Chinese Models for Chōgen's Pure Land Buddhist Network

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The medieval Japanese monk Chōgen 重源 (1121–1206), who sojourned at several prominent religious institutions in China during the Southern Song, used his knowledge of Chinese religious social organizations to assist with the reconstruction of Tōdaiji 東大寺 after its destruction in the Gempei 源平 Civil War. Chōgen modeled the Buddhist societies at his *bessho* 別所 "satellite temples," located on estates that raised funds and provided raw materials for the Tōdaiji reconstruction, upon the Pure Land societies that financed Tiantai 天台 temples in Ningbo 寧波 and Hangzhou 杭州. Both types of societies formed as responses to catastrophes, encouraged diverse memberships of lay disciples and monastics, constituted geographical networks, and relied on a two-tiered structure. Also, Chōgen developed Amidabutsu 阿弥陀仏 affiliation names similar in structure and function to those used by the "People of the Way" (*daomin* 道民) and other lay religious groups in southern China. These names created a collective identity for Chōgen's devotees and established Chōgen's place within a lineage of important Tōdaiji persons with the help of the *Hishō* 祕鈔, written by a Chōgen disciple. Chōgen's use of religious social models from China were crucial for his fundraising and leadership of the managers, architects, sculptors, and workmen who helped rebuild Tōdaiji.

Keywords: Chogen, Todaiji, Song Buddhism, Pure Land Buddhism, Pure Land society

The medieval Japanese monk Chōgen 重源 (1121–1206) earned renown in his middle years as "the monk who traveled to China on three occasions," sojourning at several of the most prominent religious institutions of the Southern Song (1127–1279), including Tiantaishan 天台山 and Ayuwangshan 阿育王山. For most of Japanese history, China was considered the proximate source of Buddhism, and study

abroad offered Japanese monks a chance to learn about what, in their minds, counted as an authentic form of the religion, including recent developments in sutra translation, commentarial literature, and other areas of Buddhist studies. During Chōgen's trips to China during his later years, however, he appears to have eschewed these traditional types of studies in favor of acquiring practical knowledge about temple construction and lay Buddhist social organization. Both proved crucial for his role as *kanjin hijiri* 勧進聖 (temple solicitation supervisor) rebuilding the cornerstones of Japanese Buddhism, Tōdaiji 東大寺 and its Great Buddha statue (*daibutsu* 大仏), after their destruction in the Gempei Civil War (Gempei kassen 源平合戦, 1180–1185). This paper considers Chōgen's adaptation of Chinese lay Buddhist society organizational methods he learned abroad to the reconstruction of Tōdaiji.

Chōgen was chosen as the chief of the campaign to restore Tōdaiji and its Great Buddha primarily because of his deep roots in China. However, he has predominately been treated in both Japanese and English language scholarship as a kind of monk "factotum," whose primary historical contribution was to manage various aspects of the rebuilding of Tōdaiji, including fundraising, sourcing construction materials, and overseeing building teams. Scholars have noted Chōgen's adaptation of Chinese temple architectural models that had developed in the century and a half between Chōgen's trip and the previous recorded Japanese monk's visit.[1] Chōgen made use of these developments to rebuild Tōdaiji as quickly and efficiently as possible with available

1. Nishida Enga, "Shunjōbō chōgen no tōdaiji zaiken nitsuite" 俊乗房重源の東大寺再建について, in *Chōgen, Eizon, Ninshō* 重源・叡尊・忍性, ed. Nakao Takashi and Imai Masaharu (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2003); Tanaka Tan 田中淡, "Chūgoku kenchikushi kara mita 'daibutsuyō'" 中国建築史からみた「大仏様」, in *Daibutsuyō no genryū wo motomete* 大仏様の源流を求めて, ed. Nihon kenchikugaku kai (Kyushu: Kenchiku rekishi, 1998); Tanaka Tan 田中淡, "Daibutsuyō kenchiku: Sōyō no juyō to henshitsu" 大仏様建築－宋様の受容と変質, in *Papers from the Great Buddha Symposium*, ed. Gureito Budda Shimpojiumu グレイトブッダシンポジウム (Nara: Tōdaiji, 2003); Yamanouchi Makoto 山之内誠, "Daibutsuyō kenchiku kenkyū no genzai: kenkyūshi ni okeru shuyō na ronten" 大仏様建築研究の現在－研究史における主要な論点, *Nanto Bukkyō* 南都仏教 88 (2006): 1–21; Nomura Shun'ichi 野村俊一. "Eisai no kenchiku zōei to sono haikei: tōdaiji shōrō no igi wo megute" 栄西の建築造営とその背景－東大寺鐘楼の意義をめぐて, in *Higashi ajia no kaiiki kōryū to nihon dentō bunka no keisei: ninpō wo shōten to suru gakusaiteki sōsei*

technology, as well as construct a series of Pure Land *bessho* 別所, or satellite temples, across western Japan on estates that provided funds and resources for Tōdaiji. However, less understood is that Chōgen also served as a bridge for other types of Song religious culture that had yet to seep into Japan during the travel bans enacted by the Japanese government. During his three trips to the continent, Chōgen amassed knowledge of lay religious societies that had (1) reinvigorated urban temples in the Chinese capital of Hangzhou and the port city of Ningbo, and (2) helped mold the religious identities of adherents who funded temple building in the surrounding countryside. Chōgen put this knowledge to work in important ways upon returning to Japan.

Sources about Chōgen's continental journeys are limited since he left sparse records of his own and no dharma heir to commemorate his achievements. His trips are mentioned in several sources discussed below, but only the *Gyōkuyō* 玉葉 diary of Kujō Kanezane 九条兼実 (1149–1207) provides a detailed account of the trips in the words of Chōgen (as told to Kanezane).

However, other means of investigation substantiate the fact that Chōgen traveled to China. Considered in this paper are Chōgen's implementations in Japan of the knowledge he amassed of socio-religious networking activities from the Chinese region where he purports to have traveled, now areas administered under the province of Zhejiang 浙江. These implementations, introduced as part of Chōgen's campaign to rebuild Tōdaiji, share a high degree of structural similarity to Chinese counterparts. The two most important models Chōgen encountered in China and adapted for deployment in Japan were urban Tiantai-based Pure Land societies, including the Yanqingsi 延慶寺 society originally overseen by Siming Zhili 四明知禮 (960–1028), and the conferral of religious affiliation names used by rural lay denominations such as the People of the Way (*daomin* 道民). I present evidence that Chōgen visited Chinese Pure Land Halls in Ningbo and/or Hangzhou that served as prototypes for similar institutions he would later found in Japan, as well as compare the structural similarities between the religious affiliation names in currency during the Southern Song and those Chōgen used within his own Japanese religious network.

東アジアの海域交流と日本伝統文化の形成－寧波を焦点とする学際的創生, vol. 3, ed. Kojima Tsuyoshi 小島毅 (Tokyo: University of Tokyo, 2010).

THE RECORDS OF CHŌGEN'S TRIP TO SOUTH CHINA

Chōgen left no writing of his own apart from the *Record of Benevolent Deeds* (*Sazenshū* 作善集), a text of less than two hundred lines found written on the back of a report about the 1202 grain harvest in Bizen Province.[2] The *Sazenshū* focuses entirely on Chōgen's concrete accomplishments in Japan, such as temple building, statue donation, and estate acquisition, but there are other records for the dates of Chōgen's travels. Mentions of one of Chōgen's visits to China in 1167 appear in both the *Genkō shakusho* 元亨釈書 (1322) and the *Jōdoji kaisoden* 浄土寺開祖伝.[3] The dates of the other two voyages are less clear, but an inscription from 1176 on a Kōyasan bronze bell introduces Chōgen as the "saint in charge of temple solicitation who visited China three times,"[4] providing a *terminus ante quem* for his complete travels. Another piece of evidence concerns Chōgen's rebuilding of the Kayanomori Hall 栢杜堂 at Daigoji 醍醐寺 in 1155,[5] the reconstruction of which appears to include Song architectural precedents not yet incorporated into Japanese building practices of the time, meaning that Chōgen probably returned from his first trip to China prior to this with knowledge of Song building styles. Combining this information, we can assume that Chōgen made all three of his trips during the roughly twenty-five years between the early 1150s and 1176.

The most detailed record of Chōgen's trips appears in Kanezane's *Gyokuyō.* There, Kanezane mentions Chōgen's original intention in China to travel northward to Wutaishan 五台山, only to be frustrated by the news of road closures that prevented entrance to territory then under Jurchen control. Chōgen at first thought to return home, thinking his efforts in vain, but took heart from the advice of locals, who instead encouraged him to visit Tiantaishan, the mountain home of the Tiantai school (Tiantaizong 天台宗), as well as Ayuwangshan, renowned for its true relic of the Buddha's body.[6]

2. John M. Rosenfield, *Portraits of Chōgen: The Transformation of Buddhist Art in Early Medieval Japan* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 207.
3. Gomi Fumihiko 五味文彦, *Daibutsu saiken* 大仏再建 (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1995), 82–83.
4. Ibid., 78.
5. Ibid., 70–71.
6. Kujō Kanezane 九條兼實 (1149–1207), *Gyokuyō* 玉葉, vol. 2 (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai, 1906–1907), 593–594. Also see Gomi, *Daibutsu saiken,* 82–83.

PURE LAND HALLS IN CHINA AS PROTOTYPES FOR CHŌGEN'S SATELLITE TEMPLES

Chōgen likely encountered Pure Land Halls during his trip to China at both Tiantaishan and Yanqingsi in Ningbo, the port that served ships coming and going from Japan. The profusion of Pure Land Hall construction in China began during the Tang dynasty (618–907). During this period, separate buildings, halls, or practice areas (*daochang* 道場) specifically intended for Pure Land devotional worship were constructed on the sites of larger temple compounds. These halls were known by several names, including "Pure Land Institute" (*Jingtu yuan* 淨土院) or "Pure Land Hall" (Ch. *Jingtu tang*, Jpn. *Jōdodō* 淨土堂), the terminology favored by Chōgen. They were vital for the propagation of Pure Land practice within existing temples and provided spaces for the local lay community to worship. An early example of such a hall was founded by Huaiyun 懷惲 (640–701), a disciple in the lineage of Shandao 善道 (613–681), at Wenguosi 溫國寺 in Chang'an. "In the hall [Huaiyun] installed an Amitābha (Emituofo 阿彌陀佛) [statue] along with Avalokiteśvara (Guanyin 觀音) and Mahāsthāmaprāpta (Shizhi 勢至)" (又於堂內造阿彌陀佛及觀音勢至).[7] This was an altar arrangement with little or no precedent at the time, but which later would become standardized in Pure Land temples.[8] Another Pure Land Hall was established by Fazhao 法照 (active eighth century) at Zhangjingsi 章敬寺 in Chang'an in order to practice the five methods of reciting Amitābha's name (*wuhui nianfo* 五會念佛), which prescribed five variances of pitch and speed for the practitioner's recitations.[9] Both

7. *Datang shijisi gusizhu huaiyun fengchizeng longchandafashi beiming bingxu* 大唐實際寺故寺主懷惲奉敕贈隆闡大法師碑銘並序, in "Quan tang wen" 全唐文, ed. Dong Gao 董誥, https://zh.wikisource.org/wiki/全唐文, fasc. 916.

