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ANCIENT BUDDHISM IN JAPAN

PUBLISHED UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE JAPANESE SOCIETY FOR INTERNATIONAL CULTURAL RELATIONS (KOKUSAI BUNKA SHINKOKAI)

ANCIENT BUDDHISM IN JAPAN

SŪTRAS AND CEREMONIES IN USE IN THE SEVENTH AND EIGHTH CENTURIES A.D. AND THEIR HISTORY IN LATER TIMES

BY

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VOLUME I

LEIDEN

E. J. BRILL

1935

Printed in the Netherlands

TO THE LOVING MEMORY
OF HIS BELOVED PARENTS, WIFE AND SISTER
AND TO HIS DEAR SON
THIS BOOK IS AFFECTIONATELY DEDICATED
BY THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE

Buddhism is the great light of the East. Thousandfold are its golden rays, spreading from olden times over Asia's peoples. It brought them new life and wisdom, it changed their conceptions, it opened their eyes to a higher Truth. It penetrated their inner consciousness more deeply and to a greater extent than all other thoughts. Moreover, notwithstanding their great variety, it formed a universal bond of union between these peoples. Mahāyāna especially was the greatest blessing of the Far East.

From the seventh century Japanese history is inseparably connected with Buddhism. First Korea, then China poured over the capital their inexhaustable treasures of Indian thought, whence they gradually spread all over the country. In the eighth century this process was greatly intensified by the influence of the Nara Court, especially of the Emperor Shōmu and his daughter, the Empress Kōken (Takano, Shōtoku), and of the principal sects, *Hossō* and *Sanron*. In those ages we are, as it were, in the vestibule of Japanese Buddhism, magnificently adorned by the art of China and Japan. In the beginning of the ninth century, however, when the great Dengyō Daishi and Kōbō Daishi introduced from China the (partly mystic) *Tendai* and the wholly mystic *Shingon* doctrines, (to continue the simile) we enter the stately building itself. A pompous entrance leads us into a suite of splendid rooms, the Heian, Fujiwara, Gempei, Kamakura, Ashikaga periods. Then follow the dark and gloomy chambers of the civil wars (beginning with the Ōnin era, in the middle of the fifteenth century), until we come into the quiet and sunny garden of Tokugawa. In the beginning of Meiji dark shadows fall upon the Buddhist fields, but soon as of old they are again bathing in rays of brilliant sunlight, and at the present day a new and glorious epoch has commenced!

The original aim of this book was to treat of the *sūtras* and ceremonies with which the vestibule is so richly adorned. However, the desire to proceed into the building itself and to see the same texts and rites illumined by new and ever-varying light and colours, proved irresistible. So we went on and visited many rooms, and explored the spacious garden, sometimes finding the ancient texts shining in greater and greater beauty, sometimes deploring the

decay and death of the splendid ceremonies of ancient times. In treating them separately — which was necessary in order to delineate their history — we had to retrace our steps at every new subject, passing again from the vestibule through the same entrance into the same suite of rooms. To me, the writer, intensely interested in this study, it never became monotonous, because each subject evinced entirely new aspects. To the reader the work may have some value as a book of reference and information on certain ancient Buddhist texts and ceremonies and their use in Japan from olden times down to the present day. Its object will be attained if at the same time it gives him some insight into the life and soul of Japanese Buddhism.

In composing this book the main sources of information were Chinese translations of *sūtras,* the Japanese Annals, biographies of priests, and some ancient Japanese works on ceremonies. I am also greatly indebted to Nanjō's invaluable *Catalogue of the Chinese Tripiṭaka,* to Oda's and the Bukkyō Daigaku's great Buddhist dictionaries *Bukkyō Daijiten* and *Bukkyō Daijii,* to Washio's *Nihon Bukke jimmei jisho,* to Yoshida's *Dai Nihon chimei jisho,* and to the learned articles and beautiful illustrations in the *Kokk(w)a.* Moreover, the works of other eminent Japanese scholars of Buddhism, such as Matsumoto, Takakusu und Suzuki, were, of course, of great value to me. European scholars, especially Kern, Grünwedel and De Groot, were often my guides in questions concerning Buddhist texts, images and ceremonies. Finally, I tender my best thanks to Professors Caland, Vogel, Przyluski and De la Vallée Poussin and to my younger friends Dr. Rahder and Dr. Stutterheim, for their kind and valuable information corcerning certain details of Indian and Chinese Buddhism. At the same time I express my sincerest thanks to Miss D. E. Hecht for her kind assistance in carefully and critically correcting the language of this book.

Leyden, 1928. M. W. DE VISSER

At my husband's death the text of this work had been printed already. I avail myself of this opportunity to tender my hearty thanks to Prof. Dr. J. Rahder, my husband's successor at Leyden, who kindly gave his knowledge and time to the remaining work, especially to the general index.

Leyden, 1935. C. J. DE VISSER-HOZEE.

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BOOK I

THE SEVENTH CENTURY

CHAPTER I.

THE SŪTRAS USED IN THE SEVENTH CENTURY.

§ 1. *List of the sūtras, in chronological order.*

The *sūtras* of early Japanese Buddhism are the following numbers of Nanjō's *Catalogue of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka.*

1) No. 59	A.D. 606, VII	*Shōmangyō*	勝鬘經	*Śrīmālā-devī-siṃhanāda*, translated A.D. 435—453 by Guṇabhadra (App. II 81). An earlier translation of No. 23(48). 1 fasciculus.
2) No. 134	A.D. 606	*Hokkekyō (Myōhō-rengekyō).*	法華經 (妙法蓮華經)	*Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra*, translated A.D. 402—412 by Kumārajīva (App. II 59). This is the translation used in Japan. 7 fasc., 28 ch. Cf. Nos. 138, 139; 1232, 1233 (comm.).
3) No. 27	A.D. 640, V 5; 652, IV 15	*Muryōju-kyō*	無量壽經	*Aparimitāyus-sūtra*, an earlier translation (A.D. 252) of No. 23 (5), the large *Amitāyus-sūtra* or *Sukhāvatī-vyūha* (about A.D. 700). 2 fasciculi. Cf. Nos. 25, 26, 203, 863.
4) —	A.D. 642, VII 27	*Daijō kyōten*	大乘經典	General term for the "*Sūtras* of *Mahāyāna*"; read in vain against drought.

4*a*) —	A.D. 651, XII 30; 673, III; 677 VIII 15	*Issaikyō*	一切經	"All the *sūtras*", the then existing canon (5048 kwan).
5) No. 146	A.D. 656	*Yuima(kitsu)kyō*	維摩(詰)經	*Vimalakīrti nirdeśa (sūtra)*, translated A.D. 402—412 by Kumārajīva (App. II 59). 3 fasc., 14 chapters. Cf. Nos. 147, 149; 144, 145, 181; 1632 (comm.)
6) No. 303	A.D. 659, VII 15	*Urabongyō*	盂蘭盆經	*Avalambana sūtra*, translated A.D. 266—313 (or 317) by Dharmaraksha I (App. II, 23); *sūtra* on the offering of food to the *Saṅgha* for the benefit of Pretas. 2 leaves. Cf. No. 304. Comm.: No. 1601. Cf. Ch. IV.
7) No. 17	A.D. 660, V; 676, XI 20	*Ninnō-hannya-kyō*	仁王般若經	"*Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* (explaining) how benevolent kings (*kāruṇika-rāja*) may protect their countries." Translated A.D. 402—412 by Kumārajīva (App. II 59). 2 fasc., 8 ch. Cf. Nos. 965; 1406 (*dhāraṇī*); 1419, 1435 (rites); 1566, 1567 (comm.). Cf. Ch. V.
8) No. 127	A.D. 676, XI 20; 680, VI; 686, VII 8; 692, Interc. V, 3; 694, VII; 696, XII 1.	*Konkwōmyōkyō*	金光明經	*Suvarṇa-prabhāsa sūtra*, translated A.D. 414—423 by Dharmaraksha II (App. II 67). 4 fasc., 18 ch. Cf. Nos. 126, 130; 1512, 1516, 1548, 1549, 1552, 1553 (comm.).
9) No. 10	A.D. 685, X	*Kongō-hannya-kyō*	金剛般若經	*Vajracchedikā-prajñāpāramitā sūtra*, translated A.D. 402 by Kumārājīva. 14 leaves. Cf. Nos. 1(9), 11—15; comm.: 1167, 1168, 1192, 1550, 1615. Expounded to cure the Emperor Temmu.

10) No. 171	A.D. 686, V 24	*Yakushikyō*	藥師經	*Bhaiṣajyaguru-vaiḍūryaprabhāsa Tathāgata-pūrvapraṇidhāna-sūtra*, translated A.D. 650 by Hüen-tsang (App. II 133). 1 fasc. Cf. Nos. 167 (2), 170, 172, 173. Expounded to cure the Emperor Temmu.
11) No. 137	A.D. 686, VII 28, VIII 2	*Kwanzeongyō (Fumonbon)*	觀世音經 (普門品)	*Avalokiteśvara-sūtra*, i.e. the *Kwanzeon Bosatsu Fumonbon*, the 25th section of the *Hokkekyō* (Lotus *sūtra*). Prose translated A.D. 406 by Kumārajīva; *gāthās* translated A.D. 561-578 by Jñānagupta (App. II, 125, 129). 7 leaves. Read to cure the Emperor Temmu.

The *Daihannyakyō* (大般若經, Nanjō No. 1, *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra*) and the *Yuimakyō* (Nanjō Nos. 146, 147, 149, *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa*, cf. p. 4), very important *sūtras* of ancient Japanese Buddhism, are not mentioned in the *Nihongi*; yet according to the *Genkō Shakusho* (cf. below, § 5) the latter text was used in the seventh century. The *Kongō-hannyakyō*, used during the Emperor Temmu's illness, is No. 9 of the sixteen *sūtras* of the *Daihannyakyō* (cf. below, § 9).

§ 2. *The Shōmangyō (Śrīmālā-devī-siṃhanāda, Nanjō No. 59) and the Hokkekyō (Lotus Sūtra, Nanjō No. 134).*

In A.D. 606 (7th month) the Empress Suiko requested Shōtoku Taishi to lecture on the *Shōmangyō* (Nanjō No. 59, cf. p. 3), an earlier translation of Nanjō No. 23 (48) (Bodhiruci II's translation, A.D. 693—713, App. II 150), made by Guṇabhadra (App. II 81), who translated A.D. 435—453. Its full title is 勝鬘師子吼一乘大方便方廣經, "*Vaipulya-sūtra* on the great good means (*hōben*, to convert mankind), being the *Śrīmālā (devī) siṃhanāda*" (1 fasciculus). Bodhiruci called it 勝鬘夫人會,

"(*Sūtra* spoken at) an assembly by the Princess *Śrīmālā*" (No. 23, 48). Shōtoku Taishi completed his explanation of this text in three days.

In the same year he lectured in the Palace of Okamoto on the *Hokkekyō*, i. e. the *Myōhō-rengekyō* (cf. p. 3), *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra*, Nanjō No. 134, translated A.D. 402—412 by the famous Kumārajīva (App. II 59, 鳩摩羅什, mostly abbreviated into 羅什, who in A.D. 401 arrived in the Chinese capital Ch'ang-an).[1] The following translations of the Lotus *sūtra* are found in Nanjō's Catalogue of the Chinese canon.

No. 136	薩曇芬陀利經	translator's name lost	265–316	4 leaves (only ch. 11 and 12)
No. 138	正法華經	Dharmaraksha I (II 23)	266–313	10 fasc.; 28 ch.
No. 137	妙法蓮華經觀世音菩薩普門品經	Kumārajīva (prose) (II 59)	406	7 leaves; only ch. 25, the *Fumonbon*, cf. below, § 11.
		Jñānagupta (the *gāthās*) (II 125)	557–589	
No. 134	妙法蓮華經	Kumārajīva (II 59)	402–412	7 fasc.; 28 ch.
No. 139	添品妙法蓮華經	Jñānagupta (II 129)	585–592	8 fasc.; 27 ch.
		Dharmagupta II 131	601	

[1] *Nihongi*, Ch. XXII, p. 381; Aston II, p. 135. The annals are quoted from the *Kokushi Taikei*, 國史大系; the *Nihongi* is Vol. I of this series of 17 volumes (*Tōkyō*, 1897—1901).

Cf. Nos. 1232 and 1233 (Vasubandhu's commentary); 1388 (Amoghavajra); 1510, 1511, 1518, 1534—1537, 1547 (*T'ien-t'ai* commentaries), 1555—1558 (*T'ien-t'ai* commentaries on No. 137, the *Fumonbon* or *Kwannongyō*), 1623 (*T'ien-t'ai* commentary).

Kumārajīva's translation (No. 134) was, and is still now-a-days, the text in frequent use (cf. 鳥地大等's modern edition with Japanese translation, Tōkyō, Meiji shoin, 1914).

The rites of repentance, based upon the Lotus *sūtra*, are treated below (Ch. VIII, § 18, *Hokke sembō*), and its contents and further use in Japan are dealt with in Book II, Ch. XVI.

§ 3. *The Muryōju-kyō (Aparimitāyus-sūtra, Nanjō No. 27).*

In A.D. 640 (V 5) "a great Buddhist maigre entertainment (大設齋) was given in the Palace by the Emperor Jomei, who requested the priest Eon (惠隱) to expound the *Muryōju-kyō* (無量壽經, Nanjō No. 27, the large *Amitāyus sūtra* or *Sukhāvatī vyūha*). In this way this priest, who, after having studied Buddhism in China for 31 years, had returned to Japan in A.D. 639, made the Japanese Court and the priests acquainted with the Amitābha cult. [1]

In A.D. 652 (IV 15) he again explained the same *sūtra* in the Palace; the *śramaṇa* Eji (惠資) was made *rongisha* (論議者, "discusser", i. e. the priest who dealt with the *sūtra* by means of questions and answers; the *Genkō Shakusho* uses the term *monnan*, 問難, "he who puts questions with regard to difficulties") and "a thousand *śramaṇas* constituted the audience". [2]

Seven of the twelve translations of the large *Sukhāvatī-vyūha* (dating from the second to the fifth century of our era) are lost. The remaining five are the following numbers of Nanjō's Catalogue.

[1] *Nihongi*, Ch. XXIII, p. 406; Aston II, p. 170. *Genkō Shakusho*, Ch. XX, K. T. K. XIV, p. 988.

[2] *Nihongi*, Ch. XXV, p. 453; Aston II, p. 241. *Genkō Shakusho*, Ch. XXI, p. 992.

No. 25	佛說無量清淨平等覺經	Lokaraksha? II 3	147 (or 164) — 186 3 fasc.
No. 26	佛說阿彌陀經	Chi K'ien II 18	223—253 2 fasc.
No. 27	佛說無量壽經	Saṅghavarman II 14	252 2 fasc.
No. 23(5)	無量壽如來會經	Bodhiruci II II 150	693—713 2 fasc.
No. 863	佛說大乘無量壽莊嚴經	Fah-hien II II 159	982—1001 3 fasc.

Cf. No. 203 (大阿彌陀經), extracts from Nos. 25, 26, 27 and 863, compiled in A.D. 1160—1162 by the minister of state Wang Jih-hiu, 王日休, App. III 61).

It is evident that Eon expounded Saṅghavarman's translation of this *sūtra* (No. 27), for Bodhiruci II's translation dates from a later time.

As to the Amitābha cult and the rites of repentance in worship of this Buddha cf. below, Ch. VIII, § 16.

§ 4. *The Issaikyō (the whole Canon).*

In A.D. 651 (XII 30), when the Emperor Kōtoku was about to remove his residence to the new Palace of Ajifu, more than 2100 priests and nuns were invited to that Palace, and made to read the *Issaikyō* (一切經, "all the *sūtras*", abbreviated

from *Issai kyō-ritsu-ron*, "All *sūtras, vinayas* and *abhidharmas*", i. e. the then existing canon, consisting of 5048 *kwan*). "That night over 2700 lights were lit in the courtyard of the Palace, and there were caused to be read the *Antaku* and *Dosoku Sūtras*" (安宅土側等經, unknown texts, the titles of which mean "Peaceful House" and "Regulation (Outlining) of the Soil"; evidently used to consecrate the new Palace, where the Emperor took up his residence after this ceremony). [1]

As to the *Issaikyō*, this canon was copied in *Kawara-dera* in A.D. 673 (III), [2] and read (of course by means of the *tendoku* system, 轉讀, "turning and reading", i. e. reading some lines in the beginning, the middle and the end of each *sūtra*) A.D. 677 (VIII 15) at a "great feast of Buddhist fare given at the Asuka temple; the Emperor Temmu stood at the South Gate of the Temple, and did obeisance to the Triratna". [3]

As to the copying of the *Issaikyō* or *Daizō* (大藏) in A.D. 767, 805 and 953, and the *Issaikyō-e* or *Daizō-e* and *Daijō-e* of the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries cf. below, Book II, Ch. XV.

