

Jōkei and The Kōfukuji Petition

Robert E. MORRELL

IN THE autumn of 1205 the scholarly recluse Jōkei (Gedatsubō, 1155-1213), representing the Hossō's Kōfukuji in Nara, drafted a petition to the court asking that Hōnen's popular teaching of sole reliance on the Buddha Amida be suppressed. The Pure Land (Jōdo) sect had been initiated three decades earlier when Hōnen (Genkū, 1133-1212) left Kurodani on Tendai's Mt. Hiei for the Ōtani district in Kyoto, where he began to publicly advocate the Single-practice Calling upon the Name of the Buddha [Amida] (*senju nenbutsu*). Jōkei's nine-article petition argued that Hōnen, or at least his followers, were violating basic assumptions which for centuries had been shared by all sects within the Buddhist tradition, and that the flourishing young movement was a clear and present danger to the state.

It is tempting to dismiss the indictment as another dreary example of the *odium theologicum* latent in every ideological enterprise, and to sympathize with Hōnen's band of religious idealists spreading a message of hope to the common people in the face of a corrupt clerical establishment fearing a loss of prestige. But the reality is not so simple, there being at least two, and often many more, sides to every conflict. Hōnen was a scholar whose personal behavior was above reproach; but so also were his two major opponents: Jōkei, and the Kegon reformer, Myōe (Kōben, 1173-1232). Moreover, devotion to the Buddha Amida had long been incorporated within the practices of the traditional Eight Sects¹ of Japanese Buddhism. Why,

1. As new sects developed in Japan they were eventually included in a standard grouping of recognized teachings, from the Six Nara Sects

then, was there such a concern over a movement which promised to revive acceptance of the Buddha's Teaching, whose institutions were widely recognized to be in need of reform?

This paper will focus on Jōkei's perception of the issues as expressed in his Kōfukuji Petition (*Kōfukuji sōjō*). There are other perspectives, amply defended elsewhere. But here I would like to speak for Jōkei. And rather than summarizing or paraphrasing the Petition, I wish to present a complete and reasonably faithful translation so that the reader can examine the charges for himself. An extract or summary would have permitted me to skirt a number of treacherous passages, but only a complete translation will serve my purpose. Selection cannot avoid partiality, and what might seem negligible to one reader could easily be crucial for another. I will begin with short sketches of Jōkei the monk and the Pure Land movement which prompted his criticism.

Jōkei's world. Jōkei's grandfather was Fujiwara Michinori (d. 1160), "a clever and unscrupulous man" (Sansom 1958, p. 256), better known to history by his clerical name, Shinzei. Although Emperor Go-Shirakawa (1127-92, reign 1155-58) retained his throne through the Hōgen disturbance of 1156, he abdicated in 1158 to become one of Japan's most powerful retired emperors (*In*) until his death four decades later. An adviser in his early intrigues was Shinzei, who was opposed by Fujiwara Nobuyori (1133-59); these two factions were supported respectively by Taira Kiyomori (1118-81) and Minamoto Yoshitomo (1123-60), father of Yoritomo and Yoshitsune. The Taira clan, with Kiyomori at its head, was victorious in the Heiji Insurrection of 1159, but Shinzei perished in the conflict. He has a prominent role in the

(Kusha, Jōjitsu, Sanron, Ritsu, Hossō and Kegon) to as many as thirteen, with numerous sub-schools, in recent times. In early Kamakura the Eight Sects, mentioned by Jōkei in his Petition, included Tendai and Shingon in addition to the Nara group.

Heiji monogatari account of the war, and he is the focus of the second of the three famous picture scrolls (*emaki*) portraying these events ("Shinzei"; for a translation see Reischauer 1951, pp. 375-457).

Three of Shinzei's sons had close ties with Jōkei. The first was his father, Sadanori, who was exiled to the province of Oki in 1159 after an abortive attempt to avoid punishment by taking Holy Orders (Reischauer 1951, pp. 410-411, 429; Nagazumi and Shimada 1961, p. 196, p. 213). We do not know what happened to him after this. Another of Shinzei's sons was Kakuken (1131-1212), exiled to Iyo but later (1189) abbot (*bettō*) of the Kōfukuji. Jōkei studied Hossō doctrine with Kakuken and had a close association with him until his death, only a year before Jōkei's. Finally, the popular preacher Chōken (ca. 1125-1205),² also one of Shinzei's twelve sons banished in 1159, is known to have participated on at least one occasion in a ceremony with both Kakuken and Jōkei (Tanaka 1971, p. 462). An exhaustive biography of Jōkei would doubtless reveal the influence of many family connections.

Jōkei, also known as Gédatsubō in his priestly life, took the tonsure in 1165, as early as his eleventh year. The details of his youth at the Kōfukuji are sketchy but his later eminence as a scholar suggests that his time was spent in diligent study. Then in 1180 the Taira forces under Kiyomori's son Shigehira laid waste to the Kōfukuji in addition to destroying the colossal Buddha at Nara's Tōdaiji. The *Heike monogatari* (V:14; Kitagawa and Tsuchida 1975, pp. 343-344) says thousands of priests and laymen perished in the flames. Jōkei survived, but to have witnessed the destruction of what to him was the very center of Japanese Buddhism was a terrible shock. What more was needed

2. Chōken is noteworthy as the founder of the Agui school of popular preachers from which emerged the *Shintōshū* ("Collection of the way of the gods," ca. 1358-61). Chōken's son Shōgaku (also Seikaku or Shōkaku, 1167-1235) is the subject of an amusing anecdote in Mujū's *Shasekishū* ("Collection of sand and pebbles," 1279-83) VI:8.

to confirm the fact that the world was well into the period of the Decline of the Law (*mappō*)?³ For the next decade Jōkei lived at the An'yōin (the "Hall of Peace and Rest"),⁴ a subtemple of the ravaged Kōfukuji. Restoration of the major structures was not begun until 1189, when the influential (Fujiwara) Kujō came to Nara to initiate the rebuilding of the Golden Hall (Kondō).⁵ A great dedication service of the restored monastery was held in 1193 (Sansom 1958, p. 332).

It was around this time that Jōkei attracted the attention of Kanezane and others of the nobility, who all admired his skill as celebrant and preacher. But his life as a fashionable cleric was not for long. In 1192, after a decade of self-deliberation, Jōkei decided to adopt the life of a recluse (*tonsei*) at the mountain temple of Kasagidera, about twelve kilometers as the crow flies northeast of the Kōfukuji. The temple's main object of worship is a great

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3. The theory that the teaching of the present Buddha, Śākyamuni, would progressively decline through three periods until its final extinction, had several interpretations in China and Japan, and strongly colored Kamakura Buddhist thought. Hōnen's authority, and that of many others, was the *Mappō tōmyōki* ("Record of the lamp during the latter days"), a work traditionally but doubtfully ascribed to Tendai's Saichō (767-822). Article 8 of Jōkei's Petition (see pp.32-33) includes a statement attributed to Hōnen's followers which seems to refer to this document. Among several views proposed in the "Record" for the beginning of *mappō*, the one which eventually gained popularity in Japan placed the death of Śākyamuni at B.C. 949 and assumed that each of the two early periods lasted for a millennium. This would place the start of the Decline of the Law at A.D. 1052, which was compatible with Fa-shang's view (Rhodes 1980, p. 91).
 4. An'yō, the "Land of Peace and Rest," is another name for Amida's Pure Land. In spite of Jōkei's opposition to what he regarded as the excesses of the popular Pure Land movements, writings from his last years show Amidist leanings in addition to his devotion to Maitreya (Miroku) and Kannon.
 5. Kanezane, brother of the Tendai prelate Jien (1155-1225) and author of the diary *Gyokuyō*, became a *senju nenbutsu* convert in 1177 and was the impetus behind Hōnen's composing the *Senjakushū*. The Kōfukuji was the Fujiwara clan's family temple; Kanezane, as head of the clan, was responsible for its restoration.

stone image of the future Buddha, Maitreya (Miroku Nyorai), to whom Jōkei had a special devotion. Kanezane argued that it was only a further sign of the decline of the Buddha's law when competent monks withdrew from religious participation in the world. But Jōkei was not to be dissuaded, replying that he had made a vow to the Great Deity at Kasuga, the Shinto shrine adjacent to, and traditionally associated with, Hossō's Kōfukuji and the Fujiwara clan. In his *Kasuga Daimyōjin hotsuganmon* ("Votive declaration to the Great Deity of Kasuga"), which dates from this time (Tanaka 1971, p.463), he states that he was waiting expectantly for rebirth in Maitreya's Tuṣita Heaven, the Paradise of Satisfied Gods;⁶ and that until this was attained, he would devote himself to Maitreya's provisional manifestation (*gongen*), that is, the Great Deity of Kasuga.⁷ Both Jōkei and his friend Myōe are associated in popular tradition for their unusual devotion to Kasuga.