8. Takao Yoshikata 高雄義堅, *Sōdai bukkyō shi no kenkyū* 宋代仏教史の研究 (Kyoto: Hyakkaen, 1975), 113

9. A copy of Fazhao's manual explaining this procedure, the *Jingtu wuhui nianfo lüefashi yizan* 淨土五會念佛略法事儀讚, was brought to Japan by Ennin 円仁 (794–864) according to his record of items procured in China (*Nittō shingu shōgyō mokuroku* 入唐新求聖教目錄). See T. 55, n. 2167, p. 1085a19. According to Fazhao, these five methods are:

> (1) to intone "*Nanwu emituofo*" slowly in a level pitch (第一會平聲緩念南無阿彌陀佛), (2) to intone "*Nanwu emituofo*" slowly with a higher pitch (第二會平上聲緩念南無阿彌陀佛), (3) to intone "*Nanwu emituofo*" neither slowly nor quickly (第三會非緩非急念南無阿彌陀

Liangsu's 梁肅 *Qiyuansi Jingtuyuan zhi* 祇園寺淨土園志 and Liuzi's 柳子 *Longxingsi xiu jingtuyuan ji* 龍興寺修淨土院記 contain lists of many Pure Land Halls established in temples across China during this period as well.[10]

Around this time, constant ambulation meditation (*changxing sanmei* 常行三昧)[11] was also popularized on Tiantaishan. This was one of the four categories of Tiantai meditation advanced by the Chinese Tiantai founder Zhiyi 智顗 (538–597) and required a special facility known as a "hall for constant ambulation" (*changxing tang* 常行堂).[12]

佛), (4) to intone "*Nanwu emituofo*" at a gradually quickening pace (第四會漸急念南無阿彌陀佛), and (5) to intone the four characters "*Emituofo*" at a fast pace (第五會四字轉急念阿彌陀佛).

According to Fazhao, the first method eliminates chaotic thoughts, the second method establishes a karmic connection [with Amitābha] everywhere, the third method produces an elegant and refined sound, the fourth method produces a mourning wail, and the fifth method shocks and scatters the demons, enabling the reciter to enter into a deep meditative state. See Fazhao 法照 (fl. ca. 769), *Jingtu wuhui nianfo lüefashi yi zan* 淨土五會念佛略法事儀讚, T. 47, n. 1983.

10. Takao, *Sōdai bukkyō shi no kenkyū*, 111–113.

11. Zhiyi's constant ambulation meditation was based on the *Sutra of the Samādhi of Buddhas That Manifest Themselves in the Present* (*Banzhou sanmeijing* 般舟三昧經) (T. 13, n. 418), the first translation of which was attributed to Lokakṣema (Ch. Zhi Loujiachen 支婁迦讖, active ca. 150 CE). This sutra also inspired other meditation halls known as *banzhouyuan* 般舟院 or *banzhou daochang* 般舟道場 that took their names directly from the work. The sutra explains the *pratyutpanna-samādhi* (*banzhou sanmei* 般舟三昧) as a "meditation in which the buddhas of the present stand before one." In this meditation, the practitioner envisions the manifestation of Amitābha in the practice space. Along with Zhiyi's writings on the constant ambulation meditation, this sutra established an understanding of the identity of Amitābha's Pure Land with this world of suffering using the Buddhist notion of nonduality (Robert H. Sharf, *Coming to Terms with Chinese Buddhism: A Reading of the Treasure Store Treatise* [Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002], 117–118).

12. Takao, *Sōdai bukkyō shi no kenkyū*, 113. Pure Land Buddhism was never a distinct institution through the Song dynasty in China but was a set of doctrines and texts that were incorporated into existing schools, most notably Tiantai. Two Tiantai monks, Zongxiao 宗曉 (1151–1214) and Zhipan 志磐 (fl. 1258–1269), created the sense of an independent lineage of Pure Land patriarchs in compilations of biographies that appeared in the *Compendium of the Land of Bliss* (*Lebang wenlei* 樂邦文類) and *Comprehensive History of the Buddhas and*

This type of hall impressed the Japanese Tendai devotees Saichō 最澄 (767–822) and Ennin 円仁 (794–864) during their trips to China prior to Chōgen, and a hall of this type was constructed on Hieizan 比叡山 by Ennin in the ninth century.

Some Pure Land meditation halls attempted to duplicate the composition of Amitābha's Pure Land as narrated in scripture through the construction of pavilions, ponds, and gardens. For example, the monk Cong Ya 從雅[13] of Qiantang 錢塘 built an Amitābha Treasure Pavilion (*Mida baoge* 彌陀寶閣) at Jingzhusi 淨住寺, where he installed a central statue of Amitābha encircled by nine bodhisattvas who represented the Nine Classes (Ch. *jiupin* 九品) of rebirth in Amitābha's Pure Land. Later, a lotus pond was added in front, with left and right wings containing rooms for meditation practice.[14] Such architectural concepts were also employed in Japan, the most notable example being Fujiwara no Yorimichi's 藤原頼通 (992–1074) Byōdōin 平等院 in Uji, for which the Phoenix Hall was constructed in 1052.

By the Southern Song, Pure Land Halls were a pervasive feature of Chinese Buddhist temple construction, particularly in Hangzhou, Ningbo, and on Tiantaishan, the three most important locales for Tiantai Pure Land practice. One of the most recurrent types of Pure Land Halls within the Tiantai tradition in the Southern Song were Sixteen Visualizations Halls (*shiliu guantang* 十六觀堂), based on

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Patriarchs (*Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀). Tiantai monks were also the chief promoters of Pure Land societies from the Northern Song. The most important of these Tiantai Pure Land societies were located at Baoyunsi 寶雲寺 and Yanqingsi 延慶寺, discussed below (for more details see Daniel A. Getz, *Siming Zhili and Tiantai Pure Land in the Song Dynasty* [PhD diss., Yale University, 1994]; and Koichi Shinohara, "From Local History to Universal History: The Construction of the Sung T'ien-t'ai Lineage," in *Buddhism in the Sung*, ed. Daniel A. Getz [Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999]). In this paper, I will not explore in depth the linkages between Tiantai and Pure Land in China, since the Pure Land societies Chōgen imported to Japan were more or less stripped of their Tiantai trappings and integrated into a new doctrinal milieu appropriate to Chōgen's background.

13. Biography in *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀, T. 49, n. 2035:212a9–a29. Cong Ya's exact dates unknown, but he was the disciple of Huiban 慧辯 (1014–1073) according to *Fozu tongji* 209c15, so Cong Ya's Amitābha Treasure Pavilion was probably constructed around the time that Byōdōin was converted into a temple.

14. *Lebang wenlei* 樂邦文類, T. 47, n. 1969A:184c5–185a5. Also see Takao, *Sōdai bukkyō shi no kenkyū*, 113–114.

the sixteen visualizations of Amitābha's Pure Land described in the *Contemplation Sutra*. One of the earliest examples of this type of hall was built at Yanqingsi in Ningbo in 1099 by the monks Jieran 介然 (d. ca. 1130), Huiguan 惠觀, Zhongzhang 仲章, and Zongyue 宗悅.[15] The Amitābha Treasure Pavilion at Jingzhusi, though not called a "Sixteen Visualization Hall," seems to have had a similar function as well.[16] The hall at Yanqingsi was comprised of more than sixty bays (*jian* 間) with a central image of a "sixteen foot" Amitābha statue flanked by his attendants, Avalokiteśvara and Mahāsthāmaprāpta. Around the central image were sixteen rooms that served as meditation chambers, where practitioners engaged in a three year commitment to the contemplation of Amitābha. This type of practice hall was so popular that one was even constructed in the imperial living quarters of the palace. Another well-known example was built at Upper Tianzhusi 上天竺寺 in Hangzhou.[17]

When Chōgen was in China, he almost certainly observed the Constant Ambulation Hall at Tiantaishan, since, as mentioned above, Kanezane's diary records that Chōgen spent time there. Chōgen also probably visited the Sixteen Visualizations Hall at Yanqingsi, one of the largest religious institutions in the port city of Ningbo where he disembarked. Another possibility is that Chōgen saw Hangzhou's hall at Upper Tianzhusi, which he would later use as a model for his own Pure Land Halls in Japan.

Supporting evidence that Chōgen visited Yanqingsi or a similar temple with a Sixteen Visualizations Hall comes in the form of a painting he imported to Japan known as the *Transformation Painting of the Sixteen Visualizations of the Contemplation Sutra* (Ch. *Guanjing shiliuguan bianxiangtu*, Jpn. *Kangyō jūrokkan hensōzu* 觀經十六觀變相圖). This painting was a pictographic representation of the sixteen visualizations narrated in the *Contemplation Sutra* situated in vertical orientation and originally used for meditation routines at Sixteen Visualizations Halls such as the one at Yanqingsi. A record of this painting appears in the

15. Takao, *Sōdai bukkyō shi no kenkyū*, 113–114.

16. In general, this type of meditation hall seems to have preceded the regularization of the term "Sixteen Visualizations Hall," so halls that functioned as Sixteen Visualizations Halls could be referenced by multiple names.

17. Takao, *Sōdai bukkyō shi no kenkyū*, 113–114.

Figure 1. *Sixteen Contemplations from the Meditation on the Buddha of Infinite Life Sutra*. 1 hanging scroll. Kamakura period, thirteenth century. Chōkōji, Kyoto. Repr. from Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, ed., *Daikanjin Chōgen* (Nara: Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, 2006), 196 (no. 140).

Figure 2. *Sixteen Contemplations from the Meditation on the Buddha of Infinite Life Sutra*. 1 hanging scroll. Kamakura period, thirteenth century. Amidaji, Nara. Repr. from Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, ed., *Daikanjin Chōgen* (Nara: Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, 2006), 197 (no. 141).

Figure 3. Left hand of Amitābha. Kamakura period, thirteenth century. Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard University Art Museums. Repr. from Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, ed., *Daikanjin Chōgen* (Nara: Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, 2006), 158 (no. 105).

