the famous Rinzaï sanctuary in Kyōto. There he is seated on a broad couch, beautifully adorned: an old man with a gray beard, emaciated and with an Arhat-like face, long, thin hands with very long and pointed nails, a big round halo behind his head, and a fly-brush (symbol of holiness) in his right hand (Kokkwa No. 288, VII).

The next picture is an ink-sketch in the style of the Southern Sung dynasty (A.D. 1127—1279), by the well-known Indian painter Indra (Yin-t'ō-lo, 因陀羅). This Dhyāna priest lived in China in the beginning of the Yuen dynasty (A.D. 1279—1368). His work (cf. Kokkwa Nos. 35 I, 110 I; 201 III, 223 VII, 419 III) was highly esteemed in Japan. Vimalakīrti is represented lying semi-recumbent on his sick-bed, with his hands under his cloth and with an emaciated face (Kokkwa No. 310, VI).

The Hossō temple Kōfuji in Nara possesses the celebrated and beautiful wooden image of Yuima by the great Japanese sculptor Unkei (Unkyō, 聆慶) of the 13th century. The saint is seated on a high, square throne, which is richly ornamented; his left hand holds a nyō-i sceptre, and he is leaning against the high back of the throne (Kokkwa No. 34, V). Its pendant is Monju Bosatsu (Mañjuśrī), which is based on the contents of the Yuimakyō, given above.

In the same temple Takuma Eiga (宅磨栄賀)’s beautiful picture of Yuima (in colours on silk, beginning of the 14th century) is preserved, which represents him seated upon a broad couch, preaching with his right hand raised. Before him the small figure of the Japanese dāishokkwan. Fujiwara no Kamatari (大織官藤原鎌足) (A.D. 614—669, the first of the Fujiwara’s, cf. below, this paragraph, C) is seen, seated on a chair (Kokkwa No. 68, II, pp. 383 sq.).

According to the extensive inscription an ink-sketch on paper, by Bunsei (文清, Bunshō), where we see him leaning upon his arm-rest, with a fly-brush in his right hand and with a very
expressive face, dates from A.D. 1457 (*Kokkwa* No. 144, 1).

Another ink-sketch, by Ogata Kōrin (尾形光琳) (A.D. 1661—1716), only gives his bearded face and his shoulders, with the fly-brush in his right hand; as in all his images and pictures a cap is on his head (*Kokkwa* No. 221, IV).


It has been related above (Ch. I, § 5, p. 10; Ch. XI, § 6, p. 443) how according to the *Genkō Shakusho* ¹ and the *Fusō ryakki* ² in A.D. 656 the Korean nun Hōmyō was the first to expound the *Yuimakyō* on behalf of Nakatomi no Kamatari, the first of the Fujiwara’s, and that he was cured even before she had finished reading. The reason that she chose this *sūtra* was, as she said, because on account of (Mañjuśrī’s) enquiring from Vimalakīrti the cause of his illness the great Dharma was explained. She expounded, of course, the fifth chapter, “Mañjuśrī’s enquiry about (Vimalakīrti’s) illness”. The following year (A.D. 657, X) Kamatari erected *Yamashina-dera* in Suehara, Yamashiro (or, according to another tradition, his principal wife did so after his death (A.D. 669, X 16), placing therein the images of *Shaka, Monju* and *Fugen*, made by him in fulfilment of a vow). This temple, transplaced to Umayazaka at Atsuka in Yamato in A.D. 678 by his son Fubito (A.D. 659—720), and then called *Hōkōji* or *Umayazaka-dera*, was again transplaced by him in A.D. 710 (Wado 3), this time to Nara, and thenceforth its name was *Kōfukuji* or *Kōbukuji*. This famous *Hossō* sanctuary was also called *Kasuga-dera*, because it was the family shrine of the Fujiwara’s, whose tutelary deity was the Shintō god of Kasuga.

The *Yuima-saie* or “Vegetarian meeting devoted to the (ex-

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¹ *Genkō shakusho*, Ch. xxi, p. 993.
² *Fusō ryakki*, Ch. iv, pp. 516 sqq.
The Yuima-e in Japan. 597

pounding of) the *Yuimakyo*, held by Kamatari in A.D. 658 in *Yamashina-dera* at Suehara is said to have been the origin of the *Yuima-e*, afterwards a yearly festival of *Kōfukuji* (X 10—16). Since the sixteenth of the tenth month was the day of Kamatari's death, it had become a festival on behalf of Kamatari's soul. With regard to its beginning, however, the ordinary tradition states that in A.D. 658 a Chinese Sanron priest of *Gwangōji* (*Asuka-dera*), Fukuryō (*福亮*), at Kamatari's request explained the *Yuimakyo* in the temple at Suehara.¹

After this we do not again hear of a Yuima service until A.D. 706 (Keiun 3), when Fujiwara no Fubito² instituted the *Yuima-e* to be celebrated during seven days (X 10—16) on behalf of the soul of his father, Kamatari. The *Genkō Shakusho* and the *Fusō ryakki*, while stating this fact, make no mention of a temple, but in A.D. 709 (X) the former work speaks of the "pure place (vihāra, temple, monastery) of *Uetsuki*" (*植椛浄場*), i.e. the Buddhist sanctuary of *Uetsuki* (*殖椛*) in Ikoma district, Yamato province, a Kannon shrine founded in Temmu Tennō's reign (A.D. 672—686) by Chitsū Sōjō, 智通僧正. In A.D. 658 this priest went to China together with Chitatsu (*智達*); there they learned the *Hossō* doctrine from Hūen-tsang and his pupil Kw'ěi-ki (*窺基*). After their return to Japan they propagated it (*Dōshō* had introduced it in A.D. 654), and Chitsū founded *Kwannonji* at *Uetsuki*.³ According to the *Shoreishō* (*初例抄*) the *Yuima-e* was instituted in Keiun 4 (A.D. 707) in *Umayazakadera* (i.e. *Hōkōji* at *Asuka* transferred to that place from *Yamashina* in A.D. 678 by Fubito), with the priest Kwanchi (*観智*) as leader (*kōshi*). In the Wadō era it was transferred to *Uetsuki-dera*, and in Wadō 5 (A.D. 712) to *Kōfukuji*. The *Yamato-shi* (*大和志*) says that "in Wadō 2 (A.D. 709) the priest Jōren

¹ *Genkō Shakusho* and *Fusō ryakki*, I.I.

² Often called by this posthumous title of *Tankai kō*, 淡海公 (*Tankai* is Ōmi), bestowed upon him in A.D. 760.

³ Washio, p. 799, 2, s.v. *Chitatsu* and *Chitsū*. 
(浄蓮) performed the Yuima-e, in the Uetsuki-dōjō (道場)".\(^1\)
This agrees with the statement in the Genkō Shakusho, but there
the name of the leading priest is Jōtatsu (浄達).\(^2\) This was a
Hosō priest of Gwangōji, who two years previously had returned
from Shiragi (Korea) with four other monks.\(^3\) In A.D. 706 the
kōshi's name was Chihō (智鳳), another Hosō priest of Gwangōji,
who had studied in China for several years.\(^4\) The Genkō Shakusho
adds that the date of the festival was X 10—16, because X 16
was the day of Kamatari's death and special worship. In A.D. 712
it was for the first time held in Kōfukuji (erected in A.D. 710,
with the images of Shaka, Monju and Fugen).\(^5\)

Thenceforward for many years we do not read of this cere-
mony, but according to the Daijii\(^6\) the Emperor Shōmu was the
first to acknowledge it in an Imperial Ordinance, by which he
made a donation for it and caused it to be celebrated in pompous
style (Tempyō 5, A.D. 733). The Shoku Nihongi, however, does
not mention it until A.D. 757 (Tempyō Hōji 1, Intercal. VIII 17),
when the Empress Kōken issued a lengthy ordinance, in which
she said that the Yuima-e had been instituted by the Naidaijin
(Kamatari) in Yamashina-dera, but that after his death it had
not taken place for thirty years.

Then the Dajō-daijin Fujiwara no Fubito (in the text the name
is given as Taneko, but it is evident that Fubito is intended;
after his death he received the title of Dajō-daijin), regretting
that the shrine was about to collapse, made a solemn oath that
he would continue his father's institution. Thus he instituted a
yearly festival from X 10 to the Naidaijin Kamatari's death-day

\(^1\) Yoshida Tōgo, Dai Nihon chimei jisho, I, p. 221, 1, s.v. Uetsuki.
\(^2\) Genkō Shakusho, Ch. xxi, p. 1008; Fushō ryakki, Ch. vi, p. 541.
\(^3\) Washio, p. 669, 2, s.v. Jōtatsu.
\(^4\) Washio, p. 802, 1, s.v. Chihō; Genkō Shakusho, I, p. 1007. The Fushō
ryakki, Ch. v, p. 539, by mistake calls him Chihō, 智寳.
\(^5\) Genkō Shakusho, I, p. 1008.
\(^6\) Daijii, III, p. 4425, 1, s.v. Yuima-e.
Now the Empress wished to give assistance to the Yuima-e by conferring upon that temple a perpetual donation of land (kōden, 功田, rice fields given to meritorious persons), and she requested intending donors to be quick in executing their intention.

In A.D. 801 (Enryaku 20, X 21) the Emperor Kwammu by special Ordinance fixed Kōfukuji as the place of celebrating the Yuima-e. By doing so he reestablished the old custom; in later years it had sometimes been performed in Nagaoka (from A.D. 782—794 Kwammu Tennō’s residence, before he went to Kyōto) and sometimes in Hokkeji, the nunnery and general (sō) kokubun-niji in Nara.¹

The following year (A.D. 802, I 13) the same Emperor, wishing to put a stop to the rivalry of the Sanron and Hossō sects, ordered that thenceforth the festival of the Saishōōkyō (the Gosaie, I 8—14, in the Palace) should be held in the first month, and in the tenth month that of the Yuimakyo. Evidently he considered the celebration of these ceremonies as the main task of those sects, the Gosaie belonging to the Sanron and the Yuima-e to the Hossō sect.² Yet in A.D. 819 the Sanron priest Jitsubin (實敏) (A.D. 785—853) was Yuima-e kōshi; much later, in A.D. 842 (Shōwa 9) he was appointed kōshi of the Saishōe in the Daigokuden of the Palace (the Gosaie, I 8—14).³ Before A.D. 862 (Jōkwan 4, when he was Saishōe kōshi) Chōken (長賢), a Sanron priest although belonging to the Hossō sanctuary Hōryūji was the leader of the Yuima-e, a function which was always the first of two or three of this kind (ni-e, san(n)e).⁴ In A.D. 874 (Jōkwan 16) the Sanron monk Chōkai (澄海), a Sanron priest of the Kegon shrine Tōdaiji, led this ceremony.⁵

¹ Genkō Shakusho, Ch. xxiii, p. 1039; Fusō ryakki, Enryaku 21 (A.D. 802), p. 587; Daijii, III, p. 4425, 1 s.v. Yuima-e.
² Nihon kiryaku, Zempen, Ch. xiii, p. 386.
³ Washio, p. 442, 1, s.v. Jitsubin.
⁴ Washio, p. 818, 2, s.v. Chōken.
⁵ Washio, p. 823, 2 s.v. Chōkai.
(Seikō 3) the Kegon priest Shōshin (正進) of Tōdaiji was the leading functionary,1 and in A.D. 869 (Jōkwan 11) the famous Shingon priest Shōbō (聖寶) (A.D. 832—909, Rigen Daishi, 理源大師) was appointed Yuima-e kōshi for that year.2 Before that, in A.D. 832 (Tenchō 9), the Tendai priest Gishin (義真) (A.D. 781—833), the first zasu of Enryakuji on Hieizan, was also the first Tendai kōshi of the Yuima-e.3 In A.D. 875 (Jōkwan 17) the great Tendai priest Enchin (圓珍) (A.D. 814–891, Chishō Daishi 智證大師), who in A.D. 858 founded Onjōji (園城寺) (Miidera) as the seat of the Jimon (寺門) doctrine preached by him, successfully requested the Emperor Seiwa, who during the Jōkwan era often appointed priests of other sects to act as Yuima-kōshi instead of Hossō monks, to increase from one to two the number of Tendai monks taking part in the ceremony. Thirty years later (A.D. 888, Ninna 4) Uda Tennō made him Yuima-e kōshi.4 Kegon leaders of the Yuima-e in this era were also Genei (玄榮) of Tōdaiji (Saishō-e kōshi in A.D. 873)5 and Kōchi (興智) of the same temple (Saishōe kōshi in A.D. 865).6

Most of the leaders of this festival were, of course, Hossō priests. Thus we found in Washio’s Nihon Bukke jimmei jisho the following proportion among the priests of the five sects in whose biographies this function was mentioned. In the 8th century only Hossō monks, in the 9th 20 Hossō, 3 Sanron, 4 Kegon, 2 Tendai and 2 Shingon priests. In the 10th century 19 Hossō, 1 Sanron, 1 Kegon, 2 Tendai, 3 Shingon; in the 11th 8 Hossō, 3 Sanron, 2 Kegon, 2 Tendai, no Shingon; in the 12th 4 Hossō, 1 Sanron, no Kegon, 3 Tendai, 3 Shingon; in the 13th 9 Hossō, no Sanron or Kegon, 2 Tendai, 2 Shingon; in the 14th century

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1 Washio, p. 585, 1, s.v. Shōshin.
2 Washio, p. 616, 2, s.v. Shōbō; Himitsu jirin, p. 1092, 2, s.v. Rigen Daishi.
3 Washio, p. 172, 1, s.v. Gishin.
4 Washio, p. 97, 2, s.v. Enchin.
5 Washio, p. 293, 2, s.v. Genei.
6 Washio, p. 373, 1, s.v. Kōchi.
1 Hossō, 1 Tendai, 1 Shingon (the priests of the two latter sects are mentioned as leaders of the three festivals in the 13th and 14th centuries). In A.D. 1396 (Ōei 3) the Hossō priest Shōshin (清心) was appointed kōshi after a long lapse of time during which the ceremony had not been celebrated. ¹ In the 15th and 16th centuries, however, no names of leaders are mentioned; before A.D. 1651 the Kegon priest Eishō (英性) (A.D. 1611—1677) caused a revival of the Hokke-e and the Yuima-e.²

Famous names connected with the sūtra, but not with the festival, are: Shōtoku Taishi (A.D. 574—622), who wrote commentaries on the Hokke, Shōman and Yuimakyō (Nanjō Nos. 134, 59 and 146),³ and Saichō (Dengyō Daishi), the founder of the Tendai sect (A.D. 767—822), who prior to A.D. 788 studied the commentaries on the Yuimakyō, and afterwards wrote a Yuima-kaihotsu (開発, explanation).⁴ As to the festival itself, in A.D. 974 (Tenen 2) the Tendai priest Zōga (増賀) (A.D. 917—1003) was the first to change the Yuima-e of X 15 into a Hokke-e, with one priest as ryūgi (堅義).⁵

In A.D. 885 (Ninna 1, IX 5) by Imperial Ordinance Kōkō Tennō (A.D. 884—887) added one ryūgi or “Expounder” (立義, the same as 堅義, ryūgi, “he who sets up the meaning” of difficult passages and subjects) to the nine functionaries who were the ryūgisha or risha (堅義者, 坚者) of the Yuima-e of Kōfukuji and the Saishōe of Yakushiji. He praised these two festivals as the essential points (kanjin, 肝心) of the Buddhist doctrine and the glory (shifun, 脂粉, litt. fat and powder, cosmetic) of the Canon of the Law (hōzō), for which the “famous virtues (i.e. virtuous priests) of the world opened their bookcovers and the students of the country raised the wicks of their lamps”.

¹ Washio, p. 627, 1, s.v. Shōshin.
² Washio, p. 75, 2, s.v. Eishō.
³ Washio, p. 616, 1, s.v. Shōtoku Taishi.
⁴ Washio, pp. 396, 2, 403, 1, s.v. Saichō.
⁵ Washio, p. 748, 2 s.v. Zōga.
Ten of the thirty “hearers” (聴衆, chōshū) (i.e. all the priests of the ceremony in addition to the kōshi, ryūgisha, nanja or monja, “those who put the questions”), invited to be present at the Yuima-e, belonged to Kōfukuji, and five of the twenty “hearers” of the Saishō-e were monks of Yakushiji. The others belonged to other monasteries, but because of the two main sanctuaries themselves only three priests (of one monastery) took part in both ceremonies. The number of the ryūgi was enlarged in order to extend those great festivals and to show the difference between the main shrines and other temples.

As to the ryūgisha or ryūgi of the Yuima-e, in A.D. 834 (Shōwa 1, I 29) they were mentioned in Nimmyō Tenno’s Ordinance, stating that according to ancient precedents priests who had attained this rank should be requested to act as leaders (kōshi) of the Retreats (ango) in all monasteries. This is clear evidence of the antiquity and great importance of this function. The tandai (探題, “he who examines the subjects”) chose and fixed the subjects on which questions were to be put by the nanja (難者, “those who make it difficult”) or monja (問者, “those who ask”); the ryūja or rissha (豊者) or ryūgisha explain, and the shōgi (證義, “those who testify, verify the meaning”) criticize and decide the value of the problems and the correctness of their solutions. So soon as the tandai and lower priests have

1 Daijiten, p. 1201, 2, s.v. chōshū.
2 Those of Nara and the Tendai gogwanji (御願寺). Cf. Daijii, p. 4479, 2, s.v. ryūgi.
3 Sandai jitsuroku, Ch. XLVIII, p. 668; Fusō ryakki, Ch. XXII, p. 624.
4 Ryūgi or rongi (論義) is the name of the discussion on difficult problems, with questions and answers, held at the principal hō-e or "Ceremonies of the Law", cf. above, Ch. XI, § 8, A, p. 477 (Gosai).
5 Shoku Nihon kōki, Ch. III, p. 190.
6 If they accomplished their task successfully, they were thenceforth suigō man-i no gakushō, 学業滿位學匠, “scholars of the highest rank who had accomplished their task” (Daijii, III, p. 4510, s.v. rissha).
taken their seats, and the bell of the ryūgi has been beaten, the ryūja, after having bowed before the Buddha, ascends the pulpit, receives a paper from the jugishi (従儀師, “assistant master of the ceremony”), reads the subjects of discussion which it contains, and explains them. Five kinds of questions and answers having been put and given in this way, the shōgi (or the tandai) deals with them minutely and gives his decision. The Yuima-e of Kōfukuji and the Saishō-e of Yakushiji were the first ceremonies to which such discussions were granted by Imperial Ordinance; afterwards they took place also at the Gosai-e (the Uchi rongi, from Kōnin 4, A.D. 813), on the 5th day of the Hokke festival of Enryakuji in the eleventh month (Shimotsuki-e, 十一月會; this ryūgi began in Enryaku 20, A.D. 801), the Minazuki-e (六月會) or “Festival of the Sixth Month”, also celebrated in Enryakuji on Hieizan (Hokke jūkō) (this ryūgi began in Shōwa 13, A.D. 846), at the three ceremonies of the Northern Capital (Kyōto) (A.D. 1072, 1078, 1082), the Hōjōji hakkō (from Chōgen 7, A.D. 1034) and many other festivals.¹

In A.D. 887 (Ninna 3, VIII 5), shortly before his death (VIII 26 end of the Sandai jitsuroku), Kwōkō Tennō issued an ordinance by which he established the rule that one priest of Gwangeiji (元慶寺, also called Kwazanji, 花山寺, in Uji district, Yamashiro province, a Tendai shrine with Yakushi-Nyorai as honzon, founded by Seiwa Tennō in A.D. 876, Jōkwan 18)² should be invited each year to assist as one of the “hearers” at the Yuima-e of Kōfukuji.³

In A.D. 935 (Shōkyō 5) and 1007 (Kwankō 4) the Fusō ryakki mentions the names of the Tendai priest Kizō (基増) and the Hossō priest Fukō (栄公) as kōshi of this ceremony.⁴ In A.D. 1067 (Chiryaku 3, II 5) the Golden Hall of Kōfukuji was rebuilt, and

¹ Daishō, III, p. 4479, s.v. ryūgi; II, p. 2547, 3, s.v. shōgi.
² Yoshida Tōgo, Dai Nihon chimei jisho, I, p. 157, 1.
³ Sandai jitsuroku, Ch. L, p. 721.
⁴ Fusō ryakki, Ch. xxv, p. 698, Ch. xxviii, p. 766.
images were made and placed therein, representing Shaka, Yaku-ō and Yaku-jō, two of Juichimen Kwannon, and eight of the Four Deva Kings; in the newly built Miroku-jōdo-in images of Bodhisattvas and the Four devas, and in the Kōdō or “Expounding Hall”, which was erected and decorated, Amida (like Shaka 16 feet high and gold-coloured), Kwannon and Seishi, Monju, Jōmyō (浄名, i.e. Jōmyō koji, 居士, Vimalakirti, here called a Bodhisattva) and the Shitenno.

In the new Eastern Kondō (Golden Hall) Yakushi Nyorai (16 feet high and gold-coloured) with his attendant Bodhisattvas Nikkō and Gwakkō, Kokūzō (Ākāśagarbha), Kwannon, Yumakitsu and eight images of Benten (Sarasvati) were placed, and in the jikidō (dining-hall) the Thirty (this should be Forty, as one text gives it) -armed Kwannon. Three hundred monks were invited, and in this way the sanctuary, which in A.D. 1060 (Kōheï 3) had been destroyed by fire, regained its ancient glory. We see that Shaka, Amida and Yakushi, all three sixteen feet high and gold-coloured, were worshipped as the chief figures of three groups, and that Vimalakirti belonged to two of them.

The festival was not intermitted even when, as in Genkei 2 (A.D. 878), Eishō 1 (A.D. 1046), Kōheï 3 (A.D. 1060) and Kaho 3 (A.D. 1096), Kōfukuji was destroyed by fire, but was held in another building. When in A.D. 1078 (Shōryaku 2) Shirakawa Tennō devided the choku-e (勅會, “Festivals held by Imperial Order”) into those of the “Southern Capital” (Nanto, Nara) and of the “Northern Peak” (Hokurei, 北嶺, i.e. Hieizan), the Yuima-e became a special festival of the former category.

In A.D. 1180 (Jishō 4, XII) Kōfukuji and Tōdaiji were entirely burned down by Taira no Shigehira (重衡) after the battle of Ujibashi, because they had assisted the Minamoto’s. The following year Kōfukuji was hastily rebuilt, but as it could not be ready before X 10, the date of the Yuima-e, the newly made Buddha

1 Fusō ryakki, Ch. xxix, p. 810.
image, destined to become the honzon of the Kōdō ("Expounding Hall"), was placed and dedicated in the half-completed Kondō by means of the kaigen ("Opening of the eyes") ceremony, and the Yuima-e took place at its usual time. So great was the blessing power ascribed to this festival. From Enryaku 20 (A.D. 801) to Katei 2 (A.D. 1236) its performance was never omitted or postponed; in A.D. 1236 for some reason it was held on XII 8.

After the Nambokuchō (A.D. 1336—1392), however, the ancient rule was gradually neglected, and the ceremony was practised in alternate years or once in five years or even omitted for 14 or 15 years. It was abolished at the time of the Restoration (A.D. 1868). To the last Amida Nyorai of the Kōdō, the building where the ceremony took place, remained its honzon. ¹

§ 5. The Issaikyō or Daizōkyō (the Canon), and the Issaikyō-e or Daizō-e and Daijō-e (its festivals) in Japan (7th—14th cent. A.D.).

The reading of the Issaikyō or "all the sūtras", an abbreviated term for the whole Canon (issaikyō-ritsu-ron, "all sūtras, vinayas and abhidhammas), consisting of 5048 fasciculi (kwan) in A.D. 651 (XII 30) and 677 (VIII 15) is mentioned above (Book I, Ch. I, § 4, p. 8). The former ceremony, attended by more than 2100 monks and nuns, served to consecrate the new Palace of Ajifu, when the Emperor Kōtoku was about to take up his residence in that building. At the same time it was a lantern festival of

¹ Daijii, III, p. 4425, 1 and 2, s.v. Yuima-e. Cf. Zoku Shigushō, Vol. I, pp. 814, 820 (not held in A.D. 1380 and 1381, because the 神木 was in the capital, and Nara was not quiet); II pp. 179 sq. (postponed in A.D. 1396 to XI 10—16); II p. 422 (not held in A.D. 1489); II pp. 429 sq. (postponed in A.D. 1491 to XII 16—22); II p. 740 (held in A.D. 1622, X 21—27); afterwards not mentioned in this work which deals with the years A.D. 1259 to 1779.
the last day of the year, in order to drive away the demons of darkness before the advent of the new year.¹

By order of Temmu Tennō (A.D. 672–686) in A.D. 673 the canon was copied in Kawara-dera,² and in A.D. 677 (VIII 15) the same Emperor had it read in Asuka-dera, when he gave a great vegetarian entertainment to the monks and worshipped the Triratna.³

Thereafter we do not read about it for a long time; in A.D. 759 (Tempyō hōji 3, called 2 in the Genkō Shakusho) (VIII) the Hossō priest Kenkei (賢懲) presented the Daizō (大蔵), still consisting of 5048 kwan, which he had copied, to the new temple Shōdaiji (招提寺), erected by the Chinese priest Kanshin (鑑真) (A.D. 687–763), founder of the Vinaya sect in Japan. In this way they honoured the Emperor Shōmu († A.D. 756), to whom, as well as to the Imperial Princes and the 430 functionaries of the Court, Kanshin had given the ten kai (pratimokṣas), explained in the Bommyōkyō.⁴

In A.D. 767 (Jingo keiun 1) Takano Tennō, i.e. the Empress Shōtoku, formerly Kōken, nominated an official "jikwan (Vice-Director) for the copying of the Issaikyō".⁵

In A.D. 805 (X), shortly before the Emperor Kwammu's death, when everything was being done in order to save his life, and to soothe the angry spirit of "Sudō Tennō" (cf. above, Ch. XI, § 7 F, p. 467), the Daizōkyō was copied and sacrificed to him, and each of the writers was praised.⁶

In A.D. 829 (Tenchō 6, V 19) ten priests performed tendoku of the Issaikyō in the Buddhist temple of the Hachiman Dai-bosatsu-gū (官寺, gūji).⁷

¹ Nihongi, Ch. xxv, p. 452; Aston II, p. 240.
² Nihongi, Ch. xxix, p. 504; Aston II, p. 322.
³ Nihongi Ch. xxix, p. 513; Aston II, p. 337.
⁵ Shoku Nihongi, Ch. xxviii, p. 482.
⁶ Genkō Shakusho, Ch. xxiii, p. 1041.
⁷ Nihon kiryaku, zempen, Ch. xiv, p. 460.
In A.D. 853 (Ninju 3, V 14) the Emperor Montoku ordered Musashi and other provinces to copy the Issaikyō in order to drive away the prevailing pestilence. Ten days earlier he had issued the same order to Sagami and five other provinces.¹

In A.D. 856 (Seikō 3, VI 14) the same Emperor requested 265 famous priests to read the Issaikyō, which had been copied, in Tōdaiji and 13 other temples to which he sent officials of the fifth rank as messengers. This ceremony took place three times during seven days. That, too, was a measure against the plague.²

In A.D. 875 (Jōkwan 17, I 28), when one night a serious fire destroyed the Reinen-in and 54 other buildings including a valuable library and many other treasures, only the Issaikyō, copied in fulfilment of His Majesty’s vow, was completely saved.³

In the same year (Ill 28) Seiwa Tennō sent the Dentō-daihōshi Anshū (安宗) to the Maitreya shrine Mirokuji in Dazaifu (Tsukushi) (i.e. the Buddhist temple erected in A.D. 741 by order of the Emperor Shōmu in the compound of the Hachiman shrine in Usa, Bizen province) in order to dedicate 3432 kwan of the Issaikyō, 2214 kwan of Mahāyāna sūtras (daijōkyō), 50 kwan of Mahāyāna vinayas (daijō-ritsu), 530 kwan of Hinayāna vinayas (shōjō-ritsu) and 167 kwan of sūtras not included in the catalogue (rokugwai-kyō). Previously the late Dajō-daijin Fujiwara Ason Yoshifusa (A.D. 804—872), the first Sesshō (Regent), with whom the great power of the Fujiwara House had commenced, wishing to rule and pacify the people in a peaceful manner, had ordered the copying of the Issaikyō in Bizen province in honour of Hachiman Daibosatsu (i.e. Usa Hachiman, of the famous shrine in Usa, Bizen province),⁴ and he had caused the late Dentō-daihōshi Gyōkyō (行教) (a Sanron priest, who in Jōkwan 1, A.D. 859, stayed there for ninety days and after his return built

¹ Ibid., Ch. xvi, p. 548.
² Ibid., Ch. xvi, p. 554.
³ Sandai jitsuroku, Ch. xxvii, p. 408.
⁴ Cf. above, Ch. vi, B, § 5, A, p. 219.
the Hachiman shrine on Otoko-yama, S. of Kyōto, the celebrated Iwashimizu Hachimangū) to examine the work. As it was then finished, the Emperor sent Anshū in order that he might celebrate the ceremony of sacrifice and dedication (kuyō anchi) together with the Dazaifu authorities.

