PACIFIC WORLD

Journal of the Institute of Buddhist Studies

Third Series Number 13
Fall 2011

Special Section:
Recent Research on Esoteric Buddhism

Monastic Lineages and Ritual Participation: A Proposed Revision of Kuroda Toshio's *Kenmitsu Taisei*

Mikaël Bauer
Lecturer in Japanese Studies at the University of Leeds

INTRODUCTION

This article aims to revise Kuroda Toshio's notion of exoteric-esoteric Buddhism (*kenmitsu taisei*, 顕密体制) through an analysis of primary documents mainly related to ritual participation from the ninth to the fourteenth centuries. From the outset, I have to make clear that I do not intend to dismiss the *kenmitsu taisei* model nor doubt its value for understanding the relation between religion and state during the medieval period. The main purpose of this article is to refine the notion of exoteric-esoteric Buddhism in order to fully grasp its institutional implications and better understand the position of the large temple complexes within the larger framework of the state. Kuroda considered exoteric-esoteric Buddhism as medieval Japan's main ideology underlying the socio-political system, the *kenmon taisei* (権門体制), from the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries and argued that the Tendai school was its main ideological constituent.[1] While recent scholarship has shown that Kuroda's interpretation of the relation between Buddhism and state can be criticized from different points of view, I will limit myself to question Kuroda's emphasis on Tendai as the main component of *kenmitsu* Buddhism and focus on the presence of particular Nara (710–794) schools' institutions and lineages into the Heian period (794–1185).[2] In the pages to follow I will reconsider the emphasis on Tendai from both doctrinal and institutional points of view. First I will approach *kenmitsu* Buddhism through a comparison of Tōdaiji's Tōnan'in (東大寺東南院) and Kōfukuji (興福寺). Second, I will corroborate findings of this comparison through several examples of monks' careers and demonstrate the necessity to reformulate not only Kuroda's understanding of exoteric-esoteric Buddhism but in extension also the very notion of a *kenmon* (権門) itself. It will be made clear that I do not label the *kenmon* as separate, private entities but instead argue for a view that blurs the division between the state and the monastic institutions. Thus, my approach is reminiscent of recent research by Takayama Kyōko on Kōfukuji's internal structure, Ihara Kesao's work on the *kenmon*'s internal organization (*kasei,* 家政) within the larger framework on the state (*kokusei*, 国政), or Okano Kōji's study on the relation between the temple complexes and the state from an institutional point of view.[3] In other words, by redefining *kenmitsu* Buddhism, I primarily look at the entanglement between the state and the temples instead of focusing on a process in which the temples detached themselves from the state.

KŌFUKUIJ AND TŌDAIJI'S TŌNAN'IN

Having its roots in an earlier temple, Yamashina-dera (山階寺), built by Kagami no Ookimi (鏡女王, ?–683) in 669, Kōfukuji was built at its present-day location by then Great Minister of the Left (*sadaijin*, 左大臣) Fujiwara no Fuhito (藤原不比等, 659–720) in 710, who possibly envisioned the temple as one whole with the newly constructed capital, Heijō-kyō (平城京).[4] About three decades after the start of the Four Great Temples (*shi daiji,* 四大寺) system in 680, in which Kōfukuji was included, and after Fuhito offered significant support for the temple's main ritual, the Vimalakīrti Assembly (Yuima-e, 維摩会) from 706, Kōfukuji would find its final location in what is now the modern city of Nara.[5] Originally being identified as a Fujiwara clan temple (*ujidera*, 氏寺), Kōfukuji's significance changed by 801, when it was finally officially designated by imperial decree as the sole ritual space for the Yuima-e, a state ritual based on the *Vimalakīrti-sūtra* (*Yuimakyō*, 維摩経).[6] After Genbō's (玄昉, ?–746) return from Tang China in 734, Kōfukuji finally came to be identified with the Hossō school (法相宗), one of the so-called Six Nara Schools.

The early Japanese Hossō school is traditionally divided in two large branches, corresponding to Northern and Southern factions that would later merge into one Hossō school. Fukihara Shōshin addresses three periods, consisting of four transmissions. The first transmission consisted of Dōshō's (道昭, 629–700) introduction, and the second transmission was represented by Chitsū (智通, ?–?) and Chidatsu (智達, ?–?).[7] The third transmission was the combined efforts of the three monks Chihō (智鳳, ?–?), Chiran (智鸞, ?–?), and Chiyū (智雄, ?–?), while the fourth was Genbō's teaching.[8] I will now discuss the first and the fourth in more detail as they embody the early dual nature of the Japanese Hossō school.

The first transmission is traditionally ascribed to the monk Dōshō, who went to Tang China in 653 to study under Xuanzang (玄奘, 602–664) and Kuiji (窺基, 632–682) at age twenty-five and returned to Japan around 660.[9] In his early life he thus witnessed the Taika Reforms (645), the reign of Empress Kōtoku (孝徳天皇, r. 645–654), and the career of Fujiwara no Kamatari or the infancy of the Fujiwara house. It is not certain when he entered the monastery, but it seems probable that he first entered Gangōji (元興寺), one of the original seven state temples (*shichi daiji*, 七大寺).[10] Prior to his departure to Tang China he studied Sanron (三論), which might explain his interest in the study of Hossō given the historic opposition between these two systems of thought.[11] Fukihara even speculates that Dōshō might have in fact studied a form of Dilun (地論), an early Chinese development that carried within itself the opposition between Yogācāra and *tathāgatagarbha* and in extension the difference between Faxiang (法相) and Huayan (華厳). Although Dōshō's possible background in Dilun is an interesting hypothesis, as we are then dealing with those schools (Hossō, Sanron, and Kegon) that I will consider an integral part of later Japanese exoteric-esoteric Buddhism, there seems to be no textual foundation for the claim that Dōshō was indeed exposed to Dilun. According to the *Nihon Shoki*'s entry for the year 653, thirteen monks accompanied Dōshō.[12] In addition, his arrival is recorded in several Chinese sources, for example the *History of the Song* (宋史, Ch. *Song shi*) and the *Complete Chronicle of the Buddha and the Patriarchs* (佛祖統紀, Ch. *Fozu tongji*), where it is mentioned he studied with Xuanzang.[13] Japanese sources such as the *Sandai jitsuroku* (三代実録) or the *Fusō ryakki* (扶桑略記) mention that a certain Dōshō founded the temple Zeninji (禅院寺) at Gangōji after his return from Tang China, thus indicating when he returned (660–662) and that he must have brought his Hossō expertise to the already-existing Gangōji, originally known for its study of Sanron.[14] Interestingly, this Zeninji was a branch temple dedicated to the praxis of certain Hossō techniques, more specifically an early form of "meditation on consciousness only" (*yuishikikan*, 唯識観).[15]

