

Annen, Tankei, Henjō,
and Monastic Discipline in the Tendai School:
The Background of the *Futsū jubosatsukai kōshaku*¹

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During the middle and late Heian period (eleventh and twelfth centuries), monastic discipline in Japanese Buddhism declined drastically. Many monks began to carry weapons and engage in armed warfare, frequently against other monks of the same school. A number of sociological, political, and economic explanations have been offered for these events: for example, the influx of nobles into monasteries and their domination of top positions in the monastic world, the need to defend the monasteries' manors (*shōen* 莊園), and the breakdown of the Ritsuryō system which had governed ordinations. Several scholars have suggested that changes in the interpretation of the precepts may also have played an important role in making it easier for monks to ignore monastic discipline. Both Takagi, a scholar of Nichiren 日蓮, and Taga, the author of a biography of Eisai 榮西, the monk traditionally considered the founder of Rinzai Zen, have argued that the ninth century Tendai scholar Annen's 安然 (9th century) text on the precepts and ordinations, the *Futsū jubosatsukai kōshaku* 普通授菩薩戒広釈 [Extensive explanation of the universal bodhisattva precepts ordination], contributed substantially to the decline in monastic discipline in the Tendai School.²

¹ The author wishes to express his appreciation to the Japan Foundation for the support he received in 1982-83 which enabled him to do the basic research for this paper. The author has discussed the doctrinal aspects of Annen's view of the precepts in "A study of Annen's *Futsū jubosatsukai kōshaku*," in the forthcoming *Buddhist Apocrypha in East Asia and Tibet*, Robert Buswell, ed.

² Taga (1965, pp. 236-37) remarks that Annen's treatment of the precepts are quoted in almost all subsequent Tendai treatments of the Perfect-sudden precepts and argues that Annen's views could easily be interpreted to provide a doctrinal basis for breaking the precepts. Takagi (1982, p. 55) maintains a similar position. Tonegawa (1985, p. 75-79) has described the influence of Annen's position on the precepts in several late Heian Tendai works.

In this paper Annen's biography is presented and analyzed in order to determine some of the influences behind Annen's permissive interpretation of the precepts. In addition, the activities of several of Annen's teachers, particularly Tankei 湛契 and Henjō 遍昭, are considered because of their influence on Annen's position on the precepts. This study will provide the background for subsequent research on the content of Annen's *Futsū jubosatsukai kōshaku* (hereafter cited as the *Futsū kōshaku*).

Annen's Early Years

Along with Ennin 円仁 (794–864) and Enchin 円珍 (814–889), Annen is considered to be one of the great masters of Tendai Esoteric Buddhism (*taimitsu* 台密). Tendai scholars such as Keikō 敬光 (1740–1795) considered him to be one of the five most important figures in Tendai history, along with Saichō 最澄, Ennin, Enchin, and Ryōgen 良源 (912–985). He was said to have realized the eighth stage on the bodhisattva path. Later Tendai monks conferred a number of titles on him to express their admiration.³ Unlike the other great masters of the Japanese Tendai tradition, very little is known about Annen's life.⁴ He never traveled to China, was never appointed head (*zazu* 座主) of the Tendai School, and never became the subject of literary legends (*setsuwa bungaku* 説話文学) concerning his spiritual powers. However, his writings in a variety of areas, particularly Esoteric Buddhism, are regarded as definitive texts by the Tendai School. In order to evaluate his attitudes towards the

³For Keikō's list of the five most important figures in Japanese Tendai, see the *Sange shōtō gakusoku*, in Washio (1927, p. 12). For the belief that Annen had realized the eighth bodhisattva stage see *Sangoku denki* (NS 1/1:338). In some texts, the title "Himitsu daishi" 秘密大師 was said to have been bestowed upon Annen by the Japanese court (BZ 2:252a). In addition, the claim was made that he was awarded the title "Akaku daishi" 阿覚大師 while he was studying in China (Washio 1927, p. 12). However, this explanation is based upon the mistaken belief that Annen studied in China. The title was undoubtedly devised by a later Tendai monk who believed that Annen should have a title similar to those bestowed upon such figures as Saichō (Dengyō daishi), Ennin (Jikaku daishi), and Enchin (Chishō daishi). The titles for Saichō, Ennin, and Enchin were conferred posthumously by the court, whereas the title "Akaku daishi" was used privately by Tendai monks.

Annen sometimes called himself "Godai'in" 五大院 (*Soshitsuji daihō taijuki*, T. 75, 205a). This appellation is usually interpreted as referring to the hall in which Annen was said to have lived (*Shijūjūketsu*, T. 75, 946a). The Godai'in is said to have been in the Gongendani 権現谷 of Tōdō 東塔 on Mount Hiei. However, it has proven to be difficult to determine when Annen resided there. Hashimoto has suggested that Annen might have used Godai'in as a style or pen name and that it might not have referred to an actual place at the time Annen lived (1918, pp. 49–50).

⁴Despite Annen's important position in the history of Japanese Tendai, traditional biographical sources, such as the various collections of biographies of eminent monks, include little more information than a list of Annen's works. The pioneering work on Annen's biography was done by Hashimoto (1918). Also, see Inada (1979, pp. 8–24), Shimizutani (1972, pp. 231–51), and Ōyama (1979, 1, pp. 497–515). In addition, NS 1/1:254–352 includes many of the primary sources for the biographies of both Annen and Henjō.

precepts, it is important that the available facts about Annen's biography be presented and analyzed for insights concerning his positions.

Modern scholars generally agree that he was born in 841.⁵ In his own writings Annen notes that he was from the same clan as Saichō; but in later sources this fact is ignored and he is said to be from several different clans.⁶

Annen's Teachers: Ennin and Enchin

Annen was ordained as a Tendai monk when he was nineteen years old and may have spent at least the next twelve years on Mount Hiei in accordance with the regulations for Tendai monks formulated by Saichō (766–822). Annen studied under Ennin for several years; however, Ennin died when Annen was only twenty-four years old, before Annen could receive any of the more advanced Esoteric initiations (*kanjō* 灌頂). Virtually no details about Annen's studies during this time are known, but Annen probably studied some Esoteric Buddhism with Ennin.

Virtually nothing is known of Annen's activities for the next ten years. However, according to the *Tendai zasuki* 天台座主記 (Shibuya 1973, pp. 21–22), a monk named Annen was summoned along with monks from other schools to participate in lectures on the *Tsui-sheng-wang ching* 最勝王經 (*Suvarṇaprabhāsa Sūtra*) at court in 868. If the person referred to in the *Tendai zasuki* is identical to the author of the *Futsū kōshaku*, it would suggest that his promise was recognized early, since he would have been only twenty-eight years old at this time. Most of the other monks listed were much older than Annen. In addition, he is called “chaplain” (*naigu* 内供) in the document cited in the *Tendai zasuki*, suggesting that he had been appointed as a monk to serve in court. If Annen was ordained when he was nineteen and appeared at court when he was twenty-eight, he could not have remained on Mount Hiei without venturing outside the Tendai monastery's boundaries for twelve years as Saichō had required in the *Hachijōshiki* 八条式 (Groner 1984, p. 134). The “Annen” referred to in this document may well be another monk with the same name as the author of the *Futsū kōshaku*. According to

⁵ Annen's birth date is based on the document containing his appointment to the position to Master of Esoteric Buddhism (*denbō ajari*) which notes that in 884 Annen was thirty-four years old and had twenty-six years of seniority as a monk. Since monks were not ordained at the age of eight, scholars have usually corrected the document to read forty-four years old in accordance with a collation note (*Ruijū sandaikyaku*, KT 25:100). Annen would thus have been born in 841. Several other references to a monk named Annen who would have been born approximately thirty years earlier can be found in sources such as the *Eigaku yōki*, (Shimizutani, 1972, pp. 252–54) and Hashimoto (1981, pp. 74–80) have argued convincingly that these documents must refer to another monk named Annen.

⁶ In the *Kyōji sōron*, Annen mentions that as a layman he was a descendant of Saichō and that as a monk he was a disciple of Ennin (T. 75, 369a). At least four places are mentioned as his birthplace; however, the most likely place is Ōmi since Saichō's family was from Ōmi (Ōyama 1979, p. 498).

most modern biographies of Annen, he underwent the twelve-year training period on Mount Hiei. However, no substantial proof for this supposition exists. Hiraoka (1981, p. 475) has suggested that by 872 Tendai monks had begun to break the ban on leaving Mount Hiei during the twelve-year training period.