In A.D. 881 (Genkei 5, XII 4) Seiwa In (i.e. Fujiwara no Aki-ko, Yoshifusa’s daughter, consort of Montoku Tennō and mother of Seiwa Tennō, who lived in that temple), held a shūki gosai-e (周忌御齋會) in Engakuji (圓覺寺), i.e. she gave a vegetarian entertainment to the monks on behalf of the soul of her son Seiwa Tennō on the first anniversary of his death. After he had abdicated in A.D. 876 (XI 29) he had lived as a monk in that temple, which was situated at Awada, Atago district, Yamashiro province. Originally it had been the mountain abode of the Dajō daijin Fujiwara no Yoshiyuki, who died in A.D. 867; the Emperor first called the temple Awada-in (粟田院), but when he made it his residence and place of worship, he gave it the name of Engakuji. During his reign the Dajō Tennō (Seiwa Tennō) had copied the Issaikyō, and after his death his mother sacrificed it on behalf of his soul in the presence of all the princes and nobles of the Court in the same monastery where he had lived in retirement.

In A.D. 890 (Kwanyū 2, XII 26) the Dajō-daijin Fujiwara no Mototsune summoned the Tendai zasu Enchin (圓珍) (Chishō Daishi, A.D. 814—891, who in A.D. 858 introduced from China the mystic Jimon branch of the Tendai sect), to the capital in order that he should perform ceremonies. At the same time he was appointed Shōsōzu, but in a memorial to the Throne he stated that he was very ill and could not leave home. Moreover

1 Washio, p. 205, s.v. Gyōkyō.
2 Sandai jitsuroku, Ch. XXVII, p. 411.
3 Kokushi daijiten, p. 1525, 2, s.v. Seiwa-In.
4 Sandai jitsuroku, Ch. XXXVIII, pp. 549 sqq.; Yoshida Tōgo, I, p. 56, 2.
5 Sandai jitsuroku, Ch. XL, p. 573.
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the Issaikyō, copied by the former Tendai ajari (Saichō, Dengyō Daishi) had not yet been revised, although the Shintō gods (myōjin) of the Large and Small Hieizan by means of several manifestations had expressed the wish therefor. It was necessary to perform tendoku of those sûtras and to pray for the Emperor. Moreover the former Dajō-daijin (Fujiwara no Yoshifusa) had ordered the monks of that mountain to copy the Issaikyō. When he, Enchin, was in China, he had received fifty kwan of sûtras from a man of Yang-cheu; these and many other texts had to be copied, for the ancient Chinese catalogue of the K'ai-yuen era (A.D. 713—741) (Nanjō No. 1485) had contained more than 4000 kwan (or even, according to Nanjō, 5048).¹

In A.D. 953 (Tenryaku 7, VIII) the Daizōkyō was again copied and presented to the Emperor Murakami (Suzaku Tennō died the previous year). According to the Gukwanshō the number of kwan was still 5048, but the Fusō ryakki speaks of an offering (kuyō) of the Issai-kyōron (一切經論, "All sûtras and abhidhammas"), consisting of 5375 kwan. Twenty six kwan of sûtras, not mentioned in the Index, were copied by order of the Empress Dowager.²

In A.D. 1011 (Kwankō 8, V 21) the Court nobles (kuge) sacrificed (kuyō) (the Genkō Shakusho says "praised", kyōsan) the Issaikyō in the Seiryōden of the Ichijō-in; a month later the Emperor Ichijō abdicated and died.³ He lived in this palace, because the Imperial Palace had burned down in A.D. 1001 (Chōhō 3, XI 18).⁴ The term kyōsan (慶讃) "to praise respectfully" is used in the same sense as rakugyō (落慶) and rakugyō kuyō, praise and offering on account of the completion (rakusei, 落成) of newly built or repaired Buddhist temples.⁵

¹ Fusō ryakki, Ch. xxii, p. 640.
² Genkō Shakusho, Ch. xxv, p. 1070; Fusō ryakki Ch. xxv, p. 716.
³ Genkō Shakusho, Ch. xxv, p. 1080; Fusō ryakki, Ch. xxviii, p. 768.
⁴ Fusō ryakki, Ch. xxvii, p. 761; Kokushi daijiten, p. 174, 3 s.v. Ichijō-in.
⁵ Daijiten, p. 372, 1, s.v. keisan; p. 250, 2, s.v. kyōsan, also written 慶懽.
or other works, as in this case the copying of the Canon. Thus the terms kyōsan-shiki (式) or rakugyō-shiki are used in the sense of dedicatory ceremonies.¹

In A.D. 1021 (Chian 1, VIII 1) the Issaikyō was transported from Fujiwara no Michinaga’s private chapel to the Imperial (or his own) Sutra Library (御経蔵, Go kyōzō).²

In A.D. 1069 (Enkyū 1, V 28) the former Dajō-daijin (Fujiwara no Yorimichi, A.D. 992—1074, Michinaga’s eldest son and successor) began to celebrate an Issaikyō-e in the Byōdō-in (平等院), the Tendai shrine at Uji, S. of Kyōto, which had been his villa until A.D. 1052, when he became a monk and made it into a temple. From that time this was a yearly festival, called also Daizō-e (大蔵會), at which a copy of the Issaikyō was sacrificed (Issaikyō kuyō). The Rinzai priest Shiren, who wrote the Genkō Shakusho states that up to his time it had never been intermitted.³

In A.D. 1075 (Shōho 2, Interca. IV) twenty famous priests of all sects were invited to the Palace, in order to perform tendoka of the Issaikyō.⁴

In A.D. 1103 (Kōwa 5, VII 13) the Daizōkyō, written with golden characters, was dedicated and praised (kyōsan) in Hōshōji (法勝寺), the large gogwanji of Shirakawa Tennō, erected in the Shōryaku era (A.D. 1077—1081) at Kyōto.⁵ Eight days previously a similar Issaikyō-e was held in Hiyoshi jinja and made an annual festival.⁶ In A.D. 1110 (Tennin 3, V) the Emperor Horikawa visited Hōshōji, in order to be present at the performance of the Daizōkyō kyōsan.⁷ In A.D. 1118 (IX) a ceremony of this

¹ Daijiten, p. 1777, I, s.v. rakugyō kuyō.
² Nihon kiryouku, kōhen, Ch. xiii, p. 1127.
³ Genkō Shakusho, Ch. xxv, p. 1089; Fusō ryakki, Ch. xxix, p. 814.
⁴ Fusō ryakki, Ch. xxx, p. 825.
⁵ Genkō Shakusho, Ch. xxvi, p. 1097.
⁶ Daijiten, p. 63, 3, s.v. Issaikyō-e, quoting the Temmei shiryaku, 天明史略, II.
⁷ Genkō Shakusho, Ch. xxvi, p. 1098.
kind took place in the Shintō shrine of Kumano, in the presence of the Dajōkwō, Shirakawa Tennō (who had abdicated in A.D. 1086 and lived until A.D. 1129). In A.D. 1128 (X 21) the Dajōkwō Toba Tennō went to Iwashimizu, where a Daizōkyō kyōsan ceremony was performed in the great Hachiman shrine. In A.D. 1134 (Chōshō 3, II) the same ex-Emperor attended the highly meritorious kyōzō (i.e. Daizōkyō kyōsan) festival of Hōshōji, where the canon, written in golden characters, was sacrificed. Evidently the date of this annual temple ceremony varied, for in A.D. 1103 it took place in the seventh month, and in A.D. 1110 in the fifth. The manner of copying varied also, for in this passage the Genkō Shakusho adds that "ordinary matters were not written, but the gāthās were copied many times". Shiren's statement, quoted above, is evidence of its having been continued until the fourteenth century.

In A.D. 1272 (Bunei 9, X 25) the Gion Issaikyō-e was held, attended by prominent officials. The usual day of this ceremony, however, was III 15. The Gion shrine was a Shintō temple, made into a Buddhist sanctuary by Ryōbu-Shintō under the name of Gionji. It became a dependant shrine of Kōfukuji and in later times of Enryakuji.

In A.D. 1280 (Kōan 3, III 13) the Kamo Issaikyō-e was held together with the beginning of the Vernal mido(k)kyō ("August sūtra reading"). It took place in one of the two famous Shintō shrines of Kamo, to the North of Kyōto, the gods of which (Tamayori-hime and her son Wake-ikazuchi) were selected by Kwanmu Tennō as protective deities of his new capital Heiankyō (Kyōto, A.D. 794). From the beginning of the twelfth century

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1 L.l., p. 1099.
2 L.l., p. 1100.
3 L.l., p. 1101.
4 Zoku Shigushō, Vol. I, Ch. III, p. 86.
5 Ibid., Vol. I, Ch. V, p. 140.
6 Papinot, s.v. Kamo.
the Issaikyō festivals were often held in Shintō sanctuaries (Hiyoshi, Kumano, Iwashimizu, Gion, Kamo).

In the seventh month of Kōan 4 (A.D. 1281), when Japan was in great danger on account of the attack of the Mongols, and many Buddhist services were held by the Imperial House in the great Buddhist and Shintō shrines, from VII 26 during seven days in the Hachiman temple of Iwashimizu tendoku was performed of the Sonshō-daranī (尊勝陀羅尼) (based upon the Sonshōkyō, Nos 348—352, esp. No. 351), the Issaikyō, 100 bu of the Daihannya-kyō, and the Ninnōkyō, by 500 Vinaya priests (risō) led by the dōshi Shi-en (思圓) (Eison) of the Kairitsu shrine Saidaiji in Nara.¹

In A.D. 1283 (Kōan 6, III 3) there was an Issaikyō-e in the “August Chapel of Uji” (宇治御堂), probably the Byōdō-in.² As a thanksgiving service for the war-god Hachiman’s divine protection against the Mongols the Mahāyāna sūtras (Daijōkyō, 大乗經, five bu, Nanjō Nos. 1—125) were read by means of the tendoku system by the Vinaya priest Shi-en of Saidaiji and a hō-e was held in the great shrine of Iwashimizu, in the presence of the Shin-in (the ex-Emperor-Kameyama), in A.D. 1284 (Kōan 7, IV 4); in A.D. 1299 (II 25) the same ceremony took place.³ The Daijō-e of Hōshōji (法勝寺) is mentioned in A.D. 1284 (XII 17).⁴

In A.D. 1287 (Kōan 10) the Issaikyō-e of the Byōdō-in at Uji was held on III 4 and led by the Keishi (家司) Fujiwara no Kanenaka.⁵

In A.D. 1290 (Shōō 3, III 15) “on account of the defilement of the Empire the Rinjisai of Iwashimizu and the Issaikyō-e of Gion were postponed”.⁶ Afterwards the festivals of the Canon

¹ Zoku Shigushō, Vol. I, Ch. v (Go Uda Tennō), p. 147.
² L.l., Ch. vi, p. 161.
³ L.l., Ch. vi, p. 174; Ch. xi, p. 323.
⁴ L.l., Ch. vi, p. 187.
⁵ L.l., Ch. vii, p. 208.
⁶ L.l., Ch. ix, p. 256.
are not (or very rarely) mentioned in the Zoku Shigushō (A.D. 1259—1779), although we gather from Shiren’s statement, given above, that in A.D. 1321—1323 the ceremony of the Byōdō-in was yet performed.

With regard to the priests who copied or revised the Issaikyō, in Washio’s Nihon bukke jimmei jisho the canon is mentioned in the following biographies.

In A.D. 673 (here Hakuho 2, i.e. A.D. 674, instead of Temmu Tennō’s second year) the Sanron priest Chizō (智薀) of Hōryūji copied the Issaikyō in Kawara-dera. This was the first time that the Canon was copied in Japan.¹

The famous Chinese Kairitsu priest Kanshin (鑑真) (A.D. 688—763), mentioned above, who after Shōmu Tennō’s death (A.D. 756, V 2) by order of Kōken Tennō had erected a kaidan (戒壇) or “Commandments-altar” and given her the Bosatsu-daikai or “Great Commandments of the Bodhisattvas (as he had done to her Father and his Court), revised the Issaikyō in Todaiji, although he had lost his eyesight and had to recite it from memory! It was also he who had the first books printed in Japan, namely the sandaibu or “three great works” of the kairitsu or Vinaya, written by the Nanzan risshi (南山律師), i.e. Tao-süen, 道宣 (A.D. 596—667), founder of the Vinaya sect in China. Kanshin had arrived in Japan A.D. 753 (XII 20), when he was already 65 years old! He had brought many important books with him, especially some concerning the Vinaya, e.g. Tao-süen’s works.²

The first Japanese monk, who obtained the Issaikyō in China and brought it to Japan, was the Hossō priest Gembō (玄防) († 746), who stayed in China from A.D. 717 to 734. This was a present from the Chinese T’ang Emperor Hüen-tsung (玄宗, alias Ming hwang), who, admiring his great knowledge, included

¹ Washio, p. 799, 1, s.v. Chizō.
him among the priests of the three ranks (三品) and gave him a purple kāsāya. He dedicated the Issaikyō to Kōfukuji, the famous Hossō sanctuary in Nara.¹

Mention is made above of the Sanron priest Gyōkyō (行教), who in A.D. 859 had the supervision, when Yoshifusa ordered the copying of the Issaikyō as an offering to Usa-Hachiman for the peace of the Court and the country.²

In A.D. 863 (Jōkwan 5), when a severe pestilence and famine depopulated the country, in a memorial to the Throne the Tendai priest Ken-ei (賢永) of the kokubunji of Hōki province requested the Emperor Seiwa to have images painted of the 13000 Buddhas (dealt with above, Ch. VIII, § 19, pp. 379, 386 with regard to the Butsumyō sange) and Kannon, and to have a copy made of the Issaikyō. At the same time he asked an Imperial gift of a hundred koku of cereals for the kokubunji, to be supplied yearly by the governors of the provinces. His request was granted.³

The Tendai priest Saihō (西法) (A.D. 1054—1126) of Enryakuji also strove to save the country from disease and starvation. He left his monastery and travelled throughout the country, preaching everywhere and repairing chapels and pagodas, and exhorting the monks to copy the Issaikyō, in order to put an end to the prevailing plague.⁴

That the Shingon sect, too, attached great importance to the blessing power of the Issaikyō is clear from the fact that the Shingon priest Gyōshō (行勝) (A.D. 1167—1254) successfully requested the Emperor to sacrifice a copy of the Canon to the Shingon shrine of Amano in Kawachi province.⁵

¹ Washio, p. 308, s.v. Gembō.
² Washio, p. 205, s.v. Gyōkyō.
³ Washio, p. 283, 1, s.v. Ken-ei.
⁴ Washio, p. 393, 1, s.v. Saihō.
⁵ Himitsu jirin, p. 171, 2, s.v. Gyōshō. Washio, p. 208, 2, does not mention this fact.
In the Katei era (A.D. 1235—1238) Tankyō (湛慶), Unkyō’s son (the famous sculptors of Buddhist images, known in the world as Tankei and Unkei), at the request of Fujiwara no Yoritsune (from A.D. 1226 to 1244 Sei-i-taishōgun, the power being in the hands of the Hōjō’s) made a life-size picture of Śākyamuni, Yoritsune’s “Issaikyō-kuyō no honzon”, i.e. his principal saint to whom he had sacrificed the Issaikyō.¹

Six centuries later the Tendai priest Ryō-a (了阿) (A.D. 1773—1844) thrice perused the Issaikyō,² but offerings of the Canon and the ceremonies devoted to it were not mentioned after the 13th and 14th centuries.

¹ Washio, p. 786, 1, s.v. Tankyō.
² Washio, p. 1198, 1, s.v. Ryō-a.
CHAPTER XVI.


§ 1. Translations, commentaries and works on miracles, written by Indian, Chinese, Korean, and Japanese priests.

A. Chinese translations of the fifth and sixth centuries.

Of the list of translations of the Lotus sūtra, given above (Ch. I, § 2, p. 6) only Kumārajīva’s text (Nanjō No. 134) has always been in frequent use in China and Japan. It is noteworthy that neither Hūen-tsang nor I-ting nor any other great translator of later times (except Jñānagupta and Dharmagupta, A.D. 601) deemed it necessary to give a new version of this celebrated text. As to the Kwannongyō (Ch. XXV of the Lotus sūtra), No. 137 consists of Kumārajīva’s prose and Jñānagupta’s poetry (the gāthās). The title of the former’s translation of the Lotus sūtra is Myōhō rengekyō, 妙法蓮華経 (7 fasc., 28 ch.); it was written in A.D. 402–412.

In A.D. 427 the Chinese priest Chi-yen (智恉), a companion of Fah-hien on his pilgrimage to India, translated the Hokke sammaikyō, 法華三昧経, “Sūtra on the Meditation on the Lotus” (cf. above, Hokke sembo, Ch. VIII, § 18, pp. 357, 362).

In A.D. 508 Ratnamati (勤那摩提) (寶意), together with Sāng-lang (僧朗) translated the commentary on the Lotus sūtra (Nanjō No. 1233) by Vasubandhu (天親, 世親, Asaṅga’s
The first Chinese commentary on the Lotus sûtra, entitled Hokkekyō-shō (疏, “commentary”) (2 fasc.), was written in A.D. 432 (Yuen-kia 9) of the Early Sung dynasty by Tao-shāng (道生), a disciple of Kumārajīva, one of the “Four Saints of Kwan-chung” (Shensi and adjacent regions) and of the “Eighteen Sages of Lu-shan” (廬山, the mountain near Kiukiang-fu, Kiangsi province, famous for the White Lotus temple erected there by Hwui-yuen, 華遠, who lived A.D. 334—416 and who in A.D. 390 (VII 28) with 123 other persons began to worship Amitābha).  

This was followed by the commentary (註), written by Liu-k’iu

2 Jap. Suppl. of the Canon, 乙 XXIII, 4.
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(劉凢) of the Ts'í dynasty (A.D. 479—502), who lived A.D. 436—495 (8 fasc.) and by that of Fah-yun (法雲), one of the “Three Great Priests of the Liang dynasty” (A.D. 502—557), who lived A.D. 467—529 (written between A.D. 502 and 529, 8 fasc., 義記).  

A commentary on the 14th chapter of the sūtra (Anrakugyô-bon), entitled Hokkekyô anrakugyô gi (安楽行義) (1 fasc., Nanjô No. 1547), was written in the Ch'ên dynasty (A.D. 557—581) by Chi-i's famous teacher Hwui-szê (慧思) (Nanyoh tashi, 南嶽大師), the third patriarch of the T'ien-t'ai school, who lived A.D. 514—577.

These were, however, only preliminary works, and it was Chi-chê ta-shi (Chi-i, 智者大師, 智顥, A.D. 531—597), the great founder of the T'ien-t'ai sect, so often mentioned in this book, who in his oral explanations, recorded by his disciple Kwan-ting (灌頂, A.D. 561—632) made this sūtra the principal text of his doctrine and one of the principal texts of the Canon. These three large commentaries (Nanjô Nos. 1534, 1536 and 1538, Myôhô rengekyô gengi (玄義), “mystic meaning”, mongu (文句), “text”, and Maha-shikwan (摩訶止観), “Great Meditation and Knowledge”, are the Tendai sandaibu, 天臺三大部, or “Three Great Works of the T'ien-t'ai sect” (all three 20 fasc.; No. 1536 spoken in A.D. 587 and its record revised in A.D. 629; No. 1538 spoken in A.D. 594).

In the eighth century commentaries on these three works were written by a famous T'ien-t'ai priest, Chan-jan (湛然), the ninth patriarch of the sect, who lived A.D. 711—782 (T'ang dynasty, Hokke gengi shakusen, 釋義; Hokke monguki, 記, Shikwan bugyôden guketsu, 止観輔行傳弘訣; and Shikwan girei, 義例, Nanjô Nos. 1535, 1537, 1539, 1541; 20, 30, 40 and 2 fasc.).

1 Daijii III, p. 4479, 3, s.v. Ryûkyû.  
3 Daijiten, p. 1121, 2; Daijii, III, p. 3277, 3, s.v. Tannen.
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Chi-ché ta-shi himself compiled the Hokke sammai sangi (法華三昧懺懺) or "Ceremonial rules (kalpa) for repentance (san) based on samādhi (deep meditation) on the Lotus (sūtra)" (1 fasc., 5 ch.; Nanjō No. 1510) (between A.D. 589 and 597). "Additional ceremonial rules" of the same kind were given by Chan-jan (4 leaves, Nanjō No. 1511, prior to A.D. 782).

Two commentaries, given orally by Chi-ché ta-shi and recorded by his disciple Kwan-ting (before A.D. 632), deal only with the mystic meaning of Ch. XXV, the Kwannongyō (Fumonbon), that is Nanjō No. 1555 (Kwannon gengi, 観音玄義) and No. 1557 (Kwannon gisho, 観音義疏). About A.D. 1020 these two works were explained by the T‘ien-t‘ai priest Chi-li (知禮) in Nanjō Nos. 1556 and 1558 (Kwannon gengi-ki, 記, and Kwannon gisho-ki), who also wrote "Ceremonial rules (kalpa) for worshipping the Lotus sūtra" (Rai Hokkekyō gishiki, 禮法華經懺式, Nanjō No. 1518, 2 leaves).

The next great commentator of the Sui dynasty (A.D. 581—618) was Kih-tsang (吉藏), also called Hu (胡, Mongol) Kih-tsang and Kia-siang Ta-shi, 嘉祥大師, "The Great Master of the Kia-siang monastery", the founder of the San-lun (Sanron) sect in China, who lived A.D. 549—623. He wrote four commentaries on the Lotus sūtra (Hokke genron, 玄論; gisho, 義疏; yūi, 遊意; tōryaku, 統略) and one on Vasubandhu's commentary (Hokkekyō-ronsho, 論疏) (10, 12, 2, 6 and 3 fasc.). The genron was his last work, and differs a little from his former writings by reason of the influence of Chi-ché ta-shi's explanations. In the beginning of the Ta-yeh era (A.D. 605—618) he made 2000 copies of the sūtra, a very meritorious work.¹

Kw‘ei-ki (窺基), alias Ts‘zê-ngān Ta-shi (Jion Daishi, 慈恩大師, the "Great Master of the Ts‘zê-ngān monastery") (in Shensi province), (A.D. 632—682), in China the founder of a

third great sect (the Fāh-siāng, 法相, Hossō sect), explained
the Lotus sūtra from his point of view. He wrote an enormous
number of works, four of which deal with this subject (e.g. the
Hokke gensan, 玄贊). 1

§ 1, C. Commentaries based on Chi-chê ta-shi's interpretations
of the Lotus sūtra, written by Chinese T'ien-t'ai priests of the
Sung, Yuen and Ming dynasties (10th—15th cent. A.D.).

Under the Northern Sung dynasty (A.D. 960—1127) Tao-wei
(道威) based his commentary (入疏) on Chi-chê ta-shi's
Mongu (Nanjō No. 1536) and Chan-jan's Mongu-ki (Nanjō No. 1537).
This work was printed in Japan in Genroku 10 (A.D. 1697) (12
fasc.). 2 Three commentaries were written on it by the Japanese
Tendai priest Kōken, 光謙, who lived A.D. 1652—1739.

A work of the Southern Sung dynasty (A.D. 1127—1279),
Sheu-lun (守倫)'s Hokkekyō kwachū (科註), was printed
in China in A.D. 1306 and in Japan in A.D. 1678 (Empō 6)
(12 fasc.). 3

Two other works of the same title appeared under the Yuen
dynasty (A.D. 1295) and in the Ming time (Ying-loh era, A.D.
1403—1425); they were written by Sū Sih-shen (徐習善)
(8 fasc.) and by Yih-ji (— 如) (of the Ying-loh era A.D. 1403—1425),
the author of Nanjō No. 1621, the Concordance of numerical terms
of the Canon (7 fasc.). In Japan they were printed in Genroku 7
(A.D. 1694) and Genroku 3 (A.D. 1690). 4

1 Daijiten, p. 888, 2, s.v. Jion; p. 237, 1, s.v. Kiki; Daijii, II, p. 2054, 1 s.v. Jionji, I, p. 624, 1, s.v. Kiki. His portrait, Kokkwa No. 114, V (10th cent.).
Jap. Suppl. of the Canon, LII, 4, 5. There are four commentaries on the
Hokke gensan.

Jap. Suppl. of the Canon, XLVII, 1—3. Daijii Ill, p. 4096, 2, s.v. Hokke-
kyō nyūshō (prov: nissho).

3 Jap. Suppl. of the Canon, XLVIII, 2—4. Daijii Ill, p. 4095, 1, s.v. Hokke-
kyō kwachū.

4 Jap. Suppl. of the Canon, XLVII, 5, XLIX 1—3. Daijii, I, I.
Another Ming author, Chi-hiu (智旭), a very prolific T'ien-t'ai writer who lived A.D. 1599—1654, wrote three works on this subject (Hokkekyō egi, 會義, 16 fasc.; rinkwan, 綸貫, 1 fasc.; gengi setsuyō, 玄義節要, 2 fasc.).

§ 1, D. Chinese and Japanese works on miracles ascribed by tradition to the protective power of the Lotus sūtra.

About A.D. 650—710 the Chinese T'ang priest Hwui-siang (惠詳) wrote a work of 10 fasciculi, entitled “Traditions about the widely praised Lotus” (Gusan Hokkeden, 弘贊法華傳), which in A.D. 942 was printed in Korea. And about A.D. 713—756 (in the K'ai-yuen and T'ien-pao eras) Siang Fah-shi (祥法師) wrote the “Records of traditions about the Lotus sūtra” (Hokke-kyō denki, 法華經傳記) (10 fasc.), which in A.D. 1600 (Keichō 5) was translated and printed in Japan by Enchi (內智).

In the Southern Sung dynasty Tsung-hiao (宗曉) (A.D. 1151—1214) wrote a work entitled “Records of manifest favourable answers (to prayers) of the Lotus” (Hokke ken-ō roku, 顯應錄, 4 fasc.), which with Hwui-siang’s Gusan Hokkeden, and the Kaiōden guroku (海東傳弘錄), written by the Korean priest Shinjō (真浄), formed the base of the Hokke reigenden (靈驗傳) or “Traditions about miraculous manifestations of the divine power of the Lotus”, composed by the Korean priest Ryō-en (了圓) and reprinted in A.D. 1534 (Kia-tsing 13) by Miao-hwui (妙慧).