Genbō, who represents the fourth transmission, already found himself in Dōshō's lineage by way of Gien (義淵, ?–728). According to the *Zoku nihongi* and the *Honchō kōsōden*, Genbō belonged to the Abe clan (*Abe uji*, 阿部氏) and travelled to the Tang in 717.[16] According to the *Nantō kōsōden* (南東高僧伝), the *Sangoku buppō denzū engi* (三国佛法伝通縁起), and the *Genkō shakushō* (元亨釈書), he studied under Zhizhou (智周, 668–723), but Fukihara doubts this as there would have been only a one-year difference in their ages. However, keeping in mind similar situations in Japan, while this might be rare, it is not inconceivable. After his return to Japan twenty years later in 735, members of Genbō's envoy were promoted to higher positions, while he himself received the rank of senior prelate (*sōjō,* 僧正) in 737 at the Ministry of Monastic Affairs (*sōgō*, 僧綱) under Emperor Shōmu (聖武天皇, 701–756).[17] Genbō imported more than five thousand texts (many of them esoteric ones, such as Śubhakarasiṃha's [Jpn. Zenmui, 善無畏] translation of the *Mahāvairocana-sūtra*), that were stored at Kōfukuji where he settled and the monk Zenshū (善珠, 723–797) eventually inherited his lineage, called the "Northern Temple" (北寺).[18] Of utmost importance is that Genbō brought back esoteric scriptures that were stored at the exoteric Hossō center. Not only does this early presence of esotericism clearly transcend the sectarian division "miscellaneous esotericism" (*zōmitsu*, 雑密) versus "pure esotericism" (*junmitsu*, 純密) imposed by certain Shingon scholars, it also seems to suggest an early link between esotericism and Hossō at Kōfukuji.

But why were this monk and his new corpus of exoteric and esoteric texts designated to Kōfukuji, and how is this early stage of exoteric-esoteric Buddhism connected with socio-political developments? The answer might be found in the contemporaneous struggle between the Fujiwara and the Tachibana (橘), both dependents of Emperor Shōmu. Genbō was close to Emperor Shōmu and his widow Empress Kōmyō (光明天皇, 701–760), daughter of Fujiwara no Fuhito and (Tachibana) Agata Inukai Michiyo (県犬養 三千代, 665–733). The latter had two sons from a previous marriage, the most important of them being the court official and poet Tachibana no Moroe (橘諸兄, 684–757). After a split had occurred in Shōmu's household, even resulting in military conflicts in 740, Kōmyō was able to force Tachibana no Moroe to retire with the help of another of Fuhito's sons, Fujiwara no Nakamaro (藤原仲麻侶, 706–764).[19] It is clear that, as both the widow of Emperor Shōmu and Fuhito's daughter, Empress Kōmyō's actions seem to have been aimed at the maintenance of a national system centred on the imperial family while at the same time the Northern Fujiwara were confirmed as the keepers of that system through their broad influence on an emerging temple network.[20] We may then interpret Fujiwara no Fuhito and Empress Kōmyō's policies along the lines of Yoshikawa Shinji's interpretation of the history of the Fujiwara through his study of the *Kōfukuji ryūki* (興福寺流記).[21] The emergence of the Tōdaiji Construction Agency (*zō tōdaiji shi*, 造東大寺司) and the memorial services for Fujiwara no Fuhito, as well as the establishment of a new center of Buddhist learning and state ritual (the storage of Genbō's corpus at Kōfukuji), are then situated within the Fujiwara struggle to prevail over imperial factionalism around the middle of the eighth century. Thus, the allocation of esoteric texts at the Hossō center and the later fixation of the Yuima-e at Kōfukuji in 801 then symbolize the consolidation of the dominance achieved by the Northern Fujiwara. However, in addition to this institutional aspect, the storage of esoteric texts can also be interpreted as the first stage in the gradual development towards a new type of exoteric-esoteric discourse.

It is interesting to note that even at this early stage there must have been a significant interest on the part of Hossō and Sanron towards esoteric Buddhism as Genbō clearly saw the necessity to include esoteric texts in his collection at the exoteric Kōfukuji.[22] I consider the storage of an esoteric corpus at the *ritsuryō*-era Kōfukuji as part of a gradual change in state discourse noted by Ryūichi Abé. In *The Weaving of Mantra*, Abé in fact confirms this process by examining a new type of language that formed a breach with the *ritsuryō* state and its own specific type of discourse. Abé mentions that Buddhist institutions legitimized their role in *ritsuryō* society by "serving as an indispensable link that maintained the Confucian model of cosmic order." He then continues that this was the reason the Nara schools did not (yet) develop their own specific discourse. This situation changes after Kūkai's development of a new form of discourse when specifically Confucian terminology is now imbedded in Buddhist esoteric terminology that legitimizes the emperor's role. However, the development towards this discourse as exemplified by the storage of esoteric texts at Kōfukuji has one very important implication for us: Buddhism, not Confucianism, will gradually become "responsible for the sacred language necessary for the maintenance of cosmic order" and its clergy "is no longer an inferior analogue of the government bureaucracy loyally serving the emperor, as depicted in *ritsuryō* literature."[23] Thus, the allocation of Genbō's corpus at Kōfukuji under the *ritsuryō* state will in time not reinforce (as originally intended), but rather be part of a development towards a new type of discourse and institutional network that would radically alter the *ritsuryō* state's ideological basis.

This gradual esoteric change is equally noticeable in the *San'e jō ichi ki* (三会定一記), the main source listing the Yuima-e's ritual participation: the identity of the lecturer gradually shifts towards an exoteric-esoteric one, mainly identified as Hossō-Shingon versus Sanron-Shingon. While the earliest recorded lectureships clearly show the overwhelming presence of Hossō and Sanron, this opposition gradually changes into a Hossō-Shingon and Sanron-Shingon identity.[24] While some might interpret this as the persistence of "Nara Buddhism" or read a Shingon absence into the *San'e jō ichi ki* as these monks' Shingon lineage is not explicitly mentioned in this particular source, I would argue that the identity of Nara Buddhism has fundamentally changed from an exoteric to an exoteric-esoteric one and that the set Hossō-Shingon/Sanron-Shingon became an integral part of *kenmitsu* Buddhism as the state's main ideological framework. We will now turn to the center of Tōdaiji's Sanron-Shingon studies, Tōnan'in.