§ 5. *The Yuimakyō (Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa, Nanjō No. 146).*

As stated above, the *Yuimakyō* (維摩經) or *Yuimakitsu* (詰)*-gyō* is not mentioned in the *Nihongi*. Shiren (師鍊), however, the author of the *Genkō Shakusho* (written A.D. 1321—1323, cf. below § 12) states that it was read in the second year of the Empress Saimei's reign (A.D. 656). Then the Minister (Naijin) Nakatomi no Kamatari (中臣鎌足, 614—669) (the

[1] *Nihongi*, Ch. XXV, p. 452; Aston II, p. 240. According to the *Genkō Shakusho*, Ch. XX, K. T. K. XIV, p. 980, in A.D. 603 (x 4) the *Antaku sūtra* was read (*tendoku*) at the removal of the Imperial residence to the Palace of *Owarida*.

[2] *Nihongi*, Ch. XXIX, p. 504; Aston II, p. 322. Cf. *Bukkyō daijiten*, p. 63, s. v. *Issaikyō*.

[3] *Nihongi*, Ch. XXIX, p. 513; Aston, II, p. 337.

first of the Fujiwara's, which family name he received the day before his death in A.D. 669, X 15) was ill for a long time, much to the distress of the Empress. Hōmyō, 法明, a nun from Kudara, asked permission to expound it for the sake of the patient, because by reason of (Mañjuśrī's) asking (Vimalakīrti) about the cause of his illness (ch. 5) the great Dharma was explained. When the Empress asked her to do so, Kamatari recovered even before the nun had finished her task. [1] The next year (A.D. 657, X) Kamatari erected *Yamashina-dera* (山階寺) in Suehara (陶原) (Yamashina mura, Ujigōri, Yamashiro province), and held a *Yuima-saie*, 維摩齋會, or "Vegetarian meeting devoted to (the expounding of) the *Yuimakyō*". This was the origin of the *Yuima-e*, afterwards celebrated yearly in the tenth month (X 10—16) in *Kōfukuji* at Nara. Another tradition says that in the eighth year of the Emperor Tenchi's reign (A.D. 669) Kamatari's principal wife erected this temple for his sake (he died X 16) and there placed the images of *Shaka* and his attendant Bodhisattvas *Monju* and *Fugen*, made by him in consequence of a vow. In A.D. 678 Kamatari's son Fujiwara no Fubito (不比等, 659—720) transposed the temple to Umayazaka at Asuka (Yamato province) and gave it the name of *Hōkwōji* (法光寺) or *Umayazaka-dera* (厩坂寺). Finally, in A.D. 710 (Wadō 3), Fubito again transposed it to Nara and changed its name into *Kōfukuji* or *Kōbukuji* (興福寺) (the famous *Hossō* temple, one of the seven great shrines of Nara). As it is the family shrine of the Fujiwara's, it was also called *Kasuga-dera*, 春日寺, because the god of Kasuga was the tutelary deity of this family. [2]

The next year (A.D. 658) the *śramaṇa* Fukuryō (福亮), a

[1] *Genkō Shakusho*, Ch. XXI, K.T. K. Vol. XIV, p. 993; *Fusō ryakki*, Ch. IV, p. 516 sq.

[2] Cf. *Bukkyō daijii* (henceforth abbr. into *Daijii*), Vol. I, p. 1223, s. v. *Kōfukuji*; *Bukkyō daijiten* (henceforth abbr. into *Daijiten*), p. 455, 3, s. v. *Kōfukuji*; Yoshida Tōgō's *Dai Nihon chimei jisho* (henceforth quoted as Yoshida Tōgō), Vol. I, pp. 198 sqq. s. v. *Kōfukuji*, p. 154 s. v. *Yamashina-dera*; *Fusō ryakki*, Ch. XXX, K. T. K. Vol. VI, p. 846.

Sanron priest, expounded the *Yuimakyō* in Suehara (*Yamashina-dera*). This was a Chinese priest from Wu (吳), who lived in *Gwangōji* (元興寺) (*Asuka-dera, Hōkōji,* 法興寺).[1]

The *Yuimakyō* or *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa* (*sūtra*) is found in Nanjō's Catalogue under the following numbers.

No. 147	維摩詰經	Chi K'ien	223—253	3 fasc., 14 ch.
No. 146	維摩詰所說經	Kumārajīva	402—412	3 fasc., 14 ch.
No. 149	說無垢稱經	Hüen-tsang	645—664	6 fasc., 14 ch.

Of these three Kumārajīva's translation was in frequent use. Another text, also called *Vimalakīrti-nīrdeśa*, is found in Nos. 144, 145 and 181.

No. 1632 is a commentary on No. 146, compiled by the priest Săng-chao (僧肇) (App. III 2, a famous disciple of Kumārajīva, who worked under the Latter Ts'in dynasty, A.D. 384—417). Its title, 維摩詰所說經註, "A commentary on the *Vimalakīrti-nīrdeśa-sūtra*", is generally abbreviated into 註維摩.

About further commentaries cf. *Bukkyō daijii*, III pp. 4425 sq. With regard to the *Yuimae* cf. below Book II, Ch. XI, § 6, and Ch. XV, § 4.

§ 6. *The Urabongyō (Avalambana-sūtra, Nanjō No. 303).*

In A.D. 659 (VII 15) (the festival of the dead) the *Avalambana sūtra* (*Urabongyō*, 盂蘭盆經, Nanjō No. 303, translated A.D. 266—313 (or 317) by Dharmaraksha I (App. II 23, 法護; he

[1] *Genkō Shakusho* and *Fusō ryakki*, ibidem. Cf. below, Book II, Ch. XII § 3, A.

arrived in Loh-yang A.D. 266), about the offering of food to the Buddha and the *Saṅgha* for the benefit of the Pretas) was expounded, by order of the Empress Saimei, in all the temples of the capital.[1] Cf. below, Ch. IV (*Urabon-e* in A.D. 606, 647, 657). No. 304, 佛說報恩奉盆經, "*Sūtra* spoken by Buddha on offering a vessel (of eatables to the Triratna) for recompensing the favour (of the parents towards the children) is a later translation, dating from the Eastern Tsin dynasty (A.D. 317—420) (1 leaf).

As to the Festival of the Dead cf. below Ch. IV.

§ 7. *The Ninnō-hannya-kyō (Kāruṇikarāja-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra, Nanjō No. 17.*

In A.D. 660 (V) the Empress Saimei ordered the officials to prepare one hundred raised seats and one hundred *nō-gesa* (priestly robes), and to hold a *Ninnō-hannya no e* (仁王般若之會), i. e. a "Meeting devoted to the *Ninnō-hannya-kyō*". This is the *Ninnō-gokoku-hannya-haramitsu-kyō*, 仁王護國般若波羅蜜經, "*Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* on benevolent kings (*kāruṇika-rāja*) protecting their countries", Nanjō No. 17, translated A.D. 402—412 by Kumārajīva (App. II 59, cf. § 2); 2 fasc., 8 chapters).[2] The number of the seats, robes and priests was in accordance with the words of the text, which afterwards (A.D. 746—771) was translated for a second time by Amoghavajra (App. II 155), with a preface of the Emperor Tai-tsung (A.D. 762—779) (Nanjō No. 965). Cf. Nos. 1406 (*dhāraṇīs*), 1419, 1435 (rites), 1566, 1567 (*T'ien-t'ai* commentaries on this *sūtra*, i. e. on No. 17).

According to the *Fusō ryakki* (written about A.D. 1150, cf. § 12) and the *Genkō Shakusho* (written in the Genkō era, A.D. 1321—1323,

[1] *Nihongi*, Ch. XXVI, p. 465; Aston II, p. 263; *Genkō Shakusho*, Ch. XXI, K. T. K. XIV, p. 993.

[2] *Nihongi*, Ch. XXVI, pp. 466 sq.; Aston II, p. 264 sq.

cf. § 12) the *Ninnōkyō* was expounded in the Palace in the third month, and the meeting was held in the fifth. [1]

In this *sūtra* the Buddha explained to King Prasenajit and 15 other benevolent kings, how they could protect their countries against all kinds of calamities, by means of the divine power of the Great Bodhisattvas of the Five Quarters, *Vajrapāni* (E.), *Vajraratna* (S.), *Vajratīkṣṇa* (W.), *Vajrayakṣa* (N.) and *Vajrapāramitā* (Centre) (with their numberless followers), whose angry shapes are the *Five Great-Power-Howl Vidyārājas, Godairikku Myō-ō* (五大力吼明王), or *Five Great-Power Bodhisattvas, Godairiki Bosatsu* (五大力菩薩). [2] Whe shall deal with the contents and history of this *sūtra* in Ch. V, in connection with the festival based upon it.

In A.D. 676 (XI 20) "messengers were sent (by the Emperor Temmu) to all provinces to expound the *Konkwōmyōkyō* and the *Ninnōkyō*". The day before he "had given orders to the provinces near the capital to release living things" (*hōjō*, 放生). [3]

In A.D. 693 (IX 23) (the seventh year of the Empress Jitō's reign) "the *Ninnōkyō* was begun to be expounded in the hundred provinces. This came to a close after four days". [4]

According to the *Genkō Shakusho* in the tenth month of the same year the *Ninnōkyō was expounded in the Palace together with the Saishō-ō-kyō*, and this was made a constant ceremony (立爲式). [5] This must be a mistake, since the *Saishōōkyō* dates from A.D. 700—712.

As to the *Ninnōe* and the further use of the *Ninnōkyō* cf. below, Ch. V.

[1] *Fusō ryakki*, Ch. v, K. T. K. (*Kokushi Taikei*) vi, p. 517; *Genkō Shakusho*, Ch. xxi, K. T. K. xiv, p. 993.

[2] *Ninnōkyō*, Ch. vii.

[3] *Nihongi*, Ch. xxix, p. 512; Aston II, p. 335.

[4] *Nihongi*, Ch. xxx, p. 566; Aston II, p. 413.

[5] *Genkō Shakusho*, Ch. xxi, K. T. K. xiv, p. 1004.

§ 8. *The Konkwōmyōkyō (Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra, Nanjō No. 127).*

In A.D. 676 (XI 20) the first translation of the *Suvarṇa-prabhāsa-sūtra*, made A.D. 414—423 by Dharmaraksha II (App. II 67, 法豐) and entitled *Konkwōmyōkyō*, 金光明經 (Nanjō No. 127), is mentioned for the first time in Japan, together with the *Ninnōkyō* (in the passage referred to in the preceding paragraph). Afterwards, between A.D. 700 and 712, the famous Chinese pilgrim I-tsing (義淨, App. II 149) translated it in full; this is the *Konkwōmyō Saishōō-kyō*, 金光明最勝王經, *Suvarṇa-prabhāsottama-rāja-sūtra*, generally abbreviated into *Saishōōkyō*. The first translation is mentioned again in the following passages of the *Nihongi*.

In A.D. 680 (V 1) "the expounding of the *Konkwōmyōkyō* was begun in the Palace and in the various Buddhist temples". [1]

In A.D. 686 (VII 8) "one hundred priests were invited into the Palace and made to read the *Konkwōmyōkyō*." This was done *to save the Emperor Temmu's life*. [2]

In A.D. 692 (Interc. V 3) on account of great floods "an Imperial order was given (by the Empress Jitō) that the *Konkwōmyōkyō* should be expounded in the capital and in the four Home provinces". [3]

In A.D. 693 (X) the *Ninnōkyō* and the *Konkwōmyōkyō* were, according to the *Genkō Shakusho*, [4] expounded in the Palace, but as the *Nihongi* does not mention this fact and the *sūtra* is called *Saishōōkyō* (which translation dates from after A.D. 700 and evidently was not used in Japan before A.D. 734), the text quoted by the author of the *Genkō Shakusho* appears not to be trustworthy.

In A.D. 694 (VII) "one hundred copies of the *Konkwōmyōkyō*

[1] *Nihongi*, Ch. XXIX, p. 519; Aston II, p. 346.
[2] *Nihongi*, Ch. XXIX, p. 542; Aston II, p. 378.
[3] *Nihongi*, Ch. XXX, p. 562; Aston II, p. 408.
[4] *Genkō Shakusho*, Ch. XXI, p. 1004.

were sent (by the same Empress) and deposited in the various provinces, to be read without fail when the moon of the first month was in her first quarter. The fees (to the priests) were to be defrayed from the public revenues of the province". [1]

In A.D. 696 (XII 1) again "an Imperial order was given (by the same Empress) that the *Konkwōmyōkyō* should be expounded, and that every year on the last day of the 12th month ten persons of a pure life should be made to enter religion" (apparently *to cause felicity in the new year*). [2]

The different translations of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra* are the following numbers of Nanjō's Catalogue.

No. 127	金光明經 *Konkwōmyōkyō*	Dharmaraksha II II 67	414—423	4 fasc.; 18 ch.
No. 130	合部金光明經 Compilation of three incomplete translations: No. 127 and two other works, no longer existing independently: A	Pao-kwei III 13 Jñānagupta II 129 Paramārtha II 104, 105	597 548—557	8 fasc.; 24 ch. 7 fasc.; 22 ch.
	B	Yaśogupta II 124	561—578	5 fasc.; 20 ch.
No. 126	金光明最勝王經, *Konkwōmyō-Saīshōō-kyō*	I-tsing II 149	700—712	10 fasc.; 31 ch.

[1] *Nihongi*, Ch. XXX, p. 567; Aston II, p. 416. *Fusō ryakki*, Ch. V, p. 530.
[2] *Nihongi*, Ch. XXX, 571; Aston II, p. 421.

Cf. No. 974 (*Bishamon-Tennō-kyō*) (6 leaves), translated A.D. 746—771 by Amoghavajra (App. II 155), a part of ch. 12 of No. 126. Nos. 1512 and 1516 contain "ceremonial rules for confession and recital of the *Konkwōmyō-Saishōō-kyō* (No. 126)", written about A.D. 1000 and 1020 by *T'ien-t'ai* priests. Nos. 1548 and 1552 are *T'ien-t'ai* commentaries on No. 127, orally given in A.D. 589—597 by 智者大師, Chi-ché ta-shi (App. III 12, A.D. 531—597) and recorded by his disciple Kwan-ting, 灌頂 (App. III 15, A.D. 561—632), the fourth and fifth patriarchs of the *T'ien-t'ai* school, the former being its founder in China. Nos. 1549 and 1553 are *T'ien-t'ai* commentaries on these two works, written about A.D. 1020 by Chi-li, 智禮 (App. III 51). Evidently this *sūtra* was of the greatest importance in the opinion of the prominent *T'ien-t'ai* priests.

As to the passages of the *Konkwōmyōkyō* and the *Saishōō-kyō* (I-tsing's later translation) with regard to the rites of repentance cf. below, Ch. VIII, §§ 7 and 15 (*Kichijō-kekwa*). The contents of the two versions of the *sūtra* and their further use in Japan are treated in Book II, Ch. XI.

§ 9. *The Kongō-hannya-kyō (Vajracchedikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra, Nanjō No. 10.*

In A.D. 685 and 686, during the severe illness of the Emperor Temmu, who died A.D. 686, IX 9, several *sūtras* were read for his recovery.

A.D. 685, IX 24: "On account of the Emperor being unwell, *sūtras* were read for three days in the Great Official Temple, (大官大寺)[1] and in the Temples of Kawara and Asuka. Rice was accordingly given to these three temples, in amounts varying in each case."