Two similar works were written in Japan, entitled Nihon koku Hokkekyō denki (傳記) “Records of traditions about the Lotus

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3 Daijít III, p. 4106, 1; Jap. Suppl. of the Canon, 乙 VII, 4.
sūtra in Japan” (3 fasc., Chōkyū era, A.D. 1040—1044, by Chingen, 鎌源, and printed in A.D. 1717 by Kwō-ei, 光榮, a pupil of the Tendai priest Kwōken, 光謙, who lived A.D. 1652—1739 and explained Tao-wei’s Hokke nyūsha, pron. nissho) and Honchō hokkeden (本朝法華傳), “Traditions about the Lotus in Japan”, written by the Nichiren priest Nissei (日政), the founder of Zaikōji in Yamashiro, who lived A.D. 1623—1668.¹

A Honchō Hokke kenki (驗記), “History of the miraculous manifestations of the Lotus in Japan”, written by the Hieizan priest Yakugō (藥恒), is mentioned in the Fusō ryakki. There an event of Ninna 4 (A.D. 888) is related. The Fusō ryakki itself dates from about A.D. 1150.² It also quotes a Hokke kenki written by Chigen (智源) Hōshi (not mentioned by Washio), with regard to the saint Zōga (増賀, A.D. 917—1003), a famous Tendai priest and devout reader of the Hokkekyō.³

§ 1, E. Commentaries on the Lotus sūtra, written by Shōtoku Taishi and Japanese priests of the Tendai, Nichiren and Shingon sects.

In A.D. 615 (the 23rd year of the Empress Suiko’s reign) the great Shōtoku Taishi (A.D. 572—622) completed his Hokkekyō gisho (義疏), based mainly upon Fah-yun (法雲)’s commentary of the Liang dynasty (written between A.D. 502 and 529, Hokkekyō giki). In A.D. 772 (Hōki 3) the Kegon priest Kaimyō (戒明) and seven others went to China and brought this book as a present to the Chinese priest Ling-yiu (靈祐) of Lung-hing-szē (誰興寺). It consists of four kwan, and with his two other commentaries (gisho on the Shōmangyō and Yuimakyō, Nanjō Nos. 59 and 146) was called Taishi sankyōsho, “The three

¹ Daijii III, p. 4094, 2, s.v. Hokkekyō.
² Fusō ryakki, Ch. xxii, p. 634.
³ Ibid., Ch. xxvii, p. 762 (Chōhō 5, A.D. 1003).
sūtra commentaries of the Crown-prince”. After having been printed in A.D. 1247, 1294, 1655 and 1682, it was included in the Dai Nihon Bukkyō zensho or “Complete Buddhist works of Great Japan”, published in Taishō 3 (A.D. 1914). Commentaries on it were written by the Kegon priest Shushō (宗性) of Tōdaijī (about A.D. 1260) (Hokkekyō gikishō, 義記抄, 2 kwan) and by the Kegon priest Gyōnen (凝然) (A.D. 1240—1321) of Kaidan-in in Yamato (Taishō Hokkesho ekōki, 惠光記, acc. to Washio 90 kwan, acc. to the Daijii 60 kwan). The latter, who wrote an enormous number of books, also made extensive commentaries upon Shōtoku Taishi’s works on the Shōmangyō (18 kwan) and the Yuimakyō (40 kwan). 1 Apparently the Kegon sect venerated the writings of Shōtoku Taishi especially and emphasized the value of his explanations.

Myō-ichi (明一) (A.D. 728—798), a learned priest of Tōdaijī, wrote a commentary on the Saishōkyō, a Hokkekyō ryakki (畧記, 4 ch.) and a Hokke-ki (記, 2 ch.), but his works are lost. 2

Dengyō Daishi (Saichō) (傳教大師, 最澄) (A.D. 767—822), the celebrated founder of the Tendai sect in Japan, wrote several commentaries on the Lotus sūtra and Chi-ché ta-shi’s works upon it (Hokke gengi mondō, 2 kwan; Kenhokke gishō, 8 kwan; Hokke shoki, 10 kwan; Tendai mongu onshō; Shikwan mongu; Hokke shinyō, 30 kwan; Hokke shiki etc.). 3

Chishō Daishi (Enchin) (智證大師, 圓珍) (A.D. 814—891), another great author who studied in China from A.D. 853 to 858 and after his return to Japan introduced the mystic Jimon (寺門) branch of the Tendai sect and built Onjōji (園城寺, Mitadera, 三井寺, the famous rival of Enryakuji on Hieizan, the sammon-ha, 山門派), devoted more than a dozen works to the Lotus sūtra. Washio enumerates them all, but the Daijii

1 Daijii III, p. 4095, 1, s.v. Hōkekyō gishō; Washio, p. 215, 2, s.v. Gyōnen.
2 Washio, p. 1076, 2, s.v. Myō-ichi.
3 Washio, p. 403, 1, s.v. Saichō.
mentions the Nyū-shingon-mon kō-en Hokke-gi, 入真言門
講演法華僧行, “Rules of the Lotus, explained as an intro-
duction into the Tantric doctrine”, a title which clearly indicates
its mystic character.¹

Dōhan (道範) of Shōchi-in on Kōyasan (A.D. 1184—1252),
a Shingon priest of the 13th century, a very prolific author, wrote
also a Hokke ongi (音義).²

In the second part of the seventeenth century, when, especially
in the Genroku era (A.D. 1688—1704), under the Shōgunate of
Tsunayoshi (A.D. 1680—1709), ancient Buddhist cults and
ceremonies recovered new life and vigour and, as seen above
(§ 1, C, p. 620), the Chinese commentaries on the Lotus sūtra,
based upon Chi-ché ta-shi’s works, were printed in Japan, the
Tendai priest Shōkei (性慶) (A.D. 1667—1737) wrote four
commentaries on this text (Hokke Shakudai, 稔題, 1 kwan;
Hokke ryakusho, 晴疏, 10 kwan; Hokke nyūshū gi-en, 30 kwan;
Hokke Shūshaku, 20 kwan).³ Kwöken (光謙) (A.D. 1652—1739),
who belonged to the same sect, wrote three commentaries on
Tao-wei’s work of the Northern Sung dynasty (入講) and one
on that of the Ming priest Chi-hiun (會義) mentioned above
(§ 1, C, p. 621) (Hokke nyūsho (nissho) kōroku, 12 kwan, Hokke
egi ronroku etc.), as well as extensive works on Chi-che ta-shi’s
Shikwan (24 kwan) and Mongu (50 kwan). He also wrote an
“Introductory explanation to the collection of wide-spread traditions
about (the miraculous power of) the Lotus” (Hokke gudenshū
josetsu) and an “Explanation of the meaning of (the chapter on
the Buddha’s) length of life”.⁴

We see how the Tendai priests of that time evidently renewed
the ancient glory of the Lotus. Of the Nichiren sect the priest
Nissei (日政) (A.D. 1623—1668), mentioned already above as

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¹ Daijii III, p. 4094, 2; Washio, pp. 98 sq., s.v. Enchin.
² Washio, p. 887, 1 s.v. Dōhan.
³ Washio, p. 596, 1, s.v. Shōkei.
⁴ Washio, p. 345, s.v. Köken.
the author of the Honcho hokkeden, wrote also a "New commentary on the Lotus sutra" (shinchū, 新註) (12 kwan), like Shōkei's ryakusho based upon Chi-che ta-shi's explanations. Of the Shingon sect Ryōta (亮汰) (A.D. 1622—1680) made a study of the Kwanonogyō and wrote a work entitled Kwanonogyō senchū (選注, "selected commentaries", 3 kwan).  

A comparative work on the Lotus sutra, containing the differences in reading of 17 kinds of the text of seven kwan and 59 of that of eight kwan, was published in A.D. 1840 (Tempō 1) by the Tendai priest Shū-en (宗淵) (alias Shin-a, 眞阿, A.D. 1786—1859), who gave himself the greatest trouble to find all these manuscripts by travelling about and visiting all the monasteries and temples where those precious relics of the past were preserved. He copied them carefully, and published not only the Hokkekyō köi (考異) (2 kwan, comparative work), but also the Sankehon Hokkekyō (山家本, 8 kwan), with a batsu (跋) or writing in praise thereof at the end of the work by the Tendai zasu, the Imperial Prince Jōshin (承真). This great collector of books (Shū-en), who built three libraries to contain his treasures, was much honoured by the great of Kyōto and Nikkō. And he deserved it for his great enthusiasm and activity for the world-wide fame of the Lotus!  

§ 2. Contents of the Lotus sutra.

The contents of this famous Mahāyāna text, which was the principal sutra of the T'ien-t'ai school and gradually obtained a predominant position in the Buddhism of China and Japan, are well-known through Burnouf's version entitled "Le Lotus de la

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1 Daijii III, p. 4094, 2; not mentioned in the list of his works given by Washio, p. 975, 2, s.v. Nissei.  
2 Washio, p. 1210, 2, s.v. Ryōta.  
3 Daijii II, p. 2799, 1, s.v. Shin-a; III, p. 4095, 2, s.v. Hokkekyō köi.

It may therefore suffice to point out some details of the work connected with the Tendai cults and ceremonies, and some differences of numeration between Kern's text and the Chinese translation of Kumārajīva (A.D. 402—412), which down to the present day has remained in contant use among the Chinese and Japanese Buddhists.

The Chinese text is divided into 8 *kwan* (巻), fasciculi, and 28 *hon* (品), chapters. Kern's Ch. XI contains Kumārajīva's Ch. XI and XII, which renders all the numbers of the following Chinese chapters different from those of the corresponding parts of the English version. This is the reason that the famous *Kwanzeon Bosatsu fumonbon* (普門品), devoted to Avalokiteśvara, is the 25th chapter of the Chinese and the 24th of the English text ("The all-sided one"). It is the first chapter of the 8th Chinese fasciculus, the further chapters of which are the *Darani-bon* (26th chapter, on magic formulae, Ch. XXI of the English text), the *Myōshōgon-ō honji-bon* (on King Subhavyāha, 27th chapter, Kern's Ch. XXV, entitled "Ancient devotion", and, as the last chapter, the *Fugen Bosatsu kwanhotsu-bon*, "Encouragement of Samantabhadra" (28th chapter, Kern Ch. XXVI). Only the last sentence of Kern's final chapter (the 27th) about all the Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, disciples, devas, men, demons and Gandharvas applauding the words of the Lord, is found at the end of the Chinese Samantabhadra chapter (the 28th, the end of the work). As to the Buddha's committing and entrusting the *sūtra* to the "young men of good family", this is found, as always, in Kern's last chapter, but, curiously enough, it forms the 22nd chapter (*zokurui*, 曹校) of the Chinese version instead of the "spells", *dhāranī* (Kern Ch. XXI), given here in the 26th chapter. It is clear that, as Prof. Kern says (Introduct., p. XXI), the succeeding chapters are later additions. Kumārajīva seems to have used older manuscripts than Dharmaraksha I, by whom the earlier translation,
Nanjō No. 138, was made (A.D. 266—313). There the epilogue is placed at the end of the sūtra, after the additional matter; in Kumārajīva’s text it is still in its original position.

The Hokkekyō is sometimes called the Ichijōkyō (一乘経, Ekayāna sūtra), “Sūtra of the Only Vehicle”, because the doctrine of the “Only Vehicle” (the Buddhayāna) is the main thesis of this sūtra. For this reason the Tendai sect is sometimes designated by the laudatory term of Ichijō enshū, 一乘圓宗, “The Perfect Sect of the Only Vehicle”. ¹ This doctrine, which is often mentioned in the Imperial Ordinances and memorials to the Throne, recorded in the Annals, is explained by the Buddha in the second chapter of the sūtra (“Skilfulness”, hōben-bon, 方便品; upāya, hōben, means an expedient, a convenient way, namely of saving mankind). There the Lord, in answer to Śāriputra’s question as to the reason that he so repeatedly extolled the skill, knowledge and preaching of the Tathāgata and praised the profundity of his Law, says that the exposition of the mystery of the Tathāgata is so difficult to understand, that he uses “hundred thousand various skilful means, such as divers interpretations, indications, explanations, illustrations”. The sole object of his appearing in the world is to teach all creatures Tathāgata-knowledge. “By means of one sole vehicle, to wit, the Buddha-vehicle, Śāriputra, do I teach creatures the Law; there is no second vehicle, nor a third. This is the nature of the Law, Śāriputra, universally in the world, in all directions”. “All Buddhas have preached the Law by means of only one vehicle, the Buddha-vehicle, which finally leads to omniscience”. “There is but one vehicle, Śāriputra, and that is the Buddha-vehicle”. ²

With regard to the Tendai cults and ceremonies the following chapters of the sūtra are also of special importance.

Ch. VIII (五百弟子受記品, Gohyaku deshi jukti-bon,

¹ Daijiten, p. 73, 2, s.v. Ichijō.
² Kern’s translation, Ch. 11, pp. 40 sqq.; hōben-bon.
“The Five hundred disciples receive the prophecy” (of their future Buddha-ship from the Buddha) (“Destiny of the 500 monks”). Although the Rinzai branch of the Zen sect was the propagator of the cult of the 500 Arhats in Japan, the celebrated priest Eisai, who in A.D. 1191 returned from China and began to preach the Rinzai doctrine, belonged originally to the Tendai sect and introduced the cult of the 500 Arhats directly from T’ien-t’ai-shan. There they were worshipped in a temple dedicated to them, and men deemed that they wandered about in the neighbourhood of the famous Rock Bridge and performed numberless miracles. It is no wonder that this T’ien-t’ai centre was also their chief place of worship, because in Ch. VIII of the Lotus sūtra the Buddha announces their future Buddha-ship. In this way the Mahāyāna doctrine made them active preachers before they could attain the highest aim, Parinirvāṇa. With regard to this chapter and the 500 Arhats of T’ien-t’ai-shan we may refer the reader to the present writer’s treatise on “The Arhats in China and Japan”, Ch. II, §§ 7 and 16, pp. 26 and 36.

Ch. X (法師品, Hōshi-bon, “The Preacher”). Here supreme and perfect enlightenment is predicted by the Buddha to all those “who shall take, read, make known, recite, copy, and after copying always keep in memory and from time to time regard this Dharmaparyāya, even though it be but a single stanza thereof; to those who through that book shall feel veneration for the Tathāgatas, treat them with the respect due to Masters, honour, revere, worship them; to those who shall worship that book with flowers, incense, perfumed garlands, ointment, powder, clothes, umbrellas, flags, banners, music, etc., and with acts of reverence such as bowing and joining hands”. The preacher of this sūtra shall always see the Lord, whether he be preaching or living in mountain caverns and studying his lesson; he shall be inspired by the Buddha.

Ch. XI (見寶塔品, Ken-hōtō-bon, “Apparition of a Stūpa”). Here a great stūpa, consisting of seven precious substances, arises
from the earth and appears in the sky, worshipped by all those present. The Buddha opens it and then the Buddha Prabhūtaratna (Tahō, 多寶) is seen sitting within the stūpa and is heard praising the Lord Śākyamuni. When about to be come completely extinct, this Buddha had declared that his stūpa would arise "wherever in any Buddha-field in the ten directions of space, in all worlds, the Dharmaparyāya of the Lotus of the True Law should be propounded", and that the Buddhas then preaching the Lotus must open the Stūpa containing the frame of his body and show it to the four classes of hearers.

Therefore in his stūpa Tahō Butsu is worshipped as the protector of the Lotus sūtra.

"Seated on a centifolious lotus, as large as a chariot yoked with four horses, surrounded and attended by many Bodhisattvas, Mañjuśrī, the prince royal, arose from the depths of the sea, from the abode of the Nāga king Sāgara (i.e. the Ocean)". He caused to appear from the sea and arise to the sky all the numberless Bodhisattvas, trained by him by expounding the Lotus sūtra, and the virtuous daughter of Sāgara, eight years of age, who understood it all and who, after presenting a most precious gem to the Buddha, in the presence of the whole assembly then became a male Bodhisattva and went to the South to preach the Law in the world Vimala (spotless).

Mañjuśrī and Maitreya, who are introduced speaking and uttering many stanzas in the Introductory chapter, are often addressed by the Buddha in other parts of the sūtra, and question him about divers matters or praise his Law.

Ch. XIII (勧持行品, kwanjigyō-bon, "Encouragement to keep and put into practise" (this sūtra), Kern Ch. XII, "Exertion"). By regarding the Bodhisattvas the Buddha causes them to promise that they will endure and do all things to proclaim this sublime sūtra to the world and deliver his message. It is "the last sūtra proclaimed in the world, the most eminent of all my sūtras, which I have always kept and never divulged" (Ch. XIV, anrakugyō, "Peaceful life").
In Ch. XVI (如來壽量品, Nyorai-juryō-bon, "Duration of life of the Tathāgata", Kern Ch. XV) the Buddha preaches the eternity of his existence. He points out that his extinction is only a device, to induce mankind to follow his doctrine. "So am I the father of the world, the Self-born, the Healer, the Protector of all creatures. Knowing them to be perverted, infatuated and ignorant, I teach ultimate rest, not being myself at rest". This chapter is one of the so-called shiyōbon (四要品), "four important chapters" (of the Lotus sūtra); the three others are Ch. II (方便品, hōben-bon, devices, Kern Ch. II, "skilfulness", "able management, diplomacy", upāyakausalya, of the leaders); Ch. XIV (anrakugyō-bon, Kern Ch. XIII, "Peaceful life"); Ch. XXV (Kwanzeon Bosatsu sūmonbon, Kern Ch. XXIV, "Universal gate of Avalokiteśvara"). These are the shiyōbon of the Tendai sect; those of the Hokke sect of Nichiren (founded in A.D. 1253 and based upon this sūtra, are the hōben, juryō, Nyorai junriki (如来神力, "Divine power of the Tathāgatas", Ch. XXI, Kern Ch. XX) and the Darani-bon (" Spells", Ch. XXVI, Kern Ch. XXI).

The worship of the sūtra, as representing the Buddha himself and his disciples (well-known in Japan through the cult of the Nichiren sect), is preached in Ch. XVII (分別功德品, bun-betsu kudoku-bon, "the meritorious virtue of discrimination", Kern Ch. XVI, "Of piety"). "Though one be ever so good in disposition, much greater merit will he obtain who shall keep or write this Sūtra. A man should cause this to be written and have it well put together in a volume; he should always worship the volume with flowers, garlands, ointments, and constantly place near it a lamp filled with scented oil, together with full-blown lotuses and suitable oblations of Michelia Champaka. The man who pays such worship to the books will produce a mass of merit which cannot be measured".

1 Daijiten, p. 685, 2, s.v. shiyōbon.
2 Daijiten, III, p. 4094, 1, s.v. Hōkekyō.
The “meritoriousness of joyful acceptance” (zuiki kudoku, 随 喜 功 德 ) of this sūtra and the blessings obtained by it, and the “meritorious virtues of the priest” (who preaches this sūtra) (hōshi kudoku, 法 師 功 徳), Kern Ch. XVIII, “the advantages of a religious preacher”, i.e. all the divine powers attained by him) are dealt with in the two following chapters, Ch. XVIII and XIX of Kumārajiva’s translation.

In Ch. XXI, devoted to the “transcendent power of the Tathāgatas” (Nyorai jinriki, 如 来 神 力) we read that „he who keeps this Sūtra, the veritable Law, will fathom the mystery of the highest man; will soon comprehend what truth it was that was arrived at on the terrace of enlightenment. The quickness of his apprehension will be unlimited; like the wind he will nowhere encounter obstacles; he who keeps this exalted Sūtra knows the purport and interpretation of the Law“. „He resembles the moon and the sun; he illuminates all around him, and while roaming the earth in different directions he rouses many Bodhisattvas. The wise Bodhisattvas who, after hearing the enumeration of such advantages, shall keep this Sūtra after my complete extinction, will doubtless reach enlightenment“.

In Ch. XXIII (the 22th of Kern’s translation) (Yaku-ō Bosatsu honji-bon, 薬 王 菩 薩 本 事 品, “Ancient devotion of Bhaisajyagarāja”) this sūtra is called the “king of Sūtras” (a term applied also to the Saishōkyō and the Ninnōkyō); “it saves all beings from all fear, delivers them from all pains”. Again the Buddha lays stress upon the enormous merit of teaching, learning, writing and worshipping this text. And he adds that any female who in the last five hundred years of the millennium shall hear and penetrate this chapter of the Ancient Devotion of Bhaiśajyagarāja, shall be reborn as a man in Sukhāvati, A m i tā b h a’s heaven, and as a Bodhisattva shall see innumerable Buddhas and be praised by them.

Hokke sammai (法華 三 味) “Meditation (samādhi) on the Lotus” (cf. above, chapter VIII, § 18, pp. 355 sqq., on the Hokke
sembō) is mentioned in Ch. XXIV (Myō-on Bosatsu-bon, 妙音菩薩品, "Chapter on the Bodhisattva Gadgadasvara") (Kern Ch. XXIII), where numberless lotus flowers, on gold stalks with silver leaves, suddenly appear on account of this Bodhisattva's deep meditation, and where the Buddha states that Gadgadasvara preaches this sūtra in every kind of shape, from that of Indra to that of a demon, in order to save all beings.

Ch. XXV (Kern's 24th chapter) is the famous Kwanzeon Bosatsu fumonbon, often abbreviated into Fumonbon (普門品, "Chapter of the universal gate") (of Avalokiteśvara) (Kern: "The All-sided One"). Here the Lord describes the prodigious saving power of this Bodhisattva in all possible dangers produced by fire, water, demons, men (in case of capital punishment "the swords of the executioners shall snap asunder", as in the case of Nichiren; robbers and enemies are driven away by the invocation of his name), and passions. He is a giver of male and female offspring and of unceasing profit; he who adores him and cherishes his name accumulates a mass of merit equal to that produced by him who adores innumerable Buddhas. He preaches the Law in every shape, from that of a Buddha, Brahma, Indra, Maheśvara (Śiva), Kubera, to those of a goblin or an imp, in order to convert and to save all beings. So great are his faculty of transformation and his compassion, which he showed also by accepting a pearl necklace, offered to him as a decoration of piety by the Bodhisattva Akshayamati (無盡意, Mujini), and which he divided into two parts, one for the Lord Śākyamuni and one for the Lord Prabhūtaratna.¹

Then follow the stanzas in praise of Avalokiteśvara's protective power, which saves mankind from all dangers, also from those caused by spells, beasts, lightning and diseases, and from all troubles and sorrows of the world. To all beings, including the gods, he is a saviour, and by means of his great magic power

¹ The Chinese text gives Tahōdō, 多寶塔, Prabhūtaratna's pagoda.
and his vast knowledge and skilfulness he shows himself in all regions.

Amitābha and his Western Paradise are again praised, and Avalokiteśvara, the great Compassionate One, the Universal Lord, is said to be his attendant, “at one time standing to the right, at another to the left of the Chief Amitābha”.

“And while this chapter was being expounded by the Lord, 84000 living beings from that assembly felt their minds drawn to that supreme and perfect enlightenment, with which nothing else can be compared”.

In Ch. XXVII (Kern’s 25th chapter), entitled Myōshōgon-ō honji-bon (妙薬王本事品), “Chapter on the original matter of King Śubhavyūha”, the two devout sons of this king are said to have been former incarnations of the Bodhisattvas Bhaishajyaraṇāja and Bhaishajya(raṇa)mudgata (Yaku-ō and Yakujo, 薬王, 薬上) (both belonging to Amitābha’s retinue). “All those who shall cherish the names of these two good men shall become worthy of receiving homage from the world, including the gods”.

The last chapter, Ch. XXVIII (Kern’s 26th chapter), entitled Fugen Bosatsu kwanhotsu-bon (普賢菩薩勤発品, “Encouragement of Samantabhadra”), is very important. Accompanied by hundred thousands of Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas he comes from the East, producing by his magic a great escort of gods, Nagas, goblins, Gandharvas, demons, Garuḍas, Kinnaras, great serpents, men, and non-human beings. He comes to hear the Lord Śākyamuni expounding this sūtra. Then the Buddha states that this text (although, as a general rule, fit for males only) may also be entrusted to females, provided they are possessed of four requisites, to wit: if they are under the superintendence of the Lords Buddhas, if they have planted good roots, if they keep steadily to the mass of disciplinary regulations, and if, in order to save creatures, they have their thoughts fixed on supreme and perfect enlightenment.

Then Samantabhadra promises to protect the monks who keep this sūtra. “Incessantly and constantly, o Lord, will I protect
such a preacher. And when a preacher who applies himself to this Dharmaparyāya shall take a walk, then, o Lord, will I mount a white elephant with six tusks, and with a train of Bodhisattvas betake myself to the place where that preacher is walking, in order to protect this Dharmaparyāya". In the same way he will encourage those priests, who, after beholding him, shall acquire meditation and obtain spells, and lay devotees as well as monks and nuns who study this sūtra. If they do so for $3 \times 7$ days, on the 21st day he will appear to them, mounted on his white elephant with six tusks and surrounded by Bodhisattvas, and he will stimulate the preachers and protect them by giving them spells which shall make them inviolable. He promises heavenly felicity after death to those who shall write and keep this sūtra and comprehend it. "He who writes it with undistracted attention shall be supported by the hands of a thousand Buddhas, and at the moment of his death he shall behold another thousand Buddhas face to face". And he shall be reborn in the Tushita heaven, where Maitreya preaches the Law.

Then the Buddha praises Samantabhadra for these words and says that those who shall cherish this Bodhisattva's name may rest assured that they have seen him, the Tathāgata, himself, and have heard him preach this sūtra, and have paid him homage. The monks who keep this sūtra and preach it, will not be covetous; they will be honest and refrain from worldly business. And those who treat them badly shall be punished by being reborn with ugly faces, deformed bodies and disgusting diseases. "Therefore, Samantabhadra, even from afar people should rise from their seats before the monks who keep this Dharmaparyāya, and show them the same reverence as to the Tathāgata".

The expounding of this chapter caused a hundred thousand of koṭis of Bodhisattvas to acquire the talismanic spell Āvarta (旋陀羅尼, sen-daranī). As to these protective spells, in Ch. XXVI (Kern's 21st chapter) (darani-bon, "Spells") they are
given for the protection of those who keep this sūtra and preach it by the Bodhisattvas Bhāiṣajyarāja (Yaku-ō) and Pradānaśūra (勇施, Yuse), by two of the Four Deva Kings, Vaiśravaṇa and Dhṛtarāṣṭra (Bishamon and Jikoku, 持 國; instead of the latter Virādhaka is given in Kern's text), and by ten giantesses with their children and followers (rasetsunyo, 羅剎 女, Rakṣaṣi; eleven, amongst whom Kunti and Hūrītī, are enumerated in Kern's text). Then the Buddha praises them and says that those especially who keep this sūtra “wholly and entirely” and who worship it with flowers, incense, fragrant garlands, ointment, powder, cloth, flags, banners and lamps with all kinds of fragrant oil, shall deserve to be guarded by them. “And while this chapter on spells was being expounded, 68000 living beings received the faculty of acquiescence in the Law that has no origin” (無 生 法 忍, mushōhō-nin).

Upon recapitulating the above facts we see that besides the Buddha himself the principal figures of this sūtra are the Buddha Prabhūtaratna (Tahō) and the Bodhisattvas Samantabhadra, Maitreya, Avalokiteśvara, Bhāiṣajyarāja (Yaku-ō), Bhāiṣajyamudgata (Yakujō) and Gadgadasvara (Myō-on). Worship is to be paid also to the 500 Arhats and especially to the sūtra itself.

Of the disciples Śāriputra is addressed by the Lord and said to be a future Buddha called Padmaprabha, and in stanzas he utters his joy about the Lord’s expounding the wonderful Law (Ch. II and III, Skilfulness, Hōben-bon, 方 便 品, and A Parable, Hiyu-bon, 警 譬 品).

Ānanda and Rāhula are mentioned particularly in Ch. IX, where their future Buddhahship is predicted as well as that of 2000 other disciples. Mahā-Kāśyapa is addressed in Ch. V (On Plants, Yakusōyu-bon, 藥 草 譬 品, “Instruction with regard to medicinal herbs”), and his Buddhahship is prophesied in Ch. VI (Announcement of Future Destiny, 授 記 品, Jukibon). There the Buddha gives the same prediction to his senior disciples Subhāți, Mahā-
Katayana, and Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, who in Ch. IV (Disposition, 信解品, Shinge-bon, “Explanation of Faith”) humbly compare themselves to the poor, foolish son of a rich father, who, after having been forsaken by his son in his youth, finds him after fifty years and by several devices convinces him of his own position and wealth. In the same way they, thinking themselves unable to obtain supreme perfect enlightenment, to-day suddenly have heard from the Lord that disciples, too, may be predestined for it. Thus they have acquired a magnificent and incomparable jewel.