The *Tōnan'in jimu shidai*'s first entry discusses the career of Shōbō (聖寶), who constructed Tōnan'in in 875 and founded the esoteric temple Daigoji (醍醐寺) the year before, two institutions of great importance for understanding the development of specific exoteric-esoteric lineages and institutional developments within the Nara temples.[25] Here, I would argue that an examination of Tōnan'in and Daigoji lineages is indispensable for a correct understanding of *kenmitsu* Buddhism as state discourse.

Shōbō first entered Gangōji and studied Sanron under two masters, Gankyō (願暁) and Enshū (円宗).[26] In addition, he received grounding in Kegon and Mind Only (Yuishiki, 唯識) at Tōdaiji, though his primary identity seems to have remained Sanron. Following, he studied esotericism with Shinga (真雅) and Shinzen (真然), and received esoteric initiation from Gennin (源仁) in 884.[27] The *Tōnan'in jimu shidai* interestingly links Shōbō to an important ritual implement used during Kōfukuji's Yuima-e, a trident like object called *goshi shinyoi* (五師子如意). This Nyoi (Skt. Anuruddha) symbolizes both the exoteric and the esoteric and is composed of two main parts: a lion (*shishi,* 師子) that stands for the exoteric, and a trident (*sanko*, 三鈷) expressing the esoteric.[28] In the same way the *Tōnan'in jimu shidai* explains the origin of this ritual object, an entry from the *Ruijū yoyōshō* (類聚世要抄) explains its meaning as follows (abridged): "According to oral transmission the *Goshi shi* *nyoi* is the wish granting jewel of the high priest Shōbō. The lion's head expresses the fearful truth of the exoteric, while the trident expresses the deep and the hidden of the esoteric."[29] Interestingly, the story links the origin of one of the central ritual acts of the Yuima-e back to the founder of the Tōnan'in, the Sanron center at Tōdaiji, and explains its meaning by referring to the combination of the exoteric and the esoteric. Tōnan'in's being mentioned as playing a significant role further reinforces the perceived distinction between Hossō-Mikkyō and Sanron-Mikkyō at the Yuima-e: both are represented while the union of the exoteric and the esoteric is expressed in front of the imperial emissary (*chokushi*, 勅使).

A much later entry from the *San'e jō ichi ki* for the year 1295 reconfirms this object's supposed link with Tōnan'in and Shōbō.[30] In addition to Shōbō's case, his successors at Tōnan'in all seem to display this Sanron-Mikkyō identity. Tōnan'in's second head, Enchin (延僘), studied both Sanron and *mikkyō* and received the esoteric initiation from Retired Emperor Uda (宇多上皇, 867–931).[31] His exoteric-esoteric background on both doctrinal and institutional levels is well exemplified by his tenure as tenth abbot of Tōji next to his identity as a Sanron scholar overseeing Tōnan'in. The third head, Saikō (済高), likewise combined both exoteric and esoteric doctrinal background and institutional affiliation, being both the overseer of Tōnan'in and esoteric temples such as Kajūji (観修寺) and Kongōbuji (金剛峰寺).[33]

After having briefly addressed the gradual formation of two forms of exoteric-esoteric Buddhism, one based at Kōfukuji and the other at Tōdaiji, I will now look closer at the institutional implications of these two lines. First, the Sanron-Shingon connection was physically established at the Tōnan'in (東南院) at Tōdaiji and directly connected with the Shingon temple Daigōji through its founder, the Tōdaiji monk Shōbō. The *Daigoji zassu shidai* list the temple's head priests, and a comparison between these and those in charge of Tōdaiji reveals that we are dealing with the very same monks and lineages, thus showing a direct link between Tōnan'in and Daigoji (see Table 1).

Table 1. The first eight head priests of Daigoji, their main doctrinal identities, and their connections to both institutions according to the *Daigoji zassu shidai.*[34]

zassu	**Daigoji**	**Tōnan'in**
Kangen (観賢)	920; Shingon	Student of Shōbō
Enchin (延僘)	925; Sanron	Student of Shōbō; Tōdaiji abbot in 924, head of Tōnan'in[35]
Enshō (延性)	928; Shingon	Student of Shōbō
Jōsū (貞崇)	930; Shingon	Student of Shōbō
Ijō (一定)	945; Sanron, student of Kangen (Shingon)	Second-generation student of Shōbō
Jōjo (定助)	947; Shingon, student of Enchin (Sanron) and Ijō (Shingon)	Third-generation student of Shōbō
Nikyō (仁皎)	957; Sanron, student of Kangen (Shingon)	Second-generation student of Shōbō
Kanri (観理)	960; Sanron, student of Enchin (Sanron)	Head of Tōnan'in; second-generation student of Shōbō; Tōdaiji abbot in 969

While the scheme above clearly demonstrates these monks' institutional or doctrinal affiliation through both Daigoji and Tōnan'in, we should not ignore certain of these monks' connection with Tōji. However, doesn't this contradict the opposition between Tōdaiji-Tōnan'in-Daigoji versus Kōfukuji-Tōji? In fact, I argue that that this does not contradict but illustrates the competition between several exoteric-esoteric lineages at Daigoji and Tōji in which certain monks infiltrated the higher monastic positions of the other party. From its very foundation, both Tōnan'in and Daigoji were connected through their founder, Shōbō, and as shown in Table 1 his lineage continues to take up the highest position at Daigoji while residing at Tōdaiji's Tōnan'in. As pointed out by Fujii Masako's research on Daigoji's Sanbōin, this temple was not a monolith either and, just like Kōfukuji or Tōdaiji, displayed competition between several lineages within its walls. We cannot go into a detailed overview of intra-Daigoji competition here, but a comparison between Fujii's overview of thirteenth to fourteenth Daigoji heads and the *Tōdaiji bettō bunin* clearly reveals that the link between Tōnan'in and Daigoji persisted well into the fourteenth century.[36]

Second, an example of a ritual site where all these exoteric-esoteric lineages and institutions met and confronted each other was undoubtedly Kōfukuji's lecture hall (*kōdō,*講堂) where the Yuima-e was carried out yearly.