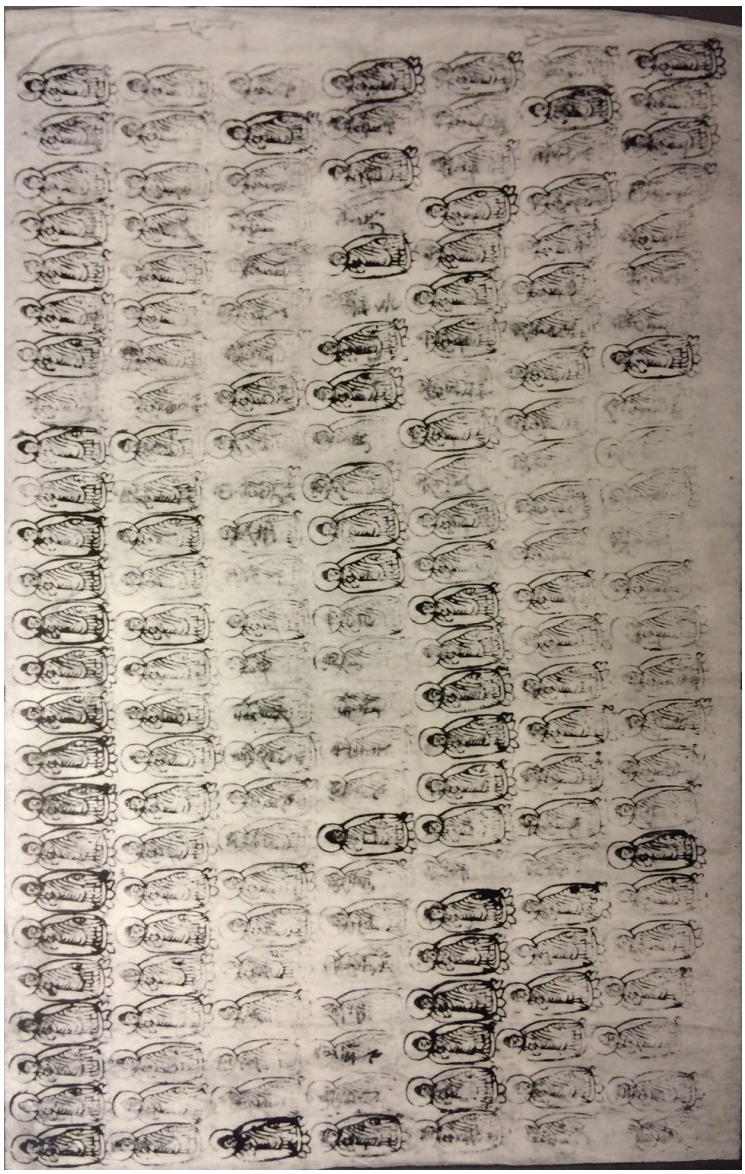

Figure 4. Page from Kengōin *kechien* list. One sheet from set. Kamakura period (ca. 1194). Kengōin, Kyoto. Repr. from Aoki Atsushi 青木淳, *Kengōin amida nyoraizō zōnai nōnyūhin shiryō* 遣迎院阿弥陀如来像 像内納入品資料 (Kyoto: Kokusai Nihon Bunka Kenkyū Sentā, 1999), 85.

Sazenshū, and the painting was later copied during the Kamakura period at Chōkōji 長香寺 in Kyoto (fig. 1) and Amidaji 阿弥陀寺 in Nara (fig. 2), where copies still exist.[18] This particular style of painting originates from a commentary on the *Contemplation Sutra*, the *Guan wuliangshoujing yishu* 觀無量壽經義疏,[19] by the Northern Song monk, Yuanzhao 元照 (1048–1116), who studied Tiantai, Pure Land, and *vinaya*.[20]

Chōgen later created statues of Amitābha for his own Pure Land Halls in Japan modeled after the ones that appear in the *Sixteen Visualizations* painting. These Amitābha statues were distinctive when compared to other images of Amitābha from Japan during the same period. The main difference lies in the position of Amitābha's hands: in Chōgen's statues, Amitābha forms a mudra in which his left hand is raised before his breast (fig. 3), with the thumb and middle finger touching, while the right hand is suspended downwards.[21] This mudra is known as the "reversed mudra of Amitābha's descent" (*sakate no raigōin* 逆手来迎印)[22] as the hand positions are reversed when compared to statues of Amitābha's descent made in Japan previously in which the left hand was suspended downwards and the right hand raised. The reversed mudra Amitābha makes in Chōgen's statues derives from the image of the thirteenth contemplation depicted in the *Sixteen Visualizations* painting, the visualization of Amitābha and his two bodhisattva attendants.[23] Images featuring Amitābha performing the reversed mudra only gained currency in China during the Song dynasty, and though they would later became popular in the Kamakura

18. Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 奈良国立博物館, ed., *Daikanjin Chōgen* 大勧進重源 (Nara: Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, 2006), nos. 140 and 141.
19. T. 37, n. 1752.
20. Taniguchi Kōsei 谷口耕生, "Seichi ninpō wo meguru shinkō to bijutsu 聖地寧波をめぐる信仰と美術, in *Seichi ninpō* 聖地寧波, ed. Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan (Nara: Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, 2009), 54.
21. This can be seen with the Amitābha statue from Jōdoji. See Chūō kōron bijutsu shuppan 中央公論美術出版, ed., *Nihon chōkokushi kiso shiryō shūsei. Kamakura jidai. Zōzō meiki hen* 日本彫刻史基礎資料集成. 鎌倉時代. 造像銘記篇, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Chūō Kōron Bijutsu Shuppan, 2003), 174; and Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, *Daikanjin Chōgen*, no. 137.
22. Nakamura Hajime 中村元, *Bukkyōgo daijiten* 佛教語大辞典 (Tokyo: Tōkyō Shoseki, 1981), 452. See Taniguchi, "Seichi ninpō wo meguru shinkō to bijutsu," 55.
23. Taniguchi, "Seichi ninpō wo meguru shinkō to bijutsu," 56.

based on Song images,[24] Chōgen's *Sixteen Visualizations* painting is the first known image showing the reversed mudra in Japan.[25] Chōgen's painting and the statues modelled after it buttress the argument that Chōgen visited a Sixteen Visualizations Hall in China, with the most likely candidate being the one at Yanqingsi in Ningbo, where we can trace Chōgen's movements.

CHŌGEN'S PURE LAND HALLS

Integral to the fundraising for Tōdaiji and the establishment of Chōgen's Pure Land Buddhist vision were his *bessho*, or satellite temples, built on many of the estates he managed. These institutions had their own Pure Land Halls (*Jōdodō* 浄土堂) where religious services were held on behalf of those who lived, worked, and managed the estates. Chōgen's first *bessho* was built at Kōyasan before he received the mandate to reconstruct Tōdaiji, but he would later build similar halls on the Tōdaiji estates as well. While there seem to be differences between Chōgen's Pure Land Halls and the Chinese varieties in terms of the rituals and practices observed there, with regards to fundraising and lay society participation, Chōgen's Pure Land Halls at his *bessho* served similar functions to the Song Pure Land Halls he observed in China. In this section, we review the history of Chōgen's *bessho*, and in the subsequent section we discuss the lay societies he formed there.

Before the reconstruction of Tōdaiji, "*bessho*" generally referred to secretive hermitages for monks and nuns residing away from their main temples and seeking seclusion in order to progress along their spiritual paths. They also functioned as temporary abodes for wandering *hijiri* traveling through the countryside. From the perspective of the common people who resided near *bessho*, they were a place for

24. Nakamura, *Bukkyōgo daijiten*, 452.

25. This particular form of Amitābha can be seen today at the former Harima Bessho, now known as "Jōdoji" 浄土寺. The Jōdoji triptych was installed in 1192, and along with the reversed mudra, Amitābha is depicted with long fingernails, a characteristic typical of Song Buddhist sculpture. Also extant are the head and one hand of Chōgen's Amitābha statue from the Pure Land Hall at the Iga Bessho (now Shindaibutsuji 新大仏寺). (See *Daikanjin chōgen*, no. 105. Also see Chūō kōron bijutsu shuppan, ed., *Nihon chōkokushi kiso shiryō shūsei*, vol. 2: 83.) The construction of the head of the Shindaibutsuji statue is very similar to the Jōdoji Amitābha statue, and the left hand makes the reversed mudra of Amitābha's descent while exhibiting the same long fingernails.

making spiritual connections with the resident *hijiri* or deities worshipped there.[26] *Bessho* were sometimes controlled by a home temple and served as branch temples, while other times they functioned relatively independently. Both patterns of interaction were known by 1060. Examples of *bessho* from the period include the Kurodani Bessho 黒谷別所 founded by Hōnen on Hieizan, as well as *bessho* associated with Ninnaji and Daigoji. For those *bessho* that were not branches of home temples, management of the institution was often bequeathed from master to disciple.[27]

Chōgen built seven *bessho* on separate estates, some of which already had legacies of small temples that served local communities or which functioned as temporary abodes for *hijiri*. However, Chōgen's *bessho* had a wider range of functions than those constructed previously. Each of Chōgen's *bessho* was built around a Pure Land Hall, often accompanied by a bathing facility and refectory. According to the *Sazenshū* and Chōgen's will, the dimensions of the halls were three-by-three bays.[28] The space between pillars at Chōgen's Pure Land Halls were larger than many similar structures in Japan, with a span of three bays approximately equal to the span of five bays at other temples. This resulted in fewer pillars with wider intervening spaces, enhanced by open ceilings that exposed the roof structure.[29] The spaciousness afforded by the halls allowed more devotees to congregate for Pure Land ceremonies, speaking to the size of his lay congregations, as discussed below.

For the Tōdaiji *kanjin* campaign, Chōgen mentions the construction of seven *bessho* in the *Sazenshū*: the Kōyasan Shinbessho, the Tōdaiji Bessho, the Suō 周防 Bessho, the Watanabe 渡辺 Bessho (in Settsu 摂津 Province), the Harima 播磨 Bessho, the Iga 伊賀 Bessho, and the Bichū

26. Okuno Yotsuo 奥野義雄, "Kōdai, Chūsei ni okeru bessho jiin wo megutte" 古代・中世における別所寺院をめぐって, in *Nihon bukkyō no keisei to tenkai* 日本仏教の形成と展開, ed. Itō Yuishin 伊藤唯真 (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 2002), 345.
27. Ibid., 346–347.
28. The Kayanomoridō built by Chōgen at Daigoji has been excavated, leading to the discovery of a Pure Land Hall with these dimensions. These are also the dimensions of the Pure Land Hall at Chōgen's *bessho* on the Harima estate, now known as Jōdoji 浄土寺.
29. Nishita Noriko 西田紀子, "Chōgen to daibutsuyō kenchiku" 重源と大仏様建築, in *Daikanjin chōgen* 大勧進重源, ed. Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 奈良国立博物館 (Nara: Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, 2006), 29.

備中 Bessho. Other documents related to the reconstruction and management of Tōdaiji mention a *bessho* in Bizen 備前 Province and merit-making activities at temples across Yamato 大和 Province including Hokkeji 法華寺 that were also probably related to Chōgen's *kanjin* campaign. Like the Shinbessho, Chōgen's later *bessho* were spaces for Pure Land practice, serving provincial nobles, warriors, and common people who formed demographically heterogeneous Pure Land societies.

Chōgen's *bessho* had no institutional links with Tendai Buddhism, unlike many of the Pure Land Halls in China from the time of the Northern Song, which were constructed as part of Tiantai compounds. However, just like the Chinese Tiantai Pure Land halls, Chōgen's halls did allow for a range of Pure Land worship, even if the specific rituals conducted were removed from any Tiantai/Tendai context. The ceremonies recorded at Chōgen's *bessho* were of two main types: Descent of Amitābha Assemblies (*raigōe* 来迎会) that depicted Amitābha's manifestation in this world to welcome the faithful to his Pure Land, and group *nenbutsu* 念仏 (Ch. *nianfo*) chanting of Amitābha's name, which could be accompanied by the purificatory bathing rituals first seen at the Shinbessho. According to the *Sazenshū*, the *raigōe* assembly was initially performed at the Watanabe Bessho in 1197 by twenty-five disciples costumed as attendant bodhisattvas of Amitābha in a grandiose ceremony attended by the Retired Emperor Go-Toba. At the Harima Bessho, *raigōe* assemblies began in 1200. For these, the Amitābha statue from the Pure Land Hall was clothed so as to convey the impression of a living Buddha manifest in this world, and then carried across a pond that separated the Pure Land Hall, representing Amitābha's Pure Land, to the Bhaiṣajyaguru Hall (Yakushidō 薬師堂),[30] representing the mundane world.[31] Disciples donned bodhisattva masks and chanted the *nenbutsu* during the procession.[32]

30. The Bhaiṣajyaguru Hall was said to have been built from old materials from an abandoned temple gathered by Chōgen on the estate.