Annen regarded Ennin's teachings as particularly valuable even though he had only been able to study under him for a few years before his death. In the *Kyōji sōron* 教時争論 he stated that he was a disciple of Ennin (T. 75, 369a). Annen's writings on doctrine were often based on Ennin's positions although Annen was not hesitant to add his own views. Annen seems to have received little training from Ennin in Esoteric Buddhism. Although Annen later received Esoteric initiations from direct disciples of Ennin such as Dōkai 道海, Chōi 長意, and Tankei, Annen seems to have been disturbed that he had not received advanced Esoteric initiations directly from Ennin. Annen later described several dreams in which Ennin appeared to him and taught him *mudrās* or *dhāraṇīs* connected with the Womb-realm (*taizōkai* 胎藏界) tradition. He noted that after one dream, he had participated in an Esoteric initiation with Henjō and ascertained that the *mudrā* he had seen in the dream was indeed correct, but that the *dhāraṇī* he had heard in the dream differed from that which Henjō had conferred (*Taizōkai daihō taijuki*, ND 81:366a; 82:60b-61a).⁷

Annen was also familiar with Enchin's teachings and had studied directly under him although the contents of these studies are problematic (Kiuchi 1977, p. 542). Enchin was the head (*zasu*) of the Tendai School for twenty-three years, a period which encompassed many of Annen's most productive years. Although Annen and Enchin seem to have respected each other, indications of friction between them are found in a number of sources. For example, Annen barely mentions Enchin's positions in some of his texts (Kiuchi 1977, p. 543). Annen recorded that he had a dream in which Ennin appeared and criticized one of Enchin's *mudrās* as being "very ugly" (Mizukami 1981, pp. 117-19). In addition, Enchin is said to have taken to the seventh fascicle of Annen's *Gushi kanjō* 具支灌頂 and burned it because he disapproved of it.⁸ Although Annen did not openly criticize Enchin, the evidence suggests

⁷ Annen seems to have been very interested in these dreams. He notes that his teacher Henjō studied with Ennin's disciple Anne because of a dream in which Ennin stated that he should do so, even though other sources state that Ennin directed Anne to teach Henjō in his will (ND 81:335b).

⁸ According to a passage in the *Jizai kongōshū* (BZ 34:26) compiled late in the eighteenth century, when Annen was writing his ten-fascicle *Taizō gushi kanjōki* (T. no. 2393), several problems of interpretation arose when he came to the seventh fascicle. He showed it to Enchin to ask his opinion. However, the fascicle was burnt by Enchin because he believed that Annen's writings about Esoteric teachings might fall into the wrong hands. Annen was concerned that if the Esoteric traditions were not recorded, they might be lost forever, and thus wrote the *Dainichikyō kuyō jiju fudō* (T. no. 2394) which supplements the *Taizō gushi kanjōki*. An earlier but less detailed description of these events is found in a note at the end of the sixth fascicle of the *Taizō gushi kanjōki* (T. 75, 280b) which is based on a passage in the *Shijūjūketsu* (T. 75,

that the two men were not on the best of terms.

Enchin and Annen differed in their attitudes towards the precepts. Annen argued that literal adherence to the precepts was much less important than a monk's attitudes towards them. In contrast, Enchin was interested in tightening the rules concerning monastic discipline. He studied the *Ssu-fen lü* 四分律 (*Dharmaguptaka vinaya*) precepts in China with Ts'un-shin 存式 and collected approximately sixty works on the precepts during his stay in China.⁹ Since Saichō had rejected the *Ssu-fen lü* precepts as "Hīnayāna," Enchin's interest in them may seem surprising; however, Enchin seems to have hoped to use at least some of the interpretations from the *Ssu-fen lü* to supplement the *Fan-wang* 梵網 precepts which were in use on Mount Hiei. Since the *Fan-wang* precepts were presented only in a very terse and summary fashion in the *Fan-wang ching* 梵網經, further explanations of the precepts were necessary. In his notes to a Tendai ordination manual attributed to Saichō, Enchin noted that candidates for ordination should be required to be at least twenty years old, have their parents' permission to be ordained, and have their robes and begging bowls prepared before the ordination, all procedures which were based on the *Ssu-fen lü* (DDZ 1:319–21). However, Enchin did not intend to revive the practice of having Tendai monks receive *Ssu-fen lü* ordinations.

During the twenty-three years Enchin served as *zazu* on Mount Hiei, he tried to make the procedures concerning ordinations stricter, adopting a number of procedures from the *Ssu-fen lü*. Several times during his tenure he complained that Tendai monks ignored the precepts, failed to observe such basic rituals as the fortnightly assembly (*fusatsu* 布薩), wore expensive robes, and kept horses on Mount Hiei so that they could travel down the mountain to Kyoto more easily.¹⁰ To Annen, many of these complaints must have seemed trivial, particularly during the latter years of his life when he was serving at temples in Kyoto and was working closely with Henjō and involved with the Tendai Buddhism connected with the court.

Annen's name is mentioned in some lineages from the Shingon 真言 School; however, it is unclear whether the monk mentioned in these lineages is identical with the Annen of the Tendai School. Evidence that Annen

946a) by Chōen 長宴 (1016–1081). Some scholars have suggested that either all or only the seventh fascicle of the *Dainichikyō kuyō jiju fudō* may correspond to the missing fascicle of the *Taizō gushi kanjōki* (Ono 1964, 7, p. 390 and 2, p. 173). Although the authenticity of the story is difficult to determine, it does agree with the other indications of the difficult relations between Annen and Enchin.

⁹ Seita (1980, pp. 226–30) has compiled a list of the texts on the precepts included in the bibliographies of works brought back from China by Tendai monks from Saichō through Enchin. The list reveals that most Tendai monks brought back at least a few texts concerning the *Ssu-fen lü* precepts and that Enchin displayed a surprising interest in works on the *Ssu-fen lü*.

¹⁰ Four regulations for Mount Hiei by Enchin are found in the *Sandai jitsuroku* (KT 4:188–89). In 888, at the end of a commentary on the *P'u-hsien kuan ching*, he complained bitterly about the behavior of the monks on Mount Hiei (BZ 26:112).

received Esoteric initiations from Shingon School sources is not found in Annen's writings. However, Annen did obtain and study the major texts of the Shingon School and at times made trenchant criticisms of them. For example, his criticism of Kūkai's 空海 hierarchical classification of Buddhist doctrine according to ten stages of mind (*jūjūshin* 十住心) became the focus of a number of doctrinal controversies between the Tendai and Shingon Schools. In addition, Annen studied the Esoteric Sanskrit syllabary which Kūkai had brought back from China (Hashimoto 1918 3/10, p. 48).¹¹

Annen's Teacher Tankei

Among Annen's most important teachers was Tankei (817-880). Although the name of Tankei's father is not known, Tankei apparently was born into a noble family.¹² He was ordained at an early age and studied Esoteric Buddhism at Enryaku-ji 延暦寺 where he received a number of special teachings from Ennin not given to other students (Hashimoto 1912, p. 4). When Tankei was approximately forty, he was invited to the crown prince's (later the emperor Seiwa [850-880; r. 858-876]) quarters to perform a prayer service. Since the crown prince was the Chancellor Fujiwara no Yoshifusa's 藤原良房 (807-872) grandson, Tankei probably went to Yoshifusa's residence to perform the ceremony. While he was there he met and began an affair with the prince's wet nurse (*menoto* 乳母). When the affair was discovered, Tankei was defrocked by Yoshifusa. Because of Tankei's prominence as a master of Esoteric Buddhism, the monks on Hiei bitterly resented the chancellor's action (*Sandai jitsuroku*, KT 4:483; *Meishō ryakuden*, GR 4:505).¹³

Tankei's name was changed to Takamuko no Kimisuke 高向公輔. Even though Yoshifusa had been responsible for defrocking Tankei, Yoshifusa felt that Tankei was such a learned and talented man that he should serve at court (Mabuchi 1976, pp. 535-39). Yoshifusa and Tankei apparently had close relations. In honor of Yoshifusa's sixtieth birthday, Ennin was invited to his residence to confer initiations (*kanjō*) on Yoshifusa and his supporters at court. That day Ennin conferred initiations and the *sanmaya* 三昧耶 precepts on over one-hundred forty nobles of the third rank or above and over sixty

¹¹ Although Annen did not receive Esoteric initiations from Shingon monks, he did obtain records written by Shingon monks such as Shūei 宗叡 and Eun 慧運 (*Taizōkai daihō taijuki* ND 81:336b). Also see Chart 4 of this study for Annen's *shitan* lineages. Although Annen referred to the Tendai esoteric tradition as the Shingon School at times, for the sake of clarity the term "Shingon School" is used in this paper to refer only to the school founded by Kūkai.

¹² Tankei's story seems to have been well known and is found in many texts. See Hashimoto (1912, p. 1-13) and Saeki (1986, pp. 292-94). Although Tankei wrote several works on Esoteric Buddhism, they have not survived.

¹³ The wet nurse and her husband sometimes wielded great power because of their access to the crown prince or emperor. Thus Tankei's affair may have had political implications that led to his laicization, but the available information is not sufficient to determine whether this was the case.

court functionaries of lower ranks. However, since the chancellor Yoshifusa himself was indisposed, Tankei represented the chancellor in a special five-vase (*gobyō* 五瓶)¹⁴ initiation conferred by Ennin (Honda 1963, pp. 143–44).