Finally, Purna is praised in Ch. VIII (on the 500 Arhats) as “the foremost of preachers in this assembly”, who shall become a famous Buddha by the name of Dharmaprabhāsa.

Amitābha and his Western Paradise, Maitreya and the Tushita heaven where he preaches the Law, Avalokiteśvara as Amitābha’s attendant, are all found in this important sūtra. Meditation on the lotus (Hokke samma) is described as having a wonderful effect, and magic formulae are given by two Bodhisattvas (Bhaiṣajyārāja and Pradānaśūra, Yaku-ō and Yuse), two of the Four Deva Kings (Vaiśravana and Dṛtarāstra, Bishamon and Jikoku) and by ten Rākṣasī, for those who keep and expound this text. Worship, meditation and magic are therefore combined in the ceremonies, based on this “King of Sūtras”.

§ 3. The Hokkekyō, the Kwanzeongyō, and the Kannon cult in the seventh and eighth centuries.

A. The seventh century.

As seen above (Ch. I, § 2, p. 6), in the seventh century the Hokkekyō was only mentioned in A.D. 605, the fourteenth year of the Empress Suiko’s reign, when Shōtoku Taishi lectured on the Shōmangyō and this sūtra. He explained the Hokkekyō in the Palace of Okamoto, and the Empress was so greatly pleased
Kwannon cult in the seventh and eighth centuries.

that she bestowed upon him 100 chō of “water-fields” (wet rice-fields) in Harima province, which were added to the Ikaruga temple (Hōryūji). According to the Genkō Shakusho this happened in the tenth month, and the size of the land was 1000 se, i.e. 10 chō.

In A.D. 680, the ninth year of Temmu Tennō’s reign, we find two Kwannon images and Amida with his two attendant Bodhisattvas Kwannon and Daiseishi mentioned among the images placed in Yakushi ji. Six years later (A.D. 686, Shuchō 1, VII 28), when the Emperor Temmu was very ill, “the Princes and Ministers made images of Kwannon, for the Emperor’s sake. Accordingly the Kwanzeongyō was expounded in the Great Official Temple”. And some days later (VIII 2) “100 Bosatsu (those Kwannon images) were set up within the Palace, and 200 volumes (kwan) of the Kwannonyō were read”.

In A.D. 689, the third year of the Empress Jito’s reign (IV 20), an ambassador came from Shiragi (one of the three kingdoms of Korea) with a letter of condolence upon Temmu Tennō’s decease and a present of gold-copper images of Amida, Kwanzeon and Daiseishi (probably to be worshipped on behalf of his soul).

§ 3, B. The Kwannon cult and the Kwanzeon sūtra in the eighth century.

The eighth century witnessed the gradual rise of the Hokkekyō and, in connection with the constantly increasing Kwannon cult, one single time the Kwanzeongyō was copied separately (A.D. 740, IX 15). Amida and his two attendant Bodhisattvas Kwannon and Daiseishi also appeared on the stage of the official cults (A.D. 760 sq.),

1 Nihongi, Ch. xxii, p. 381; Aston II, p. 135.
2 Genkō Shakusho, Ch. xx, p. 982.
3 Fusō ryakkt, Ch. V, p. 527.
4 Nihongi, Ch. xxix, pp. 542 sq.; Aston II, p. 379.
5 Nihongi, Ch. xxx, p. 551; Aston II, p. 391.
represented in their Pure Land (jōdo, Sukhāvati) or as three images (Amida sanzon). This Western Paradise was, as stated above, twice mentioned in the Lotus sūtra: in the 23rd chapter (“Ancient devotion of Bhaiṣajyarāja, Yaku-ō”), where rebirth in that heaven is promised to all females who shall hear and fathom this chapter, and in the 25th (the Kwanzeongyō or Fumonbon), where Amida and his jōdo, as well as his chief attendant, the great compassionate Kwannon, are praised and the latter is glorified as the Saviour of the world.  

An important centre of the Kwannon cult was Kwanzeonji in Tsukushi. This is the popular name, used also in the annals, of Kiyomizu-san Fumon-in (清水山普門院), the Tendai shrine still existing near Mizuki village, Tsukushi district, Chikuzen province.  

Although in A.D. 709 (Washō 2, II 1) the Empress Gemmei gave orders to make haste in fulfilling the vow of erecting this temple, made by Tenchi Tennō on behalf of the soul of his mother, Saiimei Tennō, who died in Asakura (Chikuzen province) on her way to Korea, the shrine was not built until A.D. 723 (Yōrō 7, II 2). The Empress Genshō then sent a high nobleman, the Buddhist priest Mansei of Nara to Tsukushi, in order to erect the sanctuary.  

Her successor, Shōmu Tennō, granted a fief of 100 houses to this temple, for a period of five years, beginning with A.D. 738 (Tempyō 10, III 4). Seven years later (A.D. 745, Tempyō 17, XI 2) we read that by order of Shōmu Tennō the shrine was built (anew) by Gembō (玄防), a Hossō priest of Kōfukuji.  

In A.D. 749 (Tempyō Shōhō 1, VII 13) the Empress Köken, who had just ascended the throne, fixed the extent of the new rice-fields of the Buddhist temples: 4000 chō for the Kokubun-

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1 Cf. De la Vallée Poussin, Bouddhisme, Ch. v, pp. 260—273.
3 Shoku Nihongi, Ch. iv, p. 59; Ch. ix, p. 143; some of Mansei’s poems are found in the Manyōshū.
4 Ibid., Ch. xiii, p. 215; Ch. xvi, p. 261.
Kwannon cult in the eighth century.

Konkō myōji of Yamato (Tôdaïji); 2000 chô for Gwangōji; 1000 chô for each of the other Kokubun-Konkō myōji (provincial state monasteries, established in A.D. 741), the Hokkeji of Yamato (the main provincial state nunnery, kokubun-nijii), Daianji, Yakushiji and Kôfukuji (the latter three with Gwangōji being the Four Great Temples of Nara, two of the Hossô sect, namely Yakushiji and Kôfukuji, and two Sanron shrines); 500 chô for Gufukuji (弘福寺), Hôryûji, Shitennoji, Sefukuji (崇福寺), Shin-Yakushiji, Konkōji (建興寺), Yakushiji in Shimotsuke province and Kwanzenji in Tsukushi; 400 chô for the Hokkeji of all the other provinces (the provincial state nunneries, devoted to the Hokkekyô); and 100 chô for each of the other Jôgakuji (定額寺, officially authorized Buddhist temples).

This important ordinance shows us the relative position of the different important Buddhist sanctuaries of that time, and we see the comparatively high rank of the Hokkeji (especially that of Nara) and of Kwanzenji in Tsukushi. In A.D. 762 (Tempyô Hôji 5 (6), I 21), under Junnin Tennô’s reign, a kaidan (戒壇) or “altar of commandments” was erected in Kwanzenji, which by this act became one of the sankaidan, “three altars of commandments” of Japan. These altars were erected by Kanshin oshô, 鑑真和尚, a Chinese Vinaya priest, who in A.D. 754 came to Japan and, residing in Tôdaïji, founded the Ritsu or Kairitsu (Vinaya) sect and gave the ten commandments to the Emperor Shômu and his Court. He chose Tôdaïji (Kegon), Yakushiji in

1 Konkôji was Owarida-dera, (小澤寺), also called Toyora-dera (豊浦寺), Kwôgonji (廣嚴寺) and Kôgenji, 向原寺, the oldest Buddhist sanctuary originally built in A.D. 553 by Soga no Inimate at Asuka and destroyed at the fall of the Soga’s in A.D. 645. Cf. Daijô I, p. 1180,1, s.v. Kôgenji.

2 Shoku Nihongi, Ch. xvi, p. 288.

3 Genô Shakushô, Ch. xxi, p. 1026; evidently Tempyô Hôji 5 here is A.D. 762 instead of 761 (cf. Nihon kiryaku, Zempen, Ch. xi, p. 312, events of A.D. 762).
Shimotsuke province and Kwanzeonji in Tsukushi as sites for the three altars; this shows again the importance of the Kwanon temple.¹ Dan is the translation of mandala; kaidan is an elevated place of worship, where the commandments are given to other priests or laymen. That of Tōdaiji was erected by Kanshin in A.D. 754 (IV), three months after his arrival from China; those of Yakushiji and Kwanzeonji were established by him in A.D. 762. These three altars belonged to all sects; in A.D. 822 (Kōnin 13), however, the Emperor Saga had a special Tendai-kaidan erected on Hieizan, and thenceforward there were “four kaidan of Japan” (shikaidan). In China such altars were known even in the third century (A.D. 249—256); they are mentioned further in the Ying-ming era (A.D. 483—494) and in the beginning of T'ang (A.D. 618).²

As to the Kwanon cult, in A.D. 728 (Jinki 5, VIII 21), when the Prince Imperial was ill, Shōmu Tennō had 177 Kwanon images made and 177 chapters (kwan) of sūtras (probably the Kwanon-gyō) read by means of the tendoku system, with worship of the Buddha and circumambulations (gyōdo) during a whole day, in order to obtain his recovery by the blessing power of these meritorious works. He also granted a great amnesty to the country, which, as seen above (Ch. VI B, § 4, pp. 202 sqq.) formed part of the hōjō ceremonies.³

In A.D. 740 (Tempyo 12, IX 15) the same Emperor issued an ordinance to the effect that in every province a Kwanon image, seven shaku high, should be made, and ten kwan of the Kwanzeongyō copied (i.e. ten copies of the Fumonbon to be made), in order to suppress the rebellion in Tsukushi and to give rest to the people.⁴

In A.D. 757 (Tempyo Hōji 1, VII 12) the Empress Kōken in one of her lengthy and devout proclamations magnified the wonder-

¹ Daijiten, p. 606, s.v. sankaidan.
² Daijiten, p. 166, s.v. kaidan.
³ Shoku Nihongi, Ch. x, p. 167.
⁴ Ibid., Ch. xii, p. 225.
ful, majestic, divine power of Vairocana, Avalokiteśvara, Brahma, Indra and the Four Deva Kings.\(^1\)

In A.D. 761 (Tempyō Hōji 5, in the Gukwanshō 4, II) (the year after the official Amitābha cult began with pictures of his Pure Land in all provinces, copies of his sūtra (Nanjō No. 199), and worship in the Kokubun Konkwōmyōjī, for the soul of the Empress Dowager, Kwōmyō-ko, the Consort of the late Emperor Shōmu, who died the previous year) Emi no Oshikatsu (Fujiwara no Nakamaro), the powerful minister of Junnin Tennō established a Kwannon shrine with an image of this Bodhisattva in the compound of Kōfukujī (Hosso). Beautiful embroideries representing Kwannon’s heaven, Mount Potala (Fudaraku-san, 補陀落山 or Potalaka (Fudaraku, 補陀落迦)\(^2\) and Amida’s Paradise decorated the Western and Eastern walls of this chapel, which was originally the Tō-in or Eastern building of Yamashina-dera. In the sixth month of this year the Jōdo-in (浄土院) or “Sukhāvatī shrine” was erected in the south-western corner of the compound of the Hokkeji nunnery, with an Amida image, sixteen feet high, on behalf of the soul of the Empress Dowager. In all provinces such an image and those of his two attendant Bodhisattvas were placed in the kokubun-niji, the provincial state nunneries (Hokkeji); to the principal Hokkeji (in Nara) 10 chō of rice-fields were given, and a yearly Amida service of seven days, to be held there by ten priests on the day of the Empress Dowager’s death and six following days, was established for the benefit of her soul. Here we see the close connection of the Hokkekyō, to which the Hokkeji were dedicated, and the cult of Amida and Kwannon. In the tenth month the ambitious Hosso priest Dōkyō performed an offering service (gu) in worship

\(^{1}\) Ibid., Ch. xx, p. 333.

\(^{2}\) Daijiten, pp. 1531, 2, 3; 1584, 2 (Hōda-gan); 1588, 1 (Hota), an octagonal mountain on the Southern coast of South-India, said to be Avalokiteśvara’s resort. Cf. Eitel s.v. Potala. In A.D. 813 the Nanendō of Kōfukujī, dedicated to Fukūkensaku Kwannon, was therefore built in this form.
of Nyoirin Kwanjizai (＝Kwannon) (如意輪觀自在供), Cintāmani-cakra-Avalokiteśvara.  

Another famous Kwannon sanctuary of the eighth century was Hase-dera (Chōkokuji, 長合寺, also called Buzanji, 豊山寺, and Hatsuse-dera, 泊瀬寺) in Yamato. In A.D. 727 (Jinki 4) or A.D. 733 (Tempyō 5) this temple was dedicated to Jūichimen Kwannon, the Eleven-faced Avalokiteśvara (a Tantric image in those early days!), whose image, 26 feet high, had been made of the wood of a holy tree. This was a so called Thunder-tree, 2 which had drifted ashore at the Mino promontory in Takashima district, Ōmi province. There it had caused pestilence, but after having floated away to the coast of Yamato, Katsuragi district, it was taken by two Buddhist priests, Dōmyō (道明) and Tokudō (徳道), who made it into a Kwannon image. At Fujiwara no Fusasaki’s request the Emperor Shōmu ordered Tokudō to build this shrine, which was made a chokugwansho- or “place of Imperial vow”. This happened in A.D. 727 and in the same year (III 30) (or according to the Daijiti, six years later) the famous Hossō priest Gyōgi Bosatsu led the ceremony of “opening the eyes” of the image. 3 In A.D. 768 (Jingo keiun 2, X) the Empress Shōtoku visited the temple and presented it with 8 chō of rice-fields, and in A.D. 847 (Shōwa 14, XII 25) the Emperor Nimmyō on account of the miraculous power manifested by the image (reigen) made it an officially authorized temple (jōgakuji) with an official leader who filled the function of kentō (檢校), superintendent. 4 In the Engi era (A.D. 901—923) a

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1 Genkō Shakusho, Ch. xxii, p. 1026; Shoku Nihongi, Ch. xxiii, p. 391.
2 Hekireki-moku (gl), cf. the present writer’s treatise on “Fire and ignesfatui in China and Japan”, Ch. v, § 3, p. 91. (Mitt. des Sem. f. Or. Spr. zu Berlin, xvi (1914), Abt. I, Ostas. Studien).
3 Fusō ryakki, Ch. vi, p. 552 (where the date of Tempyō 5 is mentioned in a note); Daijiten, pp. 1396 sq., s.v. Hasedera; Daijiti, III, pp. 3337 sq., s.v. Chōkokuji.
4 Genkō Shakusho, Ch. xxiii, p. 1029; Shoku Nihon kōki, Ch. xviii, p. 389.
yearly amount of 2400 koku of rice was fixed for this shrine, and in A.D. 990 (Shōryaku 1) it was placed under the jurisdiction of the Hossō sanctuary Kōfukuji; before that time it had been under the control of Tōdaiji, the Kegon shrine. Afterwards it became a Shingi Shingon temple, and one of the 33 celebrated Kwannon shrines in the provinces near Kyōto (sanjūsansho Kwannon); this number was in accordance with the so-called sanjūsan shin (身, bodies), the 33 shapes in which in the Fumonbon (Hokkekyō Ch. XXV) Avalokiteśvara is said to manifest himself. Of these temples, which were selected by the Emperor Kwazan after his abdication (he was Hō-ō from A.D. 986—1008), 17 are dedicated to Senju Kwannon, 6 to Nyoirin, 5 to Jūichimen, 2 to Shō Kwannon, 1 to Batō Kwannon, 1 to Junrei and 1 to Fukūken- saku Kwannon. 1

The Kwanzeongyō is mentioned in A.D. 705 (Keiun 2, IX 26) in the Fusō ryakki, where its copying is spoken of. 2 The same work relates, how by praying to Nyoirin Kwannon Ryōben obtained 900 ryō gold for the Daibutsu of Tōdaiji from Riku-oku province. The oracle of Usa Hachiman had said that the gold should not be brought from China but from Japan itself, 3 and when the Emperor then sent a messenger to Kimbusen (Yoshino san, Yamato, Kongō Zaō (Zō) Bosatsu) in order to pray for it, the latter learned by an oracle (or in a dream) that the gold of this mountain could be taken and used when Maitreya had appeared in the world (from the Tuṣita heaven); but that the gold required for the Daibutsu would come of itself, if prayers were said to a Kwannon image, to be made upon the stone seat of an old man on the bank of the Seta river in Shiga district, Ōmi province. Then the spot was sought, and a Nyoirin Kwannon image dedicated; this

2 Fusō ryakki, Ch. v, p. 538.
3 Cf. above, Ch. vi B, § 5, p. 214.
was the honzon of the celebrated Ishiyama-dera, built by Ryōben in A.D. 749 by order of Shōmu Tennō. At the present day it is a Shingon shrine, belonging to the 33 holy Kwanon places mentioned above. Within a few days Ryōben’s prayers were answered and Rikuoku province presented the gold.¹

In A.D. 759 (Tempyō hōji 3, VIII 3), when the Chinese Vinaya priest Kien-chān (鑑真, Kanshin Oshō, cf. above, Ch. XIV, § 3 A, p. 546) erected Tō-Shōdaiji in Nara, a Kansaku-dō was dedicated to the images of Fukū-kensaku Kwanon (Amoghapāśa Avalokiteśvara, a gold-coloured image) and the hachibushū (Devas, Nāgas etc.).²

In A.D. 798 (Enryaku 17, VII 2) the general Sakanoe no Tamuramaro (758—811) had a gold-coloured image of the Forty-armed Kwanon (i.e. the Thousand-armed, Senju) made for Kiyomizu-dera, the famous Hossō shrine (sometimes called Kwan-zeonji, as in the Genji monogatari), East of Kyōto, built at his expenses by the Hossō priest Enchin (延鎮). This temple, like Hase-dera, depended originally upon Tōdaiji.³

There are many ancient Kwanon images in the temples of Japan. The oldest specimens are the beautiful bronze statuettes of the Imperial Household Collection, formerly in the Golden Hall of Hōryūji (N. Wei style, 6th or 7th cent., Kokkwa Nos. 180, I; 199, II, Nyoirin Kwanon; 288, I). The famous Kudara Kwanon of Hōryūji belongs to the same period, an extremely slender figure, a “survival in wood of stone statues, found in earlier Chinese cave temples; archaic, but very graceful”. The Bodhisattva’s right hand is stretched forward in varada mudrā, the left hand, hanging down, carries an amṛta vase. It is made in the style of the Asuka or Suiko period, called after the Empress Suiko (A.D. 593—628), who had her residence in Asuka. It is painted with chalk and vermilion, and under the paint its upper

² Ibid., bassui, Junnin Tennō, Tempyō hōji 3, p. 573.
³ Ibid., bassui, Kwammu Tennō, Enryaku 17, p. 585.
part is covered with lacquer (Kokkwa No. 380, III). The Nyoirin Kwannon of the Shingon shrine Kwöryüji in Yamashiro (Kokkwa No. 141, VI) and the Jüichimen Kwannon of a temple in Isumi province (Kokkwa No. 20, II) (both of wood) also belong to the seventh century.

Wooden Kwannon statues of the eighth century (Tempyö and following eras, combined in art under the term Tempyö) are those of Tö-Shödaïji in Nara (mentioned above, Kokkwa Nos. 168, VII; 175, VII, a beautiful figure standing on the lotus, with the amṛta vase in the left hand, the right hand hanging down; round halo behind the head); Shō Kwannon (Ārya-Avalokiteśvara) of Yakushiji in Nara (Kokkwa No. 55, IV, standing, preaching with both hands); Jüichimen Kwannon of Hokkeji, Nara (Kokkwa No. 224, VI); the famous Kwannon of the Yumedono, Höryüji (Kokkwa No. 174, VI, standing on the lotus, with a jewel in his hands and a magnificent crown on his head; placed there in A.D. 739 (Tempyö 11) by the Hossö priest Gyöshin (行信), who made Shōtoku Taishi’s palace into a temple).

The lacquered statue of Fukūkensaku Kwannon of the Sangwatsudö (三月堂, the Hokkedö of Tödaïji, erected A.D. 733 (Tempyö 5) by Ryöben, to whom this image is ascribed; Kokkwa No. 231, VII) wears a silver crown, adorned with jewels (Kokkwa No. 157, VII). As to the small bronze image (seated with the right leg resting on the knee and the fingers touching the right cheek), enclosed by Kōbō Daishi within a large Kwannon statue, this is said to have been made by a Chinese artist in Ryūgaiji (Yamato), where it is still preserved (Kokkwa No. 178, VII). The Hossö priest Dōkyö (道鏡, who nearly usurped the throne) asked him to make this statuette and presented it to the Empress Köken, who had it enshrined. It is evident that during the eighth century the Hossö and Kegon priests were the main propagators of the Kwannon cult.¹

¹ With regard to Kwan yin worship in China cf. De Groot, Fêtes annuellement célébrées à Emouli, I, pp. 178—200 (19th of the second month); Edkins, Chinese Buddhism; Chavannes, Le T'ai-chan; Boerschmann, P'u-f'o-shan; Hackmann, Laien-Buddhismus in China, etc.
§ 3, C. The Hokkekyō in the eighth century.

In A.D. 726 (Jinki 3, VIII 15) Shōmu Tennō copied a picture of Śākyamuni and the Lotus sūtra, and gave a vegetarian entertainment to the monks in Yakushi-ji, in order to cause the recovery of his aunt, the Empress Genshō, who in A.D. 724 (II 4) had abdicated in his favour. She had been ill since the sixth month (VI 15), and by order of the Emperor animals were let loose in all provinces (hōjō), 28 men became monks and two women nuns (VI 21), a great amnesty was granted throughout the Empire (VII 18), and once more 15 men and 7 women entered religious life (VII 19). In short, everything was done to make her recover and this was actually the case, for she did not die until A.D. 748, many years later. ¹

In A.D. 734 (Tempyō 6, XI 21) the Daijōkwan reported to the Emperor Shōmu, that the propagation of the Buddhist doctrine was the necessary task of the monks and nuns. Therefore henceforth the knowledge of those who wished to enter religious life should be tested and only those accepted who during three or more years had recited from memory the whole Lotus sūtra or the Suvarṇaprabhāsā sūtra (Saishōkyō), at the same time explaining the worship of Buddha and leading a pure life. ²

In A.D. 740 (Tempyō 12, VI 19) the Emperor Shōmu ordered 10 copies of the Hokkekyō to be made and a seven-storied pagoda erected in all provinces. The same year in every province he had a Kwannon image and 10 copies of the Kwanzeongyō made, in order to obtain the suppression of the Tsukushi rebellion and give the people rest (IX 15). ³

In A.D. 741 (Tempyō 13, III 24) Shōmu Tennō's famous ordinance about the provincial state temples (kokubunji) was issued. After

¹ Shoku Nihongi, Ch. ix, p. 157.
² Ibid., Ch. xi, p. 196.
³ Ibid., Ch. xiii, p. 225.
The Hokkekyō in the eighth century.

stating that the making of golden images of Shaka and copying of the whole text of the Daihannyaakyō (600 kwan) had caused good weather and abundant crops throughout the Empire, and that according to the (Suvarṇa-prabhāsa) sūtra the Four Deva Kings had promised protection against all calamities, sorrow and pestilence to those countries where that king of sūtras was expounded and read, respectfully sacrificed and extended, he further ordered all provinces to build a seven-storied pagoda and to make ten copies of the Saishōkyō and the Hokke-rengekyō. Moreover in each of those pagodas a copy of the Saishōkyō, written in golden characters, was to be deposited. He thus hoped to promote the glory of the Holy Law and its eternal extension in Heaven and on Earth, and to obtain the favour of its protection. As the monasteries, connected with those pagodas, were to be the flower of the country, good sites should certainly be chosen for them, and the heads of provinces should adorn them well and cause them to be entirely pure, so that all the devas might descend and protect them. The monasteries, called Konkōmyō Shitenno gokoku no tera, “Monasteries for the protection of the country by the Four Deva Kings, (to be obtained) by means of the Suvarṇa-prabhāsa sūtra”, were to be inhabited by (at least) 20 monks, and a fief of 50 houses and 10 chō of wet rice-fields was granted to them. The nunneries, called Hokke metsuzai no tera, 法華滅罪之寺, “Monasteries for the extinction of crime by means of the Lotus sūtra”, had to house (at least) 10 nuns; and a fief of ten chō of wet rice-fields was given them.¹ Both together had to receive the commandments of the doctrine and if there were monks or nuns lacking, their number must of necessity be filled up. On the eighth day of every month those monks and nuns had to perform tendoku of the Saishōkyō (this must be a mistake, since the text to be read by the nuns was, of course, the Hokkekyō, the name of which must have been

¹ In A.D. 747 (Tempyō 19, XI 7) this was changed into 90 chō of rice-fields for the monasteries and 40 for the nunneries.
omitted after that of the Saishōkyō), and on the 15th of every month the kai-kamma, the commandments, had to be read. As to the six fast-days of the month (rokusainichi, 8, 14, 15, 23, 29, 30), all public or private fishing, hunting or killing animals was then forbidden, and the heads of provinces had to exercise constant control over their subjects with regard to this matter. These monasteries and nunneries were the so-called kokubunji and kokubun-niji; in the Tempyō-Shōhō era (A.D. 749—757) Tōdaiji was made into the Sōkokubunji or “General State monastery” and Hokkeji (also in Nara, erected in the Tempyō era (A.D. 729—749) by the Empress Kwōmyō (Fujiwara no Fuhito’s daughter, Shōmu Tennō’s Consort and Köken Tennō’s mother, who lived A.D. 701—760) in the compound of her palace) was made into the Sōkokubun-niji or “General State Nunnery”. The Empress had established the rule that no men should be admitted into this place of worship (evidently only into its main building, for in the Jōdo-in, dedicated to Amida worship in A.D. 761, ten monks had to perform the service for her soul), because Shōmu Tennō had forbidden women to enter Tōdaiji.

The nun, priestess of Usa Hachiman, who was possessed by this god and represented his own person, was, of course, an exception to this rule and was received with great ceremonial pomp when she visited Tōdaiji in A.D. 749, XII 27. In the middle-ages Hokkeji was neglected, but in the Kwangen era (A.D. 1243—1247) Shi-en Shōnin (思圓上人) of Saidaiji, i.e. the Kairitsu priest Eison (睿尊) (A.D. 1201—1290), restored its ancient glory and placed it under the rule of Saidaiji.