31. Janet Goodwin, *Alms and Vagabonds: Temples and Popular Patronage in Medieval Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1994), 94.

32. Nojiri Tadashi 野尻忠, "Tōdaiji ryō shōen to bessho no keiei" 東大寺領荘園と別所の経営, in *Daikanjin chōgen* 大勧進重源, ed. Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 奈良国立博物館 (Nara: Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, 2006), 42.

PRECEDENTS FOR CHŌGEN'S LAY DEVOTIONAL NETWORK IN CHINA AND JAPAN

One of Chōgen's major activities at his *bessho* was to organize a network of Pure Land disciples, modeled after similar Pure Land societies he had seen at Yanqingsi and perhaps other urban temples in south China. Many lay Buddhist societies had been formed in the Song by Chōgen's time, including confraternities entirely organized and supported by lay Buddhists. The activities of these organizations revolved around religious concepts such as the field of merit (*futian* 福田),[33] which included donations and support given to monasteries, as well as "good works" projects such as road and bridge building.[34] The increase in Pure Land confraternities from the Northern Song onwards, particularly in the Zhejiang and Jiangsu 江蘇 regions, was driven by Buddhist institutions, particularly Tiantai temples with Pure Land Halls that invited local lay participation, though Pure Land societies were also formed among other Buddhist denominations as well.[35]

Precedents for Chōgen's Pure Land network in China included Shengchang's 省常 (959–1020) Purifying Practice Society based at

33. Discussed in Chikusa Masaaki 竺沙雅章, *Chūgoku bukkyō shakaishi kenkyū* 中国仏教社会史研究 (Kyoto: Dōhōsha Shuppan, 1982), 270–271; and Michibata Ryōshū 道端良秀. *Chūgoku Bukkyō to shakai fukushi jigyō* 中国仏教と社会福祉事業 (Kyōto: Hōzōkan, 1967), 23–28. Also see Ter Haar 1992: 24.

34. B.J. Ter Harr, *The White Lotus Teachings in Chinese Religious History* (Leiden, New York: E.J. Brill, 1992), 25–28.

35. Daniel B. Stevenson, "The 'Hall for the Sixteen Contemplations' as a Distinctive Institution for Pure Land Practice in Tiantai Monasteries of the Song (960–1279)," in *Buddhism in Global Perspective*, ed. Kalpakam Sankarnarayan et al. (Mumbai: Somaiya Publications, 2003), 342. Variants of Pure Land societies founded by lay practitioners were preceded by Pure Land societies established by ordained monks. These earlier institutionalized societies, while particularly significant within the Tiantai tradition, were not exclusive to a particular Buddhist denomination. For example, Yuanzhao's 元照 (1048–1116) disciple, Zongli 宗利, founded a Pure Land society at Daoweishan 道味山 connected with *vinaya* study (Ch. *lüzong* 律宗). Other such societies were affiliated with Chan 禪, for example Zongze's 宗賾 Excellent Lotus Society (Lianhuashenghui 蓮華勝會) at Changlusi 長蘆寺 in Zhenzhou 真州. The Southern Song lay Buddhist Fengji 馮楫 also established a Chan-Pure Land society based in Suining 遂寧. In this way, Pure Land societies became a fixture of Buddhist institutions without regard for doctrinal orientation (Takao, *Sōdai bukkyō shi no kenkyū*, 110).

Zhaoqingsi 昭慶寺 in Hangzhou and Zunshi's 遵式 (964–1032) Tiantai Pure Land confraternity based at Baoyunsi 寶雲寺. However, the most enduring of Song Pure Land societies was Zhili's society at Yanqingsi. Zhili became well known in Japan through his exchange with the Japanese Tendai Pure Land patriarch Genshin 源信 (942–1017), who sent his disciple Jakushō 寂照 (962–1034) to Yanqingsi with a list of questions about Tiantai doctrine. The answers provided by Zhili and recorded in the *Records of the Teachings and Conduct of Zhili* (*Siming zunzhe jiaoxinglu* 四明尊者教行錄)[36] became a cornerstone of doctrinal understanding for the evolving Japanese Tendai school. Partially because of Zhili's distinction in Japan, Zhili's home temple of Yanqingsi became a pilgrimage destination for many Japanese monks who traveled to China during the Song, likely including Chōgen.

Zhili's decision to found a Pure Land society occurred in the midst of the well-known Home Mountain/Off-Mountain (Shanjia shanwai) 山家山外 crisis for the Tiantai establishment, which threatened to divide the Tiantai school.[37] One of the objectives behind the creation of Zhili's Pure Land society was to encourage organizational stability by attracting a large base of lay followers who would provide support for his temple, and by extension, his stature within the Tiantai establishment.

The general structure of Zhili's society is well-attested, unlike the societies founded by his predecessors. Zhili discussed his society's structure in his *Announcement of the Gathering of the Nianfo Assembly* (*Jie nianfohui shu* 結念佛會疏)[38] written in 1012, just as it was being formed. Later, the monk Zongxiao 宗曉 (1151–1214) described the society's structure at the end of the twelfth century, roughly the period of Chōgen's visits, in his *Records of the Teachings and Conduct of Zhili*. Zhili's original intentions for his society and Zongxiao's description almost two hundred years later show a remarkable degree of correspondence, showing the organization's stability across time. According to both documents, Zhili's society's monastic and lay members numbered approximately ten thousand. Within this structure, there were

36. T. 46, n. 1937.

37. For the details of the controversy and the philosophical positions taken by both sides, see Chih-wan Chan, "Chih-li (960–1028) and the Crises of T'ien-t'ai Buddhism in the Early Sung," in *Buddhism in the Sung*, ed. Peter Gregory and Daniel Getz (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1999), 409–441.

38. Translated by Getz, *Siming Zhili and Tiantai Pure Land in the Song Dynasty*, 494–496.

210 society leaders (*huishou* 會首) who formed the upper tier of the organization. The society leaders were each responsible for enrolling forty-eight additional members dedicated to following Amitābha's vow, yielding a total of 10,290 members,[39] which would have accounted for approximately one quarter of the households in the city.[40] This two-tiered organization seems to have replicated the structure of Buddhist societies during the Tang that met only once or twice a year, and which were subdivided into smaller groups that met more frequently.[41] Such a large membership figure probably points to participation across social divides, with the forty-eight society leaders representing local gentry and each leader's sub-group composed of participants from the general population.

During Zhili's Amitābha recitation ordination ceremonies (*Nianfo shijie hui* 念佛施戒會), each member of the society was given a calendrical chart known as a *Calendar Exhorting Buddha-Recitation, Repentance, and Vow* (*Qing nianfo chanyuan lizi* 請念佛懺願歷子), a record-keeping method for chanting Amitābha's name introduced during this period that would become widespread in later Chinese Pure Land societies.[42] Each day, members were expected to mark the number of recitations of Amitābha's name they performed at home, measured in quantities of one thousand recitations. Although these charts are no longer

39. Ide Seinosuke 井手誠之輔, *Nihon no bijutsu* 日本の美術, No. 418 (2001), says there were 10,080 members in total, but this would only account for the members enrolled by the assembly heads (210 x 48 = 10,080). Adding the assembly heads to the equation yields 10,290 ([210 x 48] + 210 = 10,290).

40. Ibid., 40–41. This assumes that all the members of the organization were based in Ningbo. As with Shengchang's society, we know this was not always the case.

41. Getz, *Siming Zhili and Tiantai Pure Land in the Song Dynasty*, 497.

42. Other examples of such calendars include one used by the niece of the Qincheng 欽成 Empress (1052–1102), Zhu Ruyi 朱如一, who printed and distributed large character repetition books (*boke loushu* 擘窠婁書) as a means to encourage recitation of the *nianfo* 100,000 times. She attracted more than 200,000 participants for this effort (*Lebang wenlei* 樂邦文類, vol. 3; see Takao, *Sōdai bukkyō shi no kenkyū*, 108). The Mingzhou instructor (*xueyu* 學論) Jiu Dingguo 咎定國 also printed a large character *nianfo* chart (*boke nianfotu* 擘窠念佛圖) in order to encourage *nianfo* practice. According to a biographical account, the Siming iron worker Ji Gong 計公 completed seventeen of these charts over the course of three years, implying that he recited Amitābha's name 6,120,000 times during this period.

extant, each chart was thought to record a maximum of 360,000 recitations (1000 recitations x 360 days), and thus consist of 360 circles. The six characters of Amitābha's name or a picture of Amitābha and his accompanying bodhisattvas probably formed the central image on the charts.[43] For the society's communal meeting on the memorial day of the Buddha's *parinirvāṇa* (the fifteenth day of the second month), a large ceremony was held at Yanqingsi for all of the society's members. Each society leader would collect the calendrical charts from their sub-group's members in order to confirm their diligence in reciting Amitābha's name. According to the *Announcement of the Gathering*, a donation of forty-eight coins was also due at this time, showing that one of the functions of the society was fundraising.[44] Based on Zongxiao's record, Zhili's society enjoyed a remarkable degree of stability through the end of the twelfth century. It is thought that the society continued to exist for some time thereafter as well.[45]

In Japan, on the other hand, large-scale lay societies for Buddhist worship of any kind, including Pure Land worship, had little precedent before the time of Chōgen. The few Japanese lay Buddhist societies that did exist were small groups convened by intellectuals and minor aristocrats whose interests were confined to helping each other achieve

43. Takao, *Sōdai bukkyō shi no kenkyū*, 108–109. Charts used by the Jōdo Shinshū school of Pure Land Buddhism follow this structure and could be related to the use of Song *nianfo* calendars.