Tankei rose steadily in court circles and worked at court in a variety of capacities. After he was defrocked, he probably served in the crown prince's quarters. When the crown prince became emperor in 858, he served the empress dowager. In approximately 877 he was appointed provisional governor of Sanuki province and awarded the junior grade of the fourth rank. He had two sons, one of whom became a monk but died early. The other served at court. Even after Tankei was defrocked, he was still famous as a master of Esoteric Buddhism. According to a story found in the *Konjaku monogatarishū*, even after he was laicized Tankei was the only person who could properly arrange the Buddhist images at the Gokuraku-ji temple (Mabuchi 1976, 24, pp. 538–39). Between 877 and 880, Annen received a number of important Esoteric transmissions from Tankei, primarily in the areas of Esoteric ritual and the Sanskrit alphabet used in Japanese Esoteric Buddhism (*shittan* 悉曇). However, these studies ended with Tankei's death in 880.

Tankei's story may indicate that the precepts were sufficiently respected by the court that flagrant violation of one of the major precepts might result in a monk being defrocked. The reaction of the Tendai monks to Tankei's laicization and Tankei's continued status as a respected teacher of Esoteric Buddhism suggest that the Tendai monks were not seriously concerned by Tankei's violation of the precepts. Although it is difficult to determine how seriously monks on Mount Hiei observed the precept prohibiting sexual intercourse during Annen's lifetime, Japanese monks who were Annen's contemporaries sometimes did not take the precepts concerning celibacy very seriously.¹⁵ Confession ceremonies and Esoteric rites may have been regarded as being more than equal to the task of absolving a person who had violated the precepts from the karmic consequences of his action.

Two years after Tankei's death, Annen wrote his major work on the precepts, the *Futsū kōshaku*. Although Annen never stated that his permis-

¹⁴ The five vases represent the five types of wisdom of a Buddha.

¹⁵ It is difficult to judge the strictness with which the precepts concerning sexual intercourse were observed by Tendai monks during Annen's lifetime. Although from the beginning of Japanese Buddhism it was probably not unheard of for monks to have mistresses, blatant violations of this precept are not mentioned very often in the genres of literature written during Annen's lifetime. A search of historical sources compiled in the early and middle Heian periods reveals few instances in which monks were punished for sexual offenses by being defrocked. Literary sources such as the *Nihon ryōiki*, *Kojidan*, and the *Konjaku monogatarishū* record instances of monks living with women without any comment about breaking the precepts. By the end of the Heian period, restrictions on sexual intercourse were often ignored. See Ishida (1981, pp. 424–39), for a detailed discussion of sex and Japanese monks.

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

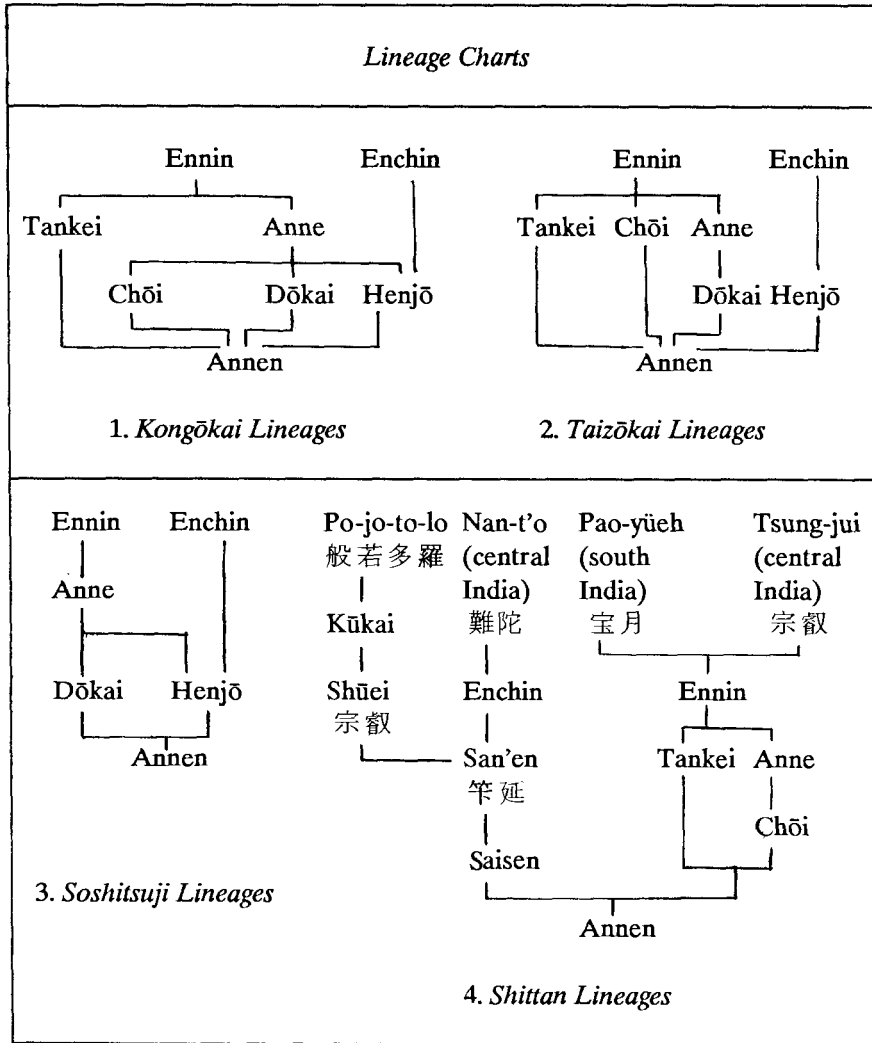
Annen's Plans to Study in China

Annen wrote that in 877, when he was thirty-six years old, he received a variety of Esoteric teachings in preparation for a trip to China to study.¹⁶ The possibility of studying in China gave Annen the opportunity to receive initiations which he otherwise might not have been granted for many years. In fact, he received several versions of the same initiation from different teachers. For example, in the space of two months in 876, he received Womb-realm (*taizōkai*) initiations from three of Ennin's students: Dōkai, Chōi, and Tankei (ND 81:335b). Annen noted that he also received major (*daihō* 大法) Esoteric initiations from different teachers for the Diamond-realm (*kongōkai* 金剛界) and Soshitsuji 蘇悉地 traditions. He also studied the Sanskrit syllabary (*shittan*) used in Esoteric Buddhism from three teachers. These are diagrammed in Charts 1-4.¹⁷ At least four different Esoteric lineages were present in the Tendai Esoteric tradition at that time: (1) lineages beginning with Saichō as the first Japanese master, (2) lineages beginning with Ennin as the first Japanese master, (3) lineages beginning with Enchin as the first Japanese master, and (4) lineages focussing on Henjō who had received initiations from both Ennin's disciple, Anne, and Enchin and had probably adopted his own position in a number of instances. Annen's Esoteric initiations were from disciples of Ennin during the period around 876-880; how-

¹⁶ *Taizōkai daihō taijuki*, ND 81:335b and 82:59a. Hashimoto (1918, 3/10, p. 86) has argued that the correct date should be one year later.

¹⁷ The lineages are based on Hashimoto (1918, 4/11, p. 42) and Kojima (1979, p. 40). The charts are based on statements scattered throughout Annen works especially the *Taizōkai daihō taijuki*, the *Kongōkai daihō taijuki*, and the *Shittanzō*, as well as traditional Tendai lineage charts (see NS 1/1:298-301). Questions have been raised recently concerning the Soshitsuji lineage from Henjō by Kiuchi (1973, pp. 762-63) and Mizukami (1982, pp. 163-66). Enchin apparently studied the Soshitsuji teachings in China, but may not have actually received a Soshitsuji initiation. If this is the case, he could not have conferred a Soshitsuji initiation on Henjō. Some of the ambiguity arose from the similarity between the Soshitsuji initiation and the *Sanshu shitsuji* initiation which Saichō received from Shun-hsiao in China. See the discussion of Saichō's studies in China in Groner (1984, pp. 52-61). The similarity between the terms "sanbu" (three Taimitsu transmissions) and "sanshu shitsuji" (three attainments) which Saichō had received in China also contributed to the confusion: see Kiuchi (1984, pp. 350-55).

ever, in 882 and 884, he received advanced initiations from Henjō, who had studied under both Ennin and Enchin.



Annen apparently hoped to unify the variant *taimitsu* teachings that were circulating in Japan at this time by receiving initiations from a number of different Japanese teachers and then verifying their validity with Chinese teachers. Annen's comments in his works on the differences between the various Esoteric transmissions provide modern scholars with a view of the various Esoteric traditions which were circulating in Japan in the ninth century.