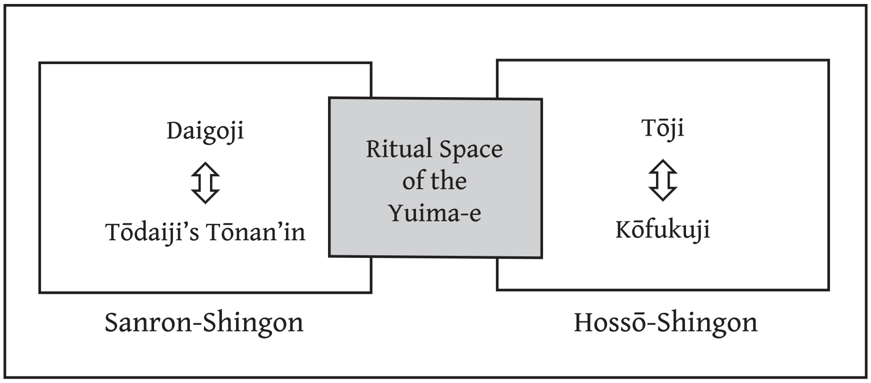

Figure 1. The ritual space of the Yuima-e.

The scheme in fig. 1 shows how the Yuima-e displayed confrontations of both Sanron-Shingon and Hossō-Shingon lineages, but I have to stress the necessity to take into consideration Tendai developments as well. The Yuima-e sessions for the years 967–969 not only show the presence of certain lineages, they also reflect the intense competition between these groups, and I argue that this competition has to be situated in their larger socio-political context. In other words: the connection between the internal and external sphere of the large temple complexes becomes apparent in the ritual. In this sense, the connection between *kenmitsu* and *kenmon taisei* is found within the ritual sphere. Between 967 and 969 the Yuima-e looked as follows (see table 2):[37]

Table 2. Parties present at Yuima-e sessions.

Year	Lecturer	Affiliation	Candidate
967	Zenyu (禅愉)	Enryakuji-Tendai	The candidate (*ryūgi,* 竪義) is Chūzan (仲算), Kōfukuji, Hossō.
968	Gikō (義光)	Kōfukuji-Hossō	The candidate is Enshō (円照), Kōfukuji, Hossō.
969	Hōen (法縁)	Tōdaiji-Sanron	The candidate is Jōyū (定祐).

These three sessions overseen by judge and Kōfukuji abbot Anshū (和秀) clearly display three major monastic complexes: Kōfukuji, Tōdaiji, and Enryakuji. In a sense, the 967 session featuring Zenyu and Chūzan can be interpreted as a micro version of the Ōwa Debates of 963 when Chūzan also confronted Enryakuji monks on the universality of buddha-nature.[38] In fact, Judge Anshū had been present at the Ōwa Debates as well, turning these Yuima-e sessions into good examples of the larger conflict between Enryakuji and Kōfukuji. As indicated by Paul Groner, Ryōgen employed existing tensions between Hossō, Sanron, and Kegon to attack Kōfukuji's domination of the Nara schools. In a sense, these three Yuima-e sessions above display the same conflict as the position of lecturer enabled these monks to further progress to higher positions in the Ministry of Monastic Affairs. In addition, the conflict between Enryakuji and Kōfukuji, as host of the Yuima-e, might even be illustrated by the fact that originally another Enryakuji lecturer was appointed for the 969 session but for reasons unknown was withdrawn and replaced by Hōen of Tōdaiji. Enryakuji was able to participate again in the Yuima-e in 977, 990, and 1020 but would then disappear from the Yuima-e's ritual scene.[39] By then, Enryakuji's esoteric monks had gained a different route to the Ministry of Monastic Affairs and no longer needed participation in Nara's main rituals.[40]

In order to show the institutional and doctrinal interconnectedness between Kōfukuji and Tōji in more detail, I will now turn to specific examples of key figures in Kōfukuji's history. This analysis will divert from Kuroda's approach to *kenmitsu* Buddhism by emphasizing monastic lineages across temple complexes, thus criticizing any view on temples as monolithic power blocs. We will now look at the example of Jōshō (定照, 906–983) and Kojima Shinkō (子島眞興, 934–1004),

who both seem to represent different aspects of exoteric-esoteric Buddhism.

JŌSHŌ

The Kōfukuji monk Jōshō was born in 906 as son of Fujiwara no Moromasa (藤原師尹, 920–969). It is unknown when he entered the monastery or under whom he initially studied Hossō as a novice, but it seems he was connected to supervisor Ningyō (仁教, ?–?), student of Nyomu (如無).[41] As an exoteric monk, Jōshō received the esoteric initiation from Kangū (寛空) and entered Tōji in 946.[42] He quickly moved up within Shingon. In 953 he received the initiation to the Dharma of the Diamond Realm (*kongō kai hō,* ,金剛界法) at the Shingon-in (眞言院) at Tōdaiji and in 959 he entered the Dharma of the Womb Realm (*taizō kai hō*, 胎蔵界法) at Rendaiji (蓮台寺). In 979 he was appointed abbot of the esoteric temple Kongōbuji (金剛峯寺).[43] More important to us, however, is that the crux of his esoteric career seems to have rested on his strong rise within Tōji's hierarchy.

In 966 he was appointed Tōji's overseer of the commoner monks (*bansō bettō*, 凡僧別当), and in 967 he became the third abbot (*san chōja,* 三長者).[44] At that time, the abbot of Tōji was his teacher Kangū, and the second abbot (*nichōja*, 二長者) was Guse (救世), also of Kōfukuji. When he held the position of *jō sōzu* (正僧都) in 977, he became the second abbot (二長者) of Tōji. Two years later, he combined the head abbotship of both Kongōbuji (金剛峯寺) and Tōji.[45] This way, one single person gradually combined several of the highest exoteric and esoteric monastic positions. This dual exoteric-esoteric identity runs throughout the institutional side of his career, perhaps best exemplified by his appointment as lecturer at the Yuima-e in 962. Having received the esoteric initiation several years before and being placed within Kangū's lineage, he took the Yuima-e's highest office of lecturer in 962 at age fifty-two.[46]

Two years after his Yuima-e lectureship, he was appointed vice master of the precepts (*gon risshi,* 権律師), and in 968 he reached the rank of master of the precepts (*risshi,* 律師).[47] Moving up fast, he was appointed head abbot of Kōfukuji in 971, one year after his foundation of what would become one of the temple's most important noble cloisters (*monzeki*,門跡): Ichijōin (一乗院).[48]

But what is the significance of his position at this point in history? I argue that Jōshō exemplifies well the importance of Hossō-Shingon lineages from an institutional point of view. In addition, the many high offices he combined at both exoteric and esoteric institutions while being a noble exemplifies well the need to reinterpret the large temple complexes from the point of view of exoteric-esoteric lineages rather than monastic power blocs who rose against the state apparatus. In contrast, I argue that cases such as Jōshō's show that what made up "the state" was a complex web of monastic lineages and institutions standing in a mutually dependent relationship with lay institutions. While Fukihara argued that Jōshō represents the stage in which esotericism was increasingly incorporated into Hossō thought, I chose to highlight the institutional union of exoteric-esoteric Buddhism that Jōshō represents.[49] I will now turn to a monk who exemplifies well the Hossō-Shingon synthesis from a doctrinal point of view: Kojima Shinkō.