44. Getz, *Siming Zhili and Tiantai Pure Land in the Song Dynasty*, 495.

45. Many other Pure Land societies were formed in south China following Zunshi and Zhili, though none seem to have had the longevity of the society at Yanqingsi. Other societies that formed in Hangzhou, Ningbo, or the environs between the foundation of the Yanqingsi society and Chōgen's visits to China, include (founder, society, temple or location, city, year): (1) Congya 從雅, ?, Jingzhusi 淨住寺, Hangzhou, 1086; (2) Huiheng 慧 and Guo Miaoyuan 郭妙圓, Xinianhui 繫念會, Yanshousi 延壽寺, Hangzhou, ?; (3) Fazong 法宗, ?, ?, Hangzhou, before 1117; (4) Wangzhong 王衷, Bailianshe 白蓮社, West Lake 西湖, Hangzhou, ca. 1111-1117; (6) Sizhao 思照, ?, Deyun'an 德雲菴, Hangzhou, before 1119; (7) Ruoyu 若愚, ?, Juehaisi 覺海寺, Hangzhou, before 1126; (8) Daochen 道琛, Jingtu xinianhui 淨土繫念會, Yanqingsi 延慶寺, Ningbo, 1142; (9) Shiyou 師友, Xizishe 西資社, West Lake, Hangzhou, 1163 (Getz, *Siming Zhili and Tiantai Pure Land in the Song Dynasty*, 510–511). Thus, Chōgen had other opportunities to familiarize himself with institutionalized Pure Land worship at different temples across south China in addition to Yanqingsi, particularly if he also traveled to the Southern Song capital of Hangzhou.

rebirth in Amitābha's Pure Land. The most well-known Japanese lay societies were those organized in the late tenth century by Yoshishige no Yasutane 慶滋保胤 (933–1002). Yasutane's first organization was known as the Society for Study and Endeavor (Kangakue 勧学絵), founded in 964, and consisted of his friends and colleagues who shared similar interests in Buddhism. The society assembled twice each year for an entire day and night. On those occasions, the participants listened to sermons on the *Lotus Sutra*, composed Buddhist-themed poetry, and engaged in recitation of Amitābha's name throughout the night. While the meetings were nominally for religious purposes, the occasion provided the opportunity for old friends to reunite and discuss recent events. This society lasted twenty years before eventually disbanding in 984. Two years later, Yasutane collaborated with the Tendai monk Genshin to create another, dedicated society for Pure Land practice known as the Nenbutsu-Samādhi Society of the Twenty-Five (Nijūgo zanmai'e 二十五三昧会). This society was also small, comprised of twenty-five Pure Land devotees from the bureaucratic and monastic ranks. They met more frequently, once each month, to engage in the same activities scheduled by the Kangakue: lectures on the *Lotus Sutra* followed by a night-long *nenbutsu* recitation. The members also pledged loyalty to one another in times of sickness or death in order to achieve their common goal of Pure Land rebirth. Genshin's *Essentials of Rebirth in the Pure Land* (*Ōjōyōshū* 往生要集), written between 984 and 985, was probably intended as a manual for this society.[46]

CHŌGEN'S RELIGIOUS NETWORK

Compared with Yasutane's societies, the Pure Land network Chōgen would establish—centered around his Pure Land Halls at the Tōdaiji Bessho—shared more in common with the Pure Land societies of the Song. First, Chōgen's network paralleled Song Pure Land societies formed as a response to recent catastrophe. As discussed above, Zhili began his Pure Land society in the context of the Home Mountain/Off Mountain controversy that threatened the Tiantai school. Another example was Shengchang's 省常 (959–1020) Purifying Practice Society

46. Allan A. Andrews, *The Teachings Essential for Rebirth: A Study of Genshin's Ōjōyōshū* (Tokyo: Sophia University, 1973), 38–39.

(Jingxing she 淨行社)[47] at Zhaoqingsi, which was formed as a response to the Later Zhou (951–960) Emperor Shizong's 世宗 (r. 954–959) persecution of Buddhism, as well as challenges mounted against Buddhism by the Confucian elite. Shizong had ordered the elimination of all monasteries lacking name plaques conferred by the government and intensely regulated registrars of ordained monks. 3,336 of a total of 6,030 temples under Shizong's rules were shuttered, and bronze statues and other religious artifacts were confiscated.[48] Shengchang was particularly disturbed by continued Confucian attacks on Buddhism and envisioned his society as a means to strengthen the religion's social foundation. Shengchang's reasons for founding the society are recorded in his own words on Zhiyuan 智 圓's (976–1022) *Principal Epigraphy of the White Lotus Society of Qiantang* (*Guqiantang bailianshe zhubeiwen* 故錢塘白蓮社主碑文):

> Officials always turn to Buddhist disciples and say, "From the time this dynasty was established, officials and scholars have respected the ancient in their writing.[49] [We] generally study Han Yu in order to

47. Several sources exist for the study of this society, including the *Complete Records of the Buddha and Patriarchs (Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀, T. 49, n. 2035) by Zhipan 志磐 (active during Southern Song); the *Wonjong mullyu* 圓宗文類 (X. 58, n. 1015), compiled by Uicheon 義天 (1055–1101); the *Compilation on the Lotus Society of Zhaoqingsi on Hangzhou's West Lake* (*Hangzhou xihu zhaoqingsi jielianshe ji* 杭州西湖昭慶寺結連社集 (see Satō Seijun 佐藤成順, *Sōdai bukkyō no kenkyū: genshō no jōdokyō* 宋代仏教の研究元照の浄土教 [Tokyo: Sankibō Busshorin, 2001], 108–124), with a preface by Qian Yi 錢易; and several stele inscriptions, including the *Introduction to the Zhaoqingsi Devotional Society Stele* (*Dasong hangzhou xihu zhaoqingsi jieshe beiming bingxu* 大宋杭州西湖昭慶寺結社碑銘并序 by Songbai 宋白 [936–1012]), included in *Wonjong mullyu*, X. 58, n. 1015: 563b20–564c08.

48. Patricia Ebrey, "Song Government Policy," in *Modern Chinese Religion I*, ed. John Lagerway (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 76.

49. Referencing the Classical Prose Movement (Guwen yundong 古文運動) of the Tang and Song, which emphasized that the classics should serve as the primary references for all human activity, both private and governmental, because the classics represented the earliest instantiation of ethical norms that shaped Chinese civilization. Members of the movement were strong critics of the parallel prose (*piantiwen* 駢體文) style of writing that became popular from the Han dynasty onwards. Buddhism and Daoism were also the target of their critiques, since these religions challenged many of the "orthodox" instructions and precedents established in the classics. Han Yu

> cultivate our character." However, what [these officials] mean is [that the government should] purge Buddhist disciples. Therefore, I follow in the footsteps of Huiyuan 慧遠 (334–416),[50] whose [example] guided us to form this society. Always follow my instructions: proliferate the stelae [that explain our purpose], heap the praise [upon our group], and honor the path of Buddhism in order to form close alliances [with those in power]. Where appropriate, take a thorny situation and find a new way around the walls and chasms—this is what I teach.
>
> 公每顧門人曰。國初以來。薦紳先生。宗古為文。大率學退之之為人。　以擠排釋氏為意。故我假遠公之跡。誡以結社事。往往從我化。而叢碑　委頌。稱道佛法。以為歸嚮之盟辭。適足以枳棘異涂墻塹。吾教矣。[51]

Like Shengchang, Chōgen founded his Pure Land network after a threat to the integrity of Buddhism in his country—the destruction of the most prominent temples in Nara, including Tōdaiji, during the Gempei War. Also like Shengchang, Chōgen aimed to popularize Buddhist devotion as a means to raise support for the rebuilding of Tōdaiji.[52]

Second, Chōgen's Pure Land network resembled Song Pure Land societies that encouraged a diverse membership and were open to monastics and lay disciples. The founders of Chinese Pure Land societies sought the support of the emperor and participation of high-ranking

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was one of the movement's most notable members (Zhen Youshi, *Images and Ideas in Chinese Classical Prose: Studies of Four Masters* [Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988], viii).

50. Credited with founding the first Pure Land society in China on Mt. Lu 廬山.

51. *Xianju bian* 閑居編 (X. 56, n. 949): 914a10780. Also see Satō, *Sōdai bukkyō no kenkyū,* 105, though his version of the text has problems with alternative characters and misplaced *kaeriten* 返り点. The final portion of the text is slightly unclear, but the meaning seems to be that Shengchang's Buddhist disciples should navigate around the difficulties posed by the enemies of Buddhism in the civil service.

52. Shengchang's society had faded long before Chōgen's trips to China. However, his society shared much in common with later societies in China, as well as Chōgen's Japanese Pure Land network, in terms of the circumstances of its formation, goals, membership, and geographic extent, suggesting influence on later groups. In keeping with the sketchy details of Chōgen's travels in China, no sources attest to Chōgen's familiarity with Shengchang's group, but it seems likely that Chōgen visited Hangzhou and thus may have learned of the society at Zhaoqingsi through the stele inscriptions there or conversations with local clergy in the region.

court officials in order to ensure their societies' viability. However, all three of the most well-attested societies founded by Shengchang, Zunshi, and Zhili also encouraged participation from common people as part of their wider proselytization efforts. The organization of Zhili's society, which included an expansive tier of lay adherents from the common classes, was detailed above. The impact of Shengchang's teachings across social divides was also emphasized in Song Bai's *Society Stele*:

> When scholars heard [Shengchang's teachings], they became loyal and honest and put a stop to corruption and greed. They adjusted the criminal codes and took pity on the common people. When novice monastics heard them, they diligently applied themselves to recitation, sincerely abstained from meat, practiced meditation on the dharma, and pursued the realization of suffering and emptiness. When officials heard them, they admired the virtue of benevolence, feared sinful karma, revered their superiors, and sheltered their families. When the common people heard them, they found delight in their toils, took pleasure in their meager circumstances, energetically performed their work, and feared the law. When virtuous persons heard them, they promoted the good. When evil persons heard them, they discarded their wicked ways. How could it be any different?
>
> 士人聞之。則務貞廉。息貪暴。填刑網。矜人民。釋子聞之。則勤課　誦。謹齋戒。習禪諦悟苦空。職司聞之。則慕寬仁。畏罪業。尊長吏。　庇家屬。眾庶聞之。則耳苦辛。樂貧賤。精伎業。懼憲章。善者聞之而 遷善。惡者聞之而捨惡。夫何異哉。[53]

In similar fashion, Chōgen reached out to the emperor and warrior families of Japan as pillars of financial support but also encouraged participation in his Pure Land network from the local workers on the Tōdaiji estates, as discussed below.

Third, Chōgen's network resembled the biggest of the Song Pure Land societies organized as spatial networks, geographically distributed across sizeable regions. Zhili's society was so large in membership that it almost certainly extended beyond the boundaries of Ningbo to other urban areas. This was also true of Shengchang's society, which included extensive membership from the capital in Bianjing and other

53. *Wonjong mullyu* 圓宗文類(X. 58, n. 1015): 563c22–564a02.

cities.[54] A certain stele inscription (*Jieshe beiyin* 結社碑陰)[55] by Zhejiang Transportation Official Sun He 孫何 includes seventeen names of officials who wrote "Joining the Society" poems for Shengchang's society. Of these, just two were from Hangzhou. Others hailed from Yangzhou 揚州 (current-day Jiangsu 江蘇 Province), and fourteen from the capital, Bianjing 汴京.[56] Thus, the geographical influence of Shengchang's society was not limited to southern China but expanded over time to form a network with multiple nodes, including the northern capital. In the case of Chōgen, while Tōdaiji served as the hub of his Pure Land activities, Chōgen's geographically dispersed *bessho* also acted as nodes for Pure Land worship and fundraising across estates in western Japan.