Traditional Tendai scholars have waged a long debate about whether

Annen ever studied in China like the other masters of Tendai Esoteric Buddhism with whom he is often compared, Ennin and Enchin. Besides Annen, three other Tendai monks, Saisen 齋詮, Genshō 玄昭, and Kankei 観溪, planned to travel to China to study in 877. The group was probably led by Zaisen who had been given the rank of *Dentō daihosshii* 伝灯大法師位 by the court.¹⁸ The group received government support for their trip and was given gold for offerings to Mañjuśrī on Mount Wu-t'ai. The four monks went to Dazaifu in order to find a merchant ship to take them to China; however, all but Zaisen were suspicious about the ship which they were to board and returned to Mount Hiei. Zaisen boarded the ship, but it was in fact a pirate ship and Zaisen probably died at sea (*Meishō ryakuden*, GR 4:489). Zaisen was criticized by Enchin as having been motivated more by the desire for fame than by the need to study Buddhism (*Chishō Daishiden*, BZ 28:1377a). The group's plans thus ended in failure. Although some later Tendai scholars claimed that Annen did eventually travel to China, no mention of actual studies or travels in China is made anywhere in his works.¹⁹

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

Annen and Henjō

In 884, two years after he wrote the *Futsū kōshaku*, Annen received advanced Esoteric initiations (*denbō kanjō* 伝法灌頂) from Henjō (817-890) and was appointed a Master of Esoteric Buddhism (*denbō ajari* 伝法阿闍梨) to serve as the instructor of Henjō's students at the Gangyō-ji 元慶寺 temple (*Ruijū sandaikyaku*, KT 25:99-100).²⁰ Yuishū 維首 (825-893), who would later serve

¹⁸ Annen held the lesser rank of *Dentō man'i* 伝灯満位. Zaisen, Genshō, and Annen had all studied under Ennin. Genshō (844-915) later became an important *taimitsu* master and taught several of the future *zasu* of the Tendai School. Little is known about Kankei.

¹⁹ In some versions of Annen's *Yugikyōsho* (Washio 1927, p. 38) the statement is found that "the work is by Shinnyo Kongō (Annen's Esoteric name or *mitsugo*) who went to China." Saichō signed most of his works in a similar manner, noting that he had studied in China. However, this title only appears once in Annen's works, and was probably added by a later scholar who believed that Annen studied in China. Among sources that claim Annen did study in China are the *Keiranshū* (NS 1/1:332-33). The Tokugawa Period scholars Jihon and Keikō argued that Annen did go to China (*Tendai kahyō*, BZ (Suzuki ed.) 41:224b; *Sange shōtō gokusoku*, Washio 1927, p. 38).

²⁰ The term "*ajari*" (Skt. *ācārya*) originally meant teacher. In the late ninth century, it was used primarily to refer to the teachers of Esoteric Buddhism. In many cases, the court authorized the number of *ajari* at a temple, but the term was also used at private temples which were

as *zasu* on Mount Hiei, was appointed Master of Esoteric Buddhism at Gangyō-ji at the same time.²¹ In order to be appointed a Master of *taimitsu* (*denbō ajari*), a person had to study many years and have the active support of someone who already held that status, such as Henjō.²² Annen had already studied with Henjō for several years by the time he was appointed Master of *Taimitsu*. In the sixth month of 882, just two months after he had finished writing the text of the *Futsū kōshaku*, Annen received a Diamond-realm (*kongōkai*) initiation from Henjō (*Kongōkai daihō taijuki*, ND 82:103b).²³ Thus Annen must have been studying with Henjō when he wrote his major text on the precepts.

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

Henjō's biography differed from that of contemporary Tendai teachers in a number of ways. Henjō's lay name was Yoshimine no Munesada 良峰宗貞. He was the eighth child of Yoshimine no Yasuyo 安世 (785–830) and the grandson of Emperor Kanmu (737–806, r. 781–806). Emperor Kanmu had sponsored Saichō's studies in China and the establishment of the Tendai School. After Kanmu's death in 806, his son Yasuyo continued to support the Tendai School while he held a number of key posts at court, eventually rising

not authorized by the court (Takeuchi 1957–58, 2, pp. 548–50).

²¹ Yuishu studied under a number of teachers, including both Saichō's disciple Tokuen, Gishin's disciple Hōsei, and Enchin. He later became a *denbō ajari* under Henjō. After Enchin's death in 891, he became the head (*chōri*) of Onjōji, and in 892 was appointed as the sixth Tendai *zasu*, but served for less than a year before his death (*Tendai zasuki*, p. 28; Ōyama 1979, p. 499).

²² In 871, two years before Henjō received the rank of *denbō ajari*, Enchin petitioned the court for permission to institute a new, strict set of procedures to be followed in conferring the rank. The candidate's teacher consulted with the elder of the temple about the advisability of giving advanced teachings to the candidate. If permission was granted, then the candidate was expected to be well versed in both Esoteric and Tendai doctrine. After he had completed his studies, he was examined by a group of teachers all of whom had to be at least fifty years of age. If he passed the examination, then the teachers and the candidate informed the *zasu* and three major administrators of the monastery (*sangō*), who then conducted a second examination. The result was reported to the lay administrator (*zoku bettō*), who served as the liaison between the court and the Tendai School. The lay administrator reported to the court and an imperial command was issued conferring the status. After the command received the *zasu's* seal, the appointment was completed (*Yohō hennen zasshū*, BZ 28: 1324–25).

²³ Ōyama has suggested that Annen may have started studying with Henjō while Annen was still in his twelve-year training period on Mount Hiei (1979, p. 499).

to Grand Councillor (*dainagon*). Yasuyo also served as governor of Ōmi, the province where Enryaku-ji was located.

Yasuyo's son, Henjō, initially pursued a career in court. Because of his family connections and literary abilities, he quickly rose to the fifth rank and served as governor of Bizen and head of the Chamberlain's Office (*kurōdo dokoro*). He was one of Emperor Ninmyō's (810-850; r. 833-850) favorites, and when the emperor died in 850, Henjō is said to have decided to become a monk out of grief (*Montoku jitsuroku*, KT 3:4). In fact, political considerations might have played an important part in his decision. According to a story in the *Konjaku monogatarishū*, Henjō was not on good terms with Ninmyō's successor, Emperor Montoku (827-858; r. 850-858) (Mabuchi, 22, 1976, pp. 481-86). To those in the court, Ninmyō's death was an obvious opportunity for the northern branch (Hōke) of the Fujiwara clan under Fujiwara no Yoshifusa to solidify their hold on the government. Since Henjō seems to have been allied with those in the court who did not support the northern branch of the Fujiwara clan, the impending changes in the government might very well have contributed to Henjō's decision to become a monk. Henjō was certainly not alone in choosing a monastic career when his political future looked bleak. Eight years earlier, in 842, Henjō's cousin, Prince Tsunesada 恒貞 (who favored the Tachibana clan over the Fujiwara) had been forced to give up the title of crown prince in favor of the future Emperor Montoku in the struggles for power at court. Tsunesada eventually became a monk. Tsunesada's mother, who was also the retired emperor Junna's wife, Princess Shōshi 正子, became a nun in 842 out of grief for her husband who had died in 840 and anger over her son's loss of the position of crown prince (Hiraoka 1981, pp. 492-97). However, after Henjō became a monk, he referred to Fujiwara no Yoshifusa in several places as a benefactor. In fact, the fathers of Henjō and Yoshifusa had the same mother, Kudara no Eikei 百濟永繼, but different fathers. Thus Yoshifusa may have encouraged Henjō's religious career even while he discouraged his political interests.²⁴

At the time of Henjō's ordination, the Shingon School had closer relations to the Fujiwara clan than the Tendai School did. Shingon monks, for example, had prayed for the birth and, later, for the success of Yoshifusa's grandson Prince Korehito 惟仁 (later Emperor Seiwa 850-880; r. 858-876) in a succession dispute. Tsuji has suggested that Henjō may have chosen the Tendai School partly because of his resentment against the Fujiwaras, as well as because of his father's past support for the school (1944, 1, pp. 383-85).²⁵

²⁴ See *Onjōji komonjo*, NS 1/1:259 and Mezaki 1966, pp. 27-28. Scholars such as Tsuji (1944, 1, pp. 383-85) and Hoshimiya (1974, pp. 298-308) have emphasized the political aspects of Henjō's decision to climb Mount Hiei. However, Yoshifusa also had close ties with the Tendai School. His father was Fujiwara no Fuyutsugu, one of Emperor Kanmu's sons and an important lay supporter of Saichō. Yoshifusa himself contributed travel expenses for Enchin's studies in China (Ono 1982, 1, pp. 40, 46, 49).

²⁵ Yoshifusa's relations with Shinga of the Shingon School are discussed in Ōsumi 1976, pp. 30-37.

However, since Fujiwara no Yoshifusa also supported the Tendai School, Henjō may have had additional reasons for choosing to become a Tendai monk. Henjō's family had traditionally maintained close relations with the Tendai School. One of Henjō's brothers, Nagamatsu 長松, had been the captain of the ship that had taken Ennin to China. Another brother, the Lesser Councillor (*shōnagon*) Tsuneyo 経世, had been the imperial messenger who had brought the imperial edicts to Mount Hiei appointing Anne 安慧 (795–868) as *zasu* in 864 and bestowing the posthumous title of “Jikaku Daishi” 慈覚大師 on Ennin in 866 (Honda 1963, pp. 155–57; Ono 1964, 1, p. 509). Henjō's decision to climb Mount Hiei to study may well have been made when Ennin came to court to perform an Esoteric ritual for the recovery of the dying emperor Ninmyō in the second month of 850 (*Ruijū kokushi*, KT 6:231).²⁶ Ennin had returned from nine years of study in China in 847, and Henjō must have been attracted by the possibility of studying with a teacher who just brought a number of new teachings to Japan.