KOJIMA SHINKŌ

Kojima Shinkō's background can be traced back to two lineages. First, he was the student of Kōfukuji's Chūzan (仲算, 934–1004), one of the participants at the Ōwa Debates mentioned above.[50] Second, he is also found in Shingon's *Ono-ryū* (小野流) through Niga (仁賀).[51] Being in both an exoteric and an esoteric lineage, he became the patriarch of the Kojima ryū (子島流), a center for the combined study of Hossō and Shingon. He authored many Hossō and Shingon works, and legend has it he was also the one who developed the Kojima Mandala (子島曼荼羅).[52] The *Kojimasan Kangakuji Engi* (小島山観覚寺縁起) describes how Shinkō received a mandala from Emperor Ichijō (一条天皇, 980–1011) after the monarch recovered from illness following Shinkō's prayers: "The emperor felt the beneficial effect of this dharma and said: 'This mandala is for the salvation of all living beings and was painted by Mañjuśrī. From now on the master should again be able to have all living beings benefit from it. [Therefore] I bestow on this saint [the duty of] practicing the Two-World Mandala.'"[53] This short passage in fact shows an emperor requesting a ritual for the health of the sovereign *and* its people, challenging two points. First, it suggests that Shinkō was not as detached from the capital and those in power as he is usually depicted. The classic image of Shinkō is one of detachment of worldly affairs and disinterest for court politics, but it seems this image might have to be reconsidered.[54] Second, and more significant to us, is that the donation of the mandala and the imperial request to practice on it places this exoteric-esoteric monk's actions within the context of state discourse.

Born in the Yamato or Kawachi area around the lifetime of famous monks such as Genshin (源信, 942–1017), Shinkō was of common descent at a time higher monastic functions had become reserved for the nobility. The struggle he must have faced is well illustrated by his Yuima-e lectureship in 1003 at an advanced age, only one year prior to his death.[55] At the age of ten, he became the student of Kōfukuji's Kūshō (空晴), a monk who became lecturer at the Yuima-e in 932 at age fifty-five.[56] Four years later, Shinkō received the precepts from another of Kūshō's students, Chūzan (see above), a Kōfukuji monk who strikingly resembles Shinkō's profile. Both were of low descent, were Kōfukuji monks, shared the same Hossō teacher, are said to have disliked high office, and left ample proof of their scholarship. Perhaps the best examples of Chūzan's innovative scholarship are his *Private Record of Views on Four Logical Errors* (*Inmyō shishū sōi shiki*, 因明四種相違私記), still kept at Kōfukuji, and his *Private Record on the Truth of the Four Parts* (*Shibun gi shiki*, 四分義私記).[57]

Shinkō's work *The Explanation of the Ritual Procedures of the Lotus and Matrix Realm* (*Renge taizōkai giki kaishaku,* 蓮華胎蔵界儀軌解釈) seems to confirm his early study of Hossō: "First I studied the teachings of Jion (慈恩), now I trace the steps of Samantabhadra (普賢菩薩)."[58] Interestingly, this personal statement mentions he turned to esoteric teachings after the study of Hossō, which suggests he used the esoteric for a better understanding of his earlier acquired knowledge of the exoteric.[59] According to Saeki Ryōken, Shinkō decided on the agreement of the exoteric and the esoteric in order to reconcile esoteric Buddhism's idea of realizing buddhahood with this very body (*sokushin jōbutsu,* 即身成佛) with Hossō. The solution was not to enter the esoteric by means of the exoteric, but vice-versa.[60]

The *Origin Chronicle of Kangakuji of Mount Kojima* (*Kojimasan kangakuji engi,* 子島山観覚寺縁記) describes the beginning of his monastic career as follows: "From the Eikan [938] till Kankō [1004] era, novice Shinkō came to Kangakuji and successfully illumined the splendor of the dharma. Originally from Kawachi, he soon became the student of the Nara priest Chūzan. At the age of fourteen, in the third year of the Tenryaku era, he lived at Kōfukuji in Nara. After having terminated the study of the basic teachings [exoteric Buddhism], he entered the golden light of the secret teachings of Shingon [esoteric Buddhism] and studied with the priest Niga of mount Yoshino who transmitted to him the hidden texts of the secret cultivation."[61] This order fits the chronology as he did indeed receive the esoteric initiation thirty-four years later at Zenjōji (善成寺) through Niga. The *Shingon fuhō honchō ketsumyaku* (眞言附法本朝血脈) clearly shows the lineage Shinkō-Niga-Hōzō-Jōjo (定助), which means he belonged to the Daigoji lineage as Jōchō was Daigoji abbot Kyōri's (経理) student who was included in the Hossō transmission through Chūzan and thus must have belonged to Shinkō's circle.[62] In other words: Kyōri also received the esoteric initiation *and* the Daigoji lineage through Niga. In addition, he belonged to the third generation at Ichijōin and the fifth at Daikakuji.[63] In 1008 he took the position of lecturer at the Yuima-e and in 1028 he reached his highest position, lesser second-ranking prelate (*gon shōsōzu,* 権少僧都).[64] But doesn't Shinkō's appearance in the Daigoji lineage contradict my earlier suggested division between Tōdaiji-Tōnan-Daigoji and Kōfukuji-Tōji? In fact, it does not, and for reasons that urge us further not to consider these monastic institutions as monolithic power-blocs. As illustrated by Jōshō's foundation of Ichijōin, Kōfukuji would come to be consisted of many sub-temples with corresponding lineages within its walls. As illustrated by the easy route of Jōshō as exemplified by his early lectureship at the Yuima-e, and Shinkō's much more difficult path, we are definitely dealing with an institutionally more powerful line in the former's case. It is this lineage that is here considered as standing vis-à-vis Tōnan'in's exoteric-esoteric line.