Jōkei moved to Kasagidera in the autumn of 1193. For some years he had been engaged in a collaborative project to copy the entire six hundred fascicles of Hsüan-tsang's translation of the Great Perfection of Wisdom Sutra.⁸ We are told that Jōkei himself worked on the section known as the Perfection of Wisdom in 150 Lines,⁹ completing it at Kasagidera in 1195. To house the collection Jōkei built a three-bayed, hexagonal sutra turret in black lacquer. This

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6. Parallel to Amida's Western Paradise is Maitreya's Pure Land, the Tuṣita Heaven (*tosotsuten*). With the overwhelming success of the nenbutsu movements, the term Pure Land (*jōdo*) has virtually come to refer to Amida's; but some representations of other paradises survive, such as Maitreya's Tuṣita Heaven and Kannon's Mount Potalaka (Fudarakusen). See Okazaki 1977, pp.29-36, 75-82).
 7. In Shinto-Buddhist syncretic thought Maitreya is identified at different times as the Original Ground (*honji*) of which Kasuga's Ninomiya, Wakamiya and Sanjū-hassho-daimyōjin are viewed as the Manifest Traces (*suijaku*). See Kageyama 1965, p.51, p.137; Matsunaga 1969, p.232, pp.240-243.
 8. The *Mahāprajñāramitāsūtra*; Japanese *Daihannyaharamittakyō*; T.220.
 9. *Rishubun*, T.220 (10), 578; the *Adhyardhasatika* (Conze 1960, pp.79-80).

was consecrated late in 1195, together with a monastic building called Hannyadai ("Wisdom Heights"), and monastic living quarters. His uncle and old mentor, the Kōfukuji abbot Kakuken, was present for the dedication; and it may have been Jōkei's life as a recluse that induced him to resign his administrative post. When his petition to resign was rejected, Kakuken retired to the Tsubosakadera, south of Nara.

IT IS this time and place which define Jōkei in popular legend. Mujū's "Collection of sand and pebbles" (*Shaseki-shū*, 1279-83) 1:5 is a short vignette of Jōkei and Myōe (cf. Morrell 1973, pp. 470-471):

"I regard Myōebō and Gedatsubō as my Tarō and Jirō," declared the Great Deity of Kasuga Shrine. When the two men were once on a pilgrimage to the great shrine, all the deer on Kasuga Plain bent their knees and knelt out of respect for them....¹⁰

When the venerable Gedatsubō, living at Kasagi in a secluded retreat which he called Wisdom Heights, invited the deity for a visit, it assumed the form of a child and rode on his shoulders. The god composed this verse:

Ware yukan	I will come
Yukite maboran	And having arrived will protect
Hannyadai	Wisdom Heights
Shaka no minori no	As long as the Holy Law
Aran kagiri wa	of Śākyamuni may survive ¹¹

Once, in a vacant practice hall at Wisdom Heights, the voice of the deity proclaimed:

Ware wo shire	Know who I am!
Shakamuni butsu no	Now that Śākyamuni Buddha
Yo ni idete	Has appeared
Sayakeki tsuki no	Think of me as the clear moon
Yo wo terasu to wa	Shining over the land. ¹²

10. Myōe visited Kasuga Shrine in the second month of 1203 during his first attempt to mount an expedition to visit India. It was at this time that the deer knelt to him, but the sequence of events suggests that Jōkei is not included in the depiction of this event in the *Kasuga Gongen genki e* (Noma 1963, color plate 9; Morrell 1982, p.185, p.187).

11. Verse included in the *Gyokuyōshū* ("Collection of Jeweled Leaves"), XX:2720, with this headnote: "When Jōkei Shōnin moved to a place called Wisdom Heights, he wanted to invite the Great Deity of Kasuga, which caused the God to respond with this poem" (*Kokka taikai* 6, p.604).

It is said that the deity constantly discoursed on Buddhist doctrine. Indeed, how fortunate and enviable the experience of those who actually heard what took place when Sākyamuni was in the world...

The "Collection of sand and pebbles" also relates Jōkei's visit to the Ise Shrine, where he saw in a lotus pond the souls of those who were to be reborn (I:2), and the story of his disciple Shōen, who visited a hell directly beneath Kasuga Plain, where it was revealed to him that the Kasuga Deity of the Third Shrine (Sannomiya) was in fact the bodhisattva Jizō who every morning relieves the suffering of the unfortunate residents (I:6) Both the Shōen episode and Jōkei's invitation to the Kasuga deity are depicted in the *Kasuga Gongen genki e* ("Illustrated record of the miracles of the Kasuga avatars") of 1309.¹³

For a decade and a half Kasagidera was the arena for Jōkei's religious practice. He meditated, wrote, copied sutras, constructed buildings, and performed ceremonies—all as a recluse with the hope of rebirth in Maitreya's Pure Land. The retreat was far enough away from the traffic of Nara and Kyoto for a life of seclusion, but also close enough for Jōkei to gradually be drawn in, willy-nilly, to these centers of religious and political activity. By 1205, when he drafted the Kōfukuji Petition, we find him increasingly involved in public events.

Jōkei was now fifty. During a half century he had witnessed much to dismay the conscientious follower of the Way. He was born just as Heian society was about to be swept away by insurrections and civil unrest. His immediate family fell victim to these in their early stages, and Jōkei took the tonsure while still a child. At the beginning of the

12. Verse included in the *Shinkokinshū* ("Collection of Ancient and Modern Times Continued"), VII:691, with a short headnote ascribing the poem to the Great Deity of Kasuga (*Kokka taikō* 5, p.491).

13. Myōye's visit to Jōkei at Kasagidera late in the second month of 1203 (see note 10, p.11) is represented in *maki* 17.3 of the *Kasuga Gongen genki e* (Noma 1963, illustration p.82, text p.58).

Genpei War (1180-85) he saw the great temples of Nara destroyed, followed by five years of brutal conflict. Peace came with the defeat of the Taira at the Battle of Dannoura and the establishment of a military government in Kamakura, but public morale was low and people were sure that bad times still lay ahead as social and religious institutions continued to decline during the final period of the Law. Society was appalled by the laxity of the clergy.

Then in the midst of this malaise a new cult sprang up which claimed that calling on the name of the Buddha Amida was the only religious practice possible in the present degenerate age, and that every other belief and observance was not only useless but counterproductive. The conventional rules of morality need not be observed if salvation could be attained solely by reliance on the Other Power (*tariki*) of Amida. Is it any wonder that Jōkei, Myōe¹⁴ and others were alarmed and called for civil intervention, in spite of the fact that doctrinal accommodation (*hōben*) was an integral part of the Mahāyāna? They could tolerate anything but intolerance.

Hōnen himself evidently did not endorse the extravagant claims of some of his followers. But, after all, he had initiated the movement and was clearly its focus. If he could not, or would not, control those who would undermine the very foundations of the Mahāyāna, then it would have to be done by Imperial Edict. And so, speaking not only for Hossō but for all of the Eight Sects of Buddhism, in the tenth month of 1205 Jōkei drew up the Kōfukuji Petition.

14. Myōe's attack on Hōnen's *Senjākushū* (1198, made public 1212) came in two installments: the *Saijariin* ("An attack on the bad vehicle", 1212) and the *Shōgonki* ("Record of a moral adornment," 1213). Unlike Jōkei's Petition, which was composed as a concise summary of common complaints against the senju nenbutsu, Myōe's works are an elaborate rebuttal directed against the movement's claim to be the sole religious method appropriate to the mappō period, and to its rejection, or at least downgrading, of the need to kindle the desire for Enlightenment (*hotsu bodaishin*). See Bandō 1974. For additional recent information about Myōe see Rasmus 1982 and Morrell 1982.

In 1208 Jōkei retired to Kaijusenji, several kilometers west-northwest of Kasagidera. The temple, which seems to have been a private villa owned by the current abbot of the Kōfukuji, Gaen, was a spot sacred to Kannon. In his late years Jōkei had a special devotion to Kannon and prayed for rebirth on Mt. Potalaka.¹⁵ Moreover, in the *Kanjin'i shōjōenmyō no koto* ("On the purity and clarity for contemplating mind"), dictated from his sickbed in the middle of the first month of 1213, the year he died, Jōkei states that he "believes deeply in the Western Region [of Amida]" (Tanaka 1971, p.468). Elsewhere he consciously merges devotion of Amida and Miroku. The name and characteristics of a specific object of worship might differ, but ultimately they were all expressions of the Dharma. Provisional methods might vary, but what is ultimately basic for release from illusion (*shutsuri*) is the experience of Consciousness Only (*yuishikikan*), according to the *Shugyō Yōshō* ("Essentials of practice") dictated four days before the *Kanjin'i*.

Tanaka sees Jōkei's characteristic religious stance in the notion of *sange* ("repentance," "penitence," or even "resolution"),¹⁶ that is, the recognition of one's limitations due to the accumulation of karma, and the need for good works to counteract it. In this Jōkei differs with Hōnen's Pure Land movement, in which merely calling on the name of Amida guarantees rebirth in his paradise.

15. *Fudarakusen*. Among several scriptural sources for Kannon's Potalaka Pure Land are the three Chinese translations of the Garland Sutra (*Kegonkyō*, T.278, 279, 293; *Avatamsaka*). The pilgrim Sudhana's visit to Avalokiteśvara (Kannon) is 28th of the 54 stages. Potalaka was said to be in the sea south of India, but its translation to a Japanese setting placed it near Nachi Falls or even (as Jōkei may have viewed it) at the Kasuga Shrine. Kaijusenji owns a Kamakura wall painting of Mt. Potalaka (Okazaki 1977, pp.82-83) as well as a statue of Jōkei. See also Fontein 1967, pp.10, 101, 211.