Henjō climbed Mount Hiei immediately after Ninmyō's death in the third month of 850, and began the twelve-year period of training on Hiei which Saichō had required of all Tendai monks. He was thirty-four years old, a late age to begin a monastic career. In 855, Henjō received the bodhisattva precepts on the Precepts Platform on Mount Hiei (*Sōgō bunin shōshutsu*, BZ 111:13b–14a).²⁷ He studied Esoteric Buddhism under Ennin; however, he was unable to receive the most advanced Esoteric initiations (*daihō*) before Ennin's death in 864. Consequently, Ennin specified in his will that Henjō was to receive those initiations from Ennin's disciple and successor as *zasu*, Anne. The three major Esoteric initiations (*sanbu* 三部 *daihō*) used in the Tendai School were conferred on Henjō the following year (Honda 1963, pp. 149–50). Henjō obviously was receiving special treatment from the Tendai School because of his ties with the imperial household and because of the debt of gratitude which the Tendai School owed his father and grandfather. However, Henjō still had to study for a total of more than twenty years before he was granted the position of Master of Esoteric Buddhism (*ajari*), indicating that noble birth did not automatically entitle him to high offices in

²⁶ Normally Enchin would probably have been asked to lead the services since he was the head of Esoteric Studies on Mount Hiei and one of the monks appointed to serve at the temple for the protection of the emperor, the Jōshin'in on Mount Hiei. When Enchin appeared at court and saw that Ennin had been asked to lead the services, Enchin was shocked and apparently resolved to go to China to study (*Enchinden*, GR 8B:703).

²⁷ Although most other sources state that Henjō climbed Mount Hiei shortly after Ninmyō's death, the *Sōgō bunin shōshutsu* states that he became a monk shortly after Ninmyō's death, but did not climb Mount Hiei until later. It is unclear which account is accurate, but if Henjō spent time in the Nara temples before climbing Mount Hiei, it might explain why he had a more tolerant attitude toward them than other Tendai monks. The *Yamato monogatari* and the *Konjaku monogatari* record that he visited a number of temples while he was doing religious austerities.

the Tendai School as it would a century later.

In 868, when Emperor Seiwa's wife, Fujiwara no Takako 高子 (842-910), was pregnant, Henjō was asked to perform ceremonies to insure that the child would be a boy (*Sandai jitsuroku*, KT 4:414). When a boy was in fact born, Henjō became the monk in charge of performing ceremonies to protect the child. As a result Takako and Henjō proposed the establishment of a temple for the protection of the child. When the child (who eight years later ascended the throne as Emperor Yōzei) was named crown prince the next year, Henjō was rewarded with the rank of *Hōgen oshō* 法眼和尚 (Dharma-eye Preceptor), which corresponded to the position of supervisor (*sōzu*) in the Office of Monastic Affairs (*Sōgō* 僧綱). However, the post may well have been only an honorary one, since Henjō does not seem to have played any active role in the *Sōgō* at this time.²⁸

Approximately fifty years earlier, Saichō had fought and finally won a bitter battle to free Tendai monks from the supervision of the *Sōgō*. As a result, Tendai monks had never held any posts in the *Sōgō*. However, the *Sōgō* played a key role in the award of positions as lecturers (*kōji* 講師) or readers (*dokushi* 読師) in the provinces and in the assignment of the top positions at the various monastic assemblies. Although the Tendai School used lay administrators (*zoku bettō* 俗別当) instead of the *Sōgō* to gain such appointments for its members, it still had not received its fair share of awards. Henjō was the first Tendai monk appointed to the *Sōgō* and his appointment represented an important change in the Tendai School's attitude towards the *Sōgō* (Groner 1984, pp. 281-85).

In 869 Prince Tsuneyasu 常康 (Emperor Ninmyō's son) gave Henjō the Unrin'in 雲林院 (also read Urin'in; Cloud-forest Hall) along with some landholdings to support the Unrin'in (*Sandai jitsuroku*, KT 4:571; *Ruiju kokushi*, KT 6:271-72; *Tendai kahyō* (Suzuku ed.) BZ 41:374c). Earlier, in 851, the year after Henjō climbed Hiei, Prince Tsuneyasu also decided to become a monk, ostensibly out of grief over Ninmyō's death. Political reasons also probably dictated his choice since Tsuneyasu's maternal relations, the Ki

²⁸ In 864, the Shingon monk Shinga 真雅 submitted a petition concerning ranks for monks on the basis of that petition, the court decided that the old system of ranks for monks which had been in use since 760 (with several minor changes) had lost much of its effectiveness because of the indiscriminate conferral of honors. Consequently, a new system of ranks was introduced. According to the new system, the rank of Dharma-bridge preceptor (*hōkyō daioshō*) corresponded to the position of *vinaya*-master (*rishshi*) in the Office of Monastic Affairs, Dharma-eye preceptor (*hōgen daioshō*) to supervisor (*sōzu*), and Dharma-seal precepts (*hōin daioshō*) to executive (*sōjō*).

Mezaki (1966, p. 29-30, 31-32 [note 3]) has noted that at the time Henjō was appointed, only sixteen monks were permitted to serve in the *Sōgō* and that the limit had already been reached. In addition, since similar ranks were conferred upon a number of deceased monks such as Saichō, Kūkai, and Ennin around this time, Henjō's rank may very well have been an honorary one, which carried no rights to serve in the *Sōgō*.

clan, lost most of their influence to the Fujiwaras. The Unrin'in (located near the present site of Daitoku-ji in Kyoto) had originally been a detached palace for Emperor Junna and later for Emperor Ninmyō. Upon Emperor Ninmyō's death, it had been given to Prince Tsuneyasu. While the prince lived at the Unrin'in, he was the center of a group of monks and laymen who composed *waka*.²⁹ The members of the group regarded themselves as "wabibito" 侘人, men who had met with various disappointments and were living simple quiet lives. Henjō was an active member in the group, and his interest in *waka* eventually led to his being called one of the six poetic geniuses (*rokkasen* 六歌仙) of the early Heian Period. Later, Henjō was said to be the first example of the cultured monk from a noble family who retired to a monastery to live a life of solitude.³⁰ This type of monk would become prominent in later Heian culture. Because of their similar backgrounds as close relatives of the imperial family, affection for the deceased Emperor Ninmyō, and interest in *waka*, Henjō and Tsuneyasu were undoubtedly close friends. Three months before he died, Tsuneyasu gave Henjō the Unrin'in. Henjō subsequently lived at the Unrin'in, and his activities were based in or near Kyoto from 869 onwards.

The gift of the Unrin'in gave Henjō the institutional independence to pursue his own policies in regards to Tendai and Esoteric Buddhist doctrine and practice. However, he still had not been recognized as an independent master of Tendai Esoteric doctrine and practice. This problem was solved when an imperial order directed Enchin, the *zasu* on Mount Hiei, to test Henjō's mastery of the Esoteric practices and teachings he had received from Anne. Enchin examined Henjō's mastery of the various Esoteric practices by having Henjō make each *mudrā* and recite each *dhāraṇī*. Annen noted that since Henjō's teacher Ennin had studied under eight teachers in China while Enchin had studied under only one, there were a number of differences in their practices. As a result, Henjō was asked not to use certain practices which differed from those approved by Enchin. Although Annen did not directly criticize Enchin's examination, he did imply that Ennin's studies were broader and more profound than those of Enchin. However, since both Ennin and Enchin had studied under the same teacher, Fa-ch'üan 法全, in China there were also many similarities between their teachings, and Enchin was able to approve of Henjō's appointment as Master of Esoteric Buddhism (*denbō ajari*) (*Yōhō hennen zasshū*, BZ 28:1325–27; *Taizōkai daihō taijuki*, ND

²⁹ *Waka* written by members of the group which mention the Unrin'in are found in the *Kokinshū* 古今集 (Mezaki 1966, pp. 32–33). Ki no Tsurayuki (868?–946) criticized Henjō's *waka*: "Among well-known recent poets, Archbishop Henjō masters style but is deficient in substance. It is no more satisfying to read one of his poems than to fall in love with a woman in a picture" (McCullough 1985b, p. 7). Henjō is not credited with the authorship of any works on Buddhism.

³⁰ The author of the *Imakagami* (compiled 1170) regarded Henjō as the first example of this type of monk (Mezaki 1976, pp. 20–21).

81:335b-336a). In 873, through an order from the Chancellor's Office (*kanpu*), Henjō received the three major *taimitsu* initiations (*sanbu daihō*) from Enchin at the Sōjiin 相持院 on Mount Hiei and was granted the rank of Master of Esoteric Buddhism (BZ 28:1372b).

In 876, the crown prince ascended the throne as Emperor Yōzei (868-949; r. 876-884). Since Henjō had performed many ceremonies for the protection of Yōzei while he was crown prince, Yōzei's succession had a significant impact on Henjō's career. In 877 Gangyō-ji 元慶寺, the temple for the protection of the emperor which Henjō had proposed eight years earlier was completed. It was designated a *jōgaku-ji* 定額寺³¹ (one of a limited number of officially sanctioned temples), a status which carried important rewards with it (*Sandai jitsuroku*, KT 4:414). *Jōgaku-ji* often, but not necessarily, received funds from the province for such purposes as repairs or for the oil to light their lanterns. In addition, they were often awarded yearly ordinands (*nenbundosha* 年分度者).