In sum, Shinkō first studied Hossō and mastered meditation on consciousness only. In a second phase he studied esotericism and used the concept of *sokushin jōbutsu* to perfect the exoteric meditation on consciousness only.[65] The appropriation of esoteric praxis into the Hossō curriculum continued, as exemplified by later Kōfukuji monks such as Jōkei (貞慶, 1155–1213). In reference to Shinkō, ARAMAKI Noritoshi further notes that the theoretical basis of the later Hossō-Shingon synthesis was laid by Kūkai, and refers to the *Himitsu mandara jūjūshinron*'s (秘密曼荼羅十住心論) inclusion of Yuishiki thought and practice. However, it is argued, Kūkai did not yet present a specific praxis that reconciled both. It was only with reform movements centered on Shingon-Hossō monks from Shinkō on that a synthesis between Hossō and Shingon was attempted.[66] However, according to Aramaki, mainly Hossō-Shingon thinkers, and not Tendai, constituted the prevailing innovative current of exoteric-esoteric Buddhism.

While this paper focuses on Hossō-Shingon and Sanron-Shingon, I take a more nuanced stance here: Tendai was undoubtedly a significant part of exoteric-esoteric Buddhism but in order to fully understand the interaction between the large temples and lineages within the larger framework of the state, we have to equally address the lasting importance of Hossō and Sanron and its synthesis with Shingon parallel to Tendai's development.

Regardless of Shinkō's solutions to the doctrinal Hossō-Shingon dilemma, the Hossō school continued to grapple with the problem as exemplified by the scholarship of the Saidaiji revivalist Eizon (叡尊, 1201–1290), a Kamakura-period descendant of Shinkō's lineage, or Ninshō (忍性; 1217–1303).[67]

CONCLUSION

Through the analysis of primary sources that pertain to the institutional and ritual careers of specific monks, I hope to have drawn attention to several issues that urge us to rethink certain aspects of Kuroda's notion of exoteric-esoteric Buddhism. More specifically, the examples of exoteric-esoteric monks belonging to Kōfukuji and Tōdaiji's Tōnan'in have shown that Tendai Buddhism might not have been the main constituent of an exoteric-esoteric system underlying the state apparatus.

First, the early allocation of esoteric texts at Kōfukuji shows that a gradual development of exoteric-esoteric Buddhism predates Kūkai and Saichō's time. The combined interest in both Hossō and Sanron by early Gangōji and Kōfukuji monks gave rise to two forms of exoteric-esoteric Buddhism: Hossō-Shingon vs. Sanron-Shingon, one based at Tōdaiji and the other at Kōfukuji. Over time, both were linked with specific esoteric temples, Daigoji and Tōji respectively, giving rise to lineages that combined institutional positions at both exoteric and esoteric temples. The site where these institutional and doctrinal oppositions met was the sphere of ritual debate, as exemplified by the Yuima-e.

Second, the institutional and doctrinal affiliations as well as the lineages of these monks show that one cannot simply differentiate the state from the temples or even one *kenmon* from another, a view that implicitly questions Kuroda's view on the temples as private institutions challenging the centralized state. Here, I would adopt Mikael Adolphson's usage of the term "shared rulership," but in addition stress the importance of taking into account Hossō-Shingon and Sanron-Shingon lineages in connection with their lay patrons to fully understand the position of these monastic complexes in their larger socio-political context.[68] As shown above by the examination of lineage and ritual participation, the state and the temple complexes were mutually dependent and their power was exactly the outcome of this interdependency.

NOTES

1. Toshio Kuroda, "The Development of the Kenmitsu System as Japan's Medieval Orthodoxy," *The Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 23, nos. 3–4 (1996): 262.

2. Uejima Susumu 上島享, "Chūsei zenki no kokka to bukkyō" 中世前期の国家と仏教, *Nihon Rekishi Kenkyū* 403, no. 3 (1996): 31–33; and Uejima Susumu 上島享, *Nihon chūsei shakai no keisei to ōken* 日本中世社会の形成と王権 (Nagoya: Nagoya Daigaku Shuppankai, 2010), 416–420.

3. Takayama Kyōko 高山京子, *Chūsei Kōfukuji no monzeki*中世興福寺の門跡 (Tokyo: Bensei Shuppan, 2010), 10; Okano Kōji 岡野浩二, *Heian jidai no kokka to jiin* 平安時代の国家と寺院 (Tokyo: Hanawa Shobō, 2009), 4; Ihara Kesao 井原今朝男, *Nihon chūsei no kokusei to kasei* 日本中世の国政と家政 (Tokyo: Azekura Shobō, 1995), 45–46. On the importance of Tōji and Daigoji documents for a better understanding of Kōfukuji and Tōdaiji's organization, see Nagamura Makoto 永村眞, *Chūsei Jiin Shiryō Ron* 中世寺院史料論 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2000).

4. The actual dedication ceremony (*kuyō*, 供養) took place in 714. "Kōfukuji ryaku nendaiki" 興福寺略年代記, *Zoku Gunsho Ruijū* 29, no. 2 (1930): 116. The start of Kōfukuji's construction by Fuhito is also mentioned in the Heian-period "Shichi daiji nenpyō" 七大寺年表, *Zoku Gunsho Ruijū* 27, no. 1 (1930): 466.

5. Izumiya Yasuo 泉谷康夫, *Kōfukuji* 興福寺 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1997), 15; see also *Shichi daiji nenpyō*, 466; "Kōfukuji ryaku nendaiki," 115.

6. "Kōfukuji ryaku nendaiki," 122; *T*. 475, 14.537a–557b, *T*. 476, 14.557–587, and *T*. 474, 14.519–536; *San'e jō ichi ki* 三会定一記, in *Dai nihon bukkyō zensho* 大日本仏教全書, vol. 123 (Tokyo: Busshō kankokai, 1912), 1. The *Kōfukuji ryaku nendaiki* mentions that Kōfukuji's precursor Umayasakadera (三階寺) was the site of the Yuima-e as early as 714 ("Kōfukuji ryaku nendaiki," 116). See also Mikael Adolphson, *The Gates of Power: Monks, Courtiers and Warriors in Pre-Modern Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2000), 23. On Kōfukuji's origins in connection with the Yuima-e, see Paul Groner, *Ryōgen and Mount Hiei: Japanese Tendai in the Tenth Century* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press,

2002), 129–130. For a detailed analysis of Jisson's writings (*Jisson goki*, 尋尊御記) regarding the founding of the Yuima-e in 657, see Nagamura, *Chūsei Jiin Shiryō Ron,* 207–208.

7. *Nihon bukke jinmei jissho* 日本佛家人名 (Tokyo: Kōyūkan, 1911), 799–800 and 802.

8. *Nihon bukke jinmei jissho*, 804. Fukihara Shōshin 富貴原章信, *Nihon yuishiki shisō shi* 日本唯識思想史 (Kyoto: Taigadō, 1944), 182–183.