16. For the history of *sange* and related terms, see deVisser 1935, I, p.211.

The Kōfukuji Petition

Release from illusion depends on one's personal limitations. It isn't that we have not heard the Law, but simply that our hearts do not rise to the occasion. Is this not because there is a disparity between the specific teaching and those who hear it? Because there is a difference between one's aspirations and one's lot in life? I wish to engage in some great-spirited religious endeavor, but my nature cannot support it. And even when I try to perform some trifling act of merit, I cannot depend on my heart to carry it through. I question the sage elders whenever we happen to meet, but I get no reply... (From the *Kanjin'i shōjōenmyō no koto*, cited in Tanaka 1971, p.469).

Jōkei was also a prolific writer on Hossō theory, but none of this is available in translation. He was the first in a line of distinguished thinkers who created a minor Hossō scholastic revival during the Kamakura period. The school's abstruse idealism never excited the Japanese in spite of its honored place in the Buddhist philosophical tradition from Asanga (Mujaku) and Vasubandhu (Seshin) in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. through Hsüan-tsang (Genjō, 600-664) and K'uei-chi (Kiki, 632-82); also known as Tz'u-en). Jōkei's disciple Kakuhen (1175-1258) was the teacher of Ryōhen (1194-1252), whose *Kanjin kakumushō* ("The compendium [which teaches how] to awaken from the dreams [of illusion] by contemplating the mind") was once thought to have been written by Jōkei himself. The Compendium is today believed to be Ryōhen's work, partly on the basis of minor theoretical differences between the two thinkers (Weinstein 1965, pp.6-7); but it can still provide us with a sense of the complex conceptual tradition in which Jōkei played a prominent role quite apart from his public activities.

The Single-practice Calling Movement. In 1105 Hōnen established the (Amidist) Pure Land sect (Jōdoshū) on the ground that the Single-practice Calling on the Name of the Buddha [Amida] (senju nenbutsu) was the one method appropriate to the period of the Decline of the Law. Considerable confusion subsequently arose as to whether Hōnen meant that the nenbutsu was merely the *best* among many, or the *sole viable* practice. Earlier Amidist devotion, such

as that incorporated into Tendai, had understood nenbutsu as "meditation" (*kannen*) on the Buddha rather than as "invocation of his name" (*shōmyō*; cf. Petition, Article 7). Hōnen based his program on three sutras which seemed to support the latter interpretation, as well as on the authority of a number of prominent Indian, Chinese and Japanese patriarchs, including Vasubandhu,¹⁷ Shan-tao (Zendō, 613-81) and Tendai's Genshin (942-1017).

He had lectured on these sutras at Nara's Tōdaiji as early as 1190, while Jōkei was still living at the nearby Kōfukuji. Jōkei may well have attended these sessions, but it is not likely that he was present at the Ōhara Controversy (Ōhara *dangi*) of 1186, as tradition claims. On this occasion it is said that Hōnen successfully defended his position against the criticism of several learned scholars belonging to the older sects, and that 300 went over to his cause. But some modern historians doubt the importance, or even the historicity, of this event. In any case, Jōkei would have had ample opportunity to hear and meet Hōnen, perhaps under the auspices of their mutual friend, Kanezane.

The three Pure Land Sutras (*Jōdo sanbukyō*) chosen by Hōnen as the scriptural basis of his movement are the following:

1. *The Larger Pure Land Sutra*. The *Muryōjukyō*, literally "The Amitayus Sutra," T. 360, is thought to have been translated into Chinese in A.D. 252 by Sanghavarman. Popularly known as the (Larger) Sukhāvati-vyūha ("Pure Land") Sutra, it relates the career of the Buddha Amida as the bodhisattva Dharmākara (Hōzō), who made 48 vows to save sentient beings. For the Pure Land movement, the eighteenth vow is central:

Even when I am able to attain Buddhahood, if sentient beings of the ten quarters, with sincerity and faith, desire to be born in my land by practicing up to ten thoughts [i.e., chanting the

17. The idealist philosopher Vasubandhu (5th century) is traditionally credited with the *Sukhāvativyūhopadesa* (Treatise on the Pure Land; *Jōdoron*, T. 1524). For a translation and commentary on this work and its influence on Chinese and Japanese Pure Land Buddhism, see Kiyota 1978, pp. 249-296.

name of Buddha Amitāyus] and are not born there, I will not accept supreme enlightenment—only excluding those who commit the five atrocities and abuse the True Dharma (Kiyota 1978, p. 256, p. 274).¹⁸

2. *The Amitābha Sutra*. The *Amidakyō*, T. 366, is Kumārajīva's translation (ca. 402) of the (Smaller) Sukhāvati-vyūha ("Pure Land") Sūtra. In describing Amida's paradise and recommending the invocation of his name it summarizes the argument of the *Larger Pure Land Sutra*.
3. *The Sutra of Meditation on Amida Buddha*. The *Kammuryōjūkyō* (T. 365; Amitāyurdhyāna-sūtra) tells of Śākyamuni's appearance to the imprisoned Queen Vaidehi, whom he instructs in various forms of meditation on the Buddha Amitāyus with the promise that even the worst sinner can attain rebirth in Amida's Pure Land if he recites Amida's name ten times at the moment of death. This sole reliance on Amida as saviour differs from the visualization of Amida suggested by the sutra's name. (See especially Articles 6 and 7 of the Petition.)

At Kanezane's request, as early as 1198 Hōnen had compiled his basic statement of religious policy, the *Senjaku [hōgan nenbutsu] shū* ("Collection of Passages [bearing on the Original Vow of Amida]"), but it was not made public until after his death in 1212. Hōnen evidently felt that his message would be misunderstood by some of his followers, and that the movement did not always reflect his own thinking. He remarked at the end of the *Senjakushū*: "It is only hoped that once you have graciously glanced at this writing you will hide it in some cavity in the way and will not leave it before the window, to keep slanderers of the Dharma from falling into evil paths (Bandō 1974, p. 45). For Hōnen faith was essential, and good words were not only useless but an assertion of egoism and lack of confidence in the Buddha's compassion. To some it seemed to follow that if good actions were not a help to salvation, bad actions were not a hindrance.

Hōnen was aware of the excesses to which his state-

18. For an alternate (but much older) translation of this passage by the venerable Nanjō Bunyū (1849-1927) see Müller 1965, p. 73. Professor Kiyota notes that "In the popular Pure Land tradition, this line [i.e., what follows the dash] is omitted" (Kiyota 1978, p. 274).

ments seemed to lend support and of the charges brought against his movement because of them. His first major confrontation with the religious establishment came in 1204. Hearing that the Tendai priests on Mt. Hiei had gathered to ask Shinshō, the current abbot, to prohibit the Single-practice Calling, Hōnen anticipated the action by sending the prelate a Seven-Article Pledge (*Shichikajō kishōmon*) supported by 190 of his disciples together with his own personal letter of pledge.¹⁹ The Seven-Article Pledge, also signed by Hōnen's radical followers (Jūren, Anraku [Junsai], Gyōkū), stated that Hōnen's followers should not criticize other religious methods nor ignore the regulations of the *vinaya*. It anticipated many of the objections of Jōkei's Petition of the following year, and we must assume that Hōnen and his disciples signed the document in good faith. But there was a credibility gap between the establishment and movement in addition to a communication gap between the movement and Hōnen. In the Summary at the end of the Petition (see p. 35), Jōkei makes the curious charge that at the time of their encounter with the Hiei monks, Hōnen's disciples were telling his lay followers that the Shōnin spoke with forked tongue, and that they should pay no attention to what they might have heard!

Jōkei's Kōfukuji Petition, submitted in the tenth month of 1205, would probably have caused little official reaction were it not for a scandal that shook the court the following year. While the Retired Emperor Go-Toba was on a pilgrimage to Kumano in the twelfth month of 1206, Jūren and Anraku, after celebrating a Pure Land service at the Palace, were said to have spent the night with some ladies in waiting. After Go-Toba's return Jūren and Anraku were beheaded in the second month of 1207, while

19. These two items comprise what is known as the Seven-Article Injunction (*Shichikajō seikō*) and are included in Shunjō's life of Hōnen, from which they have been rendered into English (Coates and Ishizuka 1925, pp. 550-554).

Hōnen was defrocked and he and several of his disciples were sent into exile (Coates and Ishizuka 1925, pp.598-606; Matsunaga 1976, pp.66-68).

We may be inclined to see Jūren and Anraku as innocent victims of a plot to discredit the senju nenbutsu movement. However, the poet and historian Jien (Jichin, 1155-1225) did not view the incident in this light. Jien was Kanezane's brother, four times abbot of Mt. Hiei, and he personally befriended Hōnen after his return from exile. But in the *Gukanshō* ("The future and the past," 1219) Jien sustains the charges against Jūren and Anraku and considers the entire affair to have been handled with leniency.²⁰

Be that as it may, Hōnen was exiled to Tosa on the island of Shikoku until the end of 1207, when he was permitted to return to the mainland but not to enter the capital. For the next four years he lived at Kachiodera in Settsu (a suburb of modern Osaka), finally being permitted to return to Kyoto late in 1211, where Jien provided him with living quarters at a small temple in Ōtani. Hōnen died early in 1212.