Henjō asked that the treatment accorded Gangyō-ji be similar to that given several other temples, Kajō-ji 嘉祥寺 and Anjō-ji 安祥寺, established around this time at the wish of members of the imperial family and granted the status of *jōgaku-ji*. Each of the temples were granted three yearly ordinands. In the case of Gangyō-ji, two were to study the Taizōkai and Kongōkai traditions of Esoteric Buddhism, and the third was to study Tendai (*Mo-ho chih-kuan* 摩訶止觀). To a large extent, Henjō followed the precedents established by the Tendai establishment on Mount Hiei in organizing this temple. Candidates for yearly ordinand were to be tested in the presence of an imperial messenger, not by representatives of the Office of Monastic Affairs. Successful candidates were to be initiated as novices on Emperor Yōzei's birthday, thus helping to fulfill Henjō's wish that Gangyō-ji be used to protect the emperor. They would then climb Mount Hiei in order to be ordained as monks with the bodhisattva precepts. After they returned to Gangyō-ji, the Tendai monks were required to read (*tendoku* 転読) the *Sūtra of the Benevolent King* (*Jen-wang ching* 仁王經) and the Esoteric monks were expected to perform rituals and meditations which focussed on a set of five

³¹ The term "*jōgaku-ji*" first appeared in 749 and was used to refer to temples which belonged to the limited number of temples which were officially sanctioned. Although the term suggests that there was a limit on the number of temples, no specific number of temples is mentioned in extant documents. By the middle of the Heian period, the number of temples being established through the wishes of members of the imperial family or the nobility (*gogan-ji* 御願寺) had increased markedly and no serious attempt was made to limit the number of temples which were built. Temples were usually designated *jōgaku-ji* once they had been built. Among the best studies on the establishment of temples during this period are Takeuchi (1957-58) and Hiraoka (1981).

When a temple was granted the status of *jōgaku-ji*, it was often given permission to have a certain number of yearly ordinands, the most common number being two or three. Some *jōgaku-ji* were given permission to have a certain number of monks (*jōgakusō* 定額僧) who were to perform services for the emperor or members of his family.

Immovable Kings (*Fudō Myōō* 不動明王) (*Ruijū sandaikyaku*, KT 25:99, *Sandai jitsuroku*, KT 4:414–15).³²

Several years later, in 886, Henjō supplemented these procedures by requiring his recently ordained monks to undergo a six-year period of training at Gangyō-ji during which they were not to leave the monastery's precincts (*rōzan* 籠山). The rules were written in the form of a *shiki* 式 (procedures and rules), and probably patterned after Saichō's *Sange gakushō shiki* 山家学生式 (Regulations for Tendai students). Henjō also added the *Lotus Sūtra* and the *Chin-kuang-min ching* 金光明經 (*Suvarṇaprabhāsa Sūtra*)³³ to the texts which his monks were required to chant and required them to perform Lotus and Amida meditations. While the monks on Mount Hiei were required to remain there for twelve years, Henjō required the monks at Gangyō-ji to remain in the monastery only for six years.³⁴ One of Henjō's primary reasons for requiring newly ordained monks to remain at Gangyō-ji for six years was that by doing so he would be able to rank Gangyō-ji with some of the major monasteries of that time which employed similar educational systems. Since the full text of Henjō's rules does not survive, it is difficult to determine how strict the training at Gangyō-ji was. However, the training was undoubtedly less strenuous than that on Mount Hiei. Gangyō-ji was probably an attractive place to visit for nobles because of its proximity to the capital and its cultured *zasu*. Approximately ninety years after Henjō's death, when Emperor Kazan (968–1008, r. 984–986) abdicated to become a monk, he chose to live at Gangyō-ji. Like Henjō, he was skilled in writing *waka*.

Henjō strove to secure the financial and institutional base of Gangyō-ji. In 882, the Unrin'in was made a branch temple (*betsuin* 別院) of Gangyō-ji, a step that insured that Gangyō-ji monks would be appointed to the key positions in it. In fact, Henjō's son eventually served as administrator of the Un-

³² Both the Esoteric and exoteric rites were to be performed in front of a set of images of five bodhisattvas, probably the group mentioned in the *Jen wang ching* as guardians of the nation. Although there is a long history of the recitation of this text for the protection of the nation, an exoteric ritual, the installation of the five bodhisattvas as central images, suggests that they might have also been significant in Esoteric ceremonies. In fact, Amoghavajra "retranslated" the apocryphal *Jen wang ching* (T. no. 246) and three texts concerning Esoteric rites based on the *Jen wang ching* are attributed to him (T. Nos. 994–96). Although the *Asabashō* (T. [zuzō] 9:834c) notes that Esoteric rituals based on the *Jen wang ching* were performed by Sanmon Tendai monks in the past, I have not been able to find any evidence that these texts were used by Tendai monks at Henjō's time.

³³ The full title of I-ching's translation of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa* (T. no. 665) was *Chin-kuang-ming tsui-sheng-wang ching*. It is referred to in documents as both the *Ching-kuang-ming ching* (the current example) and *Tsui-sheng-wang ching* (earlier in this article).

³⁴ The practice of restricting monks to the confines of their monasteries was popularized by Saichō who stated that Tendai monks were required to undergo a twelve-year period of intensive training on Mount Hiei before they went out into the world to preach. The practice was adopted by a number of other *jōgaku-ji* temples in the early Heian period. Among them were the Kegon temple Kai'in zanmai-ji (twelve years), and the Shingon temples Kongōbu-ji (six years) and Anjō-ji (seven years). A period of six years seems to have been the most common figure (KT 25:100–101; Takeuchi 1957–58, 2, p. 550).

rin'in. In 885, Henjō petitioned the court to grant Gangyō-ji 153 *chō* 町 of waste land in Ōmi. The same year he petitioned the court to insure that every year a Gangyō-ji monk would be favored for appointment to at least one of the vacancies for lecturers and readers, among the monastic officials who were appointed to supervise the Buddhist order in the provinces. In 887, Henjō also asked that Gangyō-ji monks be guaranteed positions at the annual assembly on the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa Sūtra* (*Yuimae* 維摩会) held at Kōfuku-ji in Nara. Since a monk's career depended on his participation in such assemblies, this was an important step in insuring that his monks would receive court recognition and ranks like the monks in the Nara Schools. Henjō also established his own monastic assemblies at the Unrin'in and obtained official recognition for them. When Gangyō-ji monks had served as leaders of several assemblies, they were to be rewarded with ranks bestowed by the court. (*Kakushi nuijū*, KT 6:248-49, 271-72; *Ruijū sandaiyaku*, KT 25:60-61; *Tendai kahyō*, BZ (Suzuki ed.) 41:373b).

Henjō's proposals for Gangyō-ji differed from the procedures followed on Mount Hiei in several important ways. Since Saichō's time, Tendai monks had generally not studied at the temples in Nara. Henjō actively pursued a conciliatory policy towards Nara. Thus after Gangyō-ji monks had completed their six years of training at Gangyō-ji, Henjō encouraged them to go to either Enryaku-ji or the temples of Nara to study (*Sandai jitsuroku*, KT 4: 589).³⁵ In addition, although Gangyō-ji was closely affiliated with the Tendai School, with its monks being ordained on Mount Hiei and studying Tendai and *taimitsu* teachings, institutionally Gangyō-ji was independent. In 878, Henjō was appointed *zasu* of the temple, a position which he held for life. Below him were a *bettō* (administrator) and *sangō* 三綱 (three main administrative officials) at the temple, who held their offices for six years. The administrative structure was similar to that found at Enryaku-ji, with Henjō's position being equivalent to that of the Tendai *zasu* (*Sandai jitsuroku*, KT 4:421).³⁶

In addition to being institutionally independent from Mount Hiei, some of the monks at Gangyō-ji held doctrinal positions which differed from those held by other Tendai monks. Besides being more tolerant of the Nara schools, the monks of Gangyō-ji practiced Esoteric Buddhism which probably differed slightly from that practiced on Mount Hiei. Henjō had received Esoteric initiations from Enchin as well as from monks of Ennin's lineage. His position transcended the differences of the two main Esoteric lineages on

³⁵ In addition, in 887, a monk named Kansei 觀栖 submitted a petition suggesting that the Tendai yearly ordinands appointed to the Kamo and Kasuga shrines received Hinayāna ordinations. Unfortunately, not enough is known about Kansei to determine whether he was influenced by Henjō's conciliatory policies towards the Nara Schools (Ishida 1963, pp. 310-27).

³⁶ When the status of *denbō ajari* was conferred upon Annen, Henjō performed the same administrative role as the Tendai *zasu* Enchin had performed when candidates for *denbō ajari* were tested and appointed (*Tendai kahyō*, BZ (Suzuki ed.) 41:212-13, 224c).