In A.D. 1601 (Keichō 6) its main hall was rebuilt, and in the course of the centuries many a nun belonging to the families of the Imperial Guards (konoe-ke) lived in this nunnery. Its territory

1 Cf. above, Ch. xi, § 7, A, pp. 446.
2 Daijō III, p. 4098, 2, s.v. Hokkeji.
3 Cf. above, Ch. vi, B, § 5, p. 215.
4 Washio, p. 77, 2, s.v. Eison.
covers more than 3000 tsubo, and there are several other buildings in its compound besides the Hondō. Its treasury contains the wooden Jūchimen Kannon of the eighth century, mentioned above, a kanshitsu (dried lacquer) image of Yuima koji (Vimalakirtti), wooden heads of Brahma, Indra and Buddhas, and paintings on silk representing Amida sanzon and dōji (attendant boys), all belonging to the national treasures.¹

The following month (A.D. 741, Interc. III 24) the Emperor Shōmu presented to the Hachiman temple of Usa one silken cap, one copy of the Saishōkyō and one of the Hokkekyō, both written in golden characters, 18 converts (who entered religious life) and five horses; he also ordered a three-storied pagoda to be built here, in order to offer thanks for favourable answers to prayers received in former lives (shukutō).²

In A.D. 748 (Tempyō 20, VII 18) Shōmu Tennō gave orders to write out a thousand copies of the Hokkekyō for the sake of the soul of the late Empress Genshō, his aunt, who died on IV 21. Her cremation had taken place 7 days after her death in the Mausoleum of Saho-yama, Yamato province, and sūtras had been read for her in Daianji (two days after her death), in Yamashina-dera (Kōfukuji) (two days later), in Asuka-dera (Gwan-gōji) (on the first seventh day after her death), in the temples of the capital (on every succeeding seventh day until the 49th day after her death) and in one temple of every province, the monks and nuns of all the monasteries being there assembled (on the 3rd—7th seventh days). The writing out of a thousand copies of the Hokkekyō on behalf of her soul is said to have been the origin of the Hokke sembu-e (千部會), performed in later times by a thousand monks who read a thousand copies of the sūtra.³

¹ Daijirō, 11.
² Shoku Nihongi, Ch. xiv, p. 235.
³ Ibid., Ch. xvii, p. 276; Genkō Shakusho, Ch. xxii, p. 1021. Daijiten, p. 1598, 1, s.v. Hokke sembu-e.
We may be certain that the Hokkekyō, as well as the Kwanzeongyō, the Nehangyō, the Kegonkyō and other sūtras, were among the texts recited on those days, and also after the death of Shōmu Tennō (A.D. 756, Tempyō Shōhō 8, V 2). These ceremonies were performed in the seven great temples of Nara on two days and on the first and second seventh days after his death. On the 19th day of the fifth month his body was cremated in the Mausoleum of Saho-yama, and on the 3rd seventh day after his death sūtras were read in all the temples of the capital. Vegetarian entertainments of monks took place on the fifth seventh day in Daianji (more than 1000 monks and novices), on the sixth in Yakushiji, and on the seventh in Kōfukuji (1100 monks and novices). On the first anniversary of his death (A.D. 757, V 2) the shūki gosaike was held in Tōdaiji (more than 1500 monks).

In A.D. 760 (Tempyō Höji 4, VI 7) Kwōmyō Kwōgō, Shōmu Tennō’s widow, died. Then, as seen above, for the first time the “Sūtra in praise of the Pure Land” (Shōsan jōdo kyō, 称讚淨土経, Nanjō No. 199, translated A.D. 650 by Hüen-tsang) took the place of the Hokkekyō and other sūtras, copied and recited on behalf of the souls of the dead. On the 49th day after her death, when a entertainment of the monks took place in Tōdaiji and in the small temples of the capital, in all provinces pictures were made of Amida’s paradise, monks and nuns copied the sūtra, and in all the provincial state monasteries Amida was worshipped. The following year (A.D. 761, VI 7) the Amida jōdo-in was erected in the S.W. corner of Hokkeji and used for Kwōmyō Kwōgō’s shūki gosaike, and images of Amida sanzon were placed in all provincial state nunneries. The following day the Emperor Junnin commanded that every year on the anniversary of her death the Bommōkyō (Brahmajāla-sūtra, Nanjō No. 1087, translated in A.D. 406 by Kumārajīva) should be expounded in Yamashina-dera (Kōfukuji), whereas the Buddha Amitābha was to be worshipped.

1 Ibid., Ch. xx, pp. 314 sqq., 322.
each year for seven days (on the anniversary itself and on the six following days) by ten priests in the Amida-ji do-in of Hokkeji. In this case the Hokkekyō was not mentioned.\(^1\)

In A.D. 770 (Hōki 1, VIII 8) the Emperor Kōnin (A.D. 770—781), who succeeded the Empress Shōtoku, on the first seventh day after her death had sūtras read for her soul in Tō-Saidaiji (i.e. in Tōdaiji and Saidaiji, two of the seven great temples of Nara); on the second seventh day in Yakushiji, on the third in Gwangoji; on the fourth he gave a vegetarian entertainment to the monks in Dalanji, on the fifth in Yakushiji, on the sixth in Saidaiji, and on the seventh in Yamashina-dera (Kōfukuji). On the last day in every province the monks and nuns were invited to the Konkōmyōji and Hokkeji (the kokubunji and kokubun-niji), in order to hold a service and read the sūtras (in the former the Saishōōkyō and the Kongō-hannyakyō, added to it in A.D. 758 (VII 28) by the Empress Kōken, and in the latter the Hokkekyō).\(^2\)

In A.D. 781 (Ten-ō 1, IV 1) Kōnin Tennō abdicated on account of illness in favour of his eldest son, Kwammu Tennō. He died the same year (XII 23), and on the first seventh day sūtras were read for his soul in the Seven Great Temples of Nara, on the 2nd—6th seventh days in all temples of the capital, and on the 49th day vegetarian entertainments were given to the monks and nuns of the provincial state monasteries and nunneries, in order to promote his felicity after death (tsuifuku, 追福). The following year (A.D. 782, XII 23) the Emperor Kwammu issued an ordinance concerning the reading of sūtras (doubtless the Saishōōkyō and the Hokkekyō) by the monks and nuns of all the kokubunji and kokubun-niji on the anniversary of his father's death.\(^3\)

In A.D. 789 (Enryaku 8, XII 28) Kōnin Tennō's mother, the Empress Dowager, died, and the following day an Imperial Ordinance prescribed the reading of sūtras on the 49th day in

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1 Ibid., Ch. xxiii, pp. 384, 391.
2 Ibid., Ch. xxx, pp. 527 sqq.
3 Ibid., Ch. xxxvi, p. 671; Ch. xxxvii, p. 682.
all provincial state monasteries and nunneries. On each of the
seven seventh days messengers were sent to all Buddhist temples,
in order to read sūtras for her felicity after death. On the
anniversary of her decease a vegetarian entertainment took place
in Daianji. ¹

It is evident that Shōmu Tennō was a devout believer in the
blessing power of the Lotus sūtra in driving away the demons
of disease, propagating the Law, suppressing rebels and giving
rest to the people, extirpating sin (metsuzai) (by means of the
Hokkeji, provincial state nunneries), and procuring felicity for
the souls of the dead. His successors, however, used it exclusively
for the last purpose, causing the nuns of the Hokkeji to read it
on behalf of their deceased parents and predecessors, and probably
counting it among the sūtras to be read for the same end in
the great temples of the capital. It was especially connected
with females (nuns) and with masses for the dead. The
former idea may have arisen from the Lord’s statement in
Ch. XXVIII, “Encouragement of Samantabhadra” (Kern Ch. XXVI)
as to the possibility of entrusting this sūtra to females, provided
they are possessed of four requisites: abide under the super-
intendence of the Buddhas, have planted good roots, steadily
observe the disciplinary rules, and constantly think upon perfect
enlightenment, in order to save creatures (cf. above, § 2, p. 633).
In Ch. XXIII (Kern Ch. XXII) (“Ancient Devotion of Bhaiṣa-
ṭyarāja, Yaku-ō) the Buddha promises rebirth as a male Bodhisattva
in Amitābha’s heaven to any female who shall hear and fathom
this chapter. In Ch. XI (“Apparition of Prabhūtaratna’s stūpa”) the
virtuous daughter of the Nāga king Sāgara, the Lord
of the Sea, is said by Maṇjuśrī to have completely understood
his expounding of the Lotus sūtra; and appearing before the
Buddha she declares to have obtained enlightenment according
to her wish, and presents to him “a gem which in value outweighed
the whole universe”. She then becomes a male Bodhisattva and

¹ Ibid., Ch. xl, pp. 756, 768.
goes to the South to preach the Law in the “spotless” (Vimala) world. This passage, too, may have created a certain connection between this sūtra and the female sex.

This sūtra’s great importance for the ceremonies celebrated on behalf of the dead and its great blessing influence with regard to their felicity lies in its power of extirpating sin (metsuzai). This was considered to be its special function, as we learned above from the Hokke sembō, the “Rites of Repentance celebrated by means of the Lotus”, called also Hokke sammai gyōbō, “Rites performed by means of samādhi on the Lotus” (see above, Ch. VIII, § 18), and from Shōmu Tennō’s institution of the Hokke metsuzai no tera, the provincial state nunneries or Hokkeji, especially established to extinguish the sins of the people. We have seen how the Hokke sembō became masses for the dead, and how the Hokkedō, the chapels where they were performed, were the mortuary chapels of the highest persons; how these ceremonies were connected with the Amitābha cult and, in the 13th and 14th centuries, with the Higan festival. Metsuzai and meifuku (“happiness in the dark world” of ancestors, parents and relatives) were the two great aims of the Lotus sūtra, and the latter idea was based upon the former. To take away the sins of the dead is to give them felicity. Moreover, rebirth in the heaven of Amitābha or Maitreya was promised by the Buddha and by Samantabhadra to the faithful readers of this text (ch. 23 and 28, Kern ch. 22 and 26). And the Hokke sammai, the meditation on the Lotus, so powerful a means of extinguishing sin in the Hokke sembō, is found in the 24th chapter (Kern ch. 23), where Myō-on Bosatsu (Gadgadasvāra) is said to convert and save innumerable living beings, even those in hell, by the vast knowledge obtained by this meditation. Through his preaching in manifold shapes they are converted, saved and reborn in a felicitous state. Thus it is clear why the Lotus sūtra was believed to be one of the most powerful texts for promoting the felicity of the dead as well as of the living.
§ 4. The Hokkekyō in the ninth century. The Hokke sembō and Hokkedō. The three sūtras protecting the state.

The reader is referred to Ch. VIII, § 18 (pp. 355 sqq.) with regard to the “Rites of Repentance of the Lotus” (Hokke sembō), called also Hokke-sammai-gyōbō, “Rites (performed by means of) samādhi on the Lotus”, or Sembōkō, “Meetings for expounding the Rites of Repentance”, based upon Chi-ché ta-shi’s work entitled Hokke sammai sengi or “Ceremonial rules (kalpa) for repentance by means of samādhi on the Lotus” (A.D. 589—597), and practised for the first time in Japan by Jikaku Daishi (A.D. 829 and again after his return from China in A.D. 847), as well as with regard to the Hokkedō, the chapels where these rites were performed.

In A.D. 822 (Kōnin 13, VI 3) Saichō (Dengyō Daishi) requested that each year on the anniversary of the Emperor Kwammu’s death (III 17) according to the rule of the Hokkekyō two new members of the religious order should be obtained by the Tendai-Hokkeshū and should receive the commandments. They were to be obliged to remain on Hieizan for twelve years and to practise the four kinds of samādhi (jōza, jōgyō, hangyō hanza, higyō hiza sammai of the Tendai sect, “constantly sitting”, “constantly moving”, “half moving half sitting”, “neither moving nor sitting”).

In A.D. 826 (Tencō 3, III 10) a festival for expounding the Hokkekyō, to last seven days (III 11—17, the last day being, as nearly always, the anniversary of the death) was given by the Emperor Junna, Kwammu’s third son, on behalf of his father’s soul. It took place in the Shingon (later Jōdo) shrine Saiji near Kyōto (dedicated to Amitābha by Kwammu Tennō, who gave it in A.D. 796 to Shubin the Shingon priest, because Kūkai had obtained Tōji, both temples protecting the two capitals).

1 Nihon kiryaku, Zempen, Ch. xiv, p. 438. As to the four kinds of samādhi cf. Daijō, II, p. 2171, 2, s.v. shishi sammai.
2 Daijō II, p. 1474, 3, s.v. Saiji.
The Daisōzu Gomyō (護命, a Hosso priest, who lived A.D. 750—834)¹ was the kōshi or “Expounding Master” of the ceremony, and the entire Court made offerings. The text itself was a beautiful copy, written in golden characters by the Dajō Tennō himself (the Emperor Saga, Junna’s elder brother, Kwammu Tennō’s second son, who had abdicated in A.D. 823), richly illustrated² and provided with axes of jade, and embroidered covers, a really Imperial offering! Moreover, the Buddha Hall (with Amitābha’s statue), was beautifully decorated and furnished with all kinds of ceremonial utensils. It was extremely wonderful!³

In A.D. 836 (Jōwa 3, XI 1) the Emperor Nimmyō (A.D. 833—850), issued an ordinance, stating that the protective power of Shinto was not equal to the power of the Ekayāna, which turned misfortune into felicity. Relying also upon the efficacy of the practise of virtue, he deemed it proper to send a Buddhist priest to each of the provinces of the country, in order to read one copy of the Hokkekyō in every famous Shinto shrine. If the governors of the provinces regulated the matter and the task was accomplished in pure faith, reigen (manifestation of miraculous power) might of certainty be expected!

In A.D. 839 (Jōwa 6, VI 28) in an ordinance this devout Emperor accused the Buddhist clergy of not keeping the rules, established in former times (in A.D. 741, by the Emperor Shōmu) with regard to the Kokubun niji (the provincial state monasteries and nunneries). Latterly only the Saishōkyō was expounded at the meetings of the Retreat (ango) in those monasteries, but in the nunneries, intended to extirpate sin (metsuzai), no one explained the Hokke myōten, the “Wonderful text of the Lotus”! And the canons explained were not the same. This was lack of virtuous

¹ Washio, p. 336, 2, s.v. Gomyō.
² Cf. Kokkwa Nos. 15, I, II; 113, 1; 16, III; 106, 1; 114, 1; 209, I; 218, III. IV; 313, I; 353, I—III; 261, VI; 419, I, II, all illustrations of the Hokkekyō of the 11th, 12th and 13th centuries.
³ Nihon kiryaku, Zempen, Ch. XIV, p. 452.
action, and for this reason thenceforth at the meetings of Retreat of all provinces first the Saishōōkyō had to be expounded in the monasteries, and thereupon the Hokkekyō in the nunneries. Then the whole people would be freed from calamities, and roots of felicity would be planted by this most virtuous action.  

In A.D. 847 (Shōwa 14, VII 15), on the anniversary of the Emperor Saga’s death (A.D. 842), Nimmyō Tennō (his son) invited famous priests to the Seiryōden, where they explained the Hokkekyō and after the ceremony received Imperial robes.  

The following year (Kashō 1, VII 15) the same meeting was held; the annalist enumerates four names of officiating priests, namely the Risshō Jitsubin (實敏, A.D. 785—853, Sanron, of Saidaiji), the Dai-hōshi Gwangon (願勤), Dōshō (道昌, A.D. 798—875, Shingon, founder of Hōrinji) and Kwōjō (光定, A.D. 779—858, Tendai, of Hieizan). The second priest, Gwangon, who is not mentioned by Washio, must have been a Hossō priest, because this sect must have been represented as well as the Sanron, Shingon and Tendai sects. At the same time the Court nobles and lower officials fasted and prayed (or gave a vegetarian dinner to the priests) in the Buddhist temple on Takao-san (高雄山寺) in Kadono district, Yamashiro, where, as stated below (§ 12), in A.D. 802 the first Takao Hokke-e had been celebrated by Saichō and nine other eminent priests.  

In A.D. 847 (XI 21) Jūichimen Kwannon was worshipped by means of three nightly services (Jūichimen-hō), celebrated by 50 priests in the Seiryōden, where in the day-time they performed tendoku of the Kongō-hannyakyō. During the same three days

1 Shoku Nihon kōki, Ch. viii, p. 258.
2 Ibid., Ch. xvii, p. 386.
3 Washio, p. 442, 1, s.v. Jitsubin; p. 878, 1, s.v. Dōshō; p. 353, 1, s.v. Kōjō.
4 Shoku Nihon kōki, Ch. xviii, p. 402. Here the term 齋祝, saishū, is used; the Nihon kiryaku (Zempen, Ch. xvi, p. 529), however, gives設齋, sessai, sa wo mōkuru, the usual term for vegetarian entertainments of monks.
14 priests practised the *sokusaihō* (息災法) or “ceremony for stopping calamity” in worship of the Five Wisdom Buddhas in the Shingon-in, the Shingon chapel in the Palace, erected by Kōbō Daishi in A.D. 834. These measures were taken against the evil influence of a meteor, seen on the previous day. Thus the *Hokkekyō* was used for the benefit of the dead, and the mystic *Kwannon* rites with the *Kongō-hannyakyō* to avert evil from the living. In A.D. 849 (Kashō 2, II 14) nightly *Kwannon* services, with daily *tendoku* of the “King of Sūtras” (*Saišhōkyō*?), were performed for seven days in all *kokubunji* and *kokubun-niji*, and in the *jōgakuji* (定額寺), against the prevailing pestilence.

In A.D. 850 (Kashō 3, II 22), shortly before Nimmyō Tennō’s death (III 21), he convoked a congregation, to be held in the Seiryođen under the leadership of the Sanron priest Jitsubin (then Shōsōzu), the Hossō priest Myōzen (明訥, A.D. 789—868, a Daihōshi of Gwangōji), the Tendai priest Kwōjō (of Hieizan, a Daihōshi, who, like Jitsubin, had taken part in the Palace meeting of A.D. 847), and the Sōjimon (總持門, “*Dhāraṇī* doctrine, i.e. Shingon”) Daihōshi Enkyō (圓鏡). Three or four eminent priests of all sects where present and held a great discussion on the *Hokkekyō*, which was explained during three days; seated behind the Imperial *sudare* (a bamboo blind) the Emperor listened to the dispute.

In A.D. 851 (Ninju 1, III 10) the Udaijin Fujiwara no Ason Yoshifusa (房房, A.D. 804—872) (the author of the *Shoku Nihon koki*) invited famous priests to his mansion in the “Eastern capital” to expound the Lotus *sūtra* on behalf of the soul of his deceased Imperial Master, who the preceding year having heard about the great beauty of the cherry trees in the Minister’s garden,

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1 *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. xvii, p. 388.
2 Ibid., Ch. xix, p. 410.
3 Washio, p. 1083, I, s.v. *Myōzen*.
4 *Daijiten*, p. 1077, 2, s.v. *sōjimon*.
5 *Shoku Nihon kōki*, Ch. xx, p. 429.
had jokingly promised to come to see their blossoms in the following spring. But suddenly "the car of the Genius" (the Emperor) had gone away for ever, and now spring had come, the blossoms had opened, but the Genius did not return. So he spoke, full of sorrow about the loss of his beloved Master, so good and so devout, and all those present, priests as well as laymen, burst into tears; some of the Court-nobles uttered their grief in Chinese, others in Japanese poetry.  

In A.D. 859 (Jōkwan 1, IV 18) three extremely important sūtras, the Hokkekyō, the Saishōkyō and the Ninnōkyō (the Three State-protecting sūtras, sangokoku-kyō), are mentioned together in a lengthy gwammon or votive text, accompanying the Imperial gift of three dosha, new members of the religious order, to Anjōji (安祥寺), a Shingon shrine, erected by Montoku Tennō in Uji district, Yamashiro. The Emperor Seiwa (A.D. 858 VIII 27—876 XI 29) did this in accordance with a vow of his mother (since he was only nine years of age, the Regent (Sesshō), his maternal grandfather Yoshifuza, was probably the real author of the text). The new monks had to stay there for seven years, and during the three months of summer (in the Summer Retreat) they must expound those three sūtras.  

In the same year (VIII 21) the Empress-Dowager invited 60 monks to Sōkyūji (雙丘寺) and requested them to expound the Hokkekyō for five days, on behalf of the soul of her deceased Consort, Montoku Tennō, who died the previous year (VIII 27). On the anniversary of his death a shūki gosai took place in this temple, where the Imperial Princes, the Court-nobles and high officials of the Department of Ceremonies assembled. On the preceding days all the Ministers and other officials had attended the meeting.  

According to the petition of the Tendai priest Eryō (恵亮)
The Hokkekyō in the ninth century.

of Hieizan,¹ the following day two dosha were placed in Enryakuji; thenceforth this was done each year. One of these two dosha was to be examined on behalf of the Shinto god of Kamo concerning the Daianrakuyō (大安楽経, Nanjō No. 1034, devoted to the Bodhisattva Vajrasattva, and translated A.D. 746—771 by Amoghavajra; a Tantric Prajñāpāramitā text), the Hokkekyō and the Konkwōmyōkyō. The other dosha was to be examined on behalf of the Shinto god of Kasuga concerning the Yuimakyō, the Hokkekyō and the Konkwōmyōkyō. In this way these great Shintō deities would become mighty protectors of the state.²

In A.D. 860 (Jōkwan 2, IX 20) the Emperor Seiwa granted the request of the Shingon priest Sanchō (澄) and made the temple, erected by the latter on behalf of the state in Shimanoshimo district, Settsu province, a Gogwan Shingonin, called Ninchōji (忍性頂寺). Thus it became a Shingon shrine "founded by Imperial vow". In the spring the Saishōōkyō, in the autumn the Hokke myōten had to be expounded in this sanctuary, in order that these two great texts might protect the country during the first and second halves of the year.³ Here we see the great protective power, ascribed also by the Shingon sect to these two sūtras. In the same year (V 7—11) a sai-e was arranged by Junna Tennō’s Consort, assisted by the Emperor and Empress, at which the Hokkekyō was expounded for five days.⁴ This was performed on the anniversary of Junna Tennō’s death, for he died in A.D. 840 (V 8). The great Tendai priest Ennin (Jikaku Daishi, A.D. 794—864) (who even in his childhood had sworn to fathom the Kwanzeongyō) was the main leader of the ceremony, and at its close he gave Junna Tennō’s widow the Great Bodhisattva commandments and (as a nun) the religious name of Ryōzo. The following year (A.D. 861, VI) Nimmyō

¹ Washio, p. 58, 1, s.v. Eryō.
² Sandai jitsuroku, Ch. III, pp. 42 sq.
³ Ibid., Ch. IV, p. 63.
⁴ L.I., p. 59.
Tennō’s widow invited him and other famous high-priests to her palace in Gojō district, Kyōto, where they expounded the Hokke-kyō for four days; she received from him the Great Bodhisattva commandments (*Bosatsu daikai*), the Samaya (*Jap. sammaya*) commandments, and the “altar-baptism” (*dan-kwanjō*), and performed the “Uposatha of Mahāyāna” (*Daijō fusatsu*).\(^1\)

In A.D. 865 (Jōkwan 7, III 25) the Shingon priest Eun (懽蓮, A.D. 798—869, the founder of *Anjōji*) in a written petition to the Emperor Seiwa about the examinations and study of new members of the Buddhist clergy, mentions as the main subjects of examinations the *Hokkekyō*, the *Saishōōkyō* and the *Igi* (威儀, i.e. the 大比丘三千威儀, *Daibiku-sanzen-igi*, “the 3000 rules of behaviour of great monks”, Nanjō No. 1126, translated by An Shi-kao in A.D. 148—170).\(^2\)

The same year (IV 15) the Tendai priest Entei (延庭) reported to the throne that in A.D. 860 he had erected *Kōryūji* (興隆寺) on Kitayama, Katono district, Yamashiro, with the images of *Senju Kannon*, Brahma and Indra, and the Four Deva Kings. In the spring he explained the *Saishōōkyō*, and in the autumn the *Hokkekyō*;\(^3\) during the Retreat (*ango*) the *Daihannya*kyō was read by means of the *tendoku* system. He swore that this would protect the state to the end of time, and requested that the Emperor might make it a *gogwanji* (“temple of Imperial vow”) for the practice of the *Kairitsu* (*Vinaya*) and *Shingon* doctrines, but without the direction of sōgō (high-priests) and kōshi (“expounding-masters”). The Emperor Seiwa complied with this petition.\(^4\)

In A.D. 868 (Jōkwan 10, II 18) Fujiwara no Ason Yoshinawa died, aged 55 years. Until his death he expounded the *Hokkekyō*,

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1. Ibid., Ch. viii, pp. 145, 148 (Ennin’s live).
2. Ibid., Ch. x, p. 176.
3. Cf. also Ch. xviii, p. 325 of the same work (spring and autumn, *Saishōōkyō* and *Hokkekyō*).
4. L.I., p. 179.
yearly in the eighth month, on the anniversary of Montoku Tennō’s death for the felicity of this Emperor’s soul. 1

In A.D. 877 (Genkei 1, V 23) the Emperor Yōzei, Seiwa Tennō’s eldest son, who was only ten years old and whose Regent (sesshō) was Fujiwara no Mototsune (A.D. 836—891) issued an ordinance to the effect that the köshi of the Retreats of all provinces should necessarily expound the Hokkekyō, Saiishōkyō and Ninnōkyō. It was a year of terrible drought, and many ceremonies were performed against this calamity. 2

In A.D. 878 (Genkei 2, IX 25), on the occasion of the Empress-Dowager’s 50th year, the Dajō Tennō Seiwa gave a great vegetarian entertainment to 50 high-priests in the Seiwa-in; and made them explain the Hokkekyō for three days. 3 The following year (III 24) he did so again, this time during five days, and, as in the preceding year, the Imperial Princes and Court-nobles all attended the meeting; it was intended to promote the “felicity in the dark world” (meifuku) of Fujiwara no Masako, Junna Tennō’s Consort, who died the preceding day, aged seventy years. 4

In A.D. 880 (Genkei 4, XII 4) Seiwa Tennō died, and on XII 11 (the first seventh day) 50 priests were invited to Engakuji (圓覚寺), where thenceforth until the 49th day after his death they read the Hokkekyō in the day-time and the Kwômyô shingon at night. This was a magic formula by means of which the Buddha’s light (kwômyô, 光明) was obtained and all sins were “extinguished”; 5 metsuzai was also, as stated above, the great aim of the Hokkekyō, and in this way they both brought meifuku to the deceased. 6 The following year (XI 26—XII 1) Seiwa Tennō’s shûki-goseie was performed by the Empress-Dowager, in the

1 Ibid., Ch. xv, p. 269.
2 Fusô ryakkî, Ch. xx, p. 597.
3 Sandai jitsuroku, Ch. xxxiv, p. 500.
4 Ibid., Ch. xxxv, pp. 513 sq.
5 Daijiten, p. 325, 3, s.v. kwômyô shingon.
6 Sandai jitsuroku, Ch. xxxviii, p. 554.
Somedono palace, and during five days high-priests from all the great monasteries expounded the Hokkekyō. On the anniversary of his death (XII 4) the Issaikyō, copied during his reign, was sacrificed in Engakuji.  

In A.D. 885 (Ninna 1, III 21) the ryūgi (立義) of the Minazuki-Hokke-e (六月華華會), dealt with below (§ 9, Hokke jūkō), are mentioned in a petition sent to the Throne by the Tendai priest Henshō (遍照), Gonsōjō and Zasu of Gwangeiji (A.D. 817—890) (元慶寺, also called Kwazanji, 花山寺, erected in A.D. 876 in Uji district, Yamashiro). 2 This was the Hokke festival of the sixth month, established in A.D. 823 to celebrate the anniversary of Dengyō Daishi’s death (A.D. 822, VI 4).  

In A.D. 886 (Ninna 2, IV 3) the Emperor Kwōkō commanded the Konkwōmyōkyō of four kwan (i.e. Nanjō No. 127, Dharmaraksha’s translation of the Suvarṇaprabhāsā sūtra, dating from the beginning of the fifth century) to be read by means of tendoku yearly on III 21, the anniversary of Nimmyō Tennō’s death (A.D. 850), in Unrin-in (雲林院), and the Myōhō-rengekyō to be expounded during the whole Summer Retreat (three months). 4

The same year (VII 5) the three state-protecting sūtras, Hokkekyō, Ninnōkyō and Konkwōmyō-Saishōkyō, are mentioned in a petition to the Emperor, sent by the Tendai high-priest Ensai (延最) of Heizan. According to Daichō (Dengyō Daishi)’s request they were expounded daily in extenso (chōkō, 長講) in the Tōō-in (東塔院) and the Saitō-in (西塔院) (Eastern and Western pagodas) of Enryakuji, where the images of Yakushi and Shaka had been placed. This priest, being the head of Saitō-in, then asked for five monks, to be charged with the task of performing regular services in this shrine, namely tendoku of

1 Ibid., Ch. xl, p. 573.
2 Yoshida Tōgo, I, p. 157, s.v. Gwangeiji.
3 Sandai jitsuroku, Ch. XLVII, p. 659.
4 Ibid., XLIX, pp. 684 sq.
the Daihannyakyō in the day-time and invocation of Shaka’s holy name at night.¹

§ 5. The Hokkekyō in the tenth century. Hokkedō (Ch. VIII, § 18, Hokke-sembō). Hokke hakkō (this Chapter, § 8).