Hōnen's relationship to the movement he founded is somewhat puzzling. Although he defended the nenbutsu as "invocation" (*shōmyō*), he himself was given to meditations, visualizations, of the Pure Land (Bandō 1974, pp.40-42). The movement tended to antinomianism, but Hōnen observed the priestly regulations, as even Jōkei seemed to recognize (see Article 8); and he did seem genuinely to reject the exclusive attitude of many of his followers. All of which "...has led modern critics to maintain that Hōnen was actually not very different from his Tendai predecessors" (Matsunaga 1976, p.61). In this he may not be unlike his younger contemporary, Eisai (1141-1215), the "founder"

20. In spite of his help to Hōnen during the last year of his life, Jien regarded his behavior to have been the result of possession by a "deceptive demon" (*junma*); see Brown and Ishida 1979, pp.171-173.

of Kamakura Zen (Collcutt 1981, pp.36-40).

Jōkei's petition to the court. Recent scholarship has dispelled any doubts about Jōkei's authorship of the Petition, although no manuscript of the work survives from the Kamakura period. For the text of my translation I have followed the modern printed edition included in Kamata Shigeo and Tanaka Hisao, eds, *Kyū Kamakura Bukkyō* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1971; *Nihon shisō taikēi* 15). This is a strict transcription (*tendoku*) into Japanese of the *kanbun* original, also attached, whose *teihon* is a 1909 photograph, held by the University of Tokyo Historiographical Institute, of a Tenmon 8 (1539) manuscript. The modern editor has corrected this against a Tenpō 9 (1838) manuscript held by the Tōdaiji, and a rather different version included in the *Dainihon bukkyō zensho* based on a manuscript of Eishō 18 (1521; Tanaka 1971, pp.509-510). As the reader will have already noticed, I am deeply indebted to Professor Tanaka's scholarship in almost every detail of this study of Jōkei's life and the Petition.

THE KŌFUKUJI PETITION

(*Jōkei Gedatsu Shōnin's document
in the matter of Hōnen Shōnin's
exile, with addenda*)²¹

Nine Articles of Error

1. The Error of Establishing a New Sect
2. The Error of Designing New Images for Worship
3. The Error of Slighting Sākyamuni
4. The Error of Neglecting the Varieties of Good Deeds
5. The Error of Turning One's Back on the Holy Gods of Shinto
6. The Error of Ignorance Concerning the Pure Lands
7. The Error of Misunderstanding the Nenbutsu
8. The Error of Vilifying the Followers of Sākyamuni
9. The Error of Bringing Disorder to the Nation

21. Statement inscribed on the front page of the *teihon*, but not part of Jōkei's text. The editor has attached the *kanbun* addenda without transcription or annotation (Tanaka 1971, pp.316-317).

*The Overseers and Superiors of the Kōfukuji
offer this sincere statement to the Court
with awe and respect.*

A Petition

*requesting that an Imperial Edict be issued
to rectify the doctrine of Single-practice
Calling upon the Name of the Buddha long
advocated by the monk Genkū [Hōnen]*

In respectfully calling to your attention the facts of the case, we would remind you that there is a certain monk known to the world as Hōnen who has established a Nenbutsu Sect which promotes the Single-practice (*senju*) exercise. Although what he says resembles what was taught by the ancient sages, his intention is for the most part at variance with their basic thought. In order to concentrate on the substance of his offenses, we have summarized them in nine articles.

Article 1. *The Error of Establishing a New Sect.*

Since the Buddha's Dharma has come to the east [from India through China to Japan] there have been Eight Sects in our land. Some were transmitted by holy men from foreign regions, others by eminent priests of our own country who went abroad to seek their benefits. In those days the illustrious monarchs promulgated these sects by decree, and miraculous sites and noted places became widespread, as appropriate to circumstances. But we have never heard of anyone establishing a new sect, opening up another way, since middle antiquity (*chūko*). Is this not because the Buddha's response to human needs was adequate and the Dharma was suited to the times? Generally speaking, the way to establish a new sect is first to distinguish the relative shallowness and depth of its doctrinal path, and to examine carefully what is provisional and what is absolute in the sectarian position, drawing away from the superficial and penetrating to the profound, understanding the provisional while taking refuge in the absolute. Although polemics abound as to which is greater or lesser, before or behind, there is for each one teaching he cannot leave, one method he cannot go beyond. Searching his own limits, he finds his proper sect. It is like the various currents finding their source in the great sea, or the multitudes paying court to a single individual.

When we designate as a separate sect those who call on the name of the Buddha for rebirth in his Pure Land, then we reduce all the sacred teachings of our era merely to calling on the name (*shōmyō*) of the single Buddha Amida; and taking refuge in the Three Treasures is no more than rebirth in the single Western Region [of Amida]! Is Genkū such a Great Patriarch as to transmit the light of the teaching as the first to found a sect now in these Latter Days? Shall we call him the model for a thousand ages, like [the Hossō sect's] Chihō [fl. ca. 706] of Kudara, or [the Ritsu sect's] Chien-chen [Ganjin, 687-763] of the Great T'ang? Or is this one the

glory of ten thousand generations, like [Shingon's] Kōbō [Kūkai, 774-835] or [Tendai's] Dengyō [Saichō, 767-822] of Mount Hiei?²² Even if one were to claim that his teaching had been handed down from antiquity and did not just now commence, who would go out to meet this wise man to receive his oral instructions? And then, with a certain amount of religious understanding, go forth to admonish and instruct? Even if he were a man of ability and virtue, it is only proper that he address the court and wait for the imperial permission to preach. It is quite improper to establish a sect privately.

Article 2. *The Error of Designing New Images for Worship*

In a number of places recently people have been trifling with a kind of pictorial representation known popularly as "The Mandala Embracing All and Forsaking None" (*Sesshu fusha mandara*).²³ In front of the Tathāgata Amida is a large group of people. The Buddha emits rays of light (*kōmyō*), some of which zig-zag to shine to the side while others go out to return to the point of origin. Around a group of scholars of the exoteric sects and Shingon practitioners are others cultivating their own "roots of merit" (*zenon*), holding various sutras and reciting sacred incantations. But the light shines only on the company of those performing the Single-practice Calling on the Name of the Buddha. Those who see representations of the hells fear committing sins, but those who see this mandala regret practicing good works. This is generally the tenor of this teaching. And the Shōnin says: "The statement that Amida will embrace all and forsake none who call upon the Buddha's name is in the scriptures.²⁴ I am entirely without blame."

But it is unreasonable to claim that if a person, in his single-minded practice of other good actions, were never to call upon Amida, he would thereby be excluded from the rays which truly embrace all (*jitsu ni sesshu*). [By his serious commitment he, in effect,] already delights in the Western Paradise and also calls upon Amida. So why should he be alienated

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22. Jōkei's praise of Saichō is all the more striking when we remember that four centuries earlier the Tendai founder's great opponent was the Hossō monk, Tokuchi.
23. Because of the criticism it provoked (see also Bandō 1974, p.49), this early variety of Pure Land picture lost favor and was replaced by the *kōmyō honzon*, a central column of 8-10 characters emitting rays which would fall upon a Pure Land assembly, without others being represented. No examples of this genre survive, and the Petition is our main source of information about it (Okazaki 1977, pp.167-171). *Shasekishū* 1:10 mentions the mandala and also apparently refers to the Petition (Morrell 1973, p.487).
24. The scriptural authority is the *Meditation Sutra* (see p.17): "...each ray extends so far as to shine over the worlds of the ten quarters, whereby Buddha embraces and protects all the beings who think upon him and does not exclude (any one of them)." Müller 1965, p.180; cf., Nakamura et al. 1964b, p.56.

from the light rays of great compassion merely because he follows other routes to the same goal?

Article 3. *The Error of Slighting Śākyamuni*

What sensible person does not know that although the various Buddhas of the Three Worlds are impartial in their compassion, the favors and blessings bestowed upon us by the teacher of our epoch [Śākyamuni] are uniquely beneficial? Now the Single-practice people say: "With our bodies we do not worship other Buddhas and with our voices we do not call upon other Names." This statement about "other Buddhas and other Names" refers to Śākyamuni and the other Buddhas. You Single-practicers—whose disciples are you? Who taught you this name of Amida? Who showed you this Pure Land of Peace and Rest (*An'yō jōdo*)? You are to be pitied that during your life in these Latter Days you should forget the name of our Original Teacher. Neither Buddhmitra nor Dharmapriya²⁵ committed such a transgression, but they were censured by the sages. Shan-tao says in his writing *In Praise [of Rebirth in the Pure Land]*:²⁶

Praise to the Three Treasures
of Śākyamuni and the other Buddhas!
Now I prostrate myself in veneration.
Praise to all the Three Treasures
within all worlds innumerable as particles of dust
throughout the regions of space
in the Ten Directions and the Three Worlds!
Now I prostrate myself in adoration.

From this statement the eminent monk's views should be perfectly clear. The community of monks takes refuge in the Buddha—in all of the Buddhas. And if we do not discriminate against the various Buddhas, how much more so should we not slight our Original Teacher [Śākyamuni]!

Article 4. *The Error of Neglecting the Varieties of Good Deeds*

Numerous sectarian positions arise as occasion demands, and we partake of the good ambrosial medicine [of the Buddha's varying teachings] each according to our karmic predispositions. They are all aspects of the True Law which our great teacher Śākyamuni gained for us by difficult and

25. A biography of the great Vasubandhu, the *Basoanzu hōshiden* (T.2049) mentions Buddhmitra (Kakushin Ronshi, fifth century) as a disciple. His offense is described in Article 6. The case of Dharmapriya (Hōai, or Donmabi, fourth century) is unclear.