Fourth, as mentioned previously, Zhili's network, the only one whose organization is understood in detail, exhibited a two-tiered structure organized around monastic and lay practice that shared its basic design with Chōgen's inner and outer religious network, composed of disciples, managers, donors, and estate workers who facilitated the Tōdaiji reconstruction. In the case of Chōgen, members of the inner network served as his closest advisors and managed much of the Tōdaiji reconstruction, while members of the outer network were a mix of monastic and lay followers who donated funds, labored on the estates that served Tōdaiji, and participated in rituals at the Pure Land Halls. While Chōgen never constructed a Sixteen Visualizations Hall, the two tiers of his network were differentiated by the rigor expected of members' practice and devotion, just like Zhili's society.

Chōgen's outer network was much larger than his inner network, who were all monks and nuns.[57] The outer network was a looser affiliation of individuals from diverse socio-economic and professional backgrounds. Records of the members of Chōgen's network are incomplete. There are no remaining rosters of the participants in the *nenbutsu* societies at Chōgen's *bessho*, for example. In general, the names of

54. Satō, *Sōdai bukkyō no kenkyū,* 85–92.

55. Ibid., 103 quotes this inscription from *Xianchun Lin'anzhi* 咸淳臨安志, fasc. 79, *Siguan* 寺觀 5, *Dazhaoqingsi* 大昭慶寺 page. This text is also available electronically at https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&res=258802.

56. Satō, *Sōdai bukkyō no kenkyū,* 103–104.

57. I know of no nuns explicitly identified in Chōgen's network, but this is to be expected given the gender ambiguity of dharma names. Due to the size of Chōgen's network, it stands to reason that both monks and nuns would have joined.

common people who participated in such societies were rarely, if ever, recorded. However, there are many reasons to believe that Chōgen's outer network was socially diverse in character.

First, many of Chōgen's good works projects were organized in order to benefit the lives of common people in regions near Chōgen's *bessho*. These projects included the building and repair of roads and bridges to ease the journeys of travelers and protect them from thieves and wild animals,[58] the repair of harbors to ensure the safety of sailors and fisherman,[59] and the renovation of the Sayama reservoir to provide water for crop irrigation.[60] It seems likely that many of the ordinary people who benefitted from Chōgen's good works and lived proximal to Chōgen's *bessho* would have been encouraged to attend the Pure Land ceremonies organized there. Second, the spatial dimensions of Chōgen's *bessho* were relatively large, with fewer pillars separating the bays than was routine during the period, thereby affording more space within the structure for large congregations. Third, Chōgen constructed "regular" bathhouses at his *bessho* for use by common people in contrast to some bathhouses he built exclusively for *hijiri* in short-term residence.[61] Fourth, documents inserted into the Amitābha statue installed in the Harima Bessho contain many names preceded by "Ōbe," indicating that the list consists of locals who contributed to the building of the hall and management of the Ōbe estate.[62] In that case, the individuals on the list were probably prominent provincials but nevertheless several classes removed from the aristocrats of the capital. Finally, Chōgen claimed in the *Sazenshū* to have bestowed his Amidabutsu religious names on rich and poor, high and low. While all the individuals who used Amidabutsu names and who have been identified were monks, he may have meant that Amidabutsu names were bestowed on monks both of aristocratic and common upbringing.

58. Rosenfield, *Portraits of Chōgen*, 228–229.
59. Yokōchi Hiroto 横内 裕人, *Nihon chūsei no bukkyō to higashi ajia* 日本中世の仏教と東アシア (Tokyo: Hanawa Shobō, 2008), 549.
60. The original text from a stela that describes Chōgen's repairs of the Sayama reservoir is reprinted in Harada Masatoshi 原田正俊. "Chōgen, kaku'a to kanjin no shisō" 重源・鑁阿と勧進の思想, in *Nihon bukkyō no keisei to tenkai* 日本仏教の形成と展開, ed. Yuishin Itō, ed. (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 2002), 206.
61. Rosenfield, *Portraits of Chōgen*, 229.
62. The statue has not been disassembled. The lists have only been inspected by probes inserted into the statue.

Whatever his exact meaning, the phrase suggests Chōgen attended to people of all social classes and supports the idea that his congregations at the *bessho* were also diverse in composition.

The most tangible extant evidence regarding the extent of Chōgen's inner and outer network are lists of names recorded in statues donated to the *bessho* or other temples. The practice of inserting documents and other items into statues was commonplace in East Asia by Chōgen's time and in Japan was known as *kechien kōmyō* 結縁交名. For this practice, patrons who participated in the creation of a divinity's statue would include their names on a list, sometimes at the end of a sutra or *dhāraṇī* text, that was inserted inside the statue. Such lists provided a spiritual link between donors and the divinity, thereby accruing merit for the donors.[63]

Chōgen organized his own *kechien* groups in order to fund many of the statues he created for Tōdaiji, the *bessho*, and other institutions during the Tōdaiji reconstruction. The majority of these statues served as the central objects of worship for Pure Land devotional groups. A number also contained hollow cavities in which *kechien* lists were inserted upon consecration of the statues in order to identify the patrons who participated in their production. Almost all of the *kechien* lists prepared by Chōgen were inserted inside statues of Amitābha, creating a meritorious linkage between Chōgen's devotees and Amitābha's Pure Land in recognition of their contributions.[64]

63. See James Robson, "Brushes with Some 'Dirty Truths': Handwritten Manuscripts and Religion in China," *History of Religions* 51, no. 4 (2012): 317–343.

64. Most of the *kechien* lists associated with Chōgen have been lost with their statues or still remain inside extant statues, unstudied. However, a well-preserved *kechien* list associated with Chōgen was created for an Amitābha statue sculpted by Kaikei 快慶 (1150–1250) and installed at Kengōin 遣仰院 in Kyoto. The list contains a number of aristocrats and warriors who belonged to Chōgen's outer network as sponsors of the Tōdaiji reconstruction, making it particularly worthy of mention. Another *kechien* list that would probably prove useful to the study of Chōgen's outer network remains in the Amitābha statue installed at the Harima Bessho (now called "Jōdoji" 浄土寺); however, the statue has not been disassembled. Probes were inserted into the statue in 1997 confirmed the existence of seven scrolls inside, but the findings were minimal. The date 1195 was identified on the list (Rosenfield, *Portraits of Chōgen*, 156). Other examples of extant *kechien* lists in Chōgen's statuary include one

Many of Chōgen's *kechien* documents include Amidabutsu names he assigned for his closest advisors and managers who formed his inner network. I will first discuss the precedents for these Amidabutsu names in China and then show how Chōgen used them to support his own religious network.

PRECEDENTS FOR AMIDABUTSU NAMES AND LAY TEMPLE CONSTRUCTION IN CHINA

Another Chinese precedent for Chōgen's organization of his Pure Land network were the religious affiliation names used by lay religious devotees in the Southern Song. These names prefigured Chōgen's practice of bestowing Amidabutsu 阿弥陀仏 names on his close disciples. Chōgen's names consisted of a single character added to the Japanese name for Amitābha, "Amidabutsu." Chōgen's specific use of this nomenclature was largely unprecedented in either China or Japan. There are some records of Chinese Buddhists using part or the entirety of Amitābha's name self-referentially but no examples of a community using Amitābha's name as a shared identity for members. The basic concept of lay religious adherents using the same names or characters in order to signify their participation in a religious group was typical in the Southern Song by Chōgen's time, though. Chōgen likely become familiar with this naming practice during his travels.

Southern Song lay associations distinguished by their communal activities have been studied by Chikusa Masaaki 竺沙雅章[65] and B. J. Ter Harr.[66] Some lay associations were established around specific monasteries and contributed funds for assemblies commemorating religious holidays such as the Buddha's birthday, tomb-sweeping day (*qingming* 清明), or All Souls Day (*yulanhui* 盂蘭會). Other associations held wakes on the night of each *gengshen* 庚申 day in order to prevent

from the Hachiman in the Guise of a Monk at Tōdaiji, the Śākyamuni statue from Bujōji 峰定寺 in Kyōto, and (probably) a yet to be disassembled Jizō 地蔵 statue at Tōdaiji.

65. See Chikusa, *Chūgoku bukkyō shakaishi kenkyū*, chap. 7.

66. Ter Harr, *The White Lotus Teachings in Chinese Religious History*, 16–63 concentrates on lay Buddhist groups during the Song.

the Three Corpse Worms (*sanshi* 三尸) from ascending to heaven in order to report one's sins.[67]

In some lay Buddhist associations, devotees used autonyms to distinguish their spiritual collectivism. One of the larger associations identified and studied by Chikusa in documents from Liangzhe xilu 兩浙西路 dated to 1194 and 1204 references lay adherents as "the People of the Way of the White Lotus Cloister on Nanshan" (*Nanshan baiyun'an daomin* 南山白雲庵道民), and "the People of the Way of the White Lotus [Society] of Nanshan in Yuhang" (*Yuhang nanshan baiyun daoren* 餘杭南山白雲道人). "White Lotus," used in some of these designations, references the ideal of Huiyuan's original Pure Land society on Lushan and appear to signal an intention to recreate his group.[68] Chikusa coined the category "People of the Way" (Ch. *daomin*, Jpn. *dōmin* 道民) to refer to persons who took such autonyms. Liangzhe xilu 兩浙西路, where the People of the Way were active during the Song, included Hangzhou and the area to the capital's north. It also bordered Liangzhe donglu 兩浙東路, the location of Ningbo and Tiantaishan to the south, where Chōgen is known to have traveled. Autonyms for the People of the Way appear with increasing frequency in sources from the latter half of the twelfth century, including in the *Collected Documents of the Song* (*Song huiyao* 宋會要), showing an increase in lay participation in such groups during the period of Chōgen's three visits to China.[69]

"People of the Way" was a relatively common expression used to refer to monks as early as the Northern and Southern dynasties (420–589) and continued to be used for this purpose. However, by the Song dynasty primarily laypeople adopted this autonym. Other autonyms used by the People of the Way include "One of the Way" (*daozhe* 道者), "Friend of the Way" (*daoyou* 道友), "Lady of the Way" (*daogu* 道姑), "Woman of the Way" (*nüdao* 女道), and "Person of the Way in White

67. Ibid., 30 summarizes Wu Zimu's *Record of Reminiscing on the Past*, an early fourteenth century document that purports to describe lay assemblies' activities in the Late Southern Song.

68. Chikusa, *Chūgoku bukkyō shakaishi kenkyū*, 277. "The Way," used frequently in these autonyms, had long been established as a general term for a path of spiritual or moral advancement for many religions in China, including Buddhism.

69. Ter Harr, *The White Lotus Teachings in Chinese Religious History*, 31–32.

Clothes" (*baiyi daozhe* 白衣道者).[70] During the Song, People of the Way helped to finance the printing of editions of the Buddhist canon individually or in small groups. Sources from the Yuan 元 (1271–1368), which have many more references to the People of the Way, indicate they communally financed good works projects, such as road or bridge building, in larger groups of twenty to thirty people. By the early thirteenth century, some sources discuss "Lords of the Way" (*daogong* 道公) as donors to specific temples.[71]

For Chōgen, the most important naming practice used by the People of the Way involved religious affiliation characters—single characters usually adopted in place of the generation name (*zibei* 字輩). In twelfth- and thirteenth-century Southern Song documents, Ter Harr found thirty-two such names, which repeat one of the following characters referencing a Buddhist concept: *dao* 道 ("way"), *zhi* 智 ("wisdom), *yuan* 圓 ("perfect"), *pu* 普 ("universal"), *miao* 妙 ("wondrous"), or *jue* 覺 ("realization").[72] These characters were adopted upon taking the lay Buddhist vows: not to kill, steal, commit adultery, speak falsely, nor drink alcohol, though other lists of commandments also existed.[73] The religious affiliation characters used by the People of the Way appear to have functioned as identifiers to create a sense of organizational fraternity.