The next month the *Kongō-hannya-kyō*, 金剛般若經, was expounded in the Palace (apparently because the Emperor was

[1] *Daikwan daiji*, the old name of *Daianji*, the *Sanron* temple in Nara.

ill). This is the first time this *sūtra* is mentioned.[1] In A.D. 402 Kumārajīva (App. II 59, cf. §§ 2, 5 and 7) translated this *sūtra*, entitled *Vajracchedikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*. This text was used in Japan. The numbers, titles, authors and dates of the six translations of the same (or very similar) text (Nanjō Nos. 10—15) are as follows:

No. 10	*Kongō-hannya-haramitsu-kyō*	Kumārajīva	A.D. 402	14 leaves
No. 11	„ „ „ „	Bodhiruci I	A.D. 509	17 leaves
No. 12	„ „ „ „	Paramārtha	A.D. 562	17 leaves
No. 15	*Kongō nōdan* idem idem	Dharmagupta	A.D. 605	19 leaves
No. 13	*Nōdan* (well-cutting) „	Hüen-tsang	A.D. 648	21 leaves
No. 14	„ „ „	I-tsing	A.D. 703	14 leaves

It is the ninth of the sixteen *sūtras* of the *Daihannyakyō*, 大般若經, *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra* (Nanjō No. 1) (600 fasciculi; translated A.D. 659 by Hüen-tsang), which in the seventh century is not yet mentioned.

The great importance of this *sūtra* is evident from the number and quality of its commentaries.

No. 1167 is a commentary by Asaṅga (無著) (App. I 5), translated A.D. 590—616 by Dharmagupta (App. II 131). No. 1168 is a commentary on No. 1167, written by Vasubandhu (天親 or 世親) (App. I 6) and translated A.D. 509 by Bodhiruci I (App. II 114). No. 1192 (composed by Guṇada (?), 功德施, App. I 18), was translated A.D. 683 by Divākara (日照) (App. II 139). No. 1208 (by Asaṅga) was translated in A.D. 711 by I-tsing (App. II 149), and in the same year this famous pilgrim gave a new translation of No. 1168, namely No. 1231. Chi-ché ta-shi (cf. § 8, App. III 12, A.D. 531—597) orally explained this *sūtra*,

[1] *Nihongi*, Ch. XXIX, p. 538; Aston II, p. 371 sq.

and his disciple Kwan-ting (cf. § 8, App. III 15, A.D. 561—632) wrote down his words in No. 1550; thus the founder of the *T'ien-t'ai* school in China and his prominent pupil, both patriarchs of the school, attached great importance to this text.

As to the *Avataṃsaka* (*Hwa-yen, Kegon*) school, its fifth patriarch, Tsung-mih (宗密, A.D. 779—840, App. III 38, respectfully called *Kwéi-fan Ta-shi,* 圭峰大師, "The Great Teacher of the Kwéi peak") wrote No. 1630 (an extract from a commentary on the *Kongō-hannya-kyō*), whereas Tszĕ-süen (子璿, App. III 53), who belonged to the same school, in A.D. 1024 gave a commentary on the preceding work (No. 1631).

In A.D. 1377 T'ai-tsu (1368—1398), the first Emperor of the Ming dynasty, caused all the Buddhist priests in China to study this *sūtra,* as well as No. 20 and No. 175, the *Prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya sūtra* (*Hannya shinkyō*) and the *Laṅkāvatāra sūtra*; and at the same time he called together the priests of the *Dhyāna* (*Zen*) school to compile Nos. 1613—1615, as we learn from Nanjō with regard to those numbers. Thus No. 1615 is a *Zen* commentary on this *sūtra.*

The *Bukkyō-daijii* (I, p. 1441, 1) enumerates 27 Chinese commentaries on this *sūtra,* and adds that in the Ts'ing dynasty (A.D. 1644—1911) more than twenty other commentators treated the same text! They are found in the Supplement of the Canon.

As to the history of this *sūtra* in Japan we may refer to Ch. XIII of the present work.

§ 10. *The Yakushikyō (Bhaiṣajyaguru-sūtra, Nanjō No. 171).*

In A.D. 686 (V 24) "the Emperor Temmu's body was ill at ease. Accordingly the *Yakushikyō* was expounded in the temple of Kawara, and a retreat (*ango,* 安居) was held within the Palace". [1]

The numbers, titles, translators and dates of translation of the

[1] *Nihongi,* Ch. XXIX, p. 541; Aston II, p. 376.

Chinese versions of the two texts (on *Yakushi Nyorai* and on the Seven Healing Buddhas) are as follows:

No. 167, XII	佛說灌頂拔除過罪生死得度經	Poh Śrīmitra	A.D. 317–322	1 fasc.
Not in Canon	藥師瑠璃光經	Hwui-kien	A.D. 457	1 fasc.
No. 170	藥師如來本願經	Dharmagupta	A.D. 615	1 fasc.
No. 171	藥師瑠璃光如來本願功德經	Hüen-tsang	A.D. 650	1 fasc.
No. 172	藥師瑠璃光七佛本願功德經	I-tsing	A.D. 707	2 fasc.
No. 173	番字 same title as No. 172	a copy of the Tibetan version		1 fasc.

The so-called *Yakushikyō* is Hüen-tsang's translation (No. 171, A.D. 650), used in Japan from A.D. 686 (V 24) in cases of illness, especially of the Emperor or Empress, but also against other calamities, e. g. to stop too abundant rains, because the Medicine-Master is the oriental sun with its healing power and its brilliant light,[1] and at the Rites of Repentance in worship of Bhaishajya-guru, the *Yakushi kekwa*, dealt with below, Ch. VIII, § 14.

The *Shichi-Butsu Yakushikyō* is I-tsing's text, used at the

[1] Cf. De Groot, *Le Code du Mahāyāna en Chine*, Ch. VIII, p. 157; my treatise on the *Dragon in China and Japan*, Introd. § 4, p. 33.

Shichi-Butsu Yakushi-hō (法). This ceremony, celebrated with seven altars by the *Tendai* sect on *Hieizan*, was introduced by Dengyō Daishi in A.D. 805.[1]

The *Bukkyō daijiten* (p. 1751, 3) mentions a translation of the older text, entitled *Yakushi-Rurikwō-kyō* and made in A.D. 457 by the priest Hwui-kien, 惠簡, of the early Sung dynasty (App. II 84). It consists of one fasciculus; but it is not found in the Canon. Nanjō No. 305 (translated A.D. 424 by Kālayaśas, deals with the contemplation of *Yaku-ō* and *Yaku-jō* (藥王, 藥上), the two Healing Bodhisattvas *Bhaiṣajya-rāja* and *Bhaiṣajya-samudgata* (cf. *Butsuzō-zuï*, IV, p. 8*b*, *Yaku-ō* seated cross-legged, with lotus flower in right hand; II, p. 9*a*, *Yaku-ō* and *Yaku-jō*, standing upon lotus flowers, with banners in their hands, as two of the 25 Bodhisattvas in Amitābha's retinue; III, p. 10*a*, their *suijaku* (垂迹, "dropped traces" i. e. manifestations) as two of the 16 *dōji* of *Benzaiten*).

Nanjō No. 671, translated by Dharmaraksha I (between A.D. 266 and 317, 8 leaves), is devoted to the *Vaiḍūrya*-king (*Ruri-ō*), and Nanjō No. 528, mentioned above, deals with the merits produced by receiving and keeping in mind the names of the Seven Buddhas (A.D. 651, translated by Hüen-tsang, 6 leaves).

The four Yoga works, translated by Vajrabodhi (between A.D. 723 and 730), his disciple Amoghavajra (between A.D. 746 and 771), an unknown translator, and the Tibetan priest Sha-lo-pa of the Yuen dynasty, who lived A.D. 1259—1314 (App. II, 170), which are mentioned by the *Bukkyō daijiten* (p. 1751, 3), all *kalpas* (*giki*, 儀軌, ceremonial rules) on the meditation upon and worship of the Buddha Bhaishajyaguru and the Seven Healing Buddhas, in order to avert calamity, are not found in the Canon.

[1] *Bukkyō daijiten* (henceforth quoted as *Daijiten*), p. 741, 2, s. v. *Shichi-Butsu Yakushi-hō*. The *Bukkyō daijiten*, 佛教大辭典, by *Oda Tokunō*, 織田得能, was published in 1919 (third ed.) by the *Ōkura shoten* in Tōkyō.

The *Bukkyō daijiten* (p. 1752, 1) enumerates four commentaries on No. 171 (Hüen-tsang's translation). The first of these works was written by Ts'zĕ-ngän Ta-shi (慈恩大師), the founder of the *Fah-siang* (*Hossō*) sect in China (i. e. Hüen-tsang's disciple Kw'ei-ki, 窺基, who wrote a hundred commentaries, lived in the Ta-Ts'zĕ-ngän-szĕ (大慈恩寺), and was a devout worshipper of Maitreya (A.D. 632—682). The second commentary is a work written by Ta-hien (大賢), also a *Fah-siang* priest of the T'ang dynasty. The two other works were composed by the Japanese *Hossō* priest Zenshu, 善珠 (A.D. 723—797), and by the Japanese *Shingon* priest Ryōta, 亮汰 (A.D. 1622—1680). The *Bukkyō daijii* (III, p. 4410, 1) mentions thirteen commentaries.

As to the contents and further use of Hüen-tsang's and I-tsing's translations (Nos. 171 and 172) we may refer the reader to Ch. VIII, § 14 (*Yakushi kekwa*) and to Book II, Ch. XIV.

§ 11. *The Kwanzeongyō (Fumonbon) (Avalokiteśvara-sūtra, Chapter 25 of the Chinese text of the Lotus Sūtra, Nanjō No. 137).*

In A.D. 686 (VII 28) the *Kwanzeon sūtra* was expounded in the Great Official Temple, and the Princes and Ministers made images of *Kwannon*, in order to save the Emperor Temmu's life.

VIII 1: "For the sake of the Emperor, 80 priests were received into religion.

VIII 2: "Priests and nuns, to the number of 100 in all, entered religion. Accordingly, 100 *Bosatsu* were set up within the Palace, and *200 volumes of the Kwannon sūtra* read".

These 100 Bosatsu probably were, as Aston remarks, the Kwannon images made by the Princes and Ministers. [1]

The *Kwanzeongyō* (觀世音經) or *Kwannongyō* is the *Kwanzeon Bosatsu Fumonbon*, generally called *Fumonbon* (普門品,

[1] *Nihongi*, Ch. XXIX, p. 543; Aston II, p. 379.

"Chapter of the Universal Gate", namely of salvation, opened by the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara), the 25th Chapter of the *Hokkekyō* or *Saddharma puṇḍarīka sūtra.* [1] It is Nanjō No. 137; the prose was translated in A.D. 406 by Kumārajīva, the gāthās A.D. 561—578 by Jñānagupta (App. II 125, 129). It consists of 7 leaves.

Nos. 1555 and 1557 are *T'ien-t'ai* commentaries on this chapter of the Lotus *sūtra*, orally given by Chi-ché Ta-shi, the founder of the T'ien-t'ai sect (A.D. 531—597) (cf. § 8), and recorded by his pupil Kwan-ting (cf. § 8) (A.D. 561—632); Nos. 1556 and 1558 are commentaries on those works, written by Chi-li (cf. § 8), a T'ien-t'ai priest of the beginning of the eleventh century.

As to the contents and further use of this *sūtra* cf. below, Ch. XV.

§ 12. *Sūtras read to cause rain.*

In A.D. 642 (first year of the reign of the Empress Kōgyoku (VII 25), at the time of a great drought, the Shintō rites of killing horses and cattle as a sacrifice to gods of various shrines and prayers to the River-gods, as well as the old Chinese custom of changing the market-places, had been without any result. Then Soga no Oho-omi (Emishi) said: "The *Mahāyāna sūtras* (*Daijō kyōten*, 大乘經典) ought to be read (by way of extract) (*tendoku*) [2] in the temples, our sins repented of (*kekwa*, 悔過, cf. below, Ch. VIII), as the Buddha teaches, and thus with humility *rain should be prayed for.*"

VII 27. "In the South Court of the Great Temple (of Kudara,

[1] Cf. *Daijiten*, p. 338, 3, s. v. *Kwannongyō.*

[2] The term *tendoku* may be used here not in its later sense, but simply for "reading" (*yomi-matsuru* is the *kana* pronunciation given in the *Kokushi taikei*). As to the two meanings of this term cf. *Daijiten*, p. 1255, 3, s. v. *tendoku*, and p. 1253, 3, s. v. *ten-daihannyakyō*, where the partial reading of that text is said to be based upon a passage of the *Susiddhikāra sūtra*, Nanjō No. 533, translated in A. D. 724 by *Śubhakarasiṃha.* If that passage caused the practise of partial reading in general, before that time *tendoku* simply meant „reading" (turning the pages and reading).

built in A.D. 639 VII) the images of Buddha and of the Bosatsu (*Fugen* and *Monju*, i.e. *Samantabhadra* and *Mañjuśrī*) and the images of the *Four Deva Kings* (the Guardians of the World) were magnificently adorned. A multitude of priests, by respectful request, read the Mahāyāna *sūtras*. On this occasion Soga no Oho-omi held a censer in his hands, and having burnt incense in it, offered a prayer."

VII 28. "A slight rain fell."

VII 29. "The prayers for rain being unsuccessful, the reading of the *sūtras* was discontinued."

VIII 1. "The Empress made a progress to the *river-source of Minabuchi*. Here she knelt down and prayed, worshipping towards the four quarters, and looking up to Heaven (the Chinese style). Straightway there was thunder and a great rain, which eventually fell for five days, and plentifully bedewed the Empire. Hereupon the peasantry throughout the Empire cried with one voice '*Banzai*' and said: 'An Empress of exceeding virtue!'" [1]

Aston translates the term *Daijō kyōten* as if it were one special *sūtra*; but it is a *collective* term for the canon, which is also evident from the fact that on the 27th day the priests were requested to read "the Mahāyāna *sūtras*", *Daijō kyōtō*, 大乘經等. The *Fusō ryakki* [2] does not mention the texts, but simply speaks about rain prayers in the Shintō and Buddhist shrines. The *Nihon kiryaku* [3] states, that there was *tendoku* of the *Daijōkyō*. The author of the *Genkō Shakusho*, [4] however, says that the

[1] *Nihongi*, Ch. XXIV, p. 410; Aston II, p. 175.

[2] *Fusō ryakki*, 扶桑略記, "An abridged History of Japan", written about A.D. 1150 by the *Tendai* priest Kwō-en, 皇圓, Genkū's teacher. *Kokushi Taikei* Vol. VI, Ch. IV, p. 508.

[3] *Nihon kiryaku*, 日本紀略, "An abridged History of Japan", written after A.D. 1036. K.T.K. Vol. V, *Zempen*, Ch. VII, p. 176.

[4] *Genkō Shakusho*, 元亨釋書, "A Buddhist writing of the Genkō era" (A.D. 1331—1334), written by the *Rinzai* priest Shiren (師錬, A.D. 1278—1346). K.T.K. Vol. XIV, Ch. XX, p. 988.

priests were ordered to read the *Daiunkyō*, 大雲經, the *Mahā-megha-sūtra* or "*Sūtra* of the Great Cloud".

According to the *Bukkyō daijiten* (p. 1125, 3, s. v. *Daiunkyō*) this is another name for Nanjō No. 244, the 大方等無想經, *Daihōdō-musō-kyō, Mahāvaipulya-mahāmegha-sūtra*, translated A.D. 414—423 by Dharmaraksha II of the Northern Liang dynasty (App. II 67) (4 fasc.). It is different from the well-known *Mahā-megha-sūtra* (Nanjō Nos. 186—188, 970), so often used in later times to cause rain. The four translations of the latter text are as follows:

No. 187	大雲經請雨品第六十四大雲請雨經	Jñānayaśas II 123	564–572	1 fasc.
No. 188	大雲輪請雨經	Narendrayaśas II 128	582–585	2 fasc.
No. 186	佛說大方等大雲請雨經	Jñānagupta II 129	585–592	1 fasc.
No. 970	大雲輪請雨經	Amoghavajra II 155	746–771	2 fasc.

No. 187 was translated by Jñānayaśas, not by his pupil Jñānagupta, to whom by mistake it is attributed by Nanjō (p. 58) (cf. App. II 123). As to this *sūtra* we may refer the reader to Prof. de Groot's *Code du Mahāyāna en Chine*, [1] and to the present writer's *Dragon in China and Japan*. [2]

[1] De Groot, *Le Code du Mahāyāna en Chine*, Ch. VIII, pp. 148 sqq.