26. (*Ōjō*)*raisan(ge)*, T.1980. Shan-tao (Zendō, 613-681), fifth of the seven Pure Land patriarchs, was a crucial influence on Hōnen by his emphasis on recitation over meditation (Matsunaga 1976, pp.26-27, 59, 69). Throughout the Petition Jōkei appeals to the very sutras and authorities accepted as basic by the Pure Land movement. Kyoto's Chion-in owns a splendid portrait of Shan-tao from the Kamakura period (Okazaki 1977, pp.172-173).

painful labors over innumerable aeons. Now to be attached to the name of a single Buddha is completely to obstruct the paths essential for deliverance. It is not merely the action of a single individual but a warning to the entire nation; not merely a matter of neglect, but something approaching insolence. Meanwhile, groundless rumors arise like clouds and heretical biases well up like springs. Some say that those who recite the *Lotus Sutra* will fall into hell; others state that those who maintain the *Lotus Sutra* as a karmic cause for rebirth in the Pure Land slander the Mahāyāna. And so forth. Hearing such opinions, people who earlier recited the eight or ten scrolls [of the *Lotus*]²⁷ now reject it forever. Moreover, they repent of their former recitation as a sin.²⁸ Their original exercises, which they now abandon, were habits deeply rooted in past karma; but the nenbutsu, which they have come to through calculation, has not yet acquired the perfume of sustained practice. Caught in the middle, there are many who raise their eyes to heaven and lament.

Apart from these [who reject the *Lotus*] are others who once took refuge in the *Garland*²⁹ and *Wisdom* sutras, or who developed spiritual affinities with esoteric [Shingon] or [Tendai] meditation (*shikan*) practices. Now, eight or nine out of ten give them up. As numerous as clods of dirt or the sands are those who belittle and ridicule the building of temples and pagodas and the fashioning of sacred images. Lacking in both virtues and wisdom, they have little to hope for in the present or in the future.

The Shōnin is an intelligent man and certainly has no intention willfully to slander the Law! It is simply that among his disciples not a few are fools who are unable to comprehend the situation and so commit these evils. No doubt it is the usual case of some understanding the root of an issue and others only the branches. Long ago when Meditation Master Hsin-hsing [Shingyō Zenji, 541-594] established what was to be done during the Three Stages [of the Law],³⁰ Hsiao Tz'u [Kyōji] bhikṣu stopped reciting the [*Lotus Sutra* of the] Single Vehicle (*ichijō*). He did not otherwise criticize the Mahāyāna but prohibited the recitation after considering the conditions of the world in these Latter Days. Then Hsin-hsing assumed the form of a great serpent with a large assembly of followers present in his

27. The twenty-eight chapters of Kumārājīva's translation of the *Lotus Sutra* are grouped into eight "scrolls" (*kan*). The "Sutra of Innumerable Meanings" (*Muryōgikyō*, T.276), and the "Sutra of Meditation on the Bodhisattva Universal Virtue" (*Fugenkangyō*, T.277) were traditionally seen as its "opening" and "closing" sutras, making a total of ten scrolls.

28. Seven decades later Mujū relates such an episode in *Shasekishū* 1:10 (Morrell 1973, p.487).

29. *Kegonkyō*. See note 15, p. 14.

30. Hsin-hsing founded the Sect of the Three Stages. Unlike the view prevalent in Jōkei's day (see note 3, p.9), the combined span of the first two periods of the Law tended to be seen by the Chinese as 1500 years. This, then, would place mappō not at 1052 by the Western calendar, but at A.D. 552 (Ch'en 1964, pp.297-300).

mouth. Hsiao-Tz'u, affected by the poison of a demonic spirit, suddenly prostrated himself under the high dias with his fellow scholars.³¹

To slander the Mahāyāna is the worst of sins. We speak of the Five Grave Offenses³² but none approaches this in seriousness. Thus, according to Amida's compassionate vows, his "leading and receiving" (*injō*)³³ [into the Pure Land] is far-embracing, but he rejects and will not help "those who speak ill of the True Dharma."³⁴ Ah, you who prepare yourselves for rebirth in the Pure Land—on whom then can you rest your hopes [if you continue to slander the Law]?

Article 5. *The Error of Turning One's Back on the Holy Gods of Shinto*

The nenbutsu followers have long been estranged from the gods. They do not consider the distinction between Reality and its Provisional Manifestations, nor do they pay their respects at the great shrines and imperial sanctuaries.³⁵ They make such statements as that if one puts his trust in the Shinto deities, he will surely fall into hell, and they put aside the reality of supernatural beings (*kijin*). The Trace Manifestations [*suwaku*] who assume Provisional Forms (*gongen*) are actually the great [Buddhist] Holy Ones, revered by all the eminent priests of antiquity. Dengyō made pilgrimages to the Usa [Hachiman] and Kasuga Shrines,³⁶ receiving various

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31. This story appears to combine two incidents recorded in the *Shakumon jikyōroku* ("Personal record of followers of the Buddha," T.2083); Vol. 51, p.806, tells of one Hsiao-Tz'u who lost his ability to speak, and also of a certain Shen-fang (Shinbō), who saw Hsin-hsing take the form of a serpent with an enormous mouth.
 32. *Gogyakuzai*. The five offenses which cause rebirth in the lowest hell: (1) killing one's mother; (2) killing one's father; (3) killing an arhat; (4) spilling a Buddha's blood; (5) causing dissension in the community. (This is the original Indian order, but in China and Japan the order of 1 and 2 are reversed—revealing Confucian influence?) Slander of the Mahāyāna is not included, unless perhaps subsumed under 5.
 33. Vow 19 of Amida's 48 vows enumerated in the *Larger Pure Land Sutra* (see p.16) is called the *injō higan* ("compassionate vow to lead and receive"); Nakamura 1963, p.136. (This compares to Vow 18 of the Sanskrit version; Müller 1965, pp.15, 73).
 34. *Hibō shōbō*, a phrase appearing in the all-important 18th Vow (Nakamura 1963, p.136). See also note 18, p.16, and related text for translation.
 35. *Sōbyō*. Especially the Ise and Iwashimizu Hachimangū, which enshrine ancestors of the Imperial line. The sun goddess, Amaterasu, is venerated at Ise; and Hachiman was identified with Emperor Ōjin. The Iwashimizu Shrine was also associated with Ōjin's mother, Empress Jingū (Posonby-Fane 1953, p.78).
 36. This is likely to be an error for the Kahara Shrine in Buzen Province. Saichō visited both Usa and Kahara shrines in Kyushu just before his trip to China in 805 and again on his return to Japan the following year (Matsunaga 1969, p.182).

miraculous omens. Chishō [Enchin, 814-891] went to Mount Kumano and entreated the god Shinra, paying devoutly for the success of his movement. And on the scarf of [the Sanron] priest Gyōkyō [fl. ca. 859] appeared shadows of the Three Sacred Ones;³⁷ Kōbō Daishi drew the likeness of Hachiman.³⁸ Do none of these measure up to Hōnen? Are these the priests who will fall into the infernal regions? Even more striking is the case of the priest Gyōkyō, who on his return to [Nara's] Daianji built a two-storied turret. In the upper story he enshrined an image of Hachiman, and in the lower he kept all of his scriptures and commentaries. If the gods were not worthy of veneration, then how in the world could he have placed this sacred image above the writings of the Dharma? Priests in this Latter Age respect the secular authorities; how much more so should they venerate the miraculous deities.

Such abuse as this [turning one's back on the Holy Gods of Shinto by the followers of Hōnen] should be stopped.

Article 6. *The Error of Ignorance Concerning the Pure Lands*

When we examine *The Sutra of Meditation on Amida Buddha* we find this statement:

All ordinary people who wish to be born in this [Pure] Land should cultivate three categories of action (*sangō*). First of all, they should act filially toward their parents and support them, serve (*buji*) their teachers and elders, be of compassionate mind and avoid killing, and perform [the rest of] the Ten Virtuous Actions. Secondly, they should take and observe the Threefold Refuge [in the Buddha, the Dharma and the Sangha], fulfill all moral precepts without neglecting any of the normal rules of behavior. Thirdly, they should raise the desire for enlightenment,³⁹ be deeply convinced of the principle of cause and effect, and chant [the sutras of] the Mahāyāna.⁴⁰

Moreover, in describing those beings to be born in the highest form in the highest grade (*jōbon jōshō*) among the nine grades, it says that they should "accomplish all the virtuous actions according to the precepts and recite the sutras of the Mahāyāna" (See Nakamura 1964, pp.62-63; Müller

37. The Buddhist priest Gyōkyō was instrumental in having the Iwashimizu Shrine constructed so that the Shinto deity Hachiman could be worshiped near the capital; the "three sacred ones" are the Buddhist deities Amida, Kannon and Seishi, who appeared while Gyōkyō was praying at the Usa Hachiman Shrine. See Matsunaga 1969, p.222; Posonby-Fane 1953, p.78.

38. Jingōji temple records in Mongaku's handwriting state that Kūkai there enshrined the likeness of Hachiman Daibosatsu drawn by himself.

39. *Hotsubodaishin*. The question of the need to "raise the desire for enlightenment" became a central issue in Myōe's attack on the *Senjākushū*. See note 14, p.13.