In A.D. 902 (Engi 2, VIII 15) Uda Tennō, who had abdicated five years previously, invited more than 150 Buddhist nuns to Danrinji (檀林寺) in Saga, to the West of Kyōto, the first Zen temple of Japan and one of the five great nunneries of the country. This nunnery was founded in A.D. 850 (Kashō 3) by the Chinese priest Gikū (義空) of the Southern Zen sect, in fulfilment of a vow of the Emperor Saga’s Consort Danrin.² The Hokkekyō being the special text of women (e.g. of all the provincial state nunneries, kokubun-niji), it is no wonder that this meeting, which was a fuse-kuyō (布施供義, dāna) ceremony (intended to give offerings to the nuns), was mainly devoted to this sūtra. It was expounded in the morning, and the Saishōkyō (also a kokubunji text) in the evening, when two of the nuns were made dōshi (leaders).³

In A.D. 903 (Engi 3, VIII 5) Daigo Tennō, for the sake of the soul of his deceased mother, Uda Tennō’s concubine (nyōgo) Fujiwara no Tane-ko, who had received from her son the title of Empress Dowager, sacrificed the Hokkekyō, written by himself. This ceremony took place in Kwanshuji (勧修寺, pronounced Kajūji, a Shingon (and Sanron) shrine in Yamashina village, Uji district, Yamashiro province, founded by order of Tane-ko in A.D. 900 (Shōtai 3) by the Udaijin Fujiwara no Sadakata. The Hōshō priest Shōshun, 承俊, of Kōfukuji, was the leader of

¹ L.I., p. 692; Washio, p. 108, 1.
² Daijiten, p. 1187, 2; s.v. Danrinji; Washio, p. 168, 2, s.v. Gikū.
³ Fusō ryakki, Ch. xxiii, uragaki (postscriptum), p. 669.
the dedicatory ceremony of the temple and its first abbot); it was performed by 170 monks, high-priests and monks of lower rank, whom the Emperor had invited to this congregation. In A.D. 925 (Enchō 3, VIII 23) the Emperor again celebrated a similar service for her soul in the same temple, with offerings of the Hokkekyō, copied by himself, and an embroidered mandara of the Nai-in of the Taizō-kai. The bettō of the temple, the priest Saishū was appointed Gon-Risshi, a hundred monks were invited, the Shingon priest Eri of Tōji said the prayer (for her soul) (jugwan, 儘願), and the Sōjō Zōmyō (増宿) (a famous Tendai priest of Hieizan (A.D. 843—927), who baptized Uda Tennō in A.D. 905 and became Tendai zasu in A.D. 906), performed the function of kōshi, “Expounding Master”. 

In A.D. 906 (Engi 6, X 23) the Hōo (Uda Tennō) celebrated his fortieth birthday, and three days later the Court on account of this event copied the Hokkekyō in golden characters in Ninnaji, the great Shingon sanctuary where he lived after his abdication under the name of Kongō-hō; this ceremony, like the Hokke hakkō (dealt with below, § 8), lasted four days and was divided into eight sessions (hachiza). 

In A.D. 918 (Engi 18, VIII 14) in the pine wood at the palace of the Gojō no kisaki (五條後, Montoku Tennō’s mother, who died in A.D. 871) a Buppōsō or “Buddhist priest” bird (sometimes mentioned as having appeared and been heard during Hokkekyō rites) was heard at night. This was thought strange, and it was connected with the fact that the Lotus sūtra had been expounded there since the third day of the month.

1 Daijō 1, p. 565, 1, s.v. Kashuji. One of the six branches of the Ono section of the Shingon sect is called after this temple. Washio, p. 625, 1, s.v. Shōshun.
2 Nihon kiryaku, Köhen, Ch. I, p. 782.
3 Washio, p. 749, 2, s.v. Zōmyō.
4 Nihon Kairyaku, l.l., p. 808; Fusō ryakki, Ch. xxiv.
5 Nihon kiryaku, l.l., p. 786.
6 Kokushi daittō, p. 1088, 1, s.v. Gojō no kisaki.
In A.D. 919 (Engi 19, VII 5) the Emperor Daigo called the Tendai zasu Žomyō (mentioned above) to the Jijuden of the Palace, in the Western wing of which he listened to his explanations of the Kongō-hannyakyō. Two days later they began to read the Hokkekyō, and the Emperor commanded two officials, Minamoto no Kintada and Fujiwara no Arihira to listen to the expounding of this sūtra. It lasted until VIII 3; then Žomyō returned to Hieizan with a large number of presents from His Majesty. According to the Fusō ryakki these donations consisted of priestly robes, maki-e lacquer boxes, and pieces of silk and brocade.  

The Nihon kiryouku does not mention this ceremony, but states that there was great rejoicing on VII 7, because it rained for the first time after a long drought. Probably the tendoku of the Ninnōkyō, performed on VI 30 by 100 priests in the Daigokuden, was intended to cause rain; and it was perhaps for the same reason that the Emperor summoned Žomyō to the Palace and let him explain the Kongō-hannyakyō. At the advent of rain the Hokkekyō was expounded.  

In A.D. 955 (Tenryaku 9, I 4) the Emperor Murakami copied the Hokkekyō in golden characters and invited famous priests to the Kokiden (弘徽殿) of the Palace (were the Imperial concubines lived), in order to explain the sūtra and receive rich presents of gold and jade and silk from the Imperial Princes and Court nobles, who ascended the stairs leading to the building and made their offerings to the priests on behalf of the soul of the late Empress Dowager, the Emperor’s mother. Besides the text of the sūtra, copied by himself, he offered an embroidered Hokke mandara for her sake.  

In A.D. 963 (Öwa 3, VIII 21) the same Emperor issued an ordinance by which he chose and invited 20 famous priests, 10 of the Tendai sect (of Hieizan) and 10 of Nara, to the

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1 Genkō Shakusho, Ch. xxiv, p. 1064; Fusō ryakki, Ch. xxiv, p. 675.
2 Nihon kiryouku, Köhen, Ch. i, p. 802.
3 Genkō Shakusho, Ch. xxv, p. 1070; Fusō ryakki, Ch. xxv, p. 717 sq.
Seiryōden of the Palace, where they expounded the Lotus sūtra for five days. After the reading of the text a rongi, discussion, took place between the two groups. Of the Tendai priests the Daihōshi Ryōgen (良源, Jie Daisōjō, A.D. 913—985, who became Tendai zasu in A.D. 966), and of the Hossō priests the Daihōshi Hōzō (法蔵, A.D. 904—968) of Tōdaiji discussed the hidden meaning of the sūtra; the Emperor and his Court revered the secret purport of the Ekyōja and praised the mystic power of Tendai. According to the Genkō Shakusho the meeting was divided into ten sessions (jūza), with different dōshi and monja in the mornings and evenings of the five days; thus it was a so-called Hokke jōkō, dealt with below, § 9.

In A.D. 964 (Ōwa 4, III 15) the students of the Hokudō of the Daigakuryō (大學寮北堂) in Kyōto held a Kwangaku-e (勸學會, "Meeting for the encouragement of study"), because they liked to hear the Law and to enjoy and praise it. It took place at the foot of the Western acclivity of Hieizan, and the Hokkekyō was expounded. Taking one line of the sūtra as subject they made Chinese poems and composed utas. III 15 and IX 15 were indicated as the dates of their meetings, but the places were not fixed.

In A.D. 980 (Tengen 3, VII 5), at the death of the Court noble Takashina Yoshitomi, the work entitled Ōjōki (往生記, "Records of rebirth in (Amitābha’s) Heaven") is quoted, which states that this man (who had the high title of Mabito) cherished such a devout belief in Buddha’s doctrine, that he spent the daytime in reading the Lotus sūtra, and prayed to Amitābha at night. Three days before his death he became a monk and received the commandments. A fragrant odour filled his house, and beautiful

1 Washio, pp. 1175, 1 and 1053, 1, s.v. Ryōgen and Hōzō.
2 Fusō ryakki, Ch. xxvi, p. 734; Nihon kiryaku, Köhen, Ch. iv, p. 898.
3 Genkō Shakusho, Ch. xxv, p. 1071.
4 Cf. Kokushi daijiten, p. 1607, 3, s.v. Daigakuryō.
5 Fusō ryakki, Ch. xxvi, p. 735.
music announced the arrival of Amida’s heavenly retinue, welcoming him to Paradise. Several days after his death he was still as if alive, his body showing no signs of decay. 1

With regard to the Hokke sembō, the “Rites of Repentance (by means) of the Lotus sūtra”, and the Hokkedō or Hokke-sammai-dō, the chapels devoted to those rites and to the samādhi on the Lotus, many of which were erected in the tenth and eleventh centuries, the reader is referred to Chapter VIII, § 18, pp. 357 sqq.

The Hokke hakkō, “Eight expounding of the Lotus”, which were also frequent in those days, are dealt with below, § 8.

§ 6. The Hokkekyō and the Kwanzeongyō in the eleventh century.

In A.D. 1007 (Kwankō 4, V 17—21) the Hokkekyō was expounded in the Naiden of the Palace by learned priests invited for this purpose. The ceremony lasted for five days. 2

In A.D. 1018 (Kwannin 2, III 16) a foreign Tendai priest from Chānsi (鎮西) (in Central-Asia), Kawa Shōnin, 皮聖人, “The Holy Man with the furs” (cf. below, § 8 C, A.D. 1005, and § 11, A.D. 1010), whose name was Gyōen (行圓) and who was also called 革上人, Kawa Shōnin, “The Reverend with the skin”, 3 “began to perform an offering of more than 69300 lamps, thus completing (the number of) the characters of the Hokkekyō”. Probably this offering of as many lights as there were Chinese characters in the Hokkekyō (Kumārajīva’s translations, Nanjō No. 134), which took place in Gyōgwanji (行願寺, founded by him in Kyōto in A.D. 1005, with Senju Kannon as its honzon) was a kind of Hokke-sembō or “Rite of Repentance by means of the Lotus sūtra”. 4

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1 Ibid., Ch. xxvii, pp. 744 sq.
2 Nihon kiryaku, Köhen, Ch. xi, p. 1069.
3 Daijiten I, p. 706, 2, s.v. Gyōgwanji.
4 Cf. above, Ch. vii (Mandō); Ch. viii, § 3 (Bosatsu-zō-kyō). Cf. below, this paragraph, A.D. 1044, the number of copies, 69384.
In A.D. 1021 (Chian 1, V 8), when pestilence prevailed, and seven days previously Michinaga had commenced a Hokke sanjūkō (cf. below, § 10), a fudan tendoku or uninterrupted partial reading of the Hokkekyō was held in the Goden (御殿), i.e. the Seiryōden of the Palace.  

In A.D. 1022 (Chian 2, VI 4) there was a midokyō or "August sūtra reading" of the Daihannyaokyō and the Hokkekyō in the Palace, in Tōdaiji and in Kōfukuji (Kegon and Hossū), because the Emperor Go Ichijō was indisposed.  

In the same year (VII 14) Michinaga dedicated the Kondō of Hōjōji (法成寺, Tendai) with a gold-coloured image of Dainichi Nyorai (Mahāvairocana), 32 feet high, a hundred Shaka’s being represented upon the lotus leaves of his throne; gold-coloured images of Shaka and Yakushi (his attendants), both 20 feet high, of the Bodhisattvas Monju and Miroku (Mañjuśrī and Maitreya), and of Brahma, Indra and the Four Deva Kings as maintainers of the Buddhist Law and protectors of the state. He also erected a Godaidō (五大堂) with the images of Fudō Myōō (Acala Vidyārāja) and the four other Myōō of the group of the Godaison, in order to suppress angry spirits of the dead. Moreover, he copied and sacrificed the Myōō-rengekyō in golden characters, and presented 150 copies of this sūtra in black characters. Each of the 150 priests, invited for this ceremony, received a set of priestly robes. The Emperor Go Ichijō, the Heir-apparent and the three Empresses (Michinaga’s daughters) came to the temple and praised the leader; and a general amnesty was proclaimed in the Empire.  

In A.D. 1023 (Chian 3, X 23) Michinaga visited Kongōbuji and Kōbō Daishi’s mausoleum on Kōya-san, where he made an offering of the Hokkekyō and 30 kwan of the Hannya rishukyō (Prajñāpāramitā ardhaṃsatikā, 般若波羅蜜經, Nanjō No. 1034,

\[1\] Nihon kiryaku, Köhen, Ch. xiii, p. 1126.  
\[2\] L.l., p. 1130.  
\[3\] Fusō ryakki, Ch. xxviii, p. 776.
a famous Tantric text translated A.D. 746—771 by Amoghavajra; 9 leaves). The Gonshōsōzu Shinyō (心楊) was the leader (kōshi) of the ceremony, which was performed by 30 monks of Kongobuji. This was a Tendai priest of Onjōji (Miiadera, mystic branch of the sect), who lived A.D. 957—1045; in A.D. 1022 he had been appointed head of Hojōji by Michinaga. 1

In A.D. 1027 (Manju 4, VIII 22), shortly before his death (XII 4), Michinaga dedicated the Shakadō of Hojōji with images of Śākyamuni, Brahma, Indra, the Four Deva Kings, the Ten Great Disciples 2 and the beings of the eight departments (hachibushu: Devas, Nāgas, Yakshas, Gandharvas, Asuras, Garudas, Kinnaras and Mahoragas); 3 further a hundred gold-coloured figures of Śākyamuni, one bu in ten rolls (kwan) of the Lōtus sūtra, written in kondei (gold paint), and a hundred copies (bu) of the same text, amounting to a thousand sticks (jiku, 軸), written in black characters. He invited 50 priests to perform the dedicatory rites and deliver the lectures. 4

In A.D. 1030 (Chōgen 3, VIII 21) Jōtō-Monin, Michinaga's daughter Akiko (A.D. 988—1074, Ichijō Tennō's Consort and Go Ichijō Tennō's mother, who had become a nun in A.D. 1026) dedicated Tōhoku-in (東北院), with a Jōgyōdō or “Chapel of constant service” and images of Amida, Kannon and Seishi, Jizō and Ryūju (Nagārjuna), a hundred copies of the Myōhō-rengekyō and images of the Twelve Spirits (jūni jin, 十二神, protectors of the twelve zodiacal signs). That day they began to celebrate the constant “service for obliterating (litt. extinguishing) sin and producing virtue” (metsuzai shōzen no gyōhō). 5

In the same year (V 24) the Emperor Go Ichijō ordered all

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1 L.I., p. 778; Washio, p. 471, 1, s.v. Shinyō.
2 Cf. the present writer's treatise on “The Arhats in China and Japan”, Ch. ii, § 11, p. 29.
3 Daijiten, p. 1416, 3, s.v. hachibushu.
4 Fusō ryakkō, Ch. xxviii, p. 781.
5 L.I., p. 782.
provinces to have Kannon images painted, sixteen feet high, and tendoku performed of the Kwanzeongyō (the 25th chapter of the Lotus sūtra), in order to put a stop to the prevailing plague. ¹ Two years later (A.D. 1032, Chōgen 5, VI 27) he invited a thousand priests to the Daigokuden and caused them to read the Kannongyō, in order to pray for rain; since from the second month to the end of the sixth there had been a continual drought. ² Also in A.D. 1071 (Enkyū 3, I 16) a thousand priests read the Kwanzeongyō in the Palace in order to drive away the plague. ³ Apparently this text was always used against great calamities, such as pestilence (also in A.D. 1099, Kōwa 1, V 27, 1000 priests in Tōdaiji, in the presence of an imperial messenger and other officials), ⁴ unrest in the world (same year, II 24, 1000 priests in the Daigokuden), ⁵ and the appearance of a comet (A.D. 1145, Kyūan 1, V 8, 1000 priests in Tōdaiji and Enryakuji; at the same time 60 priests read the Daihannyakyō in the Nanden, with copying and offering of this enormous text in one day!). For the same reason the Ninnōkyō was read by 1000 priests in Hōshōji (V 6). ⁶ Another Kannon ceremony was the Kannongu (供, offering), instituted by Kōbō Daishi in A.D. 834 and performed by the abbot of Tōji on the 18th of every month in the Jijuden of the Palace. ⁷ In A.D. 1080 (Shōryaku, also called Jōreki, 4, II), a big fire in the Palace put an end to this rite, but in A.D. 1092 (Kwanji 6) the Sōzu Kyōhan (経範, a Shingon priest who lived A.D. 1031—1104 and became head of Tōji in A.D. 1092) ⁸ requested the Emperor Horikawa

¹ Nihon kōryaku, Köhen, Ch. xiv, p. 1155.
² L.I., p. 1163.
³ Genkō Shakusho, Ch. p. 1089.
⁴ Honcho seki, Kōwa 1, V, p. 342.
⁵ L.I., p. 339.
⁶ Ibid., Kyūan 1, V, p. 505.
⁷ Daijiten, p. 338, 3 s.v. Kannongu. It was also called Futa-ma-gu,
The Hokkekyō in the eleventh century.

to have it celebrated in the Seiryōden, and this was commenced in A.D. 1096 (Eichō 1, 1) under Kyōhan's leadership. 1

In A.D. 1040 (Chōryaku 4, X 20) a member of the Kwampaku Sadaijin Fujiwara no Yorimichi's family dedicated the Jōgyōdō (常行堂) of Miidera, with a gold-coloured Amida (16 feet high), the Six Kwannons (life-size), and a kondei (gold-paint) copy of the Lotus Sūtra. 2 Here, as often, this text was closely connected with the Amida and Kwannon cults.

In A.D. 1044 (Chōkyū 5, III 23) a "Saint" (阿古也聖) (evidently a foreigner) exhorted all the people, of both high and low rank, men and women, to make 69384 copies of the Hokkekyō (this was the number of the characters of the text, mentioned above with regard to Kawa Shōnin's light offering in A.D. 1018), and to transport them to Hieizan. 3

In A.D. 1052 (Eishō 7; III 28) Yorimichi made his villa at Uji in Yamashiro into a Buddhist temple and called it Byōdō-in (平等院). Its Butsuden is the famous Phoenix-hall (Hōōdō), with an image of Amida, 16 feet high, as its honzon. It is a Tendai shrine, belonging to Miidera; but also the Jōdo sect considers it one of its temples, being Yorimichi's bodai sho ("bodhi place"). Like his father Michinaga was called the "Hōjōji no Kwampaku", Yorimichi's popular name was Uji no Kwampaku. When he founded the temple, he had Hokke samurai rites performed there. In A.D. 1056 (Tenki 4) he added a Hokkedō to it, and in A.D. 1061 (Kōhei 4) a Tahōtō or Prabhūtaratna pagoda. Afterwards, when he was ill, his son Morozane erected a Godaidō (chapel of the Five Vidyārājas) and a bell-tower on his behalf, and held a large religious meeting (daihōe). 4

In A.D. 1060 (Kōhei 3, XI 26) Yorimichi celebrated the 90th

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1 Genkō Shakusho, Ch. xxvi, pp. 1095 sq.
2 Fusō ryakki, Ch. xxviii, pp. 787 sq.
3 L.l., p. 790.
4 Ibid., Ch. xxix, p. 796; Daijiten, p. 1494, 1. Daijō III, p. 3937, 2, s.v. Byōdō-in.
birthday of the Daisōjō Myōson (明 尊), a learned Tendai priest of Onjōji (Miidera), who lived A.D. 971—1063) by making a picture of Shaka and having 90 copies of the Lotus sutra written. He congratulated him in a large assembly of priests of all sects, held in his Shirakawa village.¹

In A.D. 1063 (Kōhei 6, X 29) by order of the Court on Hieizan, in the compound of Enryakuji, a chapel was erected, called Jissō-in (實相院), with gold-coloured images of Yakushi, Nyoirin Kannon and Monju; and a Sammaidō, with a sapta ratna (shipō) stūpa, containing a gold-paint (kondō) copy of the Lotus sutra, for Hokke sammaī rites, in order to extirpate crime and to produce virtue.²

In A.D. 1065 (Kōhei 8, IX 25) the Court, on behalf of the soul of the former Emperor Go Suzaku, the father of the reigning Emperor Go Reizei (A.D. 1045—1068), who died in A.D. 1045, held a hachiza-hōe or “meeting of eight sessions”, lasting four days. The offerings, made by His Majesty, were a copy of the Hokkekyō, written by himself in golden characters, and images of Shaka, Monju and Fugen (Shaka sanzon), made of white sandalwood. The ceremony took place in the Palace, in the Eastern wing of the Emperor’s residence.³

In A.D. 1070 (Enkyū 2, XII 26) (cf. above, Ch. XI, § 8, C), when the Emperor Go Sanjō erected Enshūji, a Tendai temple situated to the South of Ninnaji, a copy of the Hokkekyō, written in golden characters, was laid in a kondō (gold-copper) pagoda, three feet high, and placed in the Hokkedō of that sanctuary. Six priests had to practise the Hokke sammaï in that chapel, namely the hangyō hanka (partly moving, partly sitting) samādhi, “in distant expectation of the days of the Dragon-flower”, i.e. of the Buddha Maitreya’s arrival on earth, when he shall hold his three meetings under the Dragon-flower tree in the presence of

¹ Fusō ryakki, l.l., p. 801; Washio, p. 1084, 1, s.v. Myōson.
² Fusō ryakki, l.l., p. 806.
³ L.l., p. 808.
all those who in their former lives have believed in him and worshipped him. These "three meetings of the Merciful Saint" (Jison no sanne) were also mentioned in A.D. 1063 (X 29) at the erection of the Sammaidaō of Enryakuji; there the hangyō hanzā rites of sāmādhī on the Lotus were said "to extinguish crime and produce virtue", here protection of the State and guidance to salvation (inshō, 引接) are indicated as their sublime results.¹

In A.D. 1073 (Enkyō 5, V 1) 500 priests were invited to the Palace, in order to sacrifice and read (by means of the tendoku system) 1000 copies of the Hokkekyō (such meetings were called Hokkesembu-e). It is not said that this was done because the Dajō Tennō (Go Sanjō) was very ill; but this was probably the case, since he died six days later, at the age of forty.²

In A.D. 1085 (Ōtoku 2, V 10) the Emperor Shirakawa, who abdicated the next year, summoned the Tendai priest Zōyo (増誉, A.D. 1032—1116) of Miidera (who in A.D. 1105 became zasu of Enryakuji) to his private apartments in the Palace, and received from him the doctrine of the Lotus sūtra, i.e. he listened to his explanations of the deeper meaning of this text. As a reward he conferred upon him the title of Hō-in, "Seal of the Law".³

In A.D. 1092 (Kwanji 6, VII 13) the Emperor Horikawa (then only 12 years old) went to Kimbusen (金峯山), whither his father, Shirakawa Tennō (the Dajō Tennō), had gone 11 days previously. Kimbusenji is a Tendai shrine near Yoshina village, Yoshino district, Yamato; it is also called Konrin-ō-ji, 金輪王寺. In olden times it belonged to the Shingon sect as well as to the Tendai. Its main building in Yoshino, at the foot of the mountain, is called Zaō-Gongen-dō (蔵王権現堂) or Zaō-dō, and its Oku-no-in or "Inner temple", dedicated to the

¹ L.I., pp. 817 sq.
² L.I., p. 824.
³ Genkō Shakusho, Ch. xxv, p. 1093; Washio, p. 750, 1, s.v. Zōyo.
same deity (Kongō Zaō, Vajragarbha), is situated on the summit. Since the middle-ages a great many monks lived on the mountain, where there were hundreds of buildings, both large and small. It was an ancient sanctuary, founded in the seventh century by En no Shōkaku (役小角, the famous hermit of mount Katsuragi, banished in A.D. 699 to Izu because he was accused of sorcery). Zaō Gongen is also called Kongō-zaō (金剛蔵王, zaō being the usual pronunciation instead of zōō). Like Śakyamuni he is considered by the Tantric School to be a transformation of Kongōsatta (Vajrasattva); in this respect he may be said to be identical with Śakyamuni. He is represented as an angry deity, standing on two lotus seats in a trampling attitude, with his right leg raised. In his right hand he brandishes a three-pointed vajra, and the fingers of his left hand are outspread. Some authors identify him with Kongōzō Bosatsu, the Bodhisattva Vajragarbha. 1 In this temple Horikawa Tennō sacrificed 100 copies of the Hokkekyō, five written in kondei (gold-paint) characters, one copied by himself in golden writing, and (according to the Genkō Shakusho) five copies of the Daijōkyō (the Mahāyāna sūtras of the Canon; here, however, it gives the impression of being the abbreviated title of a special sūtra, since the title of many sūtras begins with daijō). He invited 100 priests, to whom he distributed 100 priestly robes (kāśīya). The dōshi or leader of the ceremony was the Gonsōjō Ryūmyō (隆明) (A.D. 1020–1104) of Onjōji (ミドера), who three days previously, when His Majesty suddenly felt indisposed while in the “precious pagoda” at the foot of the mountain, had cured him by means of incantations (kaji). 2

With regard to the Hokke festivals, rites of repentance and samādhi chapels, so numerous in this and the following centuries,

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1 Daijiten, p. 484, 1, s.v. Kongō zōō; Daijit II, p. 1493, 1, s.v. Zaō Gongen.
2 Fusō ryakkō, Ch. xxx, p. 844; Genkō Shakusho, Ch. xxvi, p. 1095; Washio, p. 1159, 2, s.v. Ryūmyō.
the reader is again referred to § 8 of this chapter and to Ch. VIII, § 18.


Among the many Japanese priests in whose biographies the Lotus sūtra is specially mentioned, the majority belonged, of course, to the Tendai sect. In a list of 66 names, made after studying the biographies given by Washio, we find 32 Tendai, 19 Shingon, 10 Hossō, and 3 Kairitsu priests; only one Sanron and one Kegon monk.

The series begins with Shōtoku Taishi (A.D. 574—622). Then follows Hōdō (法道) (A.D. 650), said to be an Indian priest, who came to China and Japan, borne by a purple cloud. He was a hermit who lived on Hokkesan in Harima province, always read the Hokkekyō, and worshipped Senju Kwanon, whose copper image he placed in the chapel, erected there by order of the Emperor Kōtoku, whom he had cured by his prayers in A.D. 649. During the seven days of his stay in the Palace he explained the Law and held a musha-e or “unlimited meeting”. The following year, as the chapel had been completed, the Emperor himself went to the mountain and held a kuyō-e or dedicatory meeting. In A.D. 651 the hermit led a Daizōkyō-e and a Sai-e in the Palace; then, having declared himself to be a rṣi (sennin) from the Vulture Peak in India, whose only aim in coming to Japan had been to lead the people to salvation, he pronounced a gāthā and flew away through the air.¹

In the eighth century the nun Shari-ni or “Śarira-nun”, called Shari Bosatsu, who was born in A.D. 750, was a devout reader of the Hokke and Kegon sūtras.² Washio, p. 485, 1, s.v. Shari-ni.

¹ Genkō Shakusho, Ch. xviii, pp. 950 sq.; Washio, p. 1054, 1, s.v. Hōdō.
² Washio, p. 485, 1, s.v. Shari-ni.
wrote commentaries on the *Hokkekyō* and the *Saishōkyō*. The *Hossō* priest Jōrō (常楼, A.D. 741—814), having made a vow, during 40 years performed *tendoku* of the *Hokkekyō*, thus reading 124960 *kwan*. At the same time he read the *Hannya-shinkyō* daily, perusing it 108 times (the sacred number of Buddhism, cf. the beads of the rosary). As to the number of the *kwan* of the *Hokkekyō*, if he performed daily *tendoku* of 8 *kwan* (i.e. the whole *sūtra*), without the intercalary months this would have made 115200 *kwan* in 40 years.  