Mount Hiei.³⁷ Henjō and the monks on Mount Hiei were aware of the differences. A document dated 874 praising the Soshitsuji initiation is signed by Enchin, Jōun 承雲 (one of Ennin's direct disciples), and Henjō, suggesting that the three men represented three major lineages of Esoteric teachings in Tendai (*Ruijū sandaikyaku*, KT 25:100; Kiuchi 1972, pp. 261–62). Annen had received initiations from Henjō and thus probably adopted a position similar to that of Henjō. When Annen wrote his works on Esoteric Buddhism, he could adopt an objective stance and evaluate the differences between the teachings and practices transmitted by the different Esoteric masters because as a *denbō ajari* at Gangyō-ji, he was free from at least some of the rivalries on Mount Hiei. Despite the differences between Gangyō-ji and Mount Hiei, relations between the two Tendai establishments seem to have been cordial. In 892 Yuishu, who served as *denbō ajari* at Gangyō-ji along with Annen, became *zasu* on Hiei.

Henjō's conciliatory position towards the Nara Schools bore fruit when, in 879, he was appointed to be Supernumerary Chief Executive (*gon-sōjō*) within the Office of Monastic Affairs (Sōgō), an unprecedented honor for a Tendai monk. Six years later in 885, when the former Chief Executive Shūei 宗叡 (808–884) died, Henjō was appointed Chief executive (*sōjō*), the highest position in the Sōgō (*Sandai jitsuroku*, KT 4:597). Henjō took his responsibilities as Chief executive seriously. In 882 he submitted a petition with seven items designed to strengthen the Sōgō (KT 4:521–22). Henjō noted that because the monks who were appointed to the Sōgō held their positions for life, they sometimes were negligent in carrying out their duties. He suggested that appointees to the Sōgō serve four-year terms. Although Henjō's proposal was apparently put into practice at some point, it was subsequently abandoned. In addition, Henjō suggested procedures for tightening the Sōgō's control over ordinations and its supervisory responsibilities over the control of the administrators of temples. Two of his suggestions concerned the welfare of animals. Assemblies to free animals which might otherwise have been killed for food often resulted in the inadvertent death of the animals from mistreatment. These assemblies were to be reformed and held more frequently. The practice of using poison to kill the fish in ponds so that they might be harvested for food was to be prohibited since it involved the killing of many animals besides the fish. Henjō's interest in temple administration was probably a reflection of his earlier activities as an administrator in

³⁷ Rivalry already existed between monks of Ennin's lineage and those in Enchin's lineage by the end of Enchin's life. In 888, three years before his death, Enchin asked his followers to cooperate with Ennin's followers and noted the debt of gratitude all Tendai monks owed Ennin for his efforts to propagate Esoteric Buddhism (Shibuya 1973, p.25). Enchin's warning suggests that at least some rivalry existed by 888, although it was far from the bitter hatred which would split the Tendai School one century later into rival branches based on the lineages of Ennin and Enchin.

court before he was ordained.

The last few years of Henjō's life were marked by special treatment by the court. Henjō was a close friend of Emperor Kōkō (830-887; r. 884-887). The two men had known each other since they were young; before Henjō was ordained, he had served the future Emperor Kōkō. After Henjō was ordained, he served as one of the monks who prayed for the future emperor's long life. Both men were also interested in *waka*. Moreover, Henjō's mother may have been Kōkō's wet nurse, though no certain proof of this relationship exists.³⁸ On Henjō's seventieth birthday, he was invited to the court. The occasion was not a stiff ceremonial affair since the men stayed up through the night talking. In addition, Henjō was given permission to enter the court in a special cart (*teguruma*)³⁹ and received a fief of one-hundred households (*Ruijū kokushi*, KT 6:298; *Tendai kahyō*, BZ (Suzuki ed.) 41:221c-222a).

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

A number of sources suggest that Henjō had a permissive attitude toward at least some of the precepts. In a statement concerning the celebration for Henjō's seventieth birthday, the emperor noted that although outwardly [Henjō] is concerned with secular affairs, inwardly he is pure and chaste (*bongyō* 梵行)" (*Ruijū kokushi*, KT 6:298). The emperor's statement is reminiscent of Annen's argument that the precepts could be broken if a practitioner's motive was pure.

³⁸ See *Ruijū kokushi* (KT 6:298) and McCullough 1985b, p. 62. Hoshimiya (1975, p. 36) remarks that relations between a wet-nurse's own children and the children she suckled were often closer than those between blood relations.

³⁹ The *teguruma* was a special cart with a Chinese gabled roof drawn by two men. Its use was generally restricted to the highest levels of court. People were usually expected to enter the palace on foot, but permission to proceed through the outer gates of the palace in a *teguruma* was granted to certain people on special occasions.

Although the literature of the Heian period is not reliable as an historical source, it is suggestive of Henjō's activities and his attitudes. The *Yamato monogatari* 大和物語, compiled in the middle of the tenth century, approximately one-half century after Henjō's death, contains several stories relating Henjō's amorous adventures. Although most of these stories are about events which were said to have occurred before Henjō's ordination, one of the stories concerned a flirtation with the poetess Ono no Komachi 小野小町 after Henjō had become a monk (Sakakura 1957, pp. 339–40; Tahara 1980, pp. 117–22). When Henjō became a monk, he is said to have kept his location a secret from everyone at court. Ono no Komachi went to Kiyomizudera 清水寺 for the New Year and heard someone with a beautiful voice chanting *sūtras* and *dhāraṇīs*. Believing that the voice might be that of Henjō, she sent a poem requesting the loan of one of the monk's garments to ward off the cold. Henjō replied in a poem that he had only one set of robes and that since it would be unkind to allow her to go cold, perhaps they could sleep together. However, when Ono no Komachi went to talk with Henjō, he had already left the temple. Henjō's chastity as a monk is maintained in the stories, but at the same time he is portrayed as a man who was deeply interested in love affairs before his ordination and might very well have continued to be so after his ordination. Although the stories may not have historical value, they do suggest that fifty years after his death, Henjō was viewed as a man who had been involved with many women.

Other stories concern Henjō's concern for his favorite wife and children. When Emperor Ninmyō died, Henjō could not bear to tell them that he had decided to leave them to become a monk. After he had been ordained, his wife and children happened to visit a temple and inquire about him while Henjō was listening in a hidden place. Although he was tempted to call out to them, his commitment to the life of a monk was strong enough that he was able to resist the temptation (Sakakura 1957, pp. 335–37; Mabuchi 1976, 22, pp. 461–68). The story is indicative of the difficulties which a man of Henjō's background and age must have experienced in living the life of a monk.

Henjō, in fact, did maintain relations with his family and ordained two of his sons, both born before Henjō was ordained, as monks at the Unrin'in. Henjō gave his sons preferential treatment, personally conferring Esoteric initiations on them. The older brother, Yushō (or Yusei) 由性 (841–914) was appointed supernumerary *vinaya*-master (*gon-risshi*) in the Sōgō and the administrator (*bettō*) at Unrin'in. According to the *Yamato monogatari*, he is said to have been interested in women just as his father had been and to have had a number of love affairs, but it is left unclear whether these occurred before or after his ordination. The younger brother, Soshō (or Sosei) 素性 (d. 919), had a career similar to that of his father. He served at court for a time and was a well-known *waka* poet. At the urging of his father, he was ordained

along with this brother. In 896, when Emperor Uda (867-931, r. 887-897) visited the Unrin'in, Soshō wa rewarded with an appointment as super-numerary *vinaya*-master (*gon-risshi*) and awarded one yearly ordinand. In 909, he received an imperial order to paint some screens and present them to the emperor and was rewarded with rice wine. He was also given silks and horses for the *waka* he wrote (see *Taizōkai daihō taijuki*, ND 83:60a; *Honchō kōsōden*, BZ 102:145a; Sakakura 1957, pp. 340-41; and Tahara 1980, pp. 122-23).⁴⁰

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

Annen's Last Years

Most of Annen's major works on *taimitsu* were written after he became a *denbō ajari* in 884 and while he was serving as an instructor to Henjō's students at Gangyō-ji. Hashimoto (1912, 4/11, p. 13) has noted that an investigation of Tendai bibliographies yields a list of over one hundred books with which Annen is credited, most of them works on Esoteric Buddhism. Some of these works may not be authentic or may have been known by several titles. Others were probably very short; but Annen was still a remarkably productive scholar.⁴¹

The last unquestionably authentic records of Annen's activities date from 889. In the ninth month he appeared at court along with other monks to perform Esoteric rituals. Although Annen was one of the younger men and had less seniority than many of the other monks, he was asked to serve as transmitter of the petition (*dōtatsu* 堂達).⁴² That same year Annen saw termites swarming at the Unrin'in and reported them to the Chancellor Fujiwara no Mototsune 基經 (836-891). Mototsune told Emperor Uda about the report,

⁴⁰ According to *Yamato monogatari*, one of Henjō's sons, probably Sosei, engages in a number of love affairs after his ordination and remains a monk. Approximately one-fourth of Sosei's poems are love poems, though many of these are written from a woman's perspective (McCullough 1985a, pp. 371-75, 452-59).