40. From the *Kanmuryōjūkyō*: see p.17; Nakamura 1964, p.44; Müller 1965, p.167.

1965, p.188). Concerning those to be born in the lowest form of the middle grade (*chūbon geshō*), it says that they should be "filial to their parents and support them, besides exercising benevolence and compassion in the world" (see Nakamura 1964, p.68; Müller 1965, p.194).

Teacher of the Law T'an-luan [Donran, 476-542] is the founder of the Nenbutsu [Sect]. Among the five kinds of conditions (*en*) for rebirth in the highest assembly in the Pure Land, of the fourth he says that we must "cultivate all the virtues." And among the seven conditions for rebirth in the middle assembly, he speaks of "constructing pagodas and temples," and "feeding the clergy."⁴¹ Meditation Master Tao-ch'o [Dōshaku, d. 645], compiling his writings on the Constant Practice of Meditation on the Buddha (*jōjūnenbutsu sanmaï*), says that "it is because we frequently meditate on the Buddha that we speak of 'constant practice' (*jōjū*), certainly not because we neglect other forms of meditation."⁴² And there was no instance in which Priest Shan-tao left unrepaired the pagodas and temples which he happened to see.⁴³

Thus, from the sect's three basic scriptures down through its doctrinal interpretations, rebirth in the Pure Land is abundantly guaranteed to a variety of religious practices. Moreover, T'an Jung [Don'yū]⁴⁴ raised bridges, Shan Ch'eng [Zenjō] built roads, Ch'ang Min [Jōmin] repaired halls, Shan Cho [Zenchū] cleaned living quarters, K'ung Jen [Kūnin] collected flowers, An Jen [Annin] burnt incense, Tao Ju [Dōnyo] offered food, and Seng Ch'ing [Sōkyō] sewed clothes. Each by a single concrete good work attained rebirth in the Pure Land immediately after death. Seng Yū [Sōyū] had a [Hinayanist] *Scripture of the Tradition* [*agon; āgama*] while Hsing Yen [Gyōen] lectured on the [Mahayanist] *Acceptance of the Great Vehicle*.⁴⁵ Although one had but a single Hinayanist sutra and the other differentiated between the commonplace and the sage, [the Buddha] responded to each in his own way and they both did indeed reach the Pure Land. Priest Tao-chūn [Dōshun] ceaselessly performed the nenbutsu and

41. From the "Brief Discourse on the Pure Land of Peace and Rest" (*Ryā-kuran anrakujōdogi*, T.1957, v.47, p.1c). The wording of the Petition varies slightly from the current modern edition.

42. From the "Compendium on the Land of Peace and Rest" (*Anrakushū*, T.1958).

43. According to the biographical sketch of Shan-tao in the "Auspicious Biographies of Those who Attained Rebirth in the Pure Land of the West" (*ōjōsaihōjōdo zūidōden*, T.2070, v.51, p.105).

44. Anecdotes about the following ten individuals—from T'an Jung through Hsing Yen—were probably included in the "New Collection of Rebirth in the Pure Land according to the Vows" (*Shūnpen zūiganōjōshū*) by Fei-cho (d.1063), a work probably known to Jōkei but now lost. However, the items also appear in the Shinpukuji manuscript of the *ōjōjōdōden* (cf., T.2071?) by the Ch'an monk Chieh Chu (Kaishu, 985-1077), a work believed to have been based on Fei-cho's.

45. Asanga's noted *Mahāyāna-sampani-graha* (*Shō[daijō]ron*, T.1592-97).

would not copy the Great Wisdom [Sutra];⁴⁶ Buddhmitra would not carve Buddha images while engaged in the Single-practice, oblivious of all else. Both thereby were not in accord with the Vows for the attainment of rebirth in the Pure Land and were admonished by their superiors. After a long while they rectified their biases and in the end were reborn in the Western Region.

We should certainly understand that the path to liberation depends neither on the nenbutsu nor on any other practice but is simply Mind. Although there is a phrase in the *Lotus Sutra* which speaks of "going to the world-sphere of Peace and Rest,"⁴⁷ and the [Great] *Wisdom [Sutra]* speaks of "rebirth in the Pure Land in accordance with the Vows,"⁴⁸ we must distinguish between the totality of aspects (*sōsō*) [of Mind] and a single small part (*shōbun*). As long as we say that [Mind] is not to be equated with the specific aspect (*bessō*) which is nenbutsu, and as long as we do not claim that the nenbutsu is a fixed karmic cause, then the whole will encompass the specific, the higher will necessarily incorporate the lower.⁴⁹ This is truly the way Buddhist reasoning operates. Why should we, by adopting habits familiar to the unenlightened, make the error of losing the impartial path which is the world of the Buddha? The Pure Land of rebirth is not attained by the self-power (*jiṛiki*) of the devotee, but simply by relying on the power of Amida's Vow. In other scriptures and other methods there are no special provisions for being received into the Pure Land (*injō*; cf., note 33, p.25), no special vow about the Buddha's welcoming (*raigō*). If the nenbutsu followers cannot measure up [to the other scriptures and other methods], can they simply, as those who receive Amida's teaching (*shoke*), depend on his coming (*raigō*)? Are they not really a strange lot!

Having encountered the Law handed down by Śākyamuni, we are to observe the practices of the Mahāyāna—this is the essence of the matter. If we do not take refuge in this Holy One [Śākyamuni] we may truly say that we have no affinity with him. If the nenbutsu is not accompanied by other practices, then we will be lacking in good karma. The two approaches are complementary. How then can those who practice other methods be excluded from reception (*injō*) into the Pure Land? If one may not attain rebirth in the Pure Land because he does not solely concentrate (*sennen*)

46. The story of Tao-chün's refusal to copy the Great Wisdom Sutra (see note 8, p.10) is to be found in another work by Fei-cho, the "Records of Spiritual Response from the Three Treasures" (*Sanbō kannōroku*, T.2084).

47. *Sokuō anraku*. *Lotus Sutra*, Chapter 23. See Sakamoto and Iwamoto 1967, p.204; cf., Hurvitz 1976, p.300.

48. The source of this phrase has not been identified, but its proximity to the Tao-chün reference and the lost *Zuiganōjōshū* may not be accidental. See note 44, p.27, note 46, above.

49. The argument is obscure, but Jōkei seems to be saying that no provisional means used to attain undifferentiated Mind is to be made into an absolute.

on the Buddha [Amida], then how could Meditation Master Chih-chüeh [Chikaku]⁵⁰ have attained the highest form of the highest grade when he combined his meditations every day with a hundred other practices? In general, the wicked are hard to redeem, but [Amida] is pleased to save them; although difficult to redeem they will be reborn with him [in his Pure Land] through the merit of performing some slight merit with their voice. Thus we should understand the meaning of the phrase, "by practicing up to ten thoughts [i.e., chanting the name of the Buddha Amitāyus]" (*naishi jūnen*).⁵¹ However, people today neglect the root and go for the branches, rely on the inferior and scorn the superior. how could they be in conformity with the purpose of the Buddha? On the day when an august emperor designates, at the court where he conducts affairs of state, the officials to act in his behalf, he requests service from the wise and the foolish, each according to their abilities, and from families both of high and low status. But to the foolish he does not entrust a position which would not be within his capacity even if he were to apply himself from morning till night; and a person of low social status cannot advance to the rank of the nobility even if he is diligent in public affairs. In his own country the Great King of Enlightenment dispenses his ranks of Nine States [described in the *Sutra of Meditation on Amida Buddha*] at the gate where the wise and the foolish come to his court. His principle of selection is surely that one receives as he has performed in observing virtuous behavior in former lives. And it would be an excess of stupidity for one to rely entirely on the Buddha's power without taking into account his own condition in life. The mere mouthing of the syllables of the Buddha's name does not bring the fruit of unblemished action to maturity; and to expect rebirth in the Pure Land after death under such circumstances is a serious misconception. How can one expect this if he is lacking in morality and wisdom? If one would gradually attain this rebirth through many lifetimes, do the morally-perfuming (*kunshu*) practices of the Single Vehicle [i.e., Tendai] or the union (*kajī*) [of sentient beings with Mahāvairocana] through the three Teaching-practices (*sanmitsu*) [of Shingon] have no power to help? Although we all sink [in this world of birth-and-death], the foolish sink straight down; and although we rise together, the wise quickly float like a bowl [on water]. And those who have both wisdom and practice are as strong as tigers with wings: one can stand up to many, and the Buddha graciously shines his light upon such people.

But from the first these [nenbutsu] people dismiss such considerations. As long as the Single-practice group recklessly disdains the virtuous behavior [required of us mortals whose good fortune to encounter the Law

50. Yung-ming Yen-shou (Yōmyō Enju, 904-975), who attempted to harmonize Ch'an with the Pure Land movements in China (Ch'en 1964, pp. 404-405), was also the author of "The Mirror of Sectarian Differences" (*Sugyōroku*), a work promoted shortly after Jōkei's time by the Zen syncretist, Enni Ben'en (1202-1280).