In the ninth century Dengyō Daishi, Jikaku Daishi, Sō and other great leaders of the *Tendai* sect propagated the Lotus *sūtra* and its main doctrine of the “Only Vehicle” (*Ekayāna*) and made it one of the principal texts of Japanese Buddhism. At the same time the *Hossō* priest Gomyō (護命, A.D. 750—834) of Gwangōji, who in A.D. 805 and in A.D. 808 explained the *Saishōkyō* in the *Daigokuden*, and the *Yuimakyō* in Yamashinadera (京福寺), in A.D 826 (III 10) expounded the *Hokkekyō* in the Shingon shrine Saiji, as *kōshi* of a meeting of learned priests from Nara and Kyōto, held by the Emperor Junna. In A.D. 850 (II 22) the *Sanron* priest Jitsubin, the *Hossō* priest Myōzen, the *Tendai* priest Kwōjō, and the *Shingon* priest Enkyō explained the *Hokkekyō* in the *Seiryōden* in the presence of Nimmyō Tennō, and for three days a great discussion took place between the eminent scholars of these sects. Two years earlier (A.D. 848, VII 15), on the second anniversary of the Emperor Saga’s death, the *Shingon* priest Dōshō, the *Tendai* priest Kwōjō, the *Sanron* priest Jitsubin and the (probably *Hossō*) priest Gwangon, expounded the Lotus *sūtra* in the *Seiryōden* for the sake of that Emperor’s soul. This is evidence of the fact

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1 L.L., p. 1076, 2.  
2 L.L., p. 674, 1.  
3 L.L., p. 337, 1; see above, § 4, p. 655.  
4 See above, § 4, p. 657.  
5 See above, ibid.
that the Hossō, Sanron, Tendai and Shingon sects studied, explained and discussed this sūtra from their different points of view as a text of the utmost importance and blessing power.

In the tenth century the Hossō priests were still prominent in this respect, although, of course, the Tendai sect was by far the greatest propagator of the Hokkekyō. In later ages, however, (in the 11th, 12th and 13th centuries) the Shingon sect payed much attention to this sūtra, besides the Tendai, Nichiren and Amida sects. Kairitsu priests are also sometimes mentioned in connection with this sūtra, e.g. in A.D. 1286 Sōji (Hokke sembo).¹ In the seventeenth century we notice a revived action with regard to the Hokkekyō in the Shingon sect, and also a Kegon priest (Eishō, 英性, A.D. 1611—1677, a learned monk of Tōdaiji, one of the leaders of the Hokke hakkō in the Palace in the Manji era, A.D. 1658—1661, who restored the glory of the Hokke-e and the Yuima-e) distinguished himself in this respect.² In short, like the Amitābha sūtras the Hokkekyō was generally venerated by all sects, from olden times down to the present day.

§ 8. The Hokke hakkō (法華八講) or "Eight Expoundings of the Lotus". The Enshūji, Hōshōji and Sonshōji Go-hakkō.

The so-called Hokke hakkō are festivals devoted to the eight kwan (fasciculi) of the Lotus sūtra, which are explained in eight sessions (za, 座). They are also called Go (or Mi) hakkō or simply Hakkō. By adding the so-called kaiketsu nikyō (開結二經), the "opening and closing sūtras", namely the Muryō gikyō (無量義経, Amitārtha-sūtra, Nanjō No. 133) and the Kwan-Fugengyō (觀普賢經, Sūtra on the meditation on

¹ Washio, pp. 745 sq.
² L.l., p. 75, 2.
Samantabhadra, Nanjō No. 394), expounded by the Tendai sect before and after the Lotus sūtra (Nanjō No. 134) and together with it called by the collective term of Hokke sambu (三部), the Hokke jūkō (十講, "Ten expoundings") are formed, meetings of ten sessions. As to the Hokke sanjūkō (三十講, "Thirty expoundings"), these are divided into 30 sessions, in which the Muryōgikyō (1 fasc.), the 28 chapters of the Lotus sūtra, and the Kwan-Fugengyō (1 fasc.) are explained. The hakkō, jūkō and sanjūkō are all Hokke-e or Hokke mondō-kō (問答講, "Ex-
 poundings with questions and answers").

In China the priest Hwui-ming (慧明, Emyō) is said to have been the first to expound the Lotus sūtra in eight sessions, due to the fact that, according to the T'ien-t'ai sect, the Buddha explained the Lotus during the last eight years of his life (Hokke hachinen, 八年, "eight years of the Lotus", from his 72th to his 80th year). The Sanron and Hossō sects, however, consider this supreme preaching to have taken place during the last five years before the Lord's Parinirvāṇa.²

§ 8, A. Hokke hakkō of the ninth century.

In Japan this kind of Lotus meeting became very frequent. In A.D. 796 (Enryaku 15) the Sanron priest Gonzo (勤操) (A.D. 758—837), a learned and virtuous monk, who in A.D. 810 ex-
pounded the Saishōkkyō in the Daigokuden of the Imperial Palace, and in A.D. 826 became Daisōzu,³ was the first to preach on the eight fasciculi of the Lotus sūtra during four days in eight sessions (one in each session), in order to promote the meifuku ("felicity in the dark world") of the priest

¹ Cf. above, Ch. viii, § 8, p. 270.
² Daijiten, p. 1598, 3, s.v. Hokke hachinen.
³ Washio, p. 387, 2, s.v. Gonzo (in the Daijii called Gonzō; the nigorī is omitted or used by Japanese authors in a very arbitrary way).
Eikō's mother, who died after hearing of her son's death. Being a Sanron priest, he could not have thought of the Hokke hachinen, but the number of the fasciculi was, of course, the only reason for this division. It was again a meifuku ceremony; he performed it with 7 other monks (8 men, 8 sessions; each of them explained one fasciculus, kwan) in his monastery, Iwabuchi-dera (石淵寺) in Yamato; hence it is known as Iwabuchi-hakkō. He himself named it Hokke hakkō-e, but the monks of the other monasteries, who emulated his example, called it after his monastery. The jūkō and sanjūkō were also derived from this ceremony.

In A.D. 889 (Kwampyō 1, IX 24) a Hokke hakkō was performed in the Shingon shrine Kajōji (嘉祥寺), which in Kashō (Kajō) 3 (A.D. 850) by order of Nimmyō Tennō was founded by the famous Shingon priest Shinga (真雅, A.D. 801—879). Nimmyō Tennō died the same year (Ill 21); it is possible that Uda Tennō (A.D. 888—897) had this ceremony held for the sake of his grandfather Nimmyō's soul, because in A.D. 851 the Seiryōden of the Palace, where he died, was made into a Buddhist chapel and Kajōji was transferred to that place. Its honzon was Daishō Kwangiden, 大聖歡善天, i.e. Ganeśa. Afterwards it became a betsu-in (a detached shrine) of the great Shingon sanctuary Ninna-ji, or, according to others, of the Tendai shrine Anrakugyō-in. In many respects the two great sects, Tendai and Shingon, were joined and mixed up at ceremonies, as was also the case with the Amida doctrine. Especially the mystic branch of the Tendai sect was, of course, liable to be connected with the Shingon sect, whose priests were often the leaders of Tendai ceremonies. As to Kajōji, by its name it was associated with the Lotus sūtra, because Kih-tsang (吉藏), alias the "Great Master of the Kia-siang monastery" (Kia-siang Ta-shi, Kajō Daishi), the founder of the San-lun (Sanron) sect in China,

1 Genkō Shakusho, Ch. II, Gonzō's biography, p. 669.
2 Nihon kiryaku, Zempen, Ch. xx, p. 752.
3 Daijō, I, p. 566, 3, s.v. Kajōji.
who lived A.D. 549—623, was, as seen above (§ 1, B), one of the greatest Chinese commentators of this sūtra.

§ 8, B. Hokke hakkō and Go hakkō of the tenth century.

In A.D. 901 (Engi 1, VIII 23) the Dajo Hō-ō (Uda Tennō, who in A.D. 897 (VII 3) had abdicated in favour of his son Daigo Tennō and had become the first Hō-ō) opened a Hokke hakkō in Ninnaji (仁和寺, Shingon temple N.W. of Kyōto, founded in A.D. 886); it lasted four days (2 sessions every day). Thus the Shingon sect, represented by its devout Imperial follower, showed once more its close attachment to the Lotus text. 1

The following year (IX 17) a Hokke-e was held in the same shrine, 2 and in A.D. 906 (Engi 6, VIII, before the 7th day) the Udaijin (one of the Fujiwara's) performed a Hokke hakkō; the place is not mentioned. "Buppōsō (仏法僧, "Buddhist priest") birds (a certain species, according to Brinkley s.v. Eurystomus orientalis) came there and sung", says the annalist, who evidently considers this as an omen concerning the ceremony. 3 In A.D. 918 (Engi 18, VIII 13) he relates the same fact at a Hokke jūkō. 4

In A.D. 909 (Engi 9, III 9) the Dajo Hōō (Uda Tennō) practised a Hokke hakkō in Ninnaji. He did so to perform a meritorious work for the sake of his soul after death, a so-called gyakushu no kudoku (逆修之功德). The word gyaku is to be taken here in the sense of arakajime, "beforehand"; therefore the term is also written 猶修, yoshu. It means meifuku ceremonies celebrated by a man himself before his death. 5

In A.D. 948 (Tenryaku 2, X 22) we read the term Go hakkō,

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1 Nihon kiryaku, Köhen, Ch. I, p. 780.
2 L.l., p. 781.
3 L.l., p. 785.
4 L.l., p. 802.
5 Daijiten, p. 272, 3, s.v. gyakushu; Nihon kiryaku, Köhen, Ch. I, p. 789.
御八講, “Imperial Eight Expoundings”, for the first time. It began on X 22 and took place in Hōshōji (法性寺). This was a Tendai shrine, situated in the South of Kujō, East of the Kamo-gawa (Kyōto), and founded by Teishinkō (貞信公) (Fujiwara no Tadahira) (A.D. 880—949). In A.D. 934 it became a jōgakuji (定額寺), i.e. it was added to the fixed number of Buddhist temples, officially sanctioned by the Emperor. For nine generations its leaders belonged to the mystic branch of the sect, initiated by Jikaku Daishi (Ennin) (A.D. 794—864). ¹ According to the Ranjōshō in Tentoku 4 (A.D. 960, I 4) the Hōshōji hakkō were begun by the Kuge, the Court. ² This seems to indicate two different ceremonies of the same name, both Hokke hakkō and both celebrated in Hōshōji; but since this is not very likely, we suppose the author of the Ranjōshō to be mistaken. Yet it is strange that even the months are different (X 22 and I 4), and that the word go, “August”, “Imperial”, is omitted in the latter passage.

In A.D. 954 (Tenryaku 8, XII 5) the Tendai priest Ryōgen (良源), i.e. Jie Daisōjō (慈悲大僧正) (A.D. 913—985), of Enryakuji on Hieizan (appointed zasu in A.D. 966) ³ invited the Hossō priest Gishō (義照) (A.D. 920—969), a learned monk of Gwangōji (Sanron), who was versed in rongi (discussions on the Law and the meaning of passages of holy scriptures), to Enryakuji, in order to perform the Hokke hakkō for four days. One of the high officials, the Ubokuya, ascended the mountain and listened to the explanations of the text. ⁴ The Fusō ryakki adds as further details that there were 15 or 20 monja (間者), “priests who put questions”, and that the Right Minister Fujiwara

¹ Daijii, III, p. 4125, 1; Daijitens, p. 1603, 1, s.v. Hōshōji.
³ Washio, p. 1175, 1, s.v. Ryōgen.
⁴ Genkō Shakusho, Ch. xxv, p. 1070.
no Morosuke (A.D. 908—960), Tadahira’s son (Kujō dono), attended the meeting.¹

In A.D. 955 (Tenryaku 9, I 4) the Emperor Murakami had a Go hakkō held in the Kokiden (弘 徵殿), a building of the Palace, for the sake of the soul of his deceased mother. It lasted four days, and there were four shōgi (證 義) (also called shōgisha, 證 義 者, 警義者, “those who verify, give evidence of the meaning”, or “those who give the essential meaning”, who, having ascended the pulpit, decide the rightness or wrongness of the questions and answers (mondo) of the ryūgi, 堅義),² four kōshi (講 師, “Expounding Masters”), twenty chōshi (聽 衆, “hearers”), fourteen (2 × 7) bon-on (梵 音, “Brahman sounds”), singers of the gāthās in praise of the Buddha), and fourteen shakujō (錫 杖, “khakkharas”, i.e. priests who carry and swing the magical staffs with metal rings), in all sixty persons.³

In A.D. 998 (Chōtoku 4, XII 21) Higashi-Sanjō-In (東 三 條 院, i.e. Fujiwara no Senshi, 歩 之, A.D. 967—1001, Consort of Enyū Tennō, mother of the then reigning Emperor Ichijō; the first Empress who after the death of her Consort in A.D. 991 had become a nun under the name of Higashi-Sanjō-In) performed the Hokke hakkō; but it is not stated where she led this ceremony.⁴

§ 8, C. Hokke hakkō and Gohakkō of the eleventh century. 

In A.D. 1000 (Chōhō 2, V 14) “Higashi Sanjō-In commenced a Hokke hakkō; it lasted five days”. Twelve days later there

¹ Fusō ryakki, Ch. xxv, p. 717. There is a hiatus in the Nihon kiryaku from A.D. 950 to the beginning A.D. 957.
² Daijiten, p. 845, 1, s.v. shōgisha.
³ Daijii, III, p. 4104, 2, s.v. Hokke hakkō, quoting the Shoreishō, 初 列 抄, 卷 下.
⁴ Nihon kiryaku, Köhen, Ch. x, Ichijō Tennō, p. 1037.
was a similar ceremony in the palace of the Sadaijin Fujiwara no Michinaga (A.D. 966—1027), because the Empress-Dowager (Higashi Sanjō-In) and Michinaga himself were ill.\(^1\)

In A.D. 1001 (Chōhō 3, IX 14) Michinaga offered his congratulations to Higashi Sanjō-In and celebrated her 40th birthday by beginning to perform a *Hokke hakkō*; his *jishin* (侍臣, attendants) accompanied the ceremony by dancing.\(^2\) The following year (Chōhō 4, III 1) Michinaga again led a *Hokke hakkō*,\(^3\) and from X 23 to 25 a *Go hakkō* was celebrated. The *kōshi* of the morning sessions was the Risshī Ingen (院源, a Tendai priest of Enryakuji, who lived A.D. 954—1028 and in A.D. 1020 became *zasu*)\(^4\) and was now appointed *Gon-shōsōzu*, and the *kōshi* of the evening sessions was Jōshō (靜昭), who obtained the title of Hokkyō, 法橋, "Bridge of the Law". On the second day the Court and the Empress (kuge and chūgūi) (Fujiwara no Akiko, Michinaga’s daughter, after A.D. 1026 Jōtō-Mon-in), sent their offerings (mi-sasage-mono, 御捧物). On the 25th the kechigwan (結願, “finishing the vow”) took place, and 60 *dosha* (new members of the religious community) were introduced.\(^5\)

In A.D. 1004 (Kwankō 1, V 19) Michinaga performed a *Hokke hakkō* on behalf of the soul of the late Higashi-Sanjō-in, who died in A.D. 1001 (Chōhō 3, Interc. XII 22).\(^6\) On the third day the offerings of the House of Michinaga, the Imperial Princes and the Court nobles were sent, in connection with the expounding of the fifth *kwan* of the *sūtra*. His Majesty (Ichijō Tennō) sent his offerings through the Shikibujo (式部丞, Vice-Minister of Ceremonies) Fujiwara no Tadataka, and the Hōō Kwazan (who

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\(^1\) L.I., p. 1042.
\(^2\) L.I., p. 1047.
\(^3\) L.I., p. 1050.
\(^4\) Washio, p. 17, 2, s.v Ingen.
\(^5\) *Nihon kiryaku*, I.I., p. 1052.
\(^6\) L.I., p. 1049.
had abdicated in A.D. 986) also sent sasage-mono. The ceremony was accompanied by music and dances, and the Imperial messenger as well as the Imperial Princes and the Ministers gave hikide-mono (引出物, presents) to the priests). ¹

In A.D. 1005 (Kwankō 2, VII 25) hakkō, celebrated at the erection of Gyōgwanji (行願寺) in Ichijō district, Kyōto, were attended by many persons of high and low rank, in order to "form relations" (kechi-en, 結縁, namely relations with the Buddha road in future lives). ²

In A.D. 1012 (Chōwa 1, V 15) the Empress-Dowager (Fujiwara no Akiko), whose Consort Ichijō Tennō had died the previous year, held a Hokke hakkō, evidently for the felicity of his soul. This ceremony took place in the Biwa-dono (枇杷殿), Fujiwara no Mototsune’s palace in the East of Muromachi, Kyōto, and was on V 27 followed by a shūki-hōe in Enkyōji. ³

In A.D. 1013 (Chōwa 2, V 4) there was a Hokke hakkō in Michinaga’s palace, and in A.D. 1018 (Kwannin 2, XII 14) he performed a similar ceremony in Kyōgokuin (京極院), a temple in Sanjō-kawara, Kyōto. ⁴

In A.D. 1022 (Chian 2, VIII 22) Michinaga and the highest officials visited Hōjōji (法成寺), the Tendai sanctuary erected by him and dedicated the preceding month in the presence of the Emperor Go Ichijō and his whole Court (VII 14). They went then to this temple to hear the expounding of the fifth kwan (of the Hokkekyō, on the third day) of the Hokke hakkō. A month later (IX 15) he again celebrated the Hakkō in the same shrine. ⁵

In A.D. 1026 (Manju 3, III 20) a Go hakkō took place in the

¹ L.I., Ch. xi, pp. 1057 sq.
² L.I., p. 1062. As to the Central-Asiatic founder of this shrine cf. below § 11 (Hokke Sembu-e); above § 6, A.D. 1018.
³ L.I., Ch. xii, p. 1088.
⁴ L.I., p. 1092; Ch. XIII, p. 1118.
⁵ L.I., pp. 1130 sq.
Imperial Palace; on the same day the Amida-dō of Hōjōji was dedicated. In the same year (V 19) the Empress (Michinaga’s daughter Ishi, 威子, A.D. 999—1036) performed a Hokke hakkō on behalf of the soul of the late Sanjō Tennō, who died in A.D. 1017.  

In A.D. 1027 (Manju 4, VII 2) the Gohakkō of Hōkōin (法興院), a Hossō temple in the North of Nijō district, Kyōto, was held in Hōjōji, because the former shrine had burnt down in the first month of that year (I 3). The following month (VIII 22) the Hokke hakkō of the Shakado of Hōjōji took place.  

In A.D. 1028 (Chōgen 1, XII 4), on the anniversary of Michinaga’s death, in the Muryōjuin (dedicated to Amitābha) of Hōjōji, where he died, ryōkai-mandara’s (manḍalas of the Kongōkai and the Taizōkai, Vajradhātu and Garbhadhātu) were dedicated, and ten eminent priests (ryūzō, 龍象, “Nāgas and elephants”) were invited to perform the Hokke hakkō on behalf of his soul.  

According to the Sakyōki (左經記) the Go hakkō had been celebrated for many years past, but thenceforth 40 hearers (chōshū) were invited, and learned priests from Nara and Kyōto (namboku gakusha) were appointed ryūgi (堅義). Thus the Go hakkō were enlarged and made analogous to the Yuimae, which had ryūgi even before A.D. 834 (cf. above, Ch. XV, § 4 C, p. 602). The Daijii deduces from this passage that the Go hakkō, celebrated for Michinaga’s meifuku, became an annual festival, and we actually find it mentioned as the Hōjōji Mido Hakkō in A.D. 1276 (XI 30—XII 4).

In A.D. 1029 (Chōgen 2, Interc. II 13) Jōtō-Monin, the Empress-Dowager Aki-ko, who had become a nun in A.D. 1026, attended a Hokke hakkō held by the Kwampaku Fujiwara no Yorimichi, Michinaga’s eldest son and successor, in his mansion on behalf

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1 L.l., p. 1140.
2 L.l., pp. 1143 sq.
3 L.l., Ch. xiv, p. 1150.
4 Daijii III, p. 4104, 2, s.v. Hokke hakkō.
of their father’s soul; at the same time Yorimichi sacrificed a copy of the *Hokkekyō*, written out by himself. 1 The same year a *Ninnō hakkō* (仁王八講) (V 13—16) was held for four days in the *Seiryōden* of the Palace; this was also called *Go hakkō*. This indicates the constant rise of the influence of the *Ninnōkyō* and its festivals. 2

In A.D. 1035 (Chōgen 8, III 25) Jōtō-Monin began to perform *Hokke hakkō* and dedicated (*kuyō*) a silver image of *Amida Butsu*, three *shaku* (feet) high. 3

In A.D. 1065 (Chiryaku 1, IX 25—28) a *hachi-za-kō* or “Expounding in eight sessions” was arranged in the Imperial Palace by the Emperor Go-Reizei (A.D. 1045—1068), in praise of the “King of *Sātras*” (*kyō-dō*) written in golden characters by His Majesty and dedicated by him for the sake of the soul of the former Emperor, his father Go-Suzaku Tennō (died in A.D. 1045), together with altar images of *Shaka sanzon* (Śākyamuni, Mahāśākayā and Samantabhadra). 4

In A.D. 1072 (Enkyō 4, X 25) the *Fusō ryakki* mentions the *Nie-hakkō*, 二會八講, the “Eight expoundings of the two festivals” of *Enshūji*, but this was only the *Hokke-e*, which began on X 25 and ended X 29 (*ketsugwan no za*), and was attended by the Emperor Go-Sanjō on the first and third days. These “two festivals” were the *Hokke-e* and the *Saihō-e*. It was the first time such a *Hokke hakkō* took place in *Enshūji*, and, as usual, on the day of the expounding of the fifth *kwan*, the Emperor (who attended the meeting in person), Court nobles and attendants performed circumambulations (*gyōdo*) and gave beautiful presents of ornaments and garments to the priests. 5

*Enshūji* (圓宗寺) was a *Tendai* shrine, for its festivals, the

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1 *Nihon kiryaku, Kōhen*, Ch. xiv, p. 1151.
2 L.l., same page.
3 L.l., p. 1171.
4 *Genkō Shakusho*, Ch. xxv, p. 1088.
5 *Fusō ryakki*, Ch. xxix, pp. 820 sq.
Hokke-e (instituted A.D. 1072, X 25) and the Saishō-e (performed for the first time in A.D. 1082, II 19), together with the Daijō-e (大乗會, “Mahāyāna festival”) of Hōshōji (instituted A.D. 1078, X 3), were called the Tendai sanne (天台三會) or “Three Tendai Festivals” of Kyōto, counterparts of the Nanto sanne or “Three Festivals of Nara” (the Yuimaе of Kōfukuji, X 10—16; the Gosaiе of the Daigokuden in the Imperial Palace, I 8—14; and the Saishō-e of Yakushiji, III 7—13, dating from A.D. 712, 802 and 830). ¹ In A.D. 1070 (Enkyū 2, XII 26) Enshūji was dedicated by the Emperor Go Sanjō. With regard to this temple and its festivals we may refer the reader to Ch. XI, § 8, C, pp. 481 sq., where the important tasks of Shingon priests (Imperial Princes) at these Tendai ceremonies and in the modern Tendai temples of those days were indicated. We do not read about Enshūji after A.D. 1268; it seems to have decayed thereafter, and in the Ōnin war (A.D. 1467—1477) both temples, Enshūji and Hōshōji, were destroyed. ² Imperial Ordinances concerning the Tendai nie and Tendai sanne were issued in A.D. 1078 (Shōryaku 6, X 3, Daijōe) and 1082 (Shōryaku 10, II 19, Saishōe) by the Emperor Shirakawa, Go Sanjō’s son and successor. ³

The Enshūji Hokke-e or Enshūji Go hakkō was an annual festival of the 12th month, lasting five days, and was celebrated in the kōdō (expounding hall) of the sanctuary before the images of Shaka, Monju, Fugen, Kwannon and Miroku. According to the Daijō the Muryōgikyō and the Fugen-kwangyō were also dealt with; ⁴ in that case it was a jūkō rather than a hakkō meeting, and the number of days, as often five instead of four, points to the same fact. It took place in the second half of the 12th month,

¹ Cf. above, Ch. xi, §§ 6 and 8, pp. 443 sqq. and 481 sqq.
² Daijō I, p. 398, 1, s.v. Enshūji.
³ Genkō Shakushō, Ch. xxv, pp. 1091 sq.; Fusō ryakki, Ch. xxx, pp. 828 sq.; Daijō III, p. 3399, 3, s.v. Tendai sanne.
⁴ Daijō I, p. 398, 1, s.v. Enshūji Hokke-e.
the exact dates being fixed each year by an Imperial Ordinance. In A.D. 1087 it began on XII 22, ¹ in A.D. 1103 the dates were XII 19—23; ² in A.D. 1142 the Daijō-e of Hōshōji was held on those days, because it had been postponed in the tenth month (X 2); therefore the names of the officiating priests of the Enshūji Hokke-e were not fixed until XII 24. In A.D. 1143 it took place on XII 22—26, and was, as usual, attended by high officials. ³ Ryūgi were only appointed for the Enshūji Hokke-e, not for the two other Tendai festivals. ⁴

§ 8, D. Hokke hakkō and Gohakkō of the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

In A.D. 1104 (Chōji 1, VIII) the Emperor Horikawa sacrificed a copy of the Lotus sūtra which he himself had written out, and held a Hokke hakkō (in the Palace). The following year (II) a similar ceremony took place in the Toba palace. Probably his illness, which in A.D. 1107 caused his death, was the reason that he performed these rites. ⁵

In A.D. 1142 (Kōji 1, VII 19) the Sonshōji (尊勝寺) gohakkō began, and the first day the Hōō, Toba Tennō, went there in person, accompanied by high officials, who also attended the ceremony on the four following days. ⁶ The following year (A.D. 1143, VII 3) the Hōō visited Hōshōji (法勝寺), where a gohakkō was held in the Amida-dō. Four months earlier (III 16) he performed a Gohakkō in the Tōba-jōbodai-in (鳥羽城菩提院) for the bodai (bodhi) of his grandfather, Shirakawa Tennō,

¹ Honchō seki, Kwanji 1, XII, p. 330.
² L.I., Kōwa 5, XII, p. 386.
³ L.I., Kōji 1, XII, p. 449; Kōji 2, XII, p. 490.
⁴ Daijō III, p. 3399, 3, s.v. Tendai sanne. Genkō Shakusho, Ch. xxvi, p. 1097.
Hokke hakkō and Gohakkō (12th, 13th, 14th cent.).

who died in A.D. 1129. It lasted five days (III 16—20), and presents to the priests were given by the Hōō and his attendant court-nobles.¹ The festival of the seventh month, celebrated in Hōshōji, was also intended to promote his felicity after death, for already in A.D. 1131 (VII 3–7) his shūki (周忌) was performed in that shrine by means of go hakkō,² and in A.D. 1276 (Kenji 2, VII 7–11), the anniversary of his death, still a day of national mourning (gohokki) (VII 7), was celebrated in the same temple by priests of Enryakuji and Onjōji (Miidera). The Kegon priests of Tōdaiji, who on VII 5 had been commanded to come to the meeting, had not arrived, and for this reason the festival had been postponed to VII 7, the anniversary itself, which as a rule was the last day of the festival instead of the first. Kyōkai Sojō (経海), a learned priest of Enryakuji, was the shōgisha (證義者), and the Shin-in (Kameyama Tennō), the Ministers and Court–officials were present at the meeting and made offerings to the priests.³ It is described in the same way in A.D. 1294 (Einin 2, VII 3–7)⁴ and in A.D. 1346 (Teiwa 2, VII 3–7).⁵ In A.D. 1351 (Kwanō 2, VII 3) it was postponed on account of complaints by the monks of Kōfukuji,⁶ and afterwards we do not read of it any more. This festival for Shirakawa Tennō’s meifuku was always held in Hōshōji, because this was his gogwanji, i.e. it was erected by him in consequence of a vow (in the Shōryaku era, A.D. 1077–1081). Although it was a Tendai shrine, in A.D. 1098 the Imperial Prince Kakugyō (覺行, A.D. 1075–1104, Shirakawa’s third son, a Shingon priest of Ninnaji, was charged with the superintendence (kengyō, control) of Enshūji and Hōshōji and in A.D. 1102 (VII) he led the dedicatory ceremony of Sonshōji.