The People of the Way built many unlicensed cloisters in the Southern Song, which provide a sense of the size of these groups and attest to the likelihood that Chōgen would have encountered them. Evidence for these groups' expansiveness can be found in the *Jiatai wuxing zhi* 嘉泰吳興志, which lists temples constructed in each county of Huzhou 湖州, a prefecture in the Liangzhe xilu bordering Taihu Lake 太湖 just north of Hangzhou.[74] During the Southern Song, 63 percent (17/27) of the temples constructed in this province were small cloisters or grave temples, the types of temples built by the People of the

70. Ibid.; see 305–306 for a list of specific documents in which these names appear and the context for their usage where known. "White clothes" referred to the color worn historically by lay Buddhist disciples in contrast to the black or darker colored robes used by ordained monastics.

71. Chikusa, *Chūgoku bukkyō shakaishi kenkyū*, 277–280.

72. Ter Harr, *The White Lotus Teachings in Chinese Religious History*, 39–40.

73. Ibid., 39.

74. Tan Qixiang 譚其驤, ed., *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji* 中國歷史地圖集, vol. 6 (Shanghai: Ditu chuba she, 1982), 59–60.

Way, a number considerably higher than the 15 percent (2/15) built during the Northern Song.[75] Given the increase in temple building by the "People of the Way" in the Southern Song, Chōgen would have had opportunities to encounter them during his voyages in this region.

CHŌGEN'S AMIDABUTSU RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION CHARACTERS AND THE INNER NETWORK

Chōgen's inner network was distinguished by the use of Amidabutsu names bestowed on each member of his network, a practice whose closest precedent was the religious affiliation characters adopted by the People of the Way in the vicinity of Hangzhou. Chōgen's Amidabutsu naming practice was configured in such a way that Chōgen himself was understood to be the primary emanation of Amitābha with the name "Namu-Amidabutsu 南無阿弥陀仏," while his disciples became secondary emanations of Amitābha through their connections with Chōgen, their master. "Namu-Amidabutsu" or "Homage to Amitābha Buddha," is the phrase chanted when Pure Land disciples call to Amitābha in Japanese. The Amidabutsu names given to his disciples always followed the format "*X*-Amidabutsu," where *X* was a variable character with strong Buddhist connotations, perhaps borrowed from one or several sutras, just like those used by the People of the Way. Chōgen's Amidabutsu-named disciples assumed responsibility for many of the most important tasks of the Tōdaiji reconstruction, including the sculpting of Buddhist images, management of estates, and rebuilding of Tōdaiji's halls. The purpose of Chōgen's naming practice, like those used in South China at the time, was to create a collective identity for Chōgen's devotees while emphasizing both the merit earned by their contributions and the shared aspiration to attain salvation through Amitābha's grace. Though there are a few unrelated examples of monks or nuns using Amidabutsu names in Japan prior to Chōgen's time,[76] there are no precedents for granting Amidabutsu

75. Chikusa, *Chūgoku bukkyō shakaishi kenkyū*, 273–276.

76. Amidabutsu names have been discovered in isolated sources prior to 1183, and include: (1) Shin-Amidabutsu 新－ and Zen-Amidabutsu 前－, active at Hōshōji 法成寺 in 1023; (2) Koku-Amidabutsu 黒－, from a copied sutra at the Shōsōin 正倉院 dated 1087; (3) Hō-Amidabutsu 法－, who donated fields to the Tōdaiji Kaidanin 戒壇院 in 1137; and (4) Namu-Amidabutsu 南無－, who copied the commentary on the *Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra* (*Yugaronshō* 瑜伽論

names in order to foster a common identity among a Buddhist society. In the *Sazenshū*, dated to 1202, Chōgen says he began bestowing Amidabutsu names to the high and low twenty years earlier, which would place the starting date for the naming practice around 1183.

The Amidabutsu names of Chōgen's disciples are recorded in a variety of sources, including Chōgen's *Sazenshū*, Kanezane's *Gyokuyō*, the *Tōdaiji zōryū kuyōki* 東大寺造立供養記, and Tōdaiji estate documents.[77] Amidabutsu names were also listed in dedicatory inscriptions installed within statues, reliquaries, and other mementos created by Chōgen and his disciples. Members of Chōgen's inner network often used their Amidabutsu names in place of their ordination names. This is the case, for example, at the end of the stele erected for Chōgen's Sayama 狭山 pond restoration in which the Amidabutsu names of several of Chōgen's closest associates are listed.[78] This can also be seen in a *dhāraṇī* sutra inserted into the *agyō* 阿形 (open mouth) statue of the *vajra*-welding guardian (Kongōrikishi 金剛力士) at the Great South Gate (Nandaimon 南大門) at Tōdaiji, and a *vajra* ink drawing (*kongōsho bokusho* 金剛杵墨書) included in the same statue that contains the Amidabutsu names of sculpture apprentices (*shōbusshi* 小仏師), head carpenters (*banshō* 番匠), and ritual officials.[79] Yuishin Itō lists fourteen documents that reference Chōgen's disciples by their Amidabutsu names.[80] Though Amidabutsu names continued to be used after Chōgen's death by his

抄) in 1172. However, these examples appear unrelated to one another or to Chōgen. Also, unlike Chōgen's names and the religious affiliation names used by the People of the Way, which were used to create a group identity among the members of his network, these names appear to have been adopted by individual monks for private reasons (Yuishin Itō 伊藤唯真, *Hijiri Bukkyō shi no kenkyū* 聖仏教史の研究 [Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1995], 81).

77. Mizukami Kazuhisa 水上一久, *Chūsei no shōen to shakai* 中世の荘園と社会 (Tōkyō: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1969), 340–341. Examples of such estate documents include the *Suō amidabutsu shiryō denbaku chūmon* 周防阿弥陀仏寺領田畠注文.

78. According to the Sayama reservoir stele, the renovations were completed by "The Japanese monk and *Daikanjin* who constructed (Tō)daiji, Namu-Amidabutsu 南無阿弥陀仏; Assistant *kanjin ācārya* Ban-Amidabutsu 鐇阿弥陀仏; Jō-Amidabutsu 浄阿弥陀仏; [and] Jun-Amidabutsu 順阿弥陀仏" (text reprinted in Harada, "Chōgen, kaku'a to kanjin no shisō," 206).

79. Harada, "Chōgen, kaku'a to kanjin no shisō," 209.

80. Itō, *Hijiri Bukkyō shi no kenkyū*, 82–85.

followers, following the completion of Tōdaiji and the fragmentation of Chōgen's inner network Amidabutsu names were also adopted by other groups, including the Pure Land sectarian movement (*Jōdo shinshū* 浄土真宗) that emerged in the early Kamakura period. For these reasons, only materials dated prior to 1206, the year of Chōgen's death, can properly be considered as evidence of Amidabutsu names connected with Chōgen.[81]

What documentation exists that the Japanese practice of bestowing Amidabutsu names on disciples originated with Chōgen? The earliest corroboration of the claim that Chōgen first used Amidabutsu names is Jien's 慈円 (1155–1225) history of Japan, the *Gukanshō* 愚管抄 (ca. 1220). Later biographical accounts of Hōnen 法然 (1133–1212) also make this claim, including the *Kurodani shōnin den* 黒谷上人伝 (ca. 1283–1295) and *Hōnen shōnin denki* 法然上人伝記 (ca. 1312). Another Hōnen biography, the *Honchō soshi denki ekotoba* 本朝祖師伝記絵詞 (1237) specifically states that the use of Amidabutsu names was correlated with the *kanjin* campaign for the Great Buddha. While most biographies of Hōnen agree on this point,[82] a few differ. The *Genkū shōnin shinikki* 源空聖人私日記 (ca. 1237–1256), for example, argues that the Tendai abbot Kenshin 顕真 began the practice and chose prefix characters for his Amidabutsu names from the *Lotus Sutra*. There is little supporting evidence to bear out this conclusion, though.[83]

The 1183 starting date for Chōgen's adoption of Amidabutsu names mentioned in the *Sazenshū* seems plausible since it correlates with the timeframe for the casting of the Great Buddha. However, the earliest documentary evidence of Chōgen using his own Amidabutsu name, "Namu-Amidabutsu," is an inscription on an armrest (*kyōsoku* 脇息) from Tōdaiji dated to 1187.[84] The first record of Amidabutsu names among his disciples is an inscription on a Maitreya statue[85] from the Sambōin at Daigoji dated to 1192 that mentions "An-Amidabutsu" 安–,

81. Ishida Hisatoyo, 石田尚豊, "Chōgen no amida butsugō" 重源の阿弥陀仏号, in *Chōgen, Eizon, Ninshō* 重源・叡尊・忍性, ed. Nakao Takashi and Imai Masaharu (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2003), 99.
82. Itō, *Hijiri Bukkyō shi no kenkyū*, 79.
83. Ibid., 80.
84. Ishida, "Chōgen no amida butsugō," 100.
85. See *Chūō kōron bijutsu shuppan*, 2003, Vol. 1: 85-89.

the name adopted by Kaikei 快慶, who was one of Chōgen's sculptors responsible for Buddhist statues installed at Tōdaiji and the *bessho*.[86]

Based on a list of Amidabutsu names connected with Chōgen contained within an Amitābha statue[87] from Kengōin 遣迎院 in Kyōto (fig. 4), the adoption of Chōgen's Amidabutsu names may have significantly expanded in scope from circa 1194. One of the pages recovered from that statue[88] contains a line with the text "fifth year of the Kenkyū Era" (建久五年), which corresponds to the year 1194. There are only thirty-eight names included on that page, and none of them are Amidabutsu names. However, Amidabutsu names appear with increasing frequency in the subsequent pages of the list. Since all of the Amidabutsu names were added after the line written in 1194, we can surmise that many of Chōgen's disciples only adopted their Amidabutsu names from this year forward.[89] In all, about one hundred thirty Amidabutsu names appear on the Kengōin list.[90]

The members of Chōgen's inner network who received Amidabutsu names served in high-ranking monastic administrative positions such as rectors (*ina* 維那).[91] This was the case, for example, with a Chi-Amidabutsu 智－ and Ken-Amidabutsu 賢－.[92] Unsurprisingly, one of the members of Chōgen's inner network was Chōgen's closest disciple, Jōhan 定範/Gan-Amidabutsu 含－(1165–1225).[93] Other inner network members who have been identified were tasked with a variety