[2] De Visser, *The Dragon in China and Japan*, Introd. § 4, pp. 25 sqq., and Ch. III, §§ 3 and 4, pp. 159 sqq.

As the *Nihongi* does not mention the *Daiunkyō*, we do not follow the text quoted by the author of the *Genkō-Shakusho*, although it is quite probable that the *Daiunkyō* belonged to the *sūtras*, used in A.D. 642 to cause rain. As a specimen of the reliability of the *Genkō Shakusho* we cite its statement that the holy man, met by Shōtoku Taishi in A.D. 613 (XII 1),[1] was Bodhidharma! The story of the empty tomb was, of course, the link between those two miraculous sages.[2]

In A.D. 676 (fifth year of the Emperor Temmu's reign) (VI), when great drought prevailed, no *sūtras* were read, but "the priests and nuns were invited to offer supplications to the Triratna". Messengers were sent to all quarters to make offerings of cloth and to pray to all the gods of Heaven and Earth; but it was all in vain, for "still there was no rain, and therefore the five grains did not grow, and the peasants were starving." The next month (VII 16) "worship was paid to the Wind-gods of Tatsuta and to the *Oho-imi* Deity of Hirose" (probably for the same reason). It may also be that the Great Purification, the mitigation of punishments or pardon of criminals, and the Emperor's command to the various provinces *to let loose living things* (*hōjō*, cf. § 7, a Buddhist virtuous action) (VIII 16 and 17) were intended to put an end to the drought.[3]

In A.D. 677 (V) *Shintō prayers* were made for rain in the capital and the Home provinces (雩之, *amagoi su*), and in the seventh month (VII 3) again "worship was paid to the *Wind-gods of Tatsuta* and to the *Oho-imi Deity of Hirose*"; in A.D. 679 (V 23, VII 6, 14), 680 (VII 5), 683 (VII 15, 20), 684 (VI 4, VII 4, 9), 686 (VI 12), 688 (VII 11), 690 (IV 22), 692 (VI 9, 11, VII 2), 693 (IV 17), 695 (VI 3) and 697 (V 8) *Shintō rain prayers* were offered by Imperial Envoys in many shrines, but especially in those of *Tatsuta* and *Hirose*; also celebrated mountains, hills and rivers

[1] *Nihongi*, Ch. XXII, p. 388; Aston II, p. 145.
[2] Cf. Bodhidharma's biography, Giles, *Biogr. Dict.* s. v. *Bodhidharma.*
[3] *Nihongi*, Ch. XXIX, pp. 510 sq.; Aston II, pp. 332 sqq.

were prayed to for rain (A.D. 692, VI 9). For the same purpose a *general amnesty* was repeatedly granted throughout the Empire (A.D. 683, VIII 5; 691, V 20; 692, VII 2; 697, VI 2). As to *Buddhist prayers* for rain, the Korean priest Dōzō (道藏) from Kudara was very successful in this respect(A.D. 683, VII 20; 688, VII 20), [1] but otherwise the Shintō gods were evidently considered to be more powerful givers of rain than the Triratna.

§ 13. *Sūtras read to stop rain.*

In A.D. 691 (VI 19) the Empress Jitō issued the following edict. "This summer profuse rain has fallen beyond measure, and We fear that certainly injury will be caused to the grain-crops. Our anxiety of the night lasts until the morning, as We ponder where the blame for this lies. Now We command you, our Ministers and functionaries, to prohibit the use of strong drink and animal food, to compose your hearts and repent your sins. Moreover let the priests of the temples of the capital and of the Home provinces *read the sūtras for a space of five days.* It may be hoped that this will have some effect." The rain had lasted from the fourth month until this month. The next day "a *general amnesty* was proclaimed throughout the Empire. Thieves and robbers were, however, excepted". This measure was often taken in order to avert some calamity or evil omen. [2]

[1] *Nihongi*, Ch. XXIX, p. 530; Ch. XXX, p. 549; Aston II, pp. 360, 388.
[2] *Nihongi*, Ch. XXX, p. 559; Aston II, p. 403.

CHAPTER II.

MAIGRE ENTERTAINMENTS OF MONKS AND NUNS (SESSAI, 設齋, SAI WO MŌKURU, SAI-E, 齋會).

§ 1. *The Emperor Bidatsu's reign (A.D. 572—585).*

In A.D. 584 (13th year of Bidatsu Tennō's reign, IX) "Soga no Mumako no Sukune erected a Buddhist temple on the east side of his dwelling, in which he enshrined the *stone image of Miroku* (*Maitreya*) (in the same month this image and that of *Buddha* had been brought from Kudara, one of the kingdoms of Korea). "He respectfully invited the three nuns and in a great meeting arranged (for them) a maigre entertainment". [1] "At this time Shiba Tattō found a Buddhist relic (*shari*, 舍利, *śarīra*) on the food of abstinence, and presented it to Mumako no Sukune. Mumako no Sukune, by way of experiment, took the relic, and placing it in the middle of a block of iron, beat it with an iron sledge-hammer, which he flourished aloft. The block and the sledge-hammer were shattered to atoms, but the relic could not be crushed. Then the relic was cast into water, when it floated on the water or sank as one desired. In consequence of this, *Mumako no Sukune, Ikenobe no Hida*, and *Shiba Tattō* had faith in Buddhism and practised it unremittingly. Mumako no Sukune built another Buddhist temple at his house in Ishikawa. *From this arose the beginning of Buddhism.*"

[1] *Nihongi*, Ch. XX, p. 358; Aston II, p. 101. I do not agree with Aston's translation: "He insisted on the three nuns holding a general meeting to partake of maigre fare", for the nuns were invited, and he himself gave the entertainment in a great meeting.

A.D. 585 (II 15): "Soga no Oho-omi, Mumako no Sukune, erected a pagoda north of the Hill of Ohono, and having held a great *meeting to partake of maigre food*, deposited the relic obtained by Tattō on the top of the pillar of the pagoda". [1]

§ 2. *The Empress Suiko's reign (A.D. 593—628).*

A.D. 605 (13th year of the Empress Suiko's reign) (IV 1). "The Empress commanded the Prince Imperial, the Oho-omi, and also the Princes and Ministers, all to make a vow together, and therewithal to begin to make copper and embroidery *images of Buddha, sixteen feet high*, one of each. She also commanded Kuratsukuri no Tori to be the engineer for the construction of the Buddhas. At this time King Tè-hung of Koryö (Kōrai, Koma, one of the kingdoms of Korea), hearing that the Empress was making images of Buddha, sent tribute of 300 *ryō* of the yellow metal". [2]

A.D. 606 (IV 8). "Both the sixteen-foot images of Buddha, viz. that of copper and that of embroidery, were finished, and on the same day the sixteen-foot copper image was enshrined in the Golden Hall of *Gwangōji* (元興寺, i. e. *Hōkōji*, 法興寺, *Asuka-dera*, 飛鳥寺, and *Hōmanji* 法滿寺, built A.D. 593—596 by Soga no Mumako. [3] .... On the same day a *maigre entertainment* was given, at which an innumerable multitude assembled".

"Beginning with this year, vegetarian festivals were held in all the temples on the 8th day of the 4th month (Buddha's birthday) and on the 15th day of the 7th month (the Avalambana festival of the dead). [4]

As we saw above (Ch. I, § 2), in the same year (A.D. 606) Shōtoku

[1] *Nihongi*, ibidem.

[2] *Nihongi*, Ch. XXII, p. 380; Aston II, pp. 133 sq.

[3] *Nihongi*, Ch. XXII, pp. 372 sq.; Aston II, pp. 120 sq., 124. Cf. *Daijiten*, p. 21, s. v. *Gwangōji*: On the tablet of the Eastern gate stood *Asuka-dera*; on that of the W. gate *Hōkōji*; S. gate *Gwangōji*; N. gate *Hōmanji*.

[4] *Nihongi*, Ch. XXII, pp. 380 sq.; Aston II, p. 134.

Taishi, by the Empress Suiko's request, for the first time lectured on *sūtras*, the *Shōmangyō* and the *Hokkekyō*.

As to the term 設齋, this is read *ogami su* or *mi-ogami su*, indicating that by giving such an entertainment to the monks or nuns the Emperor or Empress *worshipped* the Triratna. 大設齋 is read *ōi ni ogami su*, and 大會設齋 *oho-atsumari* (*dai-e*) *no ogami su*, "worship of (i.e. consisting of) a great meeting was made" (by the Emperor, Empress or, as in the beginning, the Prime-Minister).

§ 3. *The Empress Jomei's reign (A.D. 629—641).*

A.D. 640 (12th year of the Emperor Jomei's reign) (V 5). "A *great Buddhist maigre entertainment* was given, at which by request (of the Emperor) the priest Eon expounded the *Muryōjukyō* (the large *Amitāyus sūtra*, mentioned above, § 3). [1]

§ 4. *The Emperor Kōtoku's reign (A.D. 645—654).*

A.D. 647 (third year of the Emperor Kōtoku's reign, Taikwa 3) (XII 30) we read about the caps of seven kinds and thirteen grades, instituted in that year. "These caps were worn at Grand Assemblies, when foreign guests were entertained, and *at the maigre feasts* (齋) *of the fourth month* (*IV 8*) and *seventh month* (VII 15) (Buddha's birthday and the *Urabon*, i.e. *Avalambana*, festival of the dead, instituted in A.D. 606)." [2]

A.D. 651 (7th year of the Emperor Kōtoku's reign, Hakuchi 2) (III 14). "The sixteen feet high embroidery figure of Buddha and the others (i.e. his attending Bodhisattvas *Monju* and *Fugen*, and the beings of the eight classes, namely Devas, Nāgas, Yakshas, Gandharvas, Asuras, Garuḍas, Kinnaras and Mahoragas, 46 figures in all) were finished. The next day the Empress Dowager invited

[1] *Nihongi*, Ch. XXIII, p. 406; Aston II, p. 169.
[2] *Nihongi*, Ch. XXV, p. 446; Aston II, p. 230.

the "*Ten Masters*" (十師, ten prominent priests, appointed A.D. 645, VIII 8) [1] and *prepared a maigre entertainment for them*". [2]

A.D. 652 (XII 30). The priests and nuns of the Empire were invited to the interior of the Palace and *entertained with meagre fare.* Plentiful alms were given, and *lights kindled* (大捨燃燈).[3] Although the text gives 皆 instead of 晦, this festival certainly took place on the last day of the year, for on the same day of the preceding year the new Palace was consecrated by a similar meeting of more than 2100 priests and nuns, who read the whole canon (*Issaikyō*) and other texts (*Antaku* and *Dosoku sūtras*), and *over 2700 lights were lit in the courtyard of the Palace* (above, Ch. I § 4). Only a maigre entertainment was not mentioned in that passage.

§ 5. *The Emperor Temmu's reign (A.D. 672—686).*

A.D. 677 (sixth year of the Emperor Temmu's reign) (VIII 15). "*A great feast of Buddhist fare* (大設齋) was given at the Asuka Temple, at which the *Issaikyō* was read. The Emperor stood at the South Gate of the Temple, and did obeisance to the *Triratna.* At this time he commanded the Princes of the Blood and the other Princes as well as the Ministers each to furnish one person to renounce the world. These persons were chosen without distinction of age and sex, and all entered religion in accordance with their wishes. They therefore took part in this great feast. [4]

A.D. 681 (tenth year of the Emperor Temmu's reign) (Intercalary VII, 15). "In fulfilment of a vow of the Empress-consort a *great feast of vegetable fare* was given, and the *sūtras* were expounded in all the temples of the capital". [5] VII 15 was the

[1] *Nihongi*, Ch. XXV, p. 429; Aston II, p. 203.
[2] *Nihongi*, Ch. XXV, p. 452; Aston II, p. 240.
[3] *Nihongi*, Ch. XXV, p. 453; Aston II, p. 242.
[4] *Nihongi*, Ch. XXIX, p. 513; Aston II, p. 337.
[5] *Nihongi*, Ch. XXIX, p. 523; Aston II, p. 352.

date of the Avalambana festival; probably it was held this year in the intercalary seventh month.

A.D. 684 (13th year of the Emperor Temmu's reign) (IV 16). "A *vegetarian feast* was prepared within the Palace. A pardon was accordingly given to the Toneri who had been guilty of offences". [1]

A.D. 686 (last year of the Emperor Temmu's reign) (VI 19). During the Emperor Temmu's illness (he died in the same year, IX 9) many Buddhist rites were performed in order to cause his recovery. "Public functionaries were sent to the Temple of Kawara to light lanterns and offer them up (to the Buddha or the Triratna) (燃燈供養, *nentō kuyō*). So there was a ceremony of repentance for sin, consisting of a great vegetarian (purificatory) feast (仍大齋之悔過也, *daisai no kekwa*). The next month (VII 28) "seventy persons of pure conduct were selected to retire from the world. A feast of vegetable food was provided in the Palace in front of the Emperor's *muro* residence (御窟院, *Mi-muro-in*)". [2]

§ 6. *The Empress Jitō's reign (A.D. 687—697).*

In A.D. 690 (fourth year of the Empress Jitō's reign, II 19) "A feast of vegetarian food was given within the inner precinct (of the Palace)". [3]

We learn from the above passages that in the seventh century vegetarian entertainments were given to the priests and nuns at the dedication of images; from A.D. 606 on Buddha's birthday (IV 8) and at the Avalambana festival of the dead (VII 15); at the reading and expounding of special *sūtras*

[1] *Nihongi*, Ch. XXIX, p. 533; Aston II, p. 364.

[2] *Nihongi*, Ch. XXIX, p. 542; Aston II, pp. 377, 379. With regard to the difference of our translation of the former passage from that of Mr. Aston cf. below, Ch. VII, § 2.

[3] *Nihongi*, Ch. XXX, p. 554; Aston II, p. 397.

(A.D. 640) or of the whole canon (A.D. 677); on the last day of the year (A.D. 651); in fulfilment of vows (A.D. 681); and to cause the Emperor's recovery from a severe illness (A.D. 686). In the last case it was accompanied by offerings of lanterns (also in A.D. 652) and food and by rites of repentance (*kekwa*). Sometimes such feasts of vegetable fare were given in the Palace only to worship the Triratna, without any special reason (A.D. 684, 690) beyond the wish to perform a virtuous action for the benefit of the Emperor and the country.

§ 7. *Maigre entertainments in the eighth century.*

In A.D. 702 (XII 22) the Empress Jitō died; three days later her grandson Mommu Tennō on behalf of her soul gave vegetarian entertainments in the Four Great Temples of Nara, *Yakushiji* and *Kōfukuji* (*Hossō*), *Gwangōji* and *Daianji* (*Sanron*).[1] This was repeated on I 5 of A.D. 703, the second seventh day after her death; and on the 7×7^{th} day (II 11) messengers were sent to those four temples, to *Shitennōji*, *Yamada-dera* and to many other Buddhist sanctuaries, 33 in all, in order to arrange maigre entertainments.[2]

In the same way after Mommu Tennō's death (A.D. 707, VI 15) the Empress Gemmei, his mother, on each of the seven seventh days, specially devoted to the services for his soul, gave *sai* in the Four Great Temples of Nara.[3]

In A.D. 715 (VI 13), shortly before her abdication in favour of her daughter Genshō Tennō, she tried to avert the prevailing drought and to cause rain by vegetarian entertainments in *Gufukuji* (弘福寺, the former *Kawara-dera*, from A.D. 818 a *Shingon* shrine) and *Hōryūji* (*Hossō*). At the same time she sent *gohei* to the Shintō shrines, in order to pray for rain to the gods

[1] *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. II, p. 25.
[2] *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. III, pp. 26 sq.
[3] *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. III, p. 46.

of famous mountains and great rivers. After a few days a seasonable rain came down, much to the admiration of the people, who ascribed this blessing to the holy virtue of the Empress. She rewarded the officials by giving them higher salaries according to their ranks. [1]

In A.D. 722 (XI 19) the Empress Genshō issued an ordinance about the copying of the *Kegonkyō* (80 *kwan*), *Daishūkyō* (60 *kwan*), *Nehangyō* (40 *kwan*), *Daibosatsuzōkyō* (20 *kwan*) and *Kwanzeongyō* (200 *kwan*) [2] and the making of 8 baptismal flags, a thousand altar flags, 36 lacquer tables, covered with ivory, 168 copper bowls, and 82 boxes of willow wood. All these offerings were made on behalf of her mother's soul, because the latter had died a year before (A.D. 721, XII 7). On the anniversary of her death from all the Buddhist temples of the Capital and the Home provinces monks and nuns were invited, 2638 persons in all, and entertained with meagre fare. [3]

In A.D. 735 (Tempyō 7, X 5) Prince Nittabe, one of Temmu Tennō's sons, had died (IX 30). The Emperor Shōmu by Imperial Ordinance fixed the constant rule that if an Imperial Prince died, a hundred priests had to be entertained on the seven seventh days after his death (七七齋, *shichi-shichi-sai*). [4]

In A.D. 751 (Tempyō Shōhō 3, X 23) the Empress Kōken, who in A.D. 749 (VII 2) had succeeded her father Shōmu after the latter's abdication, requested 49 (7×7) sage Buddhist priests to perform for seven days a "life-continuing service" (續命之法) in *Shin-Yakushiji* (*Hossō*), accompanied by vegetarian meals, in order to restore the health of her father who was indisposed, and to lengthen his life. At the same time she gave a partial great amnesty to the Empire. [5]

In A.D. 752 (Tempyō Shōhō 4, IV 9), when the *Daibutsu* of

[1] *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. VI, p. 92.
[2] Cf. below, Book II, Ch. XV, § 1.
[3] *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. IX, p. 141.
[4] *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. XII, p. 200.
[5] *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. XVIII, p. 298.