9. Fukihara, *Nihon yuishiki shisō shi*, 43; *Genkō shakusho* 元享釋書, in *Dai nihon bukkyō zensho* 大日本仏教全書, vol. 101 (Tokyo: Busshō kankokai, 1912), 143.

10. *Genkō shakusho,* 141.

11. On the opposition between Yogācāra and Mādhyamika in Japanese, see Nagao Gajin 長尾雅人, *Chūkan to yuishiki* 中観と唯識 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1978). "Sanron" literally means "Three Treatises" and refers to Nāgārjuna's *Madhyamaka-śāstra* (Jpn. *Chūron,*中論), the *Dvādaśanikāya-śāstra* (Jpn. *Jūnimon ron,* 十二門論), *and* Āryadeva's *Śata-śāstra* (Jpn. *Hyakuron,* 百論).

12. Fukihara, *Nihon yuishiki shisō shi*, 141.

13. *T.* 2035, 49.129a–475c.

14. *Kokushi taikei* 国史大系, ed. Kuroita Katsumi 黒板勝美, 60 vols. (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1964–1967), vol. 4; *Kokushi taikei,* vol. 12.

15. Fukihara, *Nihon yuishiki shisō shi*, 148.

16. Ibid., 176; "Kōfukuji ryaku nendaiki," 116.

17. *Sōgō bunin* 僧綱補任, in *Dai nihon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 123 (Tokyo: Bussho Kankōkai, 1912), 5. Translation for *sōgō* titles are taken from Joan Piggott, *The Emergence of Japanese Kingship* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997).

18. Ryūichi Abé, *The Weaving of Mantra: Kūkai and the Construction of Esoteric Buddhist Discourse* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 151–152; *T.* 848, 18.1–55.

19. In this year Tachibana no Moroe defeated Fujiwara no Hirotsugu's (藤原広嗣) rebellion in Kyūshū. Herman Ooms, *Imperial Politics and Symbolics in Ancient Japan: The Tenmu Dynasty, 650–800* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009), 214.

20. Yoshikawa Shinji 吉川真司, "Fujiwara uji no sōshi to hatten," in *Ritsuryō Kanryōsei no Kenkyū* 律令官僚制の研究 (Tokyo: Hanawa Shobō, 1998), 123.

21. Yoshikawa, *Ritsuryō Kanryōsei no Kenkyū.*

22. Abé, *The Weaving of Mantra,* 45.

23. Ibid., 334.

24. For example, between 834 and 853, thirteen Hossō monks, six Sanron

monks, and one Kegon monk took the position of lecturer (*San'e jō ichi ki*, 2–3). Tenth-century sessions would feature esoteric Tendai monks in addition to Hossō-Shingon monks such as Jōshō (see below) in 962 or Sanron-Shingon lecturers such as Enchin in 911 (*San'e jō ichi ki*, 11, 7).

25. *Tōnan'in jimu shidai*, in *Dai nihon bukkyō zensho* 大日本仏教全書, vol. 122 (Tokyo: Busshō kankokai, 1912), 2; *Zoku shingonshū zenshō* 續眞言宗全書, in *Zoku shingonshū zenshō kankōkai* (Kōyasan: Zoku Shingonshu Zensho Kankokai, 1975–1988), 3.

26. The *San'e jō ichi ki* confirms Enshū's Sanron identity and his lectureship at the Yuima-e in 869. Interestingly, Shōbō was candidate the same year at age twenty-eight (*San'e jō ichi ki*, 4). Gankyō was lecturer at the Yuima-e in 845 and is listed in the *San'e jō ichi ki* as a Sanron scholar residing at Kōfukuji (*San'e jō ichi ki*, 2).

27. *Zoku shingonshū zenshō*, 2–3. This source also mentions that Gennin, also Shinga's student, studied both exoteric and esoteric teachings (*Sōgō bunin*, 46). The *Tōdaiji bettō shidai* (東大寺別当次第, in *Gunsho ruijū* 群書類従, ed. Hanawa Hokiichi 塙保己一 et al., part 565, 592–621 [Tokyo: Gunsho ruijū kanseikai, 1959–1960]) mentions Shinga as the twenty-third abbot of Tōdaiji (*Tōdaiji bettō shidai*, 594).

28. *Mikkyō daijiten* 密教大辞典 (Tokyo: Hōzōkan, 1968), 1733–1734.

29. Source mentioned in Takayama Yuki 高山有記, *Chūsei kōfukuji yuima-e no kenkyū* 中世興福寺維摩会の研究 (Tokyo: Benseisha, 1997), 102.

30. *San'e jō ichi ki*, 87–88.

31. *Tōnan'in jimu shidai*,2; *Zoku shingonshū zenshō*, 3–4;

32. *Sōgō bunin*, 57. However, he died the year of his appointment (*Tōji chōja bunin* 東寺長者補任, in *Zoku Gunsho Ruijū*, vol. 3 [Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 1930], 656).

33. *Tōnan'in jimu shidai*, 2.

34. *Daigoji zassu shidai* 醍醐寺座主次第, ed. Kyōto Furitsu Sōgō Shiryōkan 京都府立総合資料館, "Shoji bettō narabiniYuima-e Tendai sanne kōshi tō shidai" 諸寺別当并維摩会天台三会講師等次第, *Shiryōkan kiyō* 資料館紀要18 (1990): 121; *Tōnan'in jimu shidai*, 157–759.

35. *Tōdaiji bettō shidai*, 598; *Daigoji zassu shidai*, 121.

36. Fujii Masako 藤井雅子, *Chūsei daigoji to shingon mikkyō* 中世醍醐寺と真言密教 (Tokyo: Bensei Shuppan, 2008), 44–45; *Tōdaiji bettō shidai*, 611. For example, Fujii lists Jōken (定賢) of Sanbōin (三宝院) as head of Daigoji in 1182. The same monk is mentioned as Tōdaiji abbot and residing at Tōnan'in by the Tōdaiji records. Other examples are Jōhan (定範), who became Daigoji head in 1221, and Shōchū (聖忠), a Tōnan'in monk who became Daigoji head in 1307.

All belonged to Daigoji's Sanbōin ryū (三宝院流). For a detailed overview of the foundation and lists of the Tōdaiji abbots, see Nagamura Makoto 永村眞, *Chūsei tōdaiji no soshiki to keiei* 中世東大寺の組織と経営 (Tokyo: Hanawa Shōbō, 1989), 26–43.

37. *San'e jō ichi ki*, 11.