51. Phrase from the 18th vow as related in the *Larger Pure Land Sutra*. See p. 16, and Nakamura et al. 1963, p. 136.

is as rare as] the sea turtle [encountering a log in the vast sea];⁵² and as long as they mistakenly hold to their own wisdom [which is as narrow as that] of a frog in a well [which imagines its limited horizon to be the entire world], we cannot remain silent. And so it has come to the point of our addressing the Throne. If there are foolish priests or laymen who misunderstand the meaning [of the Dharma], whether by making light of the way of rebirth in the Pure Land, or by excluding the practice of the nenbutsu, or by not combining this with other exercises—these people will not attain rebirth in the Pure Land and so will completely fail to achieve their religious objective. They should be placed under an interdiction. And even though such a policy would have the defect of [calling attention to the Single-practice] nenbutsu, when the pros and the cons of the matter are weighed, is an Imperial Proclamation not called for?

Article 7. *The Error of Misunderstanding the Nenbutsu*

First of all, with respect to the Buddha as object of meditation, we distinguish between name (*na*) and substance (*tai*), and within substance we distinguish between the conditioned (*ji*) and the Absolute (*ri*).

Next, with respect to the subjective ability to meditate, there is verbal articulation (*kushō*) and mental recollection (*shinnen*). Within mental recollection there is close meditation (*kenen*)⁵³ and contemplation (*kannen*); and within contemplation one proceeds from the diffused stage (*san'i*) to the focused stage (*jō'i*), then from tainted (*ura*) to untainted (*muro*). The progression is from shallow to profound, the earlier being inferior and the latter superior.

Now to intone the name of the Buddha with the mouth is neither meditation (*kan*) nor concentration (*jō*). This is the most coarse and shallow of the methods of nenbutsu. We may say that it is good enough for certain individuals in a worldly state of mind, but how can we avoid such distinctions if we strictly compare the methods? When the Single-practice devotees are faced with these difficulties, they do not consider the issues but simply fall back on the statement: "Among the forty-eight Vows of Amida, the Eighteenth assures rebirth in the Pure Land to those who recite the nenbutsu." But how can they conceal all the other Original Vows and speak of just this one? Even with respect to this one vow, the phrase "by practicing up to ten thoughts [i.e., chanting the name of buddha Amitāyus]" (*naishi jūnen*) is to emphasize the least [among a variety of superior practices]. Taking meditation (*kannen*) as the standard, it incorporates the lesser practice of vocal utterance (*kushō*); and giving prominence to the practice of the calling on the Holy name many times (*tanen*), it thus does not neglect the practice of the ten thoughts

52. Possibly a reference to the "blind turtle and the floating log" (*mōki fuboku*) metaphor found in the *Lotus Sutra* and elsewhere.

53. The *Meditation Sutra* says: "Thou shouldst apply thy mind entirely to close meditation upon those who have already perfected the pure actions necessary for that Buddha country." (Takakusu, trans.; Müller 1965, p.167; Nakamura et al. 1964, p.44.)

(*jūnen*) [i.e., the ten invocations of the name of the Buddha Amitāyus].⁵⁴

This exemplifies the depth of the Great Compassion, the great power of the Buddha. To lead people easily and to effect their easy rebirth [in the Pure Land] there is meditation and also the many-practice calling (*tanen*). Thus in the *Meditation Sutra* [Amida] says: "...being harassed by pains, he cannot think of the Buddha...[so he should] at least utter the name, 'Buddha Amitāyus.'"⁵⁵ Already, apart from the word for "uttering the Name" (*shōmyō*) there is the word for "thinking on the Buddha (*nen-but*su). We know that to *think* on the Buddha is mental recollection (*shinnen*), contemplation (*kannen*; cf., first paragraph of Article 7). Among what is superior and what is inferior, why should the Original Vow of the Tathāgata set aside the superior and adopt the inferior? And how could priest Shan-tao, on first arousing the desire [for enlightenment (*hosshin*)] and seeing a representation of the Pure Land, state: "Certainly only by this method of meditation (*kanmon*) can we transcend birth-and-death!" And presently he entered upon that path and could attain *samadhi*. Certainly we know that the personal practices of this monk included the Sixteen Meditations [described in the *Meditation Sutra*] (*jūroku sōkan*). The word *nenbut*su comprises "seeing" (*kan*) as well as speaking (*ku*). Were this not so would Shan-tao have written a commentary⁵⁶ on the *Meditation Sutra* and developed a method for meditation? In both the original sutra and the treatise, why should the character for "meditation" (*kan*) be used in the title? In his explication of the *Meditation Sutra*, Shan-tao states that if one simply employs the Buddha's name, this is an expedient device (*hōben*) to lure a person of small spiritual potential. These are the two sides to the words of this master's explanation: compassion-wisdom (*jūhi chie*) [the absolute whose comprehension defines the Bodhisattva] and [the provisional truth of] helpful aids (*zengyō=hōben*) are not identical. Would those who are the pillars of this religious community impute error to their founder?

Although Shan-tao emphasizes verbal utterance (*kushō*), he gives the name Single-practice (*senjū*) to genuine meditation on the Buddha which is accompanied by the Three States of Mind (*sanshin*)⁵⁷ and which is not lacking in the Four Practices (*shishu*).⁵⁸ But if *sen* ("single, sole, special")

54. In addition to being included in the 18th vow, the expression *jūnen* ("ten thoughts/invocations") is found in the description of the sixteenth, and lowest, of the classes of meditation described in the *Meditation Sutra* (Müller 1965, pp. 198-199; Nakamura et al. 1964, p. 71).

55. Sources as above, note 54. The sutra continues: "Let him do so serenely with his voice uninterrupted; let him be (continually) thinking of Buddha until he has completed ten times the thought..."

56. The *Kuan-ching-su* (*Kangyōsho*, T.1753), one of the most influential works on Hōnen's thought (see Coates and Ishizuka 1925).

57. Sincerity, profundity, and aspiration, according to the *Meditation Sutra*; but a parallel triad is also described in the *Larger Pure Land Sutra*. See Matsunaga 1976, p. 98, p. 319 (note 101).

58. Four rules for the practice of the *nenbut*su set forth in Shan-tao's *Ōjōraisange* (cf., note 26, p. 23). See Coates and Ishizuka 1925, p. 410.

is merely taken to mean the abandonment of other practices, and if *ju* ("practice") merely means moving the mouth and hands, then what we ought to say is that [Single-practice] is a "singularity about which there is nothing special (*fusen no sen nari*) and practice which is no practice at all (*hishu no shu nari*)."⁵⁹ And if its followers act with the idea of attaining assured rebirth in the Pure Land using this adulterated method (*koke zōdoku*) [combining good and bad elements], then how could the sect of Shantao be for the superior devotees of Amida? It is fair to say that when these [Special-practice] people speak of the Pure Land, and nenbutsu, the causality of karma, or rebirth in the Pure Land, it is difficult to fathom the relative depth of the rivers and lakes [of their arguments], and easy to confuse what is far from what is near in the matter of practice.

If we do not study the nature and characteristics of the various sects, how will we come to know the truth of their methods? In this respect our own Hossō Mahāyāna sect originated from the heart of Blessed Śākyamuni and Maitreya (Jison) and is minutely codified in the scriptures comprised of the basic sutras and the basic commentaries (*honkyō honron*).⁵⁹ In India the Philosopher of a Thousand Parts [Vasubandhu]⁶⁰ and the Ten Great Bodhisattvas⁶¹ both advocated and opposed commitment to either the phenomenal or the Void [in order to maintain the Middle Way between extremes]. Then also, quite early, Priest Hsüan-tsang [Genjō, 600-664] and the Lord of the Hundred Commentaries [K'uei-chi (Kiki, 632-82); also known as Tz'ü-en] carried on the tradition without error. Now although the Pure Land devotees have the explanations of Tao-cho and Shan-tao, we [in the Hossō sect] do not place our reliance on them. But they too were men of accomplishment in *samadhi*; and would they have contradicted the words of He-Who-will-be-Buddha-in-His-Next-Life (*Isshō fusho*) [i.e., Maitreya, founder of Hossō]? Seek for mutual harmonization and do not delight in wanton opposition.

Article 8. *The Error of Vilifying the Followers of Śākyamuni*

The Single-practice followers say: "The games of Go (*iki*) and parcheesi (*sugoroku*) do not violate the Single-practice; neither are the relations between women and priests (*nyobon*) nor the eating of meat hindrances to rebirth in the Pure Land."⁶² Practicing the discipline in this Latter World

59. The "Completion of Mere Ideation" (*Jōyūshikiron*, T.1585) lists six sutras and eleven commentaries considered canonical by the sect.

60. *Senbu no Ronshū*. The thousand items were thought to have been 500 which Vasubandhu (Seshin) wrote as a Hinayanist and 500 which he wrote as a Mahayanist.

61. Ten philosophers (*ronshū*) enumerated in the "Thir y Verse Treatise on Mere Ideation" (*Yūshiki sanjūju*, T.1586); Dharmapala, etc.

62. Jien makes a similar complaint in the *Gukanshō* (1219): "The nenbutsu priests went so far as to make such promises as these: 'If you become a practitioner of this teaching, Amitābha Buddha will not consider you the least bit sinful, even if you lust after women and eat fish or fowl...' (Brown and Ishida 1979, p. 171).

is as rare as having a tiger in the marketplace.⁶³ And it is a fearful mistake. A person who fears wickedness and has scruples about committing evil is one who does not place his reliance on the Buddha."