Nara, *Locana*'s large image, had been completed, the ceremony of "opening its eyes" (*kaigen*) took place in *Tōdaiji* in the presence of the Empress and all the civil and military officials. This was a great festival with music and dances and with a *sessai dai-e* (設齋大會) of ten thousand priests, the largest entertainment of this kind ever given. [1]

In A.D. 756 (Tempyō Shōhō 8, V 2) the Dajō Tennō Shōmu died. *Sūtra* reading took place in the Seven Great Temples of Nara, i. e. *Tōdaiji* (*Kegon*), *Daianji* (*Sanron*), *Kōfukuji* (*Hossō*), *Gwangōji* (*Sanron*), *Yakushiji* (*Hossō*), *Hōryūji* (*Hossō*) and *Shin Yakushiji* (*Hossō*) (afterwards *Saidaiji*, founded in A.D. 765, was substituted for *Shin-Yakushiji*) on the two first seventh days, and in all the Buddhist temples of the capital on the third seventh day. It is not mentioned what took place on the fourth seventh day, but on the fifth more than a thousand priests and *śrāmaṇeras* (*shami*) were entertained in *Daianji*, on the sixth *sessai* took place in *Yakushiji*, and on the seventh more than 1100 priests and *śrāmaṇeras* had a vegetarian meal in *Kōfukuji*. Further, the Empress Kōken stated by Ordinance that the *kokki gosai* (國忌御齋) or "Imperial Vegetarian Meal of National Mourning" (on the anniversary of Shōmu Tennō's death, V 2 of the next year) should be given in *Tōdaiji* and that it ought to take place in the *Daibutsuden*, the corridor of which had to be built without delay at the expense of the provinces of the six departments (*dō*). Actually more than 1500 monks were entertained on that day in *Tōdaiji*. [2]

In the same year (A.D. 757, VII 24) *sessai* was performed in the Palace, and the *Ninnōkyō* was expounded. [3] In an ordinance of VIII 18 the Empress spoke about V 8 as the last day of the *sessai* and *kekwa* for the *Dajō Tennō*'s *shūki* (周忌, lit. "complete abstinence"); this indicates its having lasted seven days, V 2–8.

[1] *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. XVIII, p. 299.
[2] *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. XIX, pp. 314 sqq.; Ch. XX, p. 322.
[3] Ibid., Ch. XX, p. 334.

Similarly in A.D. 760 (Tempyō hōji 4, VII 26), on the 49th day after the death of the Empress-Dowager, Kwōmyōko, Shōmu's consort and Kōken's mother, *sessai* took place in *Tōdaiji* and in all the small temples of the capital. Moreover, in all provinces of the Empire a picture of the *Amida-jōdo* (Amitābha's Paradise, *Sukhāvatī*) was made and the monks and nuns of each province had to copy the *Shōsan-jōdo-kyō* (Hüen-tsang's translation, made in A.D. 650, of the *Sukhāvatī-vyūha,* Nanjō No. 199). These pictures and *sūtras* had to be respectfully offered up in the *Kokubun konkwōmyōji*, the Provincial State Monastery of every province. [1] The next year (A.D. 761, VI 7) her *shūki no sai* was held in the *Amida-jōdo-in*, situated in the S.W. angle of the compound of the nunnery *Hokkeji* (the *sōkokubun-niji* or "General Provincial State nunnery"), and specially erected for this purpose. On this occasion all provinces had an image of Amida made, sixteen feet high, and images of his two attendant Bodhisattvas Kwannon and Seishi, to be placed in the *Kokubun-niji* or Provincial Nunnery of every province. The next day the Emperor Junnin ordered a yearly expounding of the *Bommōkyō* (梵網經) (*Brahmajāla-sūtra*, Nanjō No. 1087, cf. below, Ch. XV, § 1) in *Yamashina-dera* (*Kōfukuji*) (*Hossō*) in Nara, on the anniversary of the death of the Empress Dowager, and for the expenses of this yearly ceremony he presented to that temple 30 *chō* (町) of rice-land to the South of the Capital. Further he gave ten *chō* of rice-land to *Hokkeji* and fixed the rule, that yearly for seven days, beginning with the anniversary of her death, worship should there be paid to Amida Butsu by ten priests, invited for this purpose to the nunnery. [2]

In A.D. 767 (Jingo keiun 1, VIII 8) the Empress Shōtoku (identical with Kōken) invited 600 priests to a vegetarian dinner in the *Shinden* of the "Western Palace", because a lucky omen (the felicitous or holy cloud after which the new era was called)

[1] Ibid., Ch. XXIII, p. 384.
[2] Ibid., Ch. XXIII, p. 391.

had appeared in Mikawa province, much to the delight of priests and laymen. [1]

In A.D. 771 (Hōki 2, V 29) the Emperor Kōnin (Shirakabe no Ōji), who two years before, on ascending the throne, had bestowed the title of *Tawara Tennō* or *Kasuga no Miya no Tennō* upon his deceased father Shiki no Ōji (旗基皇子) († A.D. 716), Tenchi Tennō's fourth son, who had had a very influential position under the reigns of Jitō and Mommu Tennō, instituted the *kisai* or "mourning entertainment" of the anniversary of his father's death (VIII 9).

On VIII 4 the *kisai* of Takano Tennō (i. e. the Empress Shōtoku, who had died A.D. 770, VIII 4) took place in *Saidaiji* (originally a *Hossō*, afterwards a *Kairitsu* sanctuary, erected in A.D. 765 by the Hossō priest Jōtō, 常騰). [2]

In A.D. 773 (Hōki 4, VIII 4), on the third anniversary of her death, at the *shūki gosai-e* (周忌御齋會) divers offerings were made by the Emperor Kōnin to 269 nuns and girls, and to 1049 men of all kinds. [3] Towards the end of the same year (XII 25) he issued on ordinance stating that the increase of "fields of felicity" (*fukuden*, 福田, *puṇyakṣetra*) depended on the vast salvation brought by Śākyamuni's doctrine, and that the glory of the dynasty was due to the divine power of great compassion. Therefore according to the *Yakushikyō* he invited sage priests in order to entertain them with meagre fare and cause them to perform circumambulations (around Yakushi's image) (*sessai gyōdō*). [4]

The Emperor Kwammu, Kōnin Tennō's son (A.D. 781, IV 1 — his death, 806, III 17) in A.D. 781 (Ten-ō 1, XII 29), a week after his father's death, ordered that on the first seventh day *sūtras* should be read in the Seven Great Temples, and on the

[1] Ibid., Ch. XXVIII, p. 478.
[2] Ibid., Ch. XXXI, pp. 546, 548.
[3] Ibid., Ch. XXXII, p. 571.
[4] Ibid., Ch. XXXII, p. 572.

six further seventh days in all temples of the capital. Moreover, on the 49th day in all provinces the monks and nuns of the *kokubun-niji*[1] (the provincincial monasteries and nunneries) had to be entertained (*sai wo mōkete*) for the benefit of the deceased Emperor's soul (*tsuifuku*, 追福). The next year (A.D. 782, XII 23) his *shūki no mi* (or *go*) *sai* was celebrated with *sūtra* reading in all the *kokubun niji* (the *Saishōōkyō* and the *Hokkekyō* being the main *sūtras* of these provincial monasteries and nunneries).[2] Similar services were held in all provinces when the Empress Dowager, his mother, died in A.D. 789, XII 28; her *shūki no gosaie* took place in *Daianji* (*Sanron*).[3] In A.D. 791 (V 28 and VI 3) a large number of persons of divers standing, who had made offerings for the celebration of *shūki no saie* of the Empress Dowager and the Empress (who had died the year before, Interc. III 10, but whose post-mortem services are not mentioned in the annals; evidently those celebrated for the souls of the parents of the reigning Emperor were considered to be more important) were rewarded with divers ranks of nobility: those belonging to the superior sixth and higher Court ranks gave them to their sons; others obtained various emoluments.[4]

In A.D. 804 (Enryaku 23, V 17) the Emperor Kwammu speaks about the *Shōgwatsu sai-e*, "The Vegetarian Festival of the First Month". This was the *Gosaie* or *Misaie*, also called *Saishō-e* or *Konkwōmyō-e*, celebrated in the *Daigokuden* of the Palace, I 8—14 (A.D. 802—1467), the great Palace festival for protection of the State, to be dealt with below (Ch. XVI, § 6, § 8). Although it was specially devoted to the *Saishōōkyō* (I-tsing's translation of the *Suvarṇa-prabhāsa sūtra*, Nanjō No. 126), its name *Gosaie*

[1] *Kokubun-niji*, 二寺, the two kinds of provincial sanctuaries, established in A. D. 741, namely the *kokubunji* and the *kokubun-niji* (尼寺, nunneries).

[2] *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. XXXVI, p. 671; Ch. XXXVII, p. 682.

[3] Ibid., Ch. XL, pp. 756, 768.

[4] Ibid., Ch. XL, p. 774.

indicates its character of vegetarian entertainment of the officiating priests in the Imperial Palace. [1]

In A.D. 806 (Enryaku 25, II 23), when Kwammu Tennō was very ill and all measures were taken to save his life, not only a picture of *Yakushi Nyorai* and the *Hokkekyō* were copied, but also 31 priests were invited to a maigre entertainment in the *Zenden* of the Palace; the officials made offerings for this ceremony. [2] A month later (III 17) the Emperor died, 70 years of age, and the *shoshichisai* (初七齋) or "First seventh day's vegetarian entertainment" took place in all the Buddhist temples of the capital. On IV 7 he was buried in the Kashiwabara Mausoleum in Kii district, Yamashiro province, where his third *shichisai* was held the next day. The fourth of these ceremonies was performed in the Sanron shrine *Sufukuji* (崇福寺), i. e. the Maitreya Buddha sanctuary *Shiga-dera* in Shiga district, Omi province, one of the Twelve Great Temples honoured by Kōnin Tennō in A.D. 771 (Hōki 2, VIII 26); [3] the fifth in *Daianji* (*Sanron*) and *Akishino-dera* (秋篠寺), a *Hossō* (later *Shingon*) shrine, dedicated to Yakushi Nyorai, at the village of that name in Yamato province, founded in A.D. 780 by the *Hossō* priest Zenshu (善珠) (A.D. 723—797). [4] The sixth of the seven *sai* took place in *Sufukuji*, and the seventh in the *Shinden* (寢殿) of the Palace. [5] On VII 1 a superintendent was appointed for the *Shūki-misaie* of the next year (III 17).

On examining the above passages we see that in the eighth century by far the majority of public maigre entertainments of

[1] *Nihon kōki*, Ch. XII, p. 36.

[2] *Nihon kōki*, Ch. XIII, p. 61.

[3] *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. XXXI, p. 548; *Genkō Shakusho*, Ch. XXIII, p. 1031. As the Sanron priest Gyōhyō (行表, A. D. 722—797) was jishu of Sufukuji, it must have belonged to this sect, cf. Washio p. 211, 2.

[4] Washio, p. 709, 1, s. v. *Zenshu*; *Daijiten* p. 11, 2, s. v. *Akishino-dera*; Yoshida Tōgō, I, p. 213, 2, s. v. *Akishinu-dera*; *Daijii*, I, p. 11, 3, s. v. *Akishino-dera*.

[5] *Nihon kōki*, Ch. XIII, pp. 62—68.

monks and nuns were given on behalf of the souls of deceased Emperors or Empresses or other members of the Imperial House, not only on the seven seventh days following their death but also on the anniversaries of their decease, especially on the first. They took place in the great temples of Nara, belonging to the *Sanron*, *Hossō* and *Kegon* sects, and sometimes also in other shrines, and in the Palace; in A.D. 757 the *shūki sessai* in the Palace lasted seven days. The Emperor Kwammu began to extend them to the provincial state monasteries and nunneries (A.D. 781, 782, 789); persons of various standing could make offerings for the celebration of the *shūki no saie* and were rewarded with ranks or salaries.

Other causes why such vegetarian meals were arranged were drought (A.D. 715), illness of the Emperor or of the retired monarch (A.D. 751, 806), a great dedicatory ceremony like the opening of the eyes of the Great Buddha Locana of *Tōdaiji* (A.D. 752, 10000 priests), and a lucky omen (A.D. 767). More important than all these ceremonies, however, was the *Gosaie* or *Misaie* of the first month (I 8—14), celebrated in the *Daigokuden* of the Palace from A.D. 802 to 1467 as a New-year's festival for the protection of the State.

§ 8. *Maigre entertainments in the ninth century.*

In A.D. 806 (Daidō 1, VI 11), after Kwammu Tennō's death, a curious petition to the Throne was made by the *Risshi* ("Vinaya Master") Eichū (永忠) (A.D. 714—788). This priest, whose sect is not known, had stayed in China for 30 years and returned to Japan towards the end of Kwammu Tennō's reign. As this Emperor had appointed him abbot of the *Hossō* temple *Bonshakuji* (梵釋寺) in Ōmi province, Shiga district, founded in Enryaku 5 (A.D. 786) in consequence of the Emperor's vow, he probably belonged to the *Hossō* sect. [1]

[1] Washio, p. 66, 1, s. v. *Eichū*; Yoshida Tōgō, I, p. 482, 2, s. v. *Bonshakuji*.

This priest addressed the new Emperor Heijō (A.D. 806—810) with the following petition. He had seen, he said, that the food for the public and private sai-e, prepared beforehand, was sometimes spoiled by excessive heat, sometimes frozen by severe cold. From far and near people came in haste to spend their substance most lavishly (as offerings to the clergy), but the drink and food were coarse and bad and unpalatable. The original intention of these *sai-e* was to invite felicity, but in this way on the contrary they evoked blame and disgust. Now he humbly requested that henceforth, wholly based upon the original intent, the distribution of food might take place in an equal way, with equanimity (*byōdō*, *upekṣā*) of the donors and moderation of the recipients. Further, the original meaning of the Buddhist Law was that on the days of the vegetarian entertainments the belief (in their blessing power) had to be deep and sincere, and that there necessarily ought to be abundance of drink and food instead of an insufficient quantity. He also requested the Emperor to proclaim this to the Empire and made it known to the people. His request was granted. [1]

This interesting passage shows that there were also private *sai-e*, and that large offerings were made to the priests and nuns at both public and private *sai-e*, but that the money spent by the donors was often wrongly used by giving bad drink and food to those entertained. Probably the public *sai-e*, mentioned in this petition, were those of the provincial state monasteries and nunneries, the *kokubun-niji*.

In the first half of the ninth century we rarely meet the word *sai-e* in the Annals; as to the *Gosaie* of the *Daigokuden* in the Palace (I 8—14), in those days this festival was called *Saishōōkyōkō*, "Expounding of the *Saishōōkyō*", e. g. in A.D. 813 (Kōnin 4), when eleven priests of great learning held a discussion (*rongi*, the so-called *Uchi-rongi*, 内論義) at the end of the festival

[1] *Nihon kōki*, Ch. XIV, p. 74.