38. Groner, *Ryōgen and Mount Hiei*, 105–108.

39. *San'e jō ichi ki*, 12, 15.

40. Initially, only lectureship in the Three Southern Rituals could enable a monk to further his career and advance to the Ministry of Monastic Affairs. However, Shirakawa (白川, 1053–1129) changed the access to the Ministry of Monastic Affairs when he determined that the esoteric initiation became a valid prerequisite to enter this ministry. This meant that esoteric Tendai monks were enabled to advance as well. *Shoreishō* 初例抄, in *Gunsho ruijū* 群書類從, ed. Hanawa Hokiichi 塙保己一 et al., 29 vols. (Tokyo: Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 1959–1960), vol. 24, 587.

41. Tomabechi Seiichi 苫米地 誠一, "Heian ki Kōfukuji ni okeru Shingon shū ni tsuite" 平安期興福寺における真言宗について, *Bukkyō Bunka Ronshū* 9 (2003): 407–409; *Kōfukuji bettō shidai* 興福寺別当次第, in *Dai nihon bukkyō zenshū* 大日本仏教全集, vol. 124 (Tokyo: Bussho Kankōkai, 1912), 5–7; *Kōfukuji sangō bunin* 興福寺三綱補任, in *Zoku gunsho ruijū* 続群書類従 4, no. 2 (1930): 701. Jōshō was abbot and Gen'ei (玄延) was vice-abbot. The *Genkō shakusho* confirms Ningyō and Kangū as his teachers (*Kokushi taikei,* vol. 31, 168–169). Nyomu's dates are unknown, but he is mentioned as one of the monks who received esoteric initiation from Retired Emperor Uda (宇多上皇, 867–931).

42. Kangū received the transmission from Retired Emperor Kanpyō (Emperor Uda) (*Zoku shingonshū zenshō*, 5). His dates are unknown, but he was the teacher of the Hossō-Shingon monk Guse (救世, 890–973).

43. *Dai nihon shiryō* 大日本史料 (Tokyo: Daigaku Shiryō Hensanjō, 1926–), 1/17/137; *Kōfukuji bettō shidai*, 5–7.

44. *Dai nihon shiryō*, 1/11/693.

45. *Tōji chōja bunin*, 661; *Genkō shakusho*, 169. For an overview of these appointments, see Tomabechi, "Heian ki Kōfukuji ni okeru Shingon shū ni tsuite," 394–405.

46. *San'e jō ichi ki*, 11.

47. *Sōgō bunin*, 70; *Sōgō bunin*, 72.

48. *Kōfukuji bettō shidai*, 6; "Kōfukuji ryaku nendaiki," 133.

49. Fukihara, *Nihon yuishiki shisō shi*, 328.

50. *Genkō shakusho*, *Kokushi taikei*, vol. 31, 167. For an elaborate discussion on

these debates, see Groner, *Ryōgen and Mount Hiei*, 94–117.

51. *Zoku shingonshū zenshō*, 7. Fukihara, *Nihon yuishiki shisō shi*, 321.

52. Different kanji are found for *kojima* in both primary as secondary sources. In this dissertation I opted for the character 子 as used in the *engi*.

53. *Kojimasan i Kangakuji Engi*, in *Dai nihon bukkyō zensho* 大日本仏教全書, ed. Suzuki Gakujutsu Zaidan 鈴木学術財団, 150 vols. (Tokyo: Bussho kankōkai, 1912–1922), 119:2.

54. Aramaki Noritoshi, "The Influence of Yogacāra-vijñānavāda on Kamakura Buddhism," in *Japanese Buddhism: Its Tradition, New Religions, and Interaction with Christianity*, ed. Minowa Kaoru et al. (Tokyo and Los Angeles: Buddhist Books International, 1987), 42.

55. *San'e jō ichi ki*, 14. *Genkō shakusho*, *Kokushi taikei*, vol. 31, 167.

56. *San'e jō ichi ki*, 9. He attained the rank of *risshi* in 938 and *shōsōzu* in 948; he passed away in 957 at age eighty.

57. Groner, *Ryōgen and Mount Hiei*, 106. *T*. 2277.

58. *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten* 佛書解說大辭典, ed. Ono Genmyō 小野玄妙, 15 vols. (Tokyo: Daitō Shuppansha, 1974–1988), 11:295, *T*. 2231. Mentioned in Tomabechi, "Heian ki Kōfukuji ni okeru Shingon shū ni tsuite," 414. Oishio Chihiro 追塩千尋, *Chūsei no nanto bukkyō* 中世の南都仏教 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1995), 49.

59. Abé, *The Weaving of Mantra*, 428.

60. Kūkai used this term based on the *Treatise on the Aspiration for Enlightenment* (*P'u-t'i-hsin lun*, attributed to Nāgārjuna) and formulated his own commentary, *Sokushin jōbutsu gi* (The Meaning of Realizing Buddhahood with This Very Body). Jacqueline I. Stone, *Original Enlightenment and the Transformation of Medieval Japanese Buddhism*, Kuroda Institute Studies in East Asian Buddhism 12 (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), 31. See also Paul Groner, "Shortening the Path: The Interpretation of the Realization of Buddhahood in This Very Existence in the Early Tendai School," in *Paths to Liberation: The Mārga and Its Transformations in Buddhist Thought*, ed. Robert Buswell and Robert Gimello (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1992), 439–473.

61. *Kojimasan Kangakuji Engi, Dai nihon bukkyō zensho,* 119:1.

62. *Shingon fu hō hongan ketsumyaku, Zoku shingonshū zenshō*, 7. Oishio, *Chūsei no nanto bukkyō,* 45.

63. Tomabechi, "Heian ki Kōfukuji ni okeru Shingon shū ni tsuite," 418.

64. *Sōgō bunin,* 105.

65. Kenchū Jōjun 間中定潤, "Kojima Shinkō no Yuishiki kan, Mikkyō tono kanrensei" 小嶋真興の唯識観—密教との関連性, in *Kitabataka Tensei kyōju*

kanreki kinen: Nihon no Bukkyō to Bunka 北畠典生教授還暦記念：日本の仏教と文化 (Kyoto: Nagata Bunshōdō, 1990), 269.

66. Aramaki, "The Influence of Yogacāra-vijñānavāda on Kamakura Buddhism," 42.

67. Oishio, *Chūsei no nanto bukkyō*, 50.

68. Adolphson, *The Gates of Power*, 239; NAGAMURA Makoto 永村眞, *Chūsei Jiin Shiryō Ron* 中世寺院史料論 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2000).