⁴¹ Etani credits Annen with 117 works in 220 fascicles (1976, p. 313). Asai states that he wrote over one hundred works and that approximately forty survive (1973, pp. 630-38). Asai's work contains a useful survey of the current state of research on the authenticity of works attributed to Annen. Nara (1974, pp. 32-46) has questioned the authenticity of some of the most important works attributed to Annen. His study is indicative of the immense amount of work that remains to be done on Annen before we can make a critical appraisal of his thought. Nara lists only twenty-six works attributed to Annen as extant.

⁴² The *dōtatsu* (transmitter) was one of seven monks who played leading roles at Esoteric services. He conveyed the sponsor's petition to the *juganshi* 呪願師 (invoker), who read the petition.

and the emperor regarded it as a serious portent of ill since a similar report had been received shortly before the previous emperor's death (*Fusō ryakki*, KT 12:158). Annen clearly was highly respected by the court at this time.

Virtually nothing is known about Annen's activities after 889, when he was forty-nine years old. As a result, some scholars have speculated that he may have died around that time. Ōyama, for example, has argued that a scholar as productive as Annen would surely have left some trace of his activities in subsequent years if he had been alive (1979, p. 505). However, two documents suggest that Annen may have lived longer. The first is an introduction, dated 902 when Annen would have been sixty-two, for a bibliography, the *Shoajari shingon mikkyō burui sōroku*, which was originally written by Annen in 885 (BZ 2:110–11). The second is the lineage for Annen's student Genjō 玄静 which states that Annen conferred several Esoteric initiations upon Genjō but died before he could give him the certificate (*injin* 印信) which would serve as proof of the initiations. The certificate was subsequently issued by Saien 最円. Unfortunately, the date the lineage was issued is not known. However, Hashimoto has assembled the various documents concerning the initiations received and conferred by Genjō and demonstrated that Genjō must have received the status of *denbō ajari* by 897. Annen must have died before 897. Since the information from the preface to the bibliography and from Genjō's lineages is contradictory, one of them must be rejected. Hashimoto has suggested that the 902 preface for the bibliography was not necessarily written by Annen and that Annen probably died sometime between 889 and 897 (1918, 4/11, pp. 20–40).

One possible explanation for the disappearance of Annen's name from records after 889 may be the death of his teacher and patron, Henjō, in 890. Although Henjō conferred the status of *denbō ajari* on both Henjō and Yuishu at the same time, he subsequently conferred special initiations on Annen without giving them to Yuishu (*Kongōkai daihō rajjuki*, ND 82:251–52). However, after Henjō's death, Yuishu was appointed to be the head of Onjō-ji and then as *zasu* on Mount Hiei. The loss of his most important patron and the possibility of difficulties in his relations with Yuishu have led some scholars to speculate that Annen may have retreated to the provinces to practice religious austerities around 890, but no convincing evidence for this view exists (Terada 1936, pp. 176–78). Although Annen's dates have been extensively discussed by Japanese scholars, no consensus on the year of Annen's death has emerged.

According to later sources, Annen entered a cave to meditate indefinitely in 915, a tradition which obviously is patterned after similar stories about Kūkai entering a cave to meditate until Maitreya's appearance on earth; however, sources differ about the cave in which Annen is said to be meditating.⁴³

⁴³ Annen's traditional date of death as 915 is based on a work by the Tokugawa period scholar Keikō (1740–1795). For the legends about Annen's meditation in a cave, see *Tendai*

Annen's trenchant criticisms of Kūkai's Shingon School also led to the development of legends that Annen was punished by being so impoverished and hungry that he ate dirt and starved to death in front of the gates of Tō-ji 東寺, the headquarters of the Shingon School. According to other legends, Annen was impoverished and those who supported him, whether laymen or monks, were said to have been reduced to poverty. Legends that Annen was a violent monk probably arose from similar sources and were partially based on Annen's permissive attitude towards violations of the precepts (*Keiran shūyōshū*, *Sangoku denki*, NS 1/1:334-39).

Annen seems to have had relatively few noteworthy disciples, probably because he either died at a comparatively young age or because he went into retirement after Henjō's death. Those monks who are associated with him in biographies or lineages almost all received much of their training with other teachers. Thus Annen was not a major teacher like Ennin and Enchin. Several of the monks who received advanced Esoteric initiations from Annen deserve mention. Genjō had served as a minister at court, but decided to become a monk when the retired Emperor Seiwa (850-880; r. 858-876) received the tonsure in 879. Genjō received the *kongōkai* (Diamond-realm) advanced initiation from Shūei, who had practiced under both Tendai and Shingon monks, and studied the Esoteric Sanskrit syllabary (*shittan*) under Shūei's disciple Zennen 禅然 at the Zenrin-ji 禅林寺 monastery. Later, he studied and received a variety of Esoteric initiations under Annen, but when Annen died before he could issue the certificate stating that Genjō had received the initiations, Genjō had to complete his studies under Saien. Annen also taught Daie 大慧 about whom little is known other than that he taught Miyoshi Kiyoyuki's 三善清行 (847-918) son. Another disciple, Son'i 尊意 (866-940) went on to serve as the thirteenth Tendai *zasu* for fourteen years (Ōyama 1979, 1, p. 515; Hashimoto 1918, 4/11, p. 45-48).

Conclusion

Despite Annen's importance in the Japanese Tendai tradition, very little is known about his personal life, rendering it impossible to determine the extent to which Annen observed the precepts and making it difficult to ascertain the key influences which led him to argue for a more permissive interpretation of the precepts. However, by focussing on several of the teachers who influenced his thinking around 882 when he wrote his major work on the precepts, two of the significant factors which affected his position on monastic discipline can be determined: the increasing activity of nobles in Tendai Buddhism and the growing importance of Esoteric Buddhism within the Tendai School.

During Saichō's lifetime (767–822), nobles had been important patrons for the Tendai School and had played key roles in Saichō's struggle to establish the school. However, nobles did not become monks and did not directly influence the daily lives of Tendai monks very much, although Tendai monks were required to read certain *sūtras* for the protection of the nation. Saichō founded his temple on Mount Hiei primarily as a retreat for meditation and religious practice.

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

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

Annen's attitude toward the precepts was certainly influenced by these changes in the personnel of monasteries, particularly at Gangyō-ji. Many of the precepts were not being observed. Rather than requiring monks to adhere to a strict set of rules, Annen argued that it was important to consider

the attitudes behind their activities. If their actions were motivated by such concerns as compassion for sentient beings, then violations of the precepts could be tolerated.

The growing importance of Esoteric Buddhism within the Tendai School is the second factor in Annen's permissive attitude toward the precepts which is evident from his biography. Annen is usually considered the great systematizer of Tendai Esoteric Buddhist doctrine. Although Tendai Esoteric ritual continued to develop after his death, Tendai Esoteric doctrine reached its culmination with Annen. The biographies of Annen and his teachers clearly reveal the fascination which Esoteric Buddhism held for Tendai monks in the late ninth century. Although Tendai exoteric doctrine was still studied, it clearly did not attract as much interest as Esoteric Buddhism. Both on Mount Hiei and at Henjō's Gangyō-ji, the numbers of yearly ordinands studying Esoteric Buddhism were greater than those studying Tendai texts such as the *Mo-ho chih-kuan*.

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

ABBREVIATIONS

- BZ: BUSSHO KANKŌKAI 仏書刊行会, ed.
 1911–22 *Dainihon Bukkyō zensho* 大日本仏教全書 [Collected Works of Japanese Buddhism]. Tokyo: Bussho Kankōkai. Reprint, Tokyo: Suzuki Gakujutsu Zaidan, 1970–73, and Tokyo: Meicho Fukyūkai, 1979. References are to Bussho kankōkai, ed., except where otherwise noted.
- DDZ: EIZAN GAKKAI 叡山学会, ed.
 1975 *Dengyō Daishi zenshū* 伝教大師全集 [Collected works of Saichō], 5 vols. Tokyo: Sekai Seiten Kankō Kyōkai.
- GR: HANAWA Hokiichi 塙保己一
 1893–1902 *Gunsho ruijū* 群書類従 [Classified collections of Japanese classics]. Tokyo: Keizai Shuppansha.
- KT: KUROITA Katsumi 黒板勝美
 1929–1966 *Shintei zōho kokushi taikai* 新訂増補国史大系 [Revised and enlarged outline of Japanese history]. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan.
- ND: NAKANO Tatsue 中野達慧, ed.
 1919–1921 *Nihon daizōkyō* 日本大蔵経 [Japanese Tripiṭaka]. Tokyo: Nihon Daizōkyō Hensankai. Reprint, Tokyo: Suzuki Gakujutsu Zaidan, 1976.
- NS: TŌKYŌ DAIGAKU SHIRYŌ HENSANJO, ed.
 1901–present *Dainihon shiryō* 大日本史料 [Sources in Japanese History.] Tokyo: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai.
- T. TAKAKUSU Junjirō 高楠順次郎 and WATANABE Kaigyoku 渡辺海旭, eds.
 1922–33 *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大蔵経 [Newly revised Tripiṭaka of the Taishō era]. Tokyo: Taishō Issaikyō.

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