86. Ishida, "Chōgen no amida butsugō," 100.
87. See Chūō kōron bijutsu shuppan, ed., *Nihon chōkokushi kiso shiryō shūsei*, 1:101–170.
88. Page seven of the third booklet.
89. Ishida, "Chōgen no amida butsugō," 100. There are alternative explanations, as well. The Kengōin list contains many members of Chōgen's network, but the Amitābha statue in which it was inserted was not exclusively sponsored by Chōgen. While we would expect that Chōgens' closest disciples with Amidabutsu names would appear at the forefront of a list composed by Chōgen himself, there may have been some other rationale for the list's composers to group all of Chōgen's disciples with Amidabutsu names later in the document.
90. Ibid., 115.
91. Rectors were temple controllers in charge of distributing and arranging duties. The rector is the second position in the administrative hierarchy of a temple.
92. Ishida, "Chōgen no amida butsugō," 106–107.
93. Ibid., 109.

of practical jobs related to the rebuilding of Tōdaiji. These included sculpting Buddhist statues in the cases of Kaikei 快慶/An-Amidabutsu 安－ (act. late twelfth and early thirteenth c.) and his disciple Chōkai 長快/Jō-Amidabutsu 定－).[94] Other members were temple carpenters and building supervisors (e.g., Bengyō 弁暁/Shin-Amidabutsu 新－, En-Amidabutsu 縁－, Gaku-Amidabutsu 学－).[95]

RATIONALE AND SIGNIFICATION OF CHŌGEN'S AMIDABUTSU NAMING PRACTICE

While the idea of using such religious affiliation characters can be traced back to the People of the Way, the specific prefix characters chosen by Chōgen for his disciples' names seem to have been somewhat unique. There are several theories regarding the selection of the prefix characters for Chōgen's Amidabutsu names. Following an explanation given in the *Genkū shōnin shinikki* 源空聖人私日記, Itō Yuishin 伊藤唯真 hypothesized that the prefix characters all originated from the *Lotus Sutra*.[96] Many of the prefixes used by Chōgen's Amidabutsu disciples do appear in the *Lotus Sutra*, but not all, including "Ban" 鑁,[97] the prefix for the Amidabutsu name of one of Chōgen's *kanjin* assistants recorded on the Sayama Pond Stele. Moreover, many of the characters chosen as prefixes were commonly used in Buddhist literature, making it difficult, if not impossible, to isolate a single origin text for all of the characters. Hiroto Yokouchi has speculated that Chōgen chose different prefix characters as a way of classifying his disciples in a hierarchy

94. Ibid., 109.

95. Ibid., 108.

96. Itō, *Hijiri Bukkyō shi no kenkyū*, 80. Itō devised this theory in an era before digitized resources, however, and was unable to make an exhaustive search.

97. The character *Ban* is a transliteration of the seed syllable *vaṃ* and is the seed syllable for Mahāvairocana in the Vajradhātu. According to Itō's research, Ban-amidabutsu was active on Kōyasan, and so the name probably derives from an esoteric source. The same character appears in certain *dhāraṇī* documents that say it generates the Lotus Sections (蓮華部) of the Mandalas of the Two Worlds (see, for example, the *Foding zhushengxin po diyu zhuan yezhang chu sanjie mimi tuoluoni* 佛頂尊勝心破地獄轉業障出三界祕密陀羅尼 translated by Śubhakarasiṃha), so there may yet be some connection to the *Lotus Sutra*.

according to the nine levels and grades of their eventual rebirth in the Pure Land.[98]

In addition to the networking reasons for using religious affiliation characters that Chōgen witnessed in South China, another rationale for styling himself specifically as Amitābha and bestowing Amidabutsu names on his disciples may be suggested in the *Hishō* 祕鈔, a work by the Shingon monk Shōken 勝賢 (1138–1196), one of Chōgen's closest associates from the Daigoji Sambōin 醍醐寺三宝院.[99] Shōken says there were "four saints" for the original construction of Tōdaiji in the eighth century: (1) Emperor Shōmu 聖武天皇 (r. 724–749), who sponsored Tōdaiji temple; (2) the Indian monk Bodhisena (Jpn. Bodaisenna 菩提僊那, 704–760), who traveled to Japan to found the Kegon school and performed the original eye-opening ceremony of the Great Buddha;[100] (3) Gyōki 行基 (668–749), the wandering ascetic who allegedly served as the original Tōdaiji *kanjin hijiri*; and (4) Rōben 良弁 (689–773), the Kegon monk who oversaw the original construction of the Great Buddha.[101] Shōken treats these four, respectively, as the emanation bodies of four bodhisattvas: (1) Avalokiteśvara (Kannon 観音), (2) Samantabhadra (Fugen 普賢), (3) Mañjuśrī (Monju 文殊), and (4) Maitreya (Miroku 弥勒). Each of these four bodhisattvas, in turn, are featured as emanations of Mahāvairocana in the Hall of the Central

98. Yokōchi, *Nihon chūsei no bukkyō to higashi ajia*, 575.

99. The Sambōin in the lowest of three complexes that form Daigoji temple. The Sambōin is located at the base of Mt. Daigo (Daigosan 醍醐山) along with the Shimo daigo 下醍醐 complex, while the Kami daigo 上醍醐 complex sits at the top of the mountain.

100. *Tōdaiji yōroku* 東大寺要録, ed. Kangon 觀嚴 (1151–1236) and Tsutsui Eishun 筒井英俊 (Osaka: Zenkoku Shobō, 1944), 46–50.

101. There is another list of the Four Saints of Tōdaiji in the *Sazenshū* that includes three different figures: the Chinese monk Ganjin 鑑真, the Shingon founder Kūkai 空海, and Shōtoku Taishi 聖徳太子. However, there are functional similarities between the figures included in the two lists. Both Bodhisena and Ganjin represent the transmission of Buddhism to Japan. Likewise, Rōben and Kūkai were Buddhist patriarchs of the Kegon 華嚴 and Shingon 真言 schools, respectively, both of which were influential at Tōdaiji. Finally, Shōtoku taishi, considered Japan's most important early imperial sponsor of Buddhism, could be a homage to Shōmu, who aimed to become the next great imperial Buddhist sponsor.

Dais Eight Petals 中台八葉院, the central configuration (or "hall") of the Womb World Mandala (*Taizōkai* 胎蔵界).[102]

Shōken was Chōgen's close associate, and given their relationship, it seems likely that the identifications discussed in the *Hishō* between the four saints of Tōdaiji and the four bodhisattvas from the Hall of the Central Dais Eight Petals of the Womb World mandala were also understood by Chōgen, if not devised by him in the first place. If so, then it seems natural that Chōgen would also have sought identification with a deity from the Hall of the Central Dais Eight Petals in order to establish himself as the "fifth saint" of Tōdaiji. By identifying himself with another deity from the same source, he would confirm his place in the lineage of Tōdaiji's architects and further legitimize his role as the Tōdaiji *kanjin hijiri*. In addition to the four bodhisattvas that Shōken identified with the "four saints" of Tōdaiji, the Hall of the Central Dais Eight Petals also includes the four directional buddhas: (1) Ratnaketu (Hōtō 寶幢, Buddha of the East), (2) Saṃkusumitarāja (Kaifukeō 開敷華王, Buddha of the South), (3) Divyadundubhi Meghanirghoṣa (Kuon 鼓音, Buddha of the North), and (4) Amitābha (here named "Amitāyus," Muryōju 無量壽, Buddha of the West).[103] Theoretically, Chōgen could have chosen any of these four directional buddhas if he only wanted to establish himself as the "fifth saint" of Tōdaiji, but by identifying himself with Amitābha, Chōgen was able to take advantage of the popularity of Amitābha's Pure Land Buddhist cult and recreate the sort of Pure Land society that had achieved so much renown in the Song.

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102. The Womb World Mandala (Taizōkai mandara 胎蔵界曼荼羅) is based on chap. 2 of the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* (*Dainichikyō* 大日経), one of the central texts of the Shingon school. The mandala envisions all deities and sentient beings as emanations of Mahāvairocana, who sits in the center of the Hall of the Central Dais Eight Petals (see Elizabeth ten Grotenhuis, *Japanese Mandalas: Representations of Sacred Geography* [Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999], 58–77). Moreover, these are the same four bodhisattvas said to have attended Śākyamuni's dharma lectures on Vulture Peak according to some sutras (Inamoto Yasuo 稲本泰生, "Daibutsu zōsun bōchūmon to daibutsu renben sekai no kaishaku wo meguru oboegaki" 大仏像寸法注文と大仏蓮弁世界の解釈をめぐる覚書, in *Chōgen to Yoritomo* 重源と頼朝, ed. Nara Hakubutsukan [Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 2012], 151).

103. See ten Grotenhuis, *Japanese Mandalas*, 61 for a fuller explication of the deities of the Hall of the Central Dais Eight Petals and their relationship to the other structures in the Womb World Mandala.

CONCLUSIONS

During his trips to China, Chōgen learned about developments in lay religious society formation that had transpired during the Song from the time his Japanese predecessors had made their Chinese voyages. In particular, Chōgen studied the Pure Land Halls built in Tiantai temples in Ningbo and Hangzhou, as well as the Pure Land societies that operated there. This was quite different from previous Japanese monks who sojourned in China, who mostly sought to acquire Buddhist sutras, commentaries, and images. Chōgen relied on his familiarity with Song religious organizations to create his own Pure Land Halls on the Tōdaiji Bessho that would serve as the backbone for a Pure Land network stretching across Western Japan, facilitating the reconstruction of Tōdaiji. The network was crucial to Chōgen's efforts since it included key donors mentioned in extant *kechien* documents, as well as a roster of managers, architects, sculptors, and workmen who were responsible for the day-to-day reconstruction tasks.

The Pure Land function and construction of Chōgen's network were similar to the Pure Land societies he encountered in China. First, both Chōgen's networks and the Chinese Pure Land societies served to encourage donations to the head institution, in Chōgen's case Tōdaiji. While the Japanese government funded some of the expenses of the Tōdaiji reconstruction, many of the funds were sought from private sources. For potential donors, the opportunity to join a religious society dedicated to rebirth in Amitābha's Pure Land led by a monk of Chōgen's renown would have had its own incentives in addition to the merit earned simply by contributing to Tōdaiji. Second, Chōgen went as far as to borrow the two-tiered structure of the Pure Land society at Yanqingsi. Just like Zhili's society, Chōgen's outer network consisted of lower-tier, less important lay members who nevertheless hailed from a cross-section of society, including high and low classes. They contributed their finances or relatively unskilled labor to the Tōdaiji campaign. The inner network, on the other hand, was composed entirely of monastics, including Chōgen's closest advisors, managers, and artisans. This two-tiered hierarchy presumably added to the network's organizational structure and facilitated project management. To differentiate the two tiers, Chōgen borrowed the idea of religious affiliation names used by the People of the Way to create his own Amidabutsu names that he bestowed on each member of the inner network.

In light of Chōgen's importation from China of organizational techniques for religious society formation, we should reconsider his legacy not only in terms of his success as a manager for the reconstruction of Tōdaiji, but also his role in Sino-Japanese cultural and religious amalgamation in the twelfth century. While the techniques Chōgen imported from China were significant for his success as *kanjin hijiri*, they would also continue to play a role in Japanese religious culture after Chōgen's death, most prominently in the Jōdo Shinshū Pure Land societies of the fourteenth century, which adapted and spread the use of Amidabutsu names for their own purposes.