(I 14) and were presented with priestly robes.[1] In A.D. 834 (Shōwa 1) (according to the *Genkō Shakusho*, but the *Shoku Nihon kōki* does not mention this Ordinance) the Emperor Nimmyō established the rule concerning the *kōshi* of the *sanne*, the leaders of the "Three Meetings", the *Gosaie* in the Palace (I 8—14), the *Saishōe* in *Yakushiji* (III 7—13), and the *Yuima-e* in *Kōfukuji* (X 10—16). Henceforth these three functions opened the way to the official sacerdotal ranks; only the *ikō*, 已講, "those who had expounded", i.e. who had performed these three important tasks, could become high-priests.[2]

In A.D. 860 (Jōkwan 2, IV 29) the Emperor Seiwa held a *sai-e* and had the *Ninnōkyō* expounded; it was a meeting of a hundred seats and with a votive text. The next month (V 11) the Emperor and Empress distributed an enormous quantity of food and new coins to the monks and nuns, in order to assist Junna Tennō's Consort Masako, who for five days (V 7—11) gave a *sai-e* with expounding of the *Hokkekyō*. On this occasion the famous *Tendai* priest Ennin (Jikaku Daishi, 圓仁, 慈覺大師, 794—864), *zasu* of *Enryakuji* on *Hieizan*, gave her, in the presence of celebrated priests of all temples, the *Bosatsukai* (Bodhisattva commandments) and the Buddhist name of Ryōso.[3] This ceremony took place in *Junna-in* (淳和院, also called *Sai-in*, 西院, Junna Tennō's detached palace, where she lived for 48 years and which was made a Buddhist temple by her when she died in A.D. 879, III 23).[4]

In A.D. 874 (Jōkwan 16, III 23) the Emperor Seiwa held a *daisaie* or "Great Vegetarian Meeting" in *Jōkwanji* (貞觀寺), i.e. the Western building of *Kajōji* (嘉祥寺), in Kii district, Yamashiro province, in order to celebrate the completion of the new place of worship (*dōjō*, altar). This was a great

[1] *Nihon kōki*, Ch. XX, p. 144; *Genkō Shakusho*, Ch. XXIII, p. 1043, where the terms *Gosaie* and *Uchirongi* are used. Cf. below, Ch. XI, § 8.

[2] *Genkō Shakusho*, Ch. XXIII, p. 1047.

[3] *Sandai jitsuroku*, Ch. IV, pp. 58 sq.; Ch. XXXV, p. 514.

[4] *Kokushi daijiten*, p. 1430, 1, s. v. *Junna-in*.

Shingon festival, with the *Risshi* Dōshō (道昌) (A.D. 798—875), who belonged to that sect,[1] as its leader (*dōshi*, 導師), and the *Daisōzu* Etatsu (慧達, a *Hossō* priest of *Yakushiji*, who lived A.D. 786—878)[2] as the reader of the votive text (*jugwan*, 咒願). A hundred eminent priests of all sects were invited, and it was a pompous festival with beautiful Chinese music, made by the musicians of the Department of Music (*Gagakuryō*, *Utamai no tsukasa*, 雅樂寮), of *Daianji* and *Kōfukuji*. Dances were performed by forty young princes, who had studied them beforehand, and the temple was beautifully adorned with flags and canopies. All the Imperial Princes, Court nobles and officials were present, and a big crowd of spectators, male and female, had flocked together from the capital and the Home provinces. After the ceremony the *dōshi* and each of the hundred priests obtained one *dosha* (度者), i.e. a novice, as Imperial gift. The votive text mentioned the great *Shingon* priest Shinga (眞雅) (Kōbō Daishi's younger brother and pupil, who lived A.D. 801—879),[3] who was a great favourite of Seiwa Tennō, and to whose powerful influence this glorification of the *Shingon* doctrine was due.[4]

In A.D. 878 (Genkei 2, IX 25) the same Emperor, now Dajō Tennō because in A.D. 876 (XI 29) he had abdicated in favour of his son (a child of 10 years!), invited 50 high-priests of great learning to *Seiwa-in*. This was Montoku Tennō's votive temple *Busshin-in*, in Kyōto, which in A.D. 876, when Seiwa became a monk in this sanctuary and then retired to *Engakuji* (a villa made into a temple), had obtained its new name. Being a devout adherent of the *Shingon* sect, he had made this shrine, dedicated to *Kwannon* and *Jizō*, a temple of this sect.[5] The aim of the great *sai-e* of

[1] Washio, p. 878, 1, s. v. *Dōshō*.
[2] Washio, p. 50, 1, s. v. *Etatsu*.
[3] Washio, p. 454, 1, s. v. *Shinga*.
[4] *Sandai jitsuroku*, Ch. XXV, p. 387.
[5] *Kokushi daijiten*, p. 1525, 2, s. v. *Seiwa-in*.

A.D. 878 was to celebrate his mother Aki-ko's 50th birthday, and to pray for long life for her. The meeting was attended by all the Imperial Princes, Court nobles, and civil and military officials. It lasted three days, and the *Hokkekyō* was the text expounded. [1] This was also the case at the *daisaie* of the next year (A.D. 879, III 24—28), held in *Seiwa-in* during five days for the soul of Masako, Junna Tennō's Consort, who had died the day before in *Junna-in.* [2]

The rising influence of the Lotus *sūtra,* especially at services for the dead, was also seen at the *Shūki-gosaie,* given in A.D. 881 (Genkei 5, XI 26) by the Empress Dowager Fujiwara no Takako on behalf of the soul of her deceased Consort, the former Dajō Tennō Seiwa, when high-priests of all the great temples were invited, and the *Hokkekyō* was expounded for five days in the Sumedono palace in Kyōto. The whole Court assembled and gave alms to the poor, called together to the banks of the Kamo river. On the actual anniversary of Seiwa Tennō's death (XII 4) his mother Aki-ko (Seiwa-In) held a *Shūki-gosaie* in the Kwannon shrine *Engakuji* (圓覺寺), where he had lived in retirement, and offered up the *Issaikyō,* the whole Canon, copied by him during his reign. [3] Two years later (A.D. 883, XII 4) she again gave a vegetarian entertainment in the same temple, in the presence of the Princes and Court nobles, for Seiwa Tennō's soul on the third anniversary of his death. [4]

The Lotus *sūtra,* copied by the donor herself, was the offering made at the *Daisaie* given by the virtuous Fujiwara Princess Tamiko, concubine of Seiwa Tennō, who had become a nun on the day of his entering the religious order (A.D. 876). She arranged this great festival on behalf of his soul in requital of his unequalled favour and blessing virtue. The same day she received the *Dai-*

[1] *Sandai jitsuroku,* Ch. XXXIV, p. 500.
[2] *Sandai jitsuroku,* Ch. XXXV, pp. 513 sq.
[3] Ibid., Ch. XL, p. 573.
[4] Ibid., Ch. XLIV, p. 613.

jōkai or *Mahāyāna* commandments and died, which caused a great emotion among those who attended the ceremony (A.D. 886, Ninna 2, X 29).[1]

It is evident that Seiwa Tennō gave new life to the custom of entertaining the monks and nuns on a large scale, and that he used those elaborate festivals not only as mortuary services for the dead, but also to celebrate happy events, such as the erection of a new sanctuary or the fiftieth birthday of his mother. After his death his mother, consort and concubine (Fujiwara no Aki-ko, Taka-ko and Tami-ko) performed these great ceremonies on behalf of his soul. In later times the term *sai-e* is seldom found in the Annals, except in the name of the *Gosaie*, the highly important Palace festival of the second week of the year (I 8—14), annually performed from the ninth to the fifteenth century.

[1] Ibid., Ch. XLIX, p. 700.

CHAPTER III.

THE FESTIVAL OF BUDDHA'S BIRTH (IV 8).

§ 1. *Its names and date.*

We saw above (Ch. II, §§ 2 and 4, pp. 28 sq.) that in A.D. 606 (IV 8) the Empress Suiko ordered that beginning with that year a vegetarian festival should be held in all the temples on the 8th day of the 4th month, [1] and that the ceremonial caps, instituted in A.D. 647 (XII 30) by the Emperor Kōtoku, were worn by the officials also at that festival. [2] This is the *Kwambutsu-e*, 灌佛會, "Meeting of Buddha's Baptism", also called *Busshō-e*, 佛生會, "Meeting of Buddha's Birth", or *Tanjō-e*, 誕生會, "Meeting of the Birth", or *Gōtan-e*, 降誕會, "Meeting of the Birth", always celebrated on the 8th day of the 4th month. *Tanjō-Butsu*, 誕生佛, the "New-born Buddha", is a small wooden image, about four *sun* (inches) high, pointing with the right hand to Heaven and with the left hand to Earth. According to some of the holy texts he took seven steps, raised his right hand, and with a lion's howl he spoke: "I am the most venerable and excelling one among all devas and men". [3] Other texts, however,

[1] *Nihongi*, Ch. XXII, pp. 380 sq.; Aston II, p. 134.

[2] *Nihongi*, Ch. XXV, p. 446; Aston II, p. 230.

[3] *Kwako genzai ingwa kyō*, 過去現在因果經, "*Sūtra* on the cause and effect of the past and present", translated in 435—453 by Guṇabhadra (4 fasc.) (Nanjō No. 666, a later and fuller translation of Nos. 664, 665), large Jap. ed. of Leiden, fasc. I, p. 16; *Butsu hongyō shūkyō*, 佛本行集經, "*Sūtra* containing a collection of original actions of the Buddha", translated in A. D. 587 by Jñānagupta (Nanjō No. 680, 60 fasc., 60 ch.; fasc.

relate that he pointed to Heaven and Earth and said: "In Heaven and on Earth I alone am the Venerable One"; [1] according to these words *Tanjō Shaka* is represented in the *Butsuzō zuï* [2] and in the temples of the present day. The celebration of the Buddha's birth on the 8th day of the fourth month, the so-called *Busshō-nichi*, 佛生日, or "Day of the Buddha's birth", is based on ancient Indian texts.

The *Lalitavistara* (Nanjō Nos. 159 sq., translated in A.D. 308 by Dharmaraksha I, and in A.D. 683 by Divākara) relates how two Nāga-kings, Nanda and Upananda, standing in the air, produced two streams of water cold and warm and therewith bathed the Bodhisattva. Hüen-tsang, referred to by Prof. Vogel in his very interesting work entitled "*Indian Serpent-lore*", gives the same legend in a duplicated form: the two dragons (Nāgas), "fixed in the air, poured down, the one a cold and the other a warm water stream from his mouth, to wash the prince" and "two springs gurgled forth from the earth just before the queen, the one cold, the other warm, using which they (the attendants) bathed him". Prof. Vogel points out, that both these forms of the legend, which also occur in the *Mahāvastu*, are represented in Buddhist art. With regard to China he mentions one of the silk banners recovered by Sir Aurel Stein from the "Cave of the

VIII, Ch. VI, 2, his birth under the tree), p. 13; *Shaka-fu* (*Shih-kia pu*, 釋迦譜), "A record or history of the Sākya (family)", compiled about A.D. 500 by Sang-yiu, 僧祐 (Nanjō No. 1468, 10 fasc., 34 ch.), fasc. I, p. 23*b*. Cf. *Daijiten*, p. 1120, 1, s.v. *Tanjō-Butsu*.

[1] *Shugyō hongi kyō*, 修行本起經, "*Sūtra* on the origin of practice (of the Bodhisattva)", translated A.D. 197 (Nanjō No. 664, 2 fasc., 7 ch.), fasc. I, ch. 2, p. 10*b*; *Taishi zui-ō hongi kyō*, 太子瑞應本起經, "*Sūtra* on the origin of the auspicious answer (i.e. his compliance with the request of the gods) of the Crown-prince", translated in A.D. 232—253 by Chi K'ien, 支謙, a foreign *upāsaka* (Nanjō No. 665, a later translation of No. 664; 2 fasc., no chapters), fasc. I, p. 4*a*. Cf. also Nanjō No. 545 *(Dīrghāgama-sūtra)*.

[2] *Butsuzō zuï*, II, p. 1*b*.

thousand Buddhas" at Tun-Hwang, on which the heads of the "nine dragons of the air" gaze down on the newly born Bodhisattva with open mouths. [1]

On the *Barabuḍur* the Nāgas are not represented, but water streams and flowers descend upon the standing infant from a cloud. The Bodhisattva is also making the seven steps, and seven lotus flowers arise from the earth, on two of which he has placed his feet. According to the Lalitavistara he had first been standing upon a large lotus flower, which arose from the earth immediately after his birth. From there he looked to the four quarters, took seven steps to the East and said: "I shall be the first of all dharma's, which are the roots of Salvation". Then he took seven steps to the South, West and North, and whereever he placed his feet lotus flowers arose. [2]

In Tibet the new-born Bodhisattva is represented in the same way as in China and Japan. With regard to such a statue Mr. Hackin remarks: "Le dragon qui orne le tablier rappelle la scène du bain et des sept pas, tandis que les bras, dirigés vers les régions supérieures et inférieures, indiquent que le Bodhisattva est le maître des dieux et qu'il vaincra le démon et l'armée du démon". [3]

§ 2. *The Mahāsattva-sūtra.*

The *Mahāsattva-sūtra* (摩訶刹頭經, *Makasetsuzu-kyō*), translated A.D. 388—407 by the Chinese priest Shing-kien, 聖堅,

[1] J. Ph. Vogel, *Indian Serpent-lore* (London, 1926), pp. 95 sq., Plate VI. The "nine dragons of the air" are represented in a modern Chinese *Life of Buddha,* pouring down water upon him from the clouds. He is standing on the lotus, pointing to Heaven and Earth (*Shaka Nyorai ōge jiseki* (1869), Vol. I, 1, 10).

[2] N. J. Krom, *De levensgeschiedenis van den Buddha op Barabuḍur* (the Hague, 1926), pp. 34 sq.

[3] J. Hackin, *Guide-Catalogue du Musée Guimet, Les Collections Bouddhiques* (Inde Centrale et Gandhāra, Turkestan, Chine septentrionale, Tibet) (1923), p. 89.

App. II no. 63, who also translated Nanjō no. 292, 佛說灌洗佛經, "*Sūtra* spoken by Buddha on sprinkling (water on) and washing (the images of) Buddha" (cf. Nos. 291, 293, 294), states that the Buddha was born on the eighth day of the fourth month, and that he made seven steps and, raising his right hand, said: "I shall become the Master on behalf of mankind, in Heaven and on Earth". [1] Heaven and Earth shook; Indra and the Four Deva Kings descended, washed the Crown-prince's body with incense-water and sprinkled flowers over him. "All Buddhas of the ten quarters are born at midnight of the 8th day of the 4th month, because at that time, between spring and summer, all evil is ended, everything has fully matured, poisonous vapours are not yet spreading, there is neither cold not heat, and the atmosphere is harmonious and agreeable". So spoke the Tathāgata after having reached Buddhahood. "As this day is his birthday, all people of the whole earth must think on the Buddha's blessing power, and wash his images as in his life-time". [2]

§ 3. *The Sūtra on the meritorious action of bathing the (Buddha's) image (Nanjō No. 294).*

In Nanjō No. 294 (浴像功德經, *Yokuzō kudoku kyō*, "*Sūtra* on the meritorious action of bathing the (Buddha's) image",

[1] Cf. *Butsuzō zuï*, 佛像圖彙, published in A. D. 1690, with pictures of Tosa Hidenobu, 土佐秀信, and text of the *Jōdo* priest Gizan, 義山 (1648—1717), II, p. 1 *b*, quoting the *Fah-yuen chu-lin*, 法苑珠林, Nanjō No. 1482, compiled by Tao-shi, 道世, A.D. 668.