Because this kind of rough talk (*sogon*) spreads throughout the land and captures people's thoughts, it is an enemy of the Dharma. It is essential that the teaching of rebirth in Paradise promote the practice of the discipline, the karmic cause for rebirth in the Pure Land. If you ask why this is so, I reply that were there no regulations, then it would be impossible to maintain the Six Roots of Merit; and when one permits the doors of the senses [to remain open] at will, then the Three Poisons [illusion, envy, anger] easily arise. When one entangles oneself in the conditions for illusion, then the window for meditating on the Buddha (*nenbutsu*) is not serene; and when one muddies the heart with envy and anger, the waters of the Jeweled Lakes (*hōchi*)⁶⁴ cannot be clear. Is not the experience of these good karmic states the Pure Land itself? Accordingly, we intently employ the practices of the discipline as the karmic cause for rebirth in the Pure Land. The writings which set forth the teaching are as I have stated above. It is known to everyone that priests in this Latter Age fail to observe the regulations and violate them. Within the Single-practice [community] are those who do observe the regulations.⁶⁵ Their behavior is certainly not what we lament here. Although they may not observe the regulations strictly, and although they may not follow the procedures as explained traditionally, they do have a sense of respect for them, and they lament over the laxity of the times. But in addition to living a life of repentance (*zange*; cf., *sange*, p.14) they make a point of breaking the regulations and so accommodate the Way to the vulgar mind. Nothing is worse than this to cause the extinction of the Buddha's Law. The movement is popular in the capital and in nearby provinces; and it is said that as far [north] as Hokuriku and the various provinces along the Eastern Sea (*Tō-kai*) and other circuits, monks and nuns of the Single-practice movement successfully propagate these notions. Except by Imperial Edict, how can they be restrained? The purpose of this request is entirely concerned with these matters!

Article 9. *The Error of Bringing Disorder to the Nation*

The Buddha's Law and the Imperial Law are as body and mind: each should see to their mutual well-being, and then the welfare of the state will be assured. In these times the Pure Land movement has begun to arise and the activities of the Single-practice to flourish. But can we also say that these are times when the Imperial Power has been restored? Moreover, the

63. Metaphor appearing in the *Mappō tōmyōki* (Rhodes 1980, p.92).

64. Part of the description of the Pure Land as found in the *Amida Sutra*. See Müller 1965, pp.93-94; Nakamura et al. 1964, p.90.

65. Possibly a reference to Hōnen, whom Jōkei sees as upright, but misguided (cf., Article 4).

three Teachings [Morality, Wisdom, Meditation] are about to be abandoned and the Eight Sects are declining. Time and again how the government of society is in disarray!

What we wish is that the Nenbutsu and the other sects would be [as comtable as] water and milk; and that the Buddha's Law and the Imperial Law would forever harmonize heaven and earth. But although the various [traditional] sects all believe in meditation on the Buddha [nenbutsu] and harbor no ill designs against that movement, the Single-practice people deeply despise the other sects and will not share the same seat with them. They carry their conduct to this extreme, being as difficult to accommodate as fire and water. If matters were to be as the Single-practice people intend, then all other Buddhist activities in the world [literally, "under heaven and within the seas"] would be suspended. The only reason that high and low all have not yet taken refuge in this doctrine and the life of the Dharma has not yet become obliterated is not for want of outside circumstances. It is because your august sense of purpose is not easily swayed due to the clarity of your understanding. Having arrived at these Latter Days, if the Single-practice people get the opportunity, then the attitude of the government will be to see the other sects as so much rubbish. And even if it did not come to the point of their actually being banned, the Eight Sects would truly be as if they did not exist! Perhaps we should call to mind King Puṣyamitra's⁶⁶ great destruction of monasteries, or the Hui-Ch'ang Emperor's⁶⁷ eradication of priests and nuns, which was caused by the advice of foolish ministers and the jealousy of the Taoist clergy.

As for the causes and conditions for the extinction of the Law, we cannot tell what the future will bring. With such considerations in mind, we send up this memorial that your Majesty may take action. If an admonition is not forthcoming at this time, then how will the perplexities of the future be resolved? Buddhism, alas, has had its problems since antiquity; but this common appeal by all the Eight Sects is unprecedented. We respectfully look up to your sage judgment to decide on the relative merits of the case. What we hope and ask for is that Your Imperial Decree will make known your wishes throughout the Seven Circuits and all the provinces calling for the correction of the doctrine of the "Single-practice Calling on the Name of the Buddha" as advocated by Genkū. The wish of the community of the World Honored One is that the waters of the Dharma gradually harmonize with the waves of the Sea of Emptiness,⁶⁸ and that

66. Hotsushamitsu-ō. In 184 B.C. Puṣyamitra overthrew the Mauryan dynasty, whose outstanding representative had been the Buddhist King Aśoka (ca. 273-232 B.C.). Puṣyamitra favored the Brahmans and Buddhist historians tell us of his severe persecutions (Eliot 1954, pp.68-69).

67. That is, Emperor Wu-tsung, who in Hui-chang 5 (845) initiated the great persecution in China witnessed by Ennin (Ch'en 1964, pp.226-233).

68. *Shunkai*. A rather unusual compound, but this is perhaps the most the

the subjugating power of the Kings of Wisdom (Myō-ō)⁶⁹ may forever clear away the clouds of evil in the winds of the High Mountain (Yao).⁷⁰

This sincere statement presented to the court
with awe and respect

Summary

Submitted to Accompany the Petition

The aforementioned Genkū is biased toward a single religious method and completely rejects the Eight Sects. Since it is the purpose of the Tenma [the Evil One] to obstruct the Buddhas and the Gods, all of the [eight] sects are of the same mind in desiring that this matter be handled by Imperial Decree.

Genkū has already proffered a letter of apology (*taijō*),⁷¹ but since this was not sufficient to quell the annoyance, an order of prohibition was issued from the Retired Emperor [Go-Toba]. But the agitation of Genkū's followers was such that it increased their visibility all the more. In particular, after he had taken up his brush to write his pledge (*kishō*; see p. 18) on the day when the monks of Mount Hiei sent a messenger with additional queries, his disciples told his lay followers: "The Shōnin's words are all two-sided and don't go to the heart of the matter. Don't be influenced by what you hear from outsiders!" And statements to that effect. Afterwards there was no change at all in the cleverness of his heretical views. Will the apology this time be the same as the one before? But if one reports falsely to the Emperor, his crime is all the more grievous. Whatever the august wishes of your Majesty might be, how could your loyal subjects not obey?

plausible interpretation. The character *shun* 舜 is that used to transliterate the *śun* of *śunyata*, "Emptiness, the Void." Had Jōkei used the character which usually translates the term (i.e., *kū* 空), his metaphor would have forced him to employ the compound used to identify the great Shingon leader, Kūkai; and his audience would not likely have taken the two characters as meaning literally, "Sea of Emptiness."

69. Myō-ō, the manifestation of Mahāvairocana who disperses evil. Probably an oblique reference to the Japanese monarch who is being asked to disperse the "evil" of the Single-practice movement.
70. Jōkei rounds off his Petition with some rather convoluted historical and theoretical allusions. Morohashi (III, p. 214) lists some nine mountains called Yao, but we cannot say to which, if any, Jōkei is referring. But it cannot be coincidence that Yao and Shun, the names of Jōkei's mountain and river, are also the names of the great legendary rulers of China known for their virtue.
71. Hōnen's submission of any letter of apology (*taijō*) prior to the Petition is not corroborated elsewhere (Tanaka 1971, p. 42). It is clear from what follows in the Summary that Jōkei is not confusing this with the 1204 Pledge (*kishōmon*) sent to the Tendai abbot (see p. 18).

So what we desire and request is that by virtue of your gracious compassion you will quickly send out an Imperial Proclamation throughout the Seven Circuits and all the provinces to stop the excesses of the Exclusive Single-practice (*ikkō senju*); and that you will put a stop to the transgressions that may be performed by Genkū and his disciples, and to the heretical tendencies which they have long had to violate the [Buddha's] Law. And we hope that they may come to the true way of the nenbutsu. Accordingly, we have submitted the above.

The [...] day in the tenth month of Genkyū 2 [1205]

Glossary

<i>Amidakyō</i> 阿弥陀經	<i>Mappō tōmyōki</i> 末法燈明記
Gedatsubō 解脱房	<i>Muryōjūkyō</i> 無量壽經
Genkū 源空	<i>Rishūbun</i> 理趣文
Jōkei 貞慶	<i>Senjaku [hongan nenbutsu] shū</i>
Kaijusenji 海住山寺	選訳「本願念仏」集
<i>Kanmuryōjūkyō</i> 觀無量壽經	<i>senju nenbutsu</i> 專修念仏
<i>Kanjin'i shōjōenmyōno koto</i>	<i>Sesshu fusha mandara</i> 撰取不捨曼陀羅
觀心爲清淨田明事	Shan-tao 善導
<i>Kanjin kakumushō</i> 觀心覺夢鈔	<i>Shichikajō kishōmon</i> 七箇条起請文
<i>kannen</i> 觀念	Shinzei 信西
<i>Kasagidera</i> 笠置寺	<i>shōmyō</i> 稱名
<i>Kasuga Daimyōjin hotsuganmon</i>	<i>Shūgyō Yōshō</i> 修行要鈔
春日大明神禱願文	<i>shunkai</i> 舜海
<i>Kōfukujū sōjō</i> 興福寺奏狀	Yao 堯

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