¹ L.1., Kōji 2, III, p. 465.
² Genkō Shakusho, xxvi, p. 1101.
³ Zoku Shigushō, 続史愚抄, Ch. iv, p. 111.
⁴ Ibid., Ch. x, p. 293.
⁵ Ibid., Ch. xxii, p. 620.
⁶ Ibid., Ch. xxiii, p. 668.
The so-called *Rokushōji* (六勝寺) or “Six Superior Temples” were *Hōshōji* (Shirakawa’s gogwanji, A.D. 1077, XI), *Sonshōji* (Horikawa, A.D. 1102, VII), *Saishōji* (最勝寺, Toba, A.D. 1118, XII), *Enshōji* 圆勝寺, Toba Tennō’s Consort Fujiwara no Tama-ko, Taiken-Monin, A.D. 1128, III), *Jōshōji* (成勝寺, Sutoku, A.D. 1139, X), and *Enshōji* (延勝寺, Konoe, A.D. 1149, III). All these temples were under the general control (sōkengyō) of the great Shingon sanctuary Ninna-ji. In A.D. 1219 four of them burned down and were not rebuilt; *Hōshōji* is, as seen above, still mentioned in A.D. 1351, but it was destroyed in the Ōnin war (A.D. 1467—1477); *Sonshōji* seems to have decayed in the thirteenth century. ¹

In A.D. 1276 (Kenji 2, VIII 1—6), on the anniversary of the death of Go Horikawa Tennō (A.D. 1234) a Gohakkō was performed by the Court for the sake of his soul. This festival took place in Anrakkōin (安楽光院), also called Muromachi-in, in the Imperial Chapel of *Hōjōji* (XI 30—XII 4) (cf. A.D. 1028, XII 4); a similar festival was carried out on the anniversary of Michinaga’s death. This was followed by an Autumnal Gohakkō (秋季, shūki gohakkō) in the Kasuga shrine (XII 4), and, as seen above, in the seventh month of the same year (VII 7—11) a gohakkō was held for Shirakawa Tennō’s soul as a solemn gokokki or national mourning. ²

Similarly in A.D. 1294 (Einin 2, II 13—17) the Go Saga-In Gohakkō was celebrated by the Court in the Tadashō-in, a chapel in the Kamayama-dono, for the Emperor Go Saga’s “felicity in the dark world” (he died in A.D. 1272), ³ and in the fourteenth century we find mention of the same festival (A.D. 1311, Ōchō 1, II 13—17), followed by the Saga-dono Tadashō-in gohakkō, the Emperor Go Toba’s gokokki (II 18—22) (he died in A.D. 1239). In the same year on III 13—17 the Chōkōdō (長講堂, the

¹ Daijii III, p. 4602, 1, s.v. Rokushōji.
² Zoku Shigushō Ch. iv, Go Uda, pp. 111 sqq.
³ Ibid., Ch. x, p. 288.
Hokkedō of Go Shirakawa Tennō) Gohakkō were held for the sake of that Emperor's soul, and on VII 12—16 in the same chapel the anniversary of Go Fukakusa Tennō's death (A.D. 1304, VII 16) was celebrated by this ceremony.¹

It is clear that the Hokke Gohakkō were usually intended to promote the meifuku or felicity after death of deceased Emperors or great statesmen like Michinaga. As stated above (Ch. VIII, § 18, p. 361), the Hokke sembō were also masses for the dead, and the Hokkedō were mortuary chapels. Yet the Hokke hakkō and gohakkō were sometimes performed in case of illness (A.D. 1000), or on the fortieth birthday of an Empress (A.D. 1001), or at the dedication of a new shrine (A.D. 1005), or as an Autumnal festival (A.D. 1276). In the 14th and 15th centuries we also find so-called Buke hakkō (武家八講) or “Eight expoundings of the Military Class”, performed on XII 2—6 (A.D. 1381, Kōryaku 3; 1426, Ōei 33) or XII 8—12 (A.D. 1491, Entoku 3) in Tōjīji (等持寺), situated in the Sanjō district of Kyōto; many Court-nobles attended these meetings.²

In A.D. 1598 (Keichō 3, VII 20—24) Hokke hakkō were performed in the Seiryōden of the Imperial Palace, to celebrate the 13th anniversary of the death of Yōkwōin, an Imperial Prince who, dying in A.D. 1585 (VII 24), had received this posthumous title.³


As stated above, the Hokke jūkō consisting of the hakkō, preceded by a session (za) devoted to the „opening sūtra” (kaikyō) of the Lotus, i.e. the Muryōgikyō (Nanjō No. 133), and

¹ Ibid., Ch. xv, pp. 436 sqq., 442.
² Ibid., Ch. xxviii, p. 820; Ch. xxxiv, Vol. II, p. 180; Ch. xli, p. 430.
³ Ibid., Ch. l, p. 658; II, p. 684.
followed by a session in which the “closing sūtra” (kekkyō) of the Lotus, i.e. the Fugen kwangyō (Nanjō No. 394), both texts of one kwan, was explained. Instead of eight expounding priests (kōshi) ten were invited.

The first to perform such a ceremony was Dengyō Daishi (Saichō), who in A.D. 798 (Enryaku 17, XI 14) invited ten priests of the Seven Great Temples of Nara (belonging to the Kegon, Sanron and Hossō sects) to Enryakuji on Hieizan, founded by him ten years previously. This was the origin of the Shimotsuki-e or “Festival of the Frosty (the eleventh) Month”, 霜月會, usually written 十一月會, celebrated on the anniversary of the death of Chi-ché tashi (Chi-i), the great founder of the T‘en-t’ai sect in China (A.D. 531—597). It was a festival of ten days, the last of which was (as nearly always) the anniversary (man-e, 滿會, XI 24). It was also called Hokke-e, and once within five years a so-called Hokke daie was celebrated with extraordinary splendour. In the beginning it took place in the Shikwan-in (止觀院), afterwards in the Daikōdō or “Great Expounding Hall”, of Enryakuji. From A.D. 809 (Daidō 4) an Imperial messenger (chokushi) was sent to attend the meeting, as the Emperor used to send a representative to the Gosai (I 8—14, in the Palace).

In A.D. 823 (Kōnin 14, VI 4) the Minazuki-e or “Festival of the Waterless Month” (水無月會, mostly written 六月會, i.e. the sixth month) was instituted (also in Enryakuji) to celebrate the anniversary of Dengyō Daishi’s death (A.D. 822, VI 4); it was therefore also called Daishikō (大師講). It lasted 5 days (VI 4—8, contrary to the custom of ending the festival on the anniversary itself); according to a note in the Zoku Shigushō, 3 Empō 7 (A.D. 1679), when it was postponed to X 1, it lasted

four days, VI 4—7, but this must be a mistake. In A.D. 846 (Shōwa 13) ryūgi (豊義) were added, and thenceforth priests of Nara and Kyōto were invited to perform this function at the Shimotsuki-e and Minazuki-e.\(^1\) Since Ryōgen (良源) (Jie Daishi) (A.D. 912—985) ruled Hieizan (from A.D. 966) only priests of the same branch of the Tendai sect were appointed tandai (探題), supreme leaders of these festivals by the Emperor; before that time they were only Nara priests. The rites of both meetings were the same. In A.D. 1212 or 1213 (Kenryaku 2 or 3) the Gon-Uchūben (権石中辨) Fujiwara no Tsunetaka Ason was sent by the Emperor Juntoku as the first Imperial messenger to the Minazuki-e of Hieizan, in accordance with the ancient rule followed at the Gosai and the Shimotsuki-e.\(^2\)

In A.D. 1017 (Chōwa 6, X 29) in Miidera the first Hokke jūkō was held to celebrate the anniversary of the death of Chishō Daishi (智證大師) (Enchin, 圓珍, A.D. 814—891, who in A.D. 858 introduced the Jimon (寺門) branch of the Tendai sect into Japan). This great priest died A.D. 891, X 29; the festival lasted for five days, and the function of ryūgi was filled by the priest Renshō (蓮昭). There were ten monja (間者) to put questions. Fujiwara no Michinaga himself, accompanied by the Court-nobles, went there to attend the meeting. At the time of the eighth question suddenly a large stag ran through the central western gate into the courtyard. Although priests and laymen tried to drive it away, it was impossible to do so, and the stag quickly ascended the hall, much to the consternation of those present. It was thought to be a very strange and ominous event, and Michinaga forthwith retired and left the monastery.\(^3\)

We learn from these passages, that, like many hakkō, these jūkō were ceremonies performed on the anniversary of the death

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\(^1\) As to the Minazuki Hokke-e cf. Sandai jitsuroku, Ch. XLVII, p. 659 (A.D. 885, Ninna 1, III 21), above this Chapter, § 4, p. 662.

\(^2\) Ranjōshō, Ch. II, p. 1003; Daifū III, p. 4285, 2, s.v. Minazuki-e.

\(^3\) Fusō ryakki, Ch. xxviii, p. 772.
of prominent men, namely of the great Tendai founders Chi-che ta-shi, Dengyō Daishi and Chishō Daishi, in order to promote the felicity of their souls. Sometimes also the Hōjōji hakkō, celebrated on the anniversary of Michinaga’s death (XI 30—XII 4), were called jūkō. They were all hakkō with an opening and closing ceremony, devoted to the Muryōgikyō and the Fugen kwangyō.¹

A meeting of quite a different character although, also a Hokkejō of ten sessions and five days, was the celebrated congregation, held in A.D. 963 (Ōwa 3, VIII 21—25) in the Seiryōden of the Palace. Twenty famous priests, learned men of the Southern capital (mostly Hossō monks of Kōfukuji, one priest of Tōdaiji) and of the Northern residence (nearly all Tendai priests of Enryakuji on Hieizan, and a single Shinjō monk) were summoned to the Palace by the Emperor Murakami. A morning and an evening session (sometimes lasting till late in the night) were held each day. In the four sessions of the first and the second days a Southern priest was dōshi and disputed with a Northern monja; then followed three sessions with Northern dōshi and Southern monja, one vice-versa, and at the disputes of the last day Northern dōshi had again to answer the questions of Southern monja. On the 26th of the month the meeting was closed by Kwanri (観理), who, although a Shinjō priest of Daigoji near Kyōto, had studied the Hossō doctrine in Kōfukuji in Nara,² and therefore opened and closed this congregation in his function of Southern dōshi. This solemn Palace assembly with its extremely animated discussions indicates the great importance attached by the Court and different sects to the tenets of the Lotus sūtra, especially to the celebrated doctrine of the Ekayōna, ichijō, “One Vehicle”, instead of two, which formed the topic of a fervent discussion, held in the evening session of the second day by the Southern dōshi Hōzō (法藏) of Tōdaiji

¹ Daijii III, p. 4099, 3, s.v. Hokke jūkō.
(although Hossō sect) and the Northern monja Kakkyō (覚慶) of Enryakuji.  

§ 10. The Hokke sanjūkō (法華三十講) or “Thirty Expoundings of the Lotus”, commenced by Michinaga and afterwards performed by the Emperors in Hōjōji and Hōshōji.

In A.D. 1008 (Kwankō 5, V 5) we read for the first time about the Hokke sanjūkō, consisting of 30 sessions (za), in which in 15 or 30 days the 30 chapters of the Tendai sambu, i.e. Muryō-gikyō, the Lotus sûtra, and the Fugen kwangyō, were expounded. The festival took place in Michinaga’s house, and on the day of the fifth kwan (of the Lotus) (V 5) the Court-nobles and high officials (kuge, denjō-bito and gekishi) brought presents (sasage-mono) to the priests. At the same time (V 7—14) 40 monks were invited by the Emperor Ichijō in order for seven days to read the Hokkekyō incessantly (mido(k)kyō).  

The following year the expounding of the fifth kwan of the Hokke sanjūkō of the Sadaijin (Michinaga) took place on V 9, and all the ben-shōnagon made circumambulations with presents for the priests in their hands.  

In A.D. 1011 (Kwankō 8) the gokwan ceremony of this festival was celebrated on V 16.  

In A.D. 1013 (Chōwa 2, V 4—15) it is called the “Hokke hakkō of the Sadaijin’s House”, but in A.D. 1014 the day of the fifth kwan of the sanjūkō was V 8, and in A.D. 1016 it was V 7; the festival itself began on V 1, which was also the case in A.D. 1021.  

In A.D. 1022 (Chian 2) it was held by Michinaga in the eighth

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1 Genkō Shakusho, Ch. xxv, pp. 1071 sq.; Washio, p. 1053, 1, s.v. Hōzō (A.D. 904—908); p. 135, 1, s.v. Kakkyō (A.D. 927—1014).
2 Nihon kiryaku, Köhen, Ch. xi, p. 1073.
3 L.l., p. 1076.
4 L.l., p. 1083.
5 Ibid., Ch. xii, pp. 1092, 1095; xiii, pp. 1104, 1126.
month, in the Jōtōmon mansion, and literati were summoned to compose Chinese poems on a certain subject; in A.D. 1023 it began on IX 10, and again Chinese poetry was required. In A.D. 1024 (Manju 1) we read that the closing day (kechigwan, 結願) of Michinaga’s sanjūkō was V 21. After Michinaga’s death (A.D. 1027, XII 4) his eldest son Yorimichi performed a Hokke sanjūkō, which began in A.D. 1030 (Chōgen 3), VII 20, in the house of Fujiwara no Nariie Ason; A.D. 1032 it began on V 12, in A.D. 1033 on V 7, in A.D. 1034 on V 5 (with Chinese poetry on V 16, on the subject of “the moon is the flower of the pine trees”), in his own house. In A.D. 1035 (Chōgen 8, V 17) at this festival in his palace a competition in poetry took place.

In A.D. 1023 (Chian 3, VII 10) Go Ichijō Tennō began to perform Michinaga’s sanjūkō in Hōjōji, where it became a choku-e or Imperial festival, attended by a large number of Court-nobles. Afterwards Toba Tennō celebrated it in Hōshōji (法勝寺) and went there in person (A.D. 1112, Tenei 3, VI 5). It is not known when the yearly sanjūkō of these two temples were abolished; they lasted 30 or 15 days. Evidently it was a special Fujiwara ceremony, intended to promote the felicity of the House. In A.D. 1304 (Kagen 2, V 10, its kechigwan) that of Hōshōji is still mentioned.

§ 11. The Hokke sembu-e or “Festival of a thousand copies of the Lotus”, sacrificed and read by a thousand priests.

We saw above (§ 3, C, p. 649) that in A.D. 748 (Tempyō 20, VII 18) by order of Shōmu Tennō a thousand copies of the

1 L.J., pp. 1130, 1132, 1134.
2 Ibid., Ch. xiv, pp. 1156, 1162, 1166, 1168, 1171.
4 Zoku Shigushō, Ch. xiii, p. 374.
**The Hokke sembu-e.**

Hokkekyō were written out on behalf of the soul of the Empress Genshō, his aunt, who had died on IV 21. This is said to have been the origin of the *Hokke sembu-e* of later times. ¹ Yet we do not find this ceremony mentioned again until A.D. 992 (Shōryaku 3, X 23), when the Regent (Sesshō) Fujiwara no Michitaka (A.D. 953—995), who the following year after Ichijō Tennō’s *gembuku* became *Kwampaku*, sacrificed a thousand copies of the *Hokkekyō* in Hōkō-in (法興院).² This sanctuary had been his father Kaneie’s residence, which in A.D. 991 the latter had dedicated as a temple. Since the leader of the dedicatory ceremony (*kuyō dōshi*) of the shrine was the *Hossō* priest Shinki (真喜, A.D. 932—1000), it appears to have been a *Hossō* temple. In A.D. 994 (Shōryaku 5, II) Michitaka consecrated Shakuzenji (積善寺) within its compound, with an image of Vairocana, 16 feet high, with his attendant Buddhas Śākyamuni and Bhaisajyaguru, the Six Deva Kings and a painting of the 10000 bodies of Śakyamuni.³ When in A.D. 992 the thousand copies of the *Hokkekyō* were sacrificed, the Left and Right Ministers and the *Naidaijin* Michikane (all Fujiwara’s) with minor officials went to the temple and made offerings on behalf of their ancestors.⁴

In A.D. 1010 (Kwankō 7, III 21) the so-called “Holy Man with the furs”, Kawa Shōnin, 皮聖人, “His Holiness” (a very high Buddhist title) “clad in furs”, i.e. Gyōen (行圓), the founder of Gyōganji (行願寺) in Kyōto (A.D. 1005, in Ichijo district; Senju Kwannon) made an offering of 1000 copies of the *Hokkekyō* and paintings of more than 3000 Buddhist figures. This Gyōen was a Western foreigner from Chān-si (鎮西, in Central Asia), who wore a Buddha image on his head and a fur robe. He was

¹ *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. xvii, p. 276; *Genkō Shakusho*, Ch. xxii, p. 1021; *Daijiten*, p. 1598, I, s.v. *Hokke sembu-e*.

² *Nihon kiriyaku*, Köhen, Ch. ix, p. 1014.

³ Washio, p. 455, 2, s.v. *Shinki*; *Daijii III*, p. 4109, 3 s.v. *Hōkōin*.

⁴ *Nihon kiriyaku*, I. I.
more than sixty years of age. He worshipped Senju Kwanon especially and made use of the magic formulae of this Bodhisattva (Senju Kwanon darani). ¹

In A.D. 1099 (Kōwa 1, II 24) a sensō (1000 priests) midokyō was held in the Daigokuden of the Palace; the Kwanongyō was read, in order to calm the unrest of the world, and with the same purpose the Ninno-kyō was read by a thousand priests in Enryakuji. In the fifth month (V 27) a sensō-midokyō of the Kwanonkyō in Tōdaiji, against the prevailing pestilence, was attended by the Right Chiūben Fujiwara no Arinobu and lower officials, and the Right General Minamoto no Iesada was the Imperial messenger to the meeting (i.e. the Emperor’s representative).

A.D. 1103 (Kōwa 5, X 25) brought two of these meetings, one in Enryakuji and one in Tōdaiji (X 28), both attended by high authorities. These ceremonies were performed on account of special prayers to be said for the Emperor Horikawa, who with his Court kept mono-iml, i.e. fasting and retirement, perhaps because his health was very bad; he died four years later, at the age of 29 years. ²

In A.D. 1142 (Kōji 1, II 9) there was a sensō (千僧, a thousand priests) mido(k)kyō in Hōshōji (法勝寺), attended by both In (院, the abdicated Emperors Toba and Sutoku), the Sesshō (Regent of Konoe Tennō, Fujiwara no Tadamichi), the Left and Right Ministers and many other high authorities. The general leader (sōkōshi) was the Tendai zasu, the Sōjō Gyōgen (行玄, A.D. 1097—1155). Towards night the Gon-Dainagon Fujiwara no Munesuke came to the meeting. ³ The following years (1143, II 27; 1144, II 22; 1145, II 17) the same ceremony took place in Hōshōji. ⁴

¹ Nihon kiryaku, Köhen, Ch. xi, p. 1079; Daijiriki, p. 688, 2, s.v. Gyō-en; I, p. 706, 2, s.v. Gyōgwanji.
² Honchō sekki, Kōwa 1, pp. 339, 442.
³ Ibid., Kōwa 5, p. 382.
⁴ Ibid., Kōji 1, p. 399.
The Hokke-e of Tōdaiji.

In A.D. 1144 (Ten'yō 1, VIII 23) a similar sensō mido(k)kyō was held in Enryakuji, but afterwards we do not find this autumnal ceremony mentioned again.1 As to the vernal rites of the second month, these were continued, for they were celebrated in A.D. 1152 (Nimpyō 2, II 20) in the presence of the Emperor Konoe and his Court, in Hōshōji, but the following year (the last of the Honchō seki) only the vernal Ninnōe (II 26) is spoken of, and its votive text is given in extenso.2

In A.D. 1145 (Kyūan 1, V 6) the text read by the thousand priests of the sensō midokyo of Hōshōji, against the evil influence of a comet which had appeared, was (according to a note of the Honchō seki) the Ninnōkyō; further, sixty priests read the Daihannyaakyō in the Nanden of the Palace (the text was also copied and sacrificed), and a thousand monks read the Kwan-nongyō in Tōdaiji and Enryakuji (V 8—10).3

In later times this particular kind of ceremony seems to have fallen into disuse, for we did not find it in the annals of succeeding centuries.


In A.D. 746 (Tempyō 18, II 16), when Ryōben Sōjō founded the Tōdaiji Daibutsu, at his request the Hokke-e were instituted as a choku-e or Imperial festival, celebrated in Tōdaiji. He was the first to perform it, but after Empō 8 (A.D. 789) it was not continued.4 The honzon of the kōdō of Tōdaiji, also called Tembōrin Shōgiden (轉法輪勝義殿), was Senju Kwannon with his attendants Kokūzō and Jizō.5

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1 Ibid., pp. 497.
2 Ibid., pp. 893, 933.
3 Ibid., p. 505.
4 Daijii III, p. 4093, 1, s.v. Hokke-e.
5 Daijii III, p. 3461, 1, s.v. Tōdaiji.
In A.D. 802 (Enryaku 21, I 19) Wake Ason Hiroyo (和氣惠世) invited more than ten virtuous and learned priests to the Buddhist temple on Takao-san (高雄山), Jingoji (神護寺), in Kadono district, Yamashiro province, in order to perform a Hokke-e and to expound the Tendai doctrine, under the leadership of Saichō (Dengyō Daishi). The Emperor Kwammu issued a proclamation to express his approval and sent another member of the Wake family to the shrine with an Imperial message.  

In A.D. 805, when Saichō had returned from China, he performed the first Sammaya-kwanjō, a baptismal ceremony in this temple. In A.D. 810 (Kōnin 1) Kūkai (Kōbō Daishi) celebrated the mystic rite of the Ninnōkyō there. Afterwards it became a Shingon shrine, belonging to the Tōji branch of that sect.  

In later times the Hokke-e of this temple were blended with a Shintō festival, called Yasurai-bana (安楽比花) or “Flower of Repose” (the Lotus), intended to avert the evil demons of pestilence; it was celebrated by many people who danced and played on flutes at the Shintō shrine of Murasaki-no (紫野), with eboshi on their heads and clad in white silken robes. The Hyakurensōhō mentions this festival in A.D. 1155 (Kyūju 2, IV), while the Takao engi says that it was celebrated on III 10. The fact that it was ascribed by some authors to the Jōdo priest Jakuren (寂蓮) of the Bunei era (A.D. 1264—1275) proves its existence after that time.  

We saw above that most of the Lotus festivals were meifuku or tsuiifuku (追福) hōe (法會), celebrated in order to bring felicity to the souls of the dead, and usually ended on the anniversary of their decease. This was also the case with the last ceremony to be mentioned, the Hokke-e of the famous Hōsō sanctuary Kōfukuji in Nara.  

In A.D. 817 (Kōnin 8) Fujiwara no Fuyutsugu (冬嗣, A.D.  

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1 Fusō ryakki bassul, Kwammu Tennō, Enryaku, p. 586.  
2 Daijiten, II, p. 2828, 3 s.v. Jingoji.  
3 Daijiten, p. 1109, 3, s.v. Takao no Hokke-e.
775—826), the left General, is said to have instituted these *Hokke* rites for the sake of the soul of his father Uchimaro (内磨), who died in A.D. 812 (Kōnin 3, X 6). They lasted seven days, from IX 30 to X 6, the *kechigwan* taking place, as usual, on the anniversary of his death. Fuyutsugu’s daughter Nobuko was Nimmyō Tennō’s Consort and Montoku Tennō’s mother. Another tradition ascribes it to Fuyutsugu’s eldest son Yoshihisa (A.D. 804—872), the grandfather and regent of Seiwa Tennō, but this is a mistake, due to the fact that it was restored in later times together with the *Chōkōe* (長講会), another *tsuifuku* festival, established in A.D. 846 by Yoshihisa and also celebrated in *Kōfukuji* (devoted at first to the *Nehangyō*, but afterwards extended to the *Issaikyō*).

Originally the number of *ryūgi* was five, but it became seven by adding two *Sanron* priests. Until the Ōnin era (A.D. 1467—1469) it took place every year, but after that time it was performed once in two, three, five or eight years. Its *dōjō* (道場) or place of worship was the *Nanendō* (南院堂) of *Kōfukuji*, with an image of *Fukūkensaku Kwannon* (*Amoghāpāśa Avalokiteśvara*) as its *honzon* in accordance with Uchimaro’s original vow. Together with *Kōbō* Daishi Fuyutsugu erected this octagonal chapel in A.D. 813 (Kōnin 4), in order to pray for the welfare and glory of the House of Fujiwara.¹

Although it was one of the *Nankyō Suikō no sanne* (南京遂講三會) or “Three Festivals of the Southern Capital (Nara), accomplishing the expounding (of *sūtras*)”, because the priests who had taken part in these ceremonies were *suikō* (遂講), “fulfillers of the expounding”, it never became a *choku-e* or “Imperial Festival”, like the *Yuima-e*, *Gosaie*, *Saishōe* etc.²

This festival, which was continued for more than ten centuries and was not abolished until the Restoration (A.D. 1868), plainly

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¹ *Daishiten*, p. 1307, 1, s.v. *Nanendō*.
² Cf. above, Ch. xl, § 6 (the Three Festivals of Nara), p. 211.
proves the fervent belief of the adherents of the Hossō sect in the blessing power of the Lotus. As a matter of fact from olden times this King of Sūtras was worshipped together with the Ninnōkyō and the Saishōkyō as the chingo kokka no myōten (鎮護國家妙典, “Wonderful texts protecting the state”), not only by the Tendai sect, but by all the sects of the Southern and Northern Capitals, Nara and Kyōto. More than all other great sūtras it has maintained its honoured place and wide renown, in tales of wonder, in ceremonies and cults, and in the hearts of men.
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ERRATA
"ANCIENT BUDDHISM IN JAPAN"

P. 29, § 3, in stead of „the Empress Jomei”, read: „the Emperor Jomei”.
P. 110, l. 6 from below, in stead of „Amoghasidhi”, read: „Amoghasiddhi”.
P. 183, l. 14 from above, in stead of „Kanshun”, read: „Kenshun”.
P. 202, l. 6 from above, in stead of „Nan-ku”, read: „Nan-hu”.
P. 218, l. 5 from above, in stead of „jinzai” read: „jinzū”.
P. 304, l. 10 from above, in stead of „Ninnyō”, read: „Nimmyō”.
P. 307, l. 6 from above, in stead of „Jūichinenbō”, read: „Jūichimenbō”.
P. 317, l. 1 from above, in stead of „Daigō Tennō”, read: „Daigo Tennō”.
P. 334, l. 13 from above, in stead of „Kubon” read: „Kuhon”.
P. 431, l. 4 from below, in stead of „Konkwmyōkyō”, read: „Konkwō-myōkyō”.
P. 594, n. 2, in stead of „Hyorai”, read: „Nyorai”.
P. 500, l. 11 from above, in stead of „day”, read: „dog”.
P. 516, l. 3 from below, in stead of „Aizen-ō” read: „Aizen Myōō”.
P. 553, nr. 11 in stead of „Kongoshu”, read: „Kongōshu”.
P. 566, l. 5 from above, in stead of „abhya-mudrā”, read: „abhaya-mudrā”.
P. 573, l. 1 from above, dele „Gaṇḍa-vyūha”.
P. 617, l. 6 from below, in stead of „mountain”, read: „mountain”.
P. 618, l. 12 from above, in stead of „Maha-shikwan”, read: „Maka-shikwan”.
P. 632, l. 3 from above, in stead of „stalts”, read: „stalks”.