[2] Quoted in the *Daijii*, I, p. 970, 1. Cf. also the *Daijiten*, pp. 350 sq., s. v. *kwambutsu*; fig. 27. The *Mahāsattva sūtra* is not found in Nanjō's *Catalogue*, but Fujii mentions it as a translation by Shing-kien, on p. 268 of his *Catalogue of all Buddhist books contained in the Piṭaka Collection in Japan and China*, Kyōto 1898. Cf. also *Daijiten*, p. 1648, 1, s. v. *Makasetsuzukyō*.

translated A.D. 710 by the pilgrim I-tsing (義淨, App. II 149), the same text as No. 293 (佛說浴像功德經, translated A.D. 705 by Ratnacinta, 寶思惟, App. II 148) the Buddha explains the way of washing his images, on behalf of the kings, princes, ministers, queens and royal concubines, devas and nāgas, men and demons, and calls it the most excelling of all offerings. He prescribes how the incense-water must be made from all kinds of precious incense, rubbed on a pure stone, and how the altar, square or round, large or small according to the circumstances, must be erected on a pure spot. After having washed the image on the altar, the worshipper with two fingers must drip the water with which it has been washed, called *Kichijō-sui*, 吉祥水, "Water of Felicity", on the top of his own head, and then he must shed it on a pure ground, not to be trodden by feet. Thereupon he must wipe the image with a thin and soft towel, burn all kinds of incense around it, and put it on its original place. If virtuous men perform this rite, felicity, health and long life shall be granted to the great mass of men and devas on account of the purity of the Buddha's images.

§ 4. *Accounts of the pilgrims I-tsing and Fah-hien.*

These rites were, however, not limited to the Buddha's birthday, for at the end of the *sūtra* the writer promises great blessings to those who *daily* perform them, and in the fourth chapter of the *Nan-hai ki-kwéi néi-fah-chw'en* (南海寄歸內法傳), I-tsing (義淨)'s work on the *Vinaya* of the priests in India and the South Sea countries (Nanjō No. 1492, A.D. 700—712, he travelled A.D. 671—695), two kinds of bathing rites of images in the monasteries of the Western Countries are described, the first of which took place in the middle or at the end of the month in the presence of all the monks, whereas the second was performed daily in the cells, by every monk separately; these

rites were quite different from those described in Nanjō No. 294. [1] Fah-hien (法顯), however, in his journal entitled *Fah-hien chw'en* (法顯傳, A.D. 414, Nanjō No. 1496; he travelled A.D. 399—414) says that in Pātaliputra, an ancient city in Magadha, (and in all other countries of India) there was yearly on the 8th day of the 4th month a procession of four-wheeled cars of five bamboo layers, with sitting Buddhas and standing attendant Bodhisattvas in shrines on the four sides. Some years previously he had seen a similar procession in *Khotan,* on his way to India. The author of the article on the *Kwambutsu-e* in the *Bukkyō daijii* (I, p. 970, 1), who quotes these passages, arrives at the conclusion that it is not clear whether India had a regular ceremony of Buddha's birth, and that it seems that a procession of images was held instead of the bathing of Buddha.

§ 5. *Celebration of the Buddha's birthday in China.*

The "*Records of the lineage of Buddha and the Patriarchs*" (*Fuh-tsu t'ung-ki,* 佛祖統紀, Nanjō No. 1661), compiled in A.D. 1269—1271 by the *T'ien-t'ai* priest Chi-p'an (志磐) (App. III 68), relate in chapter 38, that in A.D. 497 (T'ai-hwo 21), during the Northern Wei dynasty, the Emperor Hiao-Wen (孝文) (A.D. 471—499) on the eighth day of the fourth month assembled the Buddha images of all the temples of the capital Loh-yang to the Ch'ang-hoh Palace (閶闔宮, the Emperor's palace, called after the Gate of Heaven) and, sprinkling flowers, paid reverence to them (*sange raigyō,* 散華禮敬); *thenceforth he made this a yearly ceremony.* And in the *Books of Wei* it is stated that the Emperor Shi-Tsu T'ai-Wu (世祖太武) (A.D. 424—452) in the beginning of his reign personally ascended the gate tower and looked down upon the Buddha images, when on

[1] Cf. Takakusu, translation of I-tsing's work, Ch. XXXI, Rules of decorum in cleansing the sacred object of worship (pp. 147 sqq.).

the 8th day of the 4th month they went in carriages along the broad streets, and paid reverence to them, bestrewing them with flowers.[1] The author of the *Bukkyō daijii* remarks, that these passages are clear evidence of the fact that *the rite of the procession of images on Buddha's birthday*, seen by Fah-hien in Pātaliputra and Khotan (于闐, *Uten*), had been transmitted from India to China.

In A.D. 462 (Ta Ming 6) the Emperor Hiao-Wu (孝武) of Sung (454—465) in his palace performed the rite of washing the Buddha and gave a vegetarian entertainment to the monks.[2] This was the beginning of the *Kwambutsu-e* in China.

During the Sui dynasty (A.D. 581—618) the priest Hüen-yuen (玄琬), who did his utmost to promote the *Vinaya* in China, yearly on Buddha's birthday assembled the monks, nuns and lay-members of the Buddhist community, male and female, arranged the bathing utensils, fulfilled the ceremony of washing the Buddha, preached and gave a maigre feast, as we learn from his biography, quoted in the same passage of the *Bukkyō daijii* (I, p. 970, 3). There it is also stated that the Sung dynasty (A.D. 960—1279) was the time of the spreading of this rite, and two works are referred to, in the first of which[3] we read that on the Buddha's birthday the *kusu* (庫司, also called *kosu*, 庫子, the administrative assistant-leader of a monastery) prepared the "flower-pavilion" (花亭), in which he placed the image of the new-born

[1] *Weishu*, 魏書, Ch. 114 (釋老志), quoted *Bukkyō daijii*, I, p. 970, 3, s. v. *kwambutsu-e*.

[2] Nanjō No. 1661, *Fuh-tsu t'ung-ki*, 佛祖統紀, Ch. 36.

[3] Nanjō No. 1642, *Ch'ih-siu Poh-chang ts'ing-kwéi*, 勅修百文清規, written A. D. 1336—1338 by Imperial order by the Dhyāna priest Teh-hwui, 德輝 (App. III 89) (cf. *Daijii* III, p. 3926, 3) (8 fasc., 9 ch.); Ch. II, 佛降誕, p. 1 *b*. Cf. *Shih-shi yao-lan*, 釋氏要覽 (3 kwan), written in A. D. 1020—1024 by the priest Tao-ch'ing, 道誠; Ch. I. About this work cf. *Daijii* II, p. 2403, 3.

Buddha. Then he put two small ladles in a basin of hot incense-water (香湯), and arranged several offerings before the Buddha. Thereupon the abbot of the monastery (住持, *jūji*) entered the hall and led the ceremony; incense and flowers, candles, tea, fruits and rare delicacies were offered to the Tathāgata.

About A.D. 1017 the famous *T'ien-t'ai* priest Tsun-shih (遵式, A.D. 963—1032), who had made the West Lake in Cheh-kiang province a "pond for liberating living beings" (cf. below, Ch. VI, B, § 3), assembled the people of that district on the Buddha's birthday and caused them to let loose fishes and birds, at the same time praying for long life for the Emperor. [1]

With regard to the celebration of this festival at the present day we may refer to Prof. de Groot's *Fêtes Annuelles à Emoui*, Vol. I, Ch. II, pp. 307 sqq. [2]

§ 6. *Celebration of the Buddha's birthday in Japan.* A. *From the 7th to the 10th century.*

In Japan the vegetarian festivals on the 8th day of the 4th month and on the 15th day of the 7th month, instituted in A.D. 606 (IV 8) by the Empress Suiko, were, of course, the *Busshō-e* and the *Urabon-e* (佛生會, 盂蘭盆會), the Festivals of the Buddha's birth and of the dead. On the same day "the sixteen-

[1] *Fah-tsu t'ung-ki*, Nanjō No. 1661 (A.D. 1269—1271), Ch. 33; *Daijii*, III, p. 4123, 3, s.v. *hōjōe*; *Daijiten*, p. 1388, 2, s.v. *hōjōchi*. Chi-li (about A.D. 1020) performed the same ceremony at the South Lake, cf. below, Ch. VI § 3 (*hōjōe* in China).

[2] "Dans un grand nombre de couvents bouddhiques du Midi de la province de Fouhkien, on peut assister le 8 du quatrième mois à l'exposition de l'image de Bouddha, que les prêtres placent dans un grand vase d'eau en vue du peuple en avant des images de la Trinité. Qui veut, laïque aussi bien que prêtre, peut là-dessus s'avancer et arroser la tête de Bouddha, avec de l'eau qu'il puise dans le vase au moyen d'une cuillère, aussi souvent qu'il le désire". ... Cette cérémonie s'appelle en Chine 'laver le crâne', 灌頂" (pp. 309 sq.).

foot images of Buddha, viz. that of copper and that of embroidery (made according to the vow of A.D. 605, IV 1), were finished, and the sixteen-foot copper image was enshrined in the Golden Hall of *Gwangōji* (*Hōkōji*, 法興寺, *Asuka-dera*).[1] Also in China it was the custom to choose the Buddha's birthday for the dedication of his images to the sanctuaries.

In the Tempyō era (A.D. 729—749) *Hōryūji* and *Daianji* (*Hossō* and *Sanron* sects) already possessed a *kondei-kwambutsuzō* (金泥灌佛像, a "gold-painted bathing-Buddha-image"), and also *Tōdaiji* (*Kegon* sect) still has a *Tanjō-Butsu* of that time.[2]

In Shōwa 7 (A.D. 840, IV 8) the *Kwambutsu*-e, celebrated in the Palace, took place for the first time, as we learn from the *Mizu kagami.*[3] The *Risshi* Jōan (靜安), a *Hossō* priest living in *Gwangōji*, led this ceremony in the *Seiryōden* (清涼殿).

According to the *Sandai-jitsuroku* in A.D. 859 (Jōgwan 1, IV 8) "the Kwambutsu ceremony took place as usual, on IV 8. The rite was performed by the Emperor Seiwa in the *Naiden* (內殿), an inner apartment of the Palace; and the Imperial Princes, the *kuge* and the Court officials of the sixth rank and higher, all presented donations in money (to the priests). There was difference in the amount (of these donations); the others all imitated this".[4]

The *Engishiki*[5] (A.D. 927) enumerates among the utensils for the *Kwambutsu* ceremony in the Palace a gold-coloured *Shaka* image, a *kondō* basin (*kondō*, 金銅, is an alloy of gold and

[1] *Nihongi*, Ch. XXII, pp. 380 sq.; Aston II, p. 134.

[2] Cf. the lists of treasures of those temples, referred to in the *Daijii*, I, p. 971, 1.

[3] 水鏡, written in the second half of the 12th century; *Kokushi taikei*, Vol. XVII, Ch. III, p. 452; Washio, p. 656, 1, s. v. *Jōan*.

[4] 日本三代實錄, *Nihon Sandai jitsuroku*, written in A. D. 901 by Fujiwara no Tokihira, *Kokushi taikei*, Vol. IV, Ch. II, p. 28.

[5] 延喜式, "Ceremonies of the Engi era (901—923), written in 927 by Fujiwara no Tokihira (時平) and Tadahira (忠平). *Kokushi taikei*, Vol. XIII, Ch. XIII, p. 491.

copper), two mountain-shaped pedestals, decorated with a blue and a red dragon (evidently the Nāga kings Nanda and Upananda, who according to the *Lalitavistara* bathed the Bodhisattva after having produced two streams of water, cold and warm); one *kondō tara* (a flat basin in which the small Buddha image was placed), [1] four black-lacquered tables, ladles, two flower-basins with flowers of the season, a *kondō* brazier, five baskets for sprinkling flowers, one cushion (for the leading priest) etc.

B. *In the 14th century.*

In the Kemmu era (A.D. 1334—1335) the *Kwambutsu-e* was celebrated with much pomp and stateliness in the Imperial Palace. Behind the throne probably two "mountain-shapes" (山形) were erected; in the *Engishiki* we read of "mountain-shaped pedestals". As we shall see below, the *Nihongi* repeatedly mentions models of Mount *Shumi* (the *Sumeru*), constructed e. g. at Asuka-dera, on the river-bank east of Amakashi and near the pond of Iso no Kami. But for the two dragons mentioned in the *Engishiki* the mountain represented at the *Kwambutsu-e* might be the Gold Mountain on which Māyā, Buddha's mother, saw the Bodhisattva approaching her in a dream, and entering her womb in the shape of a white elephant. The Vulture Peak (*Gṛdhrakūṭa*) near *Rājagṛha*, the Lord's favourite mountain, was also often represented. The dragons, however, as well as the waterfalls, made on the mountain(s) by means of silk thread (probably there were two waterfalls) may represent the streams produced by the Nāgakings Nanda and Upananda; the two ladles of the ceremony may point to the same tradition. On the North side tables were placed with five basins of five-coloured water. When the Court nobles had assembled, the gifts of the Court-ladies (*fuse*, 布施, *dāna*)

[1] Cf. *Daijii*, III, p. 3258, 3, s. v. *tara*.

(to the priests) were put in (covers of) clothing-boxes and placed by the *kurōdo* (藏人, officials in charge of important state documents in the Imperial Court) on a high table (*daiban*, 臺盤), and all the other gifts were also placed by them on other tables. Then the *on-dōshi*, 御導師, the Leading Priest, went up to the Buddha image and washed it, after having ladled the water out of the basins and poured it into one of them. Then the Court nobles came forwards successively, and, creeping on their knees with their tablets (笏, *shaku*) in their hands, they took a calabash (*hisago*), dipped it into the water and washed the Buddha. Thereupon they receded a little, worshipped the Buddha, and went away. The leading priest, after having received the gifts, withdrew. This was the principal ceremony; those of other people and palaces of the capital were a little different. [1]

C. *In the Tokugawa time.*

In the Tokugawa time it became the custom to use so-called "sweet tea" (*ama-cha*, 甘茶, a plant) to wash the Buddha, instead of the five kinds of incense-water of ancient times, and so it is still at the present day. A special *gāthā* is recited on this occasion, consisting of four lines of seven characters each. It runs as follows:

"Now I wash all the Tathāgatas,
The crowd of pure wisdom, blessing power and sublimity!
I wish that those living beings, defiled by the five pollutions, [2]

[1] *Kōke shidai*, 江家次第, written by Ōe Masafusa, 大江匡房 (A. D. 1041—1111), Ch. VI, quoted in the *Daijii*, I, p. 971, 1; *Kokushi daijiten*, p. 929, s. v. *Kwambutsu-e.*

[2] The five defilements, *gojoku*, 五濁, are those of the kalpa, (erroneous) views, passions (*bonnō*, *kléśas*), living beings, and life. Cf. *Daijiten*, p. 553, 1, s. v. *gojoku.*

May speedily testify to the pure Dharma-body of the Tathāgatas!" [1]

In all sects, except the *Jōdo Shinshū*, on the Buddha's birth-day a temporary chapel (假堂, *kari-dō*) is prepared, and its roof is adorned with the flowers of the season. This is called *Hana-mi-dō* (花御堂, "August Flower-chapel") or *Hana-tei* (花亭, "Flower-pavilion"). In this chapel the image of the new-born Buddha, standing upon the lotus flower which after his birth arose from the earth, is placed in a copper basin with "sweet tea" and the visitors of the temple with small ladles pour the *amacha* over the Buddha's head. Then they take the liquid home in small vessels, and after having mixed it with their ink (i. e. having wetted their inkstone therewith) they write the following verse (uta): "On the lucky day, the mighty eighth day of the month of the hare (the 4th month), we are sure to execute the larvae of the insects (*kamisage-mushi*)". [2] If one pastes this paper on the wall in his house, he is believed to escape the evil of centipedes and other noxious insects. [3]

According to the *Kokushi daijiten* (國史大辭典) (A.D. 1908) (p. 929, s.v. *Kwambutsu-e*) in the compounds of the temples peddlers sell *nazuna* (薺, shepherd's purse) and *u-no-hana* (卯の花, Deutzia Thunbergii), and people take these flowers home and offer them to the Buddha. As they consider the *nazuna* to be a charm against insects, they hang them with a thread in

[1] 我今灌沐諸如來、
淨智功德莊嚴衆。
願彼五濁衆生類、
速證如來淨法身。

[2] *Chihayaburu*
U-zuki yōka wa
Kichi-nichi ni,
Kamisage-mushi wo
Seibai zo suru.

[3] *Daijii*, I, p. 970, 1, s. v. *Kwambutsu-e.*

their *andon* (行燈, lamps with paper shades). This writer says that the paper with the verse against the insects is pasted on the ceiling, with the words *Hachi-dai-ryū-ō-cha* (八大龍王茶), "Tea of the Eight Great Dragon-kings", written on it by means of the ink, mixed with the *amacha* of the *Kwambutsu-e*, in order to escape the danger of lightning.[1] These Dragon-kings, being thunder-gods, may, of course, save from this danger those who worship them or use their names in a magical way. On this day rice-cakes are made and sold, called *itadaki* (*-mochi*), 戴餅, a kind of rice-cakes flattened and with a hollow in the centre which is filled with *an* (餡, boiled and crushed pea-beans or beans, sweetened with sugar), and offered to the Buddha. These cakes have the form of "slices of scattered lotus flowers", and are made "with new paste" (*nori*). They were sold in the compounds of the temples and in all confectionery shops, but after the Restauration this custom gradually passed into disuse.[2] Evidently those cakes represented the lotus flowers which after the Buddha's birth arose under his feet and those which the gods sprinkled over him. Thus the worship paid to him by Heaven and Earth was symbolized and imitated in the Far East, and at the present day the festival of his birth is still celebrated in Japan with the ancient bathing-ceremony as well as with flowers and processions.

[1] Cf. the present writer's treatise on the *Dragon in China and Japan*, Introd. p. 4; Ch. IV, § 7 (about the Eight Dragon-kings). As stated above, according to the *Lalitavistara* the Nāga kings Nanda and Upananda bathed the Buddha by means of two streams of hot and cold water.

[2] *Kokushi daijiten*, p. 929, s. v. *Kwambutsu-e.*

CHAPTER IV.

THE BUDDHIST FESTIVAL OF THE DEAD (VII 15).

§ 1. *The first dates in Japan.*

In A.D. 606 (14th year of the Empress Suiko's reign) (VII 15) the maigre feast of the 15th day of the 7th month was held for the first time (cf. above, Ch. II, § 2, p. 28). [1]

In A.D. 647 (Taikwa 3) (XII 30) this vegetarian entertainment was again mentioned with regard to the ceremonial caps, worn on such occasions (cf. Ch. II, § 4, p. 29). [2]

In A.D. 657 (third year of the reign of the Empress Saimei) (VII 15) "A model of Mount Sumi (the Sumeru) was constructed to the West of Asuka-dera. Moreover the Avalambana-festival (*Urabon-e*, 盂蘭盆會) was held. In the evening the people from *Tukhāra* were entertained. [3]

In A.D. 659 (VII 15) "by decree to the Ministers, the Empress (Saimei) had the *Urabon sūtra* expounded in all the temples of the capital, and *requital made to the ancestors for seven generations*" (使報七世父母). [4] This agrees with the Buddha's words in the text of the *sūtra*.

In A.D. 733 (Tempyō 5) (VII 6) the Emperor Shōmu "for the first time ordered that a great dinner (should be given to the Buddhist priests) and an Avalambana-offering (*Urabon no kuyō*)

[1] *Nihongi*, Ch. XXII, p. 380 sq.; Aston II, p. 134.
[2] *Nihongi*, Ch. XXV, p. 446; Aston II, p. 230.
[3] *Nihongi*, Ch. XXVI, p. 459; Aston II, p. 251.
[4] *Nihongi*, Ch. XXVI, p. 465; Aston II, p. 263.

should be prepared" (probably on the 15th of that month) (始令大膳備盂蘭盆供養).[1]

This "offering" was the so-called *Urabon-gu* (供), the meal of a hundred kinds of dishes, prepared on the fifteenth of the seventh month for the monks at the end of their three-monthly rest (*ango*). In A.D. 733 for the first time such a dinner was given *in the Palace* and the Emperor *made it a constant ceremony.*[2]

In A.D. 889 (Kwampyō 1, VII 14) on behalf of the souls of former Emperors Uda Tennō made an offering of eighty vessels of food (*Urabon*), some of which were sent to the *go-gwanji* (御願寺) (erected by Imperial vow or ordinance, *chokugwanji, chokugwanjo,* for the protection of the State, namely *Daianji, Yakushiji, Tōdaiji, Hokkeji* and all the *kokubunji* and *kokubun-niji, Tōji* and *Saiji, Enryakuji* on *Hieizan, Daikakuji* and *Ninnaji*; afterwards *Daigoji* (A.D. 902) and *Nanzenji* (A.D. 1290)); some were sent to *Saitō-in, Kwazanji* etc. Four days later he sent one piece of "life-lengthening (litt. continuing) silk", one jar of lamp-oil, and one piece of (fine) silk to *Enryakuji, Saitō-in, Jingoji, Tōji* and *Saiji, Onjōji* (*Miidera*), *Hachimangū* and *Hasedera,* for reading *sūtras* (probably the *Urabongyō*) and making offerings (*fuse, dāna*).[3] The *Gukwanshō* relates the same facts with regard to the next year; there the offering is called *Urabongu.*[4]

Urabon-kō (講) ("expounding") is another term for *Urabon-e* (會) ("meeting").

§ 2. *The meaning of the word.*

The word *U-lan-ban* (盂蘭盆) (now pronounced *U-lan-p'an*)

[1] *Shoku Nihongi,* Ch. XI, p. 192.

[2] *Genkō Shakusho,* 元亨釋書, written A. D. 1331—1334 by the *Rinzai* priest Shiren, 師錬 (1278—1346); K. T. K. Vol. XIV, Ch. XXII, p. 1015.

[3] *Fusō ryakki,* Ch. XXII, p. 636.

[4] *Gukwanshō.* Ch. XXIV, p. 1060.

is translated into 倒懸, "to hang upside down", "to be in suspense", with regard to the "suspended state of souls in hell who are waiting to be released by priestly prayers." [1]

In the Chinese canon of the Sung dynasty the transcription 烏藍婆那盆佐那, *U-lan-p'a-na b'an-tsa-na*, is given, with the translation 倒懸救器, "Vessel for saving those being in suspense". The author of the *Bukkyō daijii* (I, p. 304, s.v. *Urabon-e*) remarks that the four first characters represent *ullambana*, i. e. *ud-lambana*, with the meaning 倒懸, "those being in suspense", but that it is not clear which word is meant by the three last characters *b'an-tsa-na*. He supposes the character 盆 to have been used as a sound as well as in its signification of "vessel", "bowl". As to the term 倒懸 he refers to Mencius, who uses this expression with regard to the people, who rejoiced as much as if they were released from a suspended state.

Hüen-ying (玄應) (Nanjō, App. III 20), who about A.D. 649 compiled his dictionary entitled 一切經音義, "Sounds and meanings of the whole canon" (Nanjō No. 1606), says that the transcription *U-lan-b'an* (although universally used) is wrong and *U-lan-p'a-na* right, and that the translation of the word is 倒懸, "being in suspense". "It is a rite of the Western countries. On the day of self-indulgence (自恣) of the monks (Pravāraṇa, the last day of the Retreat of the Indian rainy season), plentiful offerings are given to the Buddha and the Saṅgha, in order to save the dead (relatives) from the suffering of 'being in suspense'. Formerly 盂盆 (the first and the last of the three characters, also used together to designate this festival, both meaning *bowl, basin*) was said to be a 'vessel of accumulated food' (貯食之器), but this is a mistake". [2]

[1] Cf. Wells Williams, *Syllabic Dictionary*, p. 232 s. v. 懸; Eitel, *Sanskr.-Chin. Dict.*, s. v. Ullambana; Edkins, *Chinese Buddhism*, sec. ed., pp. 125 sq.; Nanjō, No. 303.

[2] Nanjō No. 1605, Ch. XIII; *Daijii* I, p. 304, s. v. *Urabon-e*; *Daijiten*, p. 120, 2, s. v. *Urambon*; p. 118, 2, s. v. *Ubonsai*; p. 1107, 1, s. v. *tōken*.

Tsung-mih (宗密) (App. III 38), the fifth patriarch of the Avatamsaka (*Kegon*) school, who lived A.D. 779—840 and wrote a "*Commentary on the Avalambana Sūtra*" (Nanjō No. 303), 盂蘭盆經疏, i. e. Nanjō No. 1601 (2 fasc.), Ch. 下), states that *Ulan* (盂蘭) is a word of the Western regions, meaning "hanging upside down" (being in suspense), whereas *b'an* (盆) is a sound of Eastern Hia (東夏, China), so that it means a "vessel to save those being in suspense" (救器).

Then he speaks about the spirit of Maudgalyāyana's mother, who had fallen upon the dark road (she had become a Preta, as he saw by means of his celestial eye), and how the Buddha (in the *Avalambana sūtra*, Nanjō No. 303) ordered him to put all kinds of delicacies in a bowl and offer them up to the *Triratna*, to order to save the hungry spirit from its sufferings. [1]

Tsung-mih's explanation of the word *U-lan-b'an* was accepted by Fah-yun (法雲) (App. III 60), who in A.D. 1151 wrote his well-known dictionary of technical names in Sanskrit and Chinese (Nanjō No. 1640, *Fan-yih ming-i tsih*, 翻譯名義集, Ch. IV); but Yuen-chao (元照), a Vinaya priest of the Northern Sung dynasty, who lived A.D. 1048—1116, in his "New Commentary on the Avalambana *sūtra*" (盂蘭盆疏新記), Ch. I, critisizes this interpretation and states that the whole word *avalambana* means "hanging upside down", "being in suspense", and that the word "bowl" (盆), used in the text, caused the commentators to explain the third character of the transcription in its *meaning* instead of only as the phonetical term *b'an* for *bana*. [2]

In the title of Nanjō No. 304, 佛說報恩奉盆經, "*Sūtra spoken by Buddha on offering a vessel* (of eatables to the Buddha and the Saṅgha), *in requital of the favours* (received from one's parents) (the same work as No. 303, translated under the Eastern

[1] *Daijiten*, l.l.; *Daijii*, l.l.; Suppl. of the Canon (大日本續藏), Bundle XXXIV, 2.

[2] *Daijiten* l.l.; *Daijii*, l.l.; *Suppl. of the Canon*, ibidem.

Tsin dynasty, A.D. 317—420) we find the character 盆 used to designate the vessel.

Prof. Vogel kindly informed me that the word *Avalambana* (as Waddell [1] calls the festival) means *hanging*; [2] in Böthlingk-Roth's *Sanskrit Wörterbuch* s. v. *avalambana* the word is explained as "das sich an etwas hängen, etwas stützen, etwas hälten." Prof. Vogel further pointed out that *lamb* is the root of the verb which means "to hang", and that *ud*, on high, combined with this root, is found in the word *ullambita* (a past participle), "being suspended", "floating". As to *olamba*, this is explained as "something hanging" in Childers' *Pali Dictionary* s.v. *olambo*, and as "hanging down" in that of Rhys Davids and William Stede (*Pali English Dictionary*). In none of these works is the word *ullambana* found.

Prof. Caland kindly drew my attention to a passage of the *Mahābhārata* (I 215 sqq.), where Jaratkāru, erring about as *brahmacārin* (abstaining from sexual intercourse), sees his "fathers" (*pitaras*) hanging in a pit with their heads downwards and being about to fall down, because a rat is gnawing through the last blade of grass that keeps them still hanging. Then he asks them: "Who are you, who are hanging down" (*avalambana*)?" The Chinese translator may have recollected this passage as well as the abstract sense of the term "hanging upside down", used by Mencius, and he may have thought that this special case, in which the ancestors intended to show their only descendant the terrible danger to which he exposed them by his ascetism, had a general meaning with regard to the sufferings of the dead. This may actually be the case, and the term *u-lan-b'an* seems to mean "hanging upside down".

As to the offerings to the Buddha and the Saṅgha on behalf of the parents and ancestors *of seven generations*, mentioned in the *Avalambana sūtra*, Prof. Caland remarked, that the *sapiṇḍas*

[1] *Lamaism*, p. 98.

[2] Cf. Childers, *Dict. of the Pali language*, s. v. *avalambanam.*

or *agnati* are those, whose right and duty it is to offer the *piṇḍa* or rice-ball (at the *śrāddha* or sacrifice to the dead) to their fathers and forefathers up to the seventh generation.[1] The Buddhists appear to have changed this offering to the dead into an offering to the Buddha and the priests on behalf of the parents and ancestors; at the same time they identified it with the *Pravāraṇa* offering, as we learn from the text of the *sūtra* itself and from the date of the festival. We shall see below, how in later times in China and Japan it became again a sacrifice to the dead themselves.

When examining the way in which Dharmaraksha I uses the word *u-lan-b'an* in his translation of the *sūtra* (Nanjō No. 303), first we find it in the title: 佛說盂蘭盆經, "*Sūtra* spoken by the Buddha on the *u-lan-b'an* vessel", whereas the second translation (Nanjō No. 304) bears the title of 佛說報恩奉盆經, "*Sūtra* spoken by the Buddha on offering the vessel (*b'an*) in requital of the favours (received from one's parents)"; the term *u-lan-b'an* is not found in the latter text. In requital of the favours is not an attempt to translate the foreign word, for the same characters are used by Dharmaraksha at the end of the *sūtra*.

In Dharmaraksha's text the term *u-lan-b'an* is found in three passages. Maudgalyāyana asks the Buddha whether also in future ages all the Buddha's disciples (to be taken in the sense of monks, nuns and lay-members of the community) must "offer the u-lan-b'an (奉盂蘭盆) in order to save their present parents and those of the seven former generations. The Buddha answers that "monks and nuns, kings and crown-princes, ministers and lords, officials and common people all should put the hundred delicacies, drink and food in an u-lan-b'an and distribute them to the 'self-indulgent' monks of the ten

[1] Cf. Caland, *Über Totenverehrung bei einigen der Indo-Germanischen Völker*, Kon. Akad. v. W., 1888, p. 20, note (there we read about six generations, the three last receiving the most important offerings).

quarters (安盂蘭盆中施十方自恣僧) (i.e. at the *Pravāraṇa* festival)". At the end of the *sūtra* the Buddha repeats tha on the fifteenth day of the seventh month all pious disciples ot Buddha should make u-lan-b'an and distribute them to the Buddha and the priests in order to requite the favour for the education and love received from their parents (爲作盂蘭盆施佛及僧以報父母長養慈愛之恩).

The second of these passages leaves no doubt as to the meaning of the term: it must be the offering vessel itself. Now we understand why Tsung-mih and Fah-yun thought it to be an "u-lan vessel". The Chinese canon of the Sung dynasty, however, in accordance with Hüen-ying and Yuen-chao gave the transcription *u-lan-p'a-na* (in the sense of "those being in suspense") and *b'an-tsa-na* (in the sense of "saving vessel"). So, like Nanjō and the author of the *Bukkyō daijiten*, we arrive at the conclusion that Dharmaraksha used the character 盆 in two functions: as a transcription of the two last syllables *bana* (or *pana*) of a foreign word and in its meaning of "vessel". As to such a double use of characters we may refer to the term *Musha daie*, 無遮大會, for *Mokṣa* and at the same time explained as "unlimited" (see below, same chapter, § 17).

Prof. Przyluski was so kind as to point out to me that the transcription *u-lan-p'a-na* must represent an original term *olambana* (cf. Pali *olamba*), corresponding with the Sanskrit word *avalambana*. This agrees with the Chinese translation "hanging upside down" (cf. Monier Williams, *Sanskr.-Engl. Dict.*, p. 103, 2, s.v. *ava-lambana*, hanging down).

Dr. Rahder wrote me, that in six passages of the *Peta-vatthu* and Dhammapāla's commentary on this work, entitled *Paramatthadīpanī*, words are found derived from *olamb-*, always in the sense of "hanging down", and that in the *Mahāvyutpatti avalambana* is translated into 執 (捉), to grasp (cf. Monier Williams, l.l.: hanging on, clinging to) and 垂下, to hang down.

On account of these statements, which agree with the interpretation of the term *u-lan-b'an*, given by Prof. Chavannes, Prof. Pelliot and Waddell, we consider the name of this festival of the dead to have been "Avalambana offering", i.e. Sacrifice (offering as well as sacrificial vessel) given to those "hanging upside down", i.e. the Pretas (cf. Mencius' use of the term 倒懸 in the sense of "being in suspense"). Where the vessel is meant, as in the second passage translated above, the last syllable *b'an* is not repeated but the character is used in its ideographical signification.

Now the question remains: how must we explain the Chinese translation of the term *u-lan-p'a-na b'an-tsa-na* into "saving vessel"? Here we may accept Dr. Rahder's ingenious hypothesis with regard to a Sanskrit term *ullumpana bhaṇḍa(ka)* or *bhājana*, which he supposes to have been read by Hüen-ying and Yuen-chao instead of *avalambana bhaṇḍa(ka)* or *bhājana*, "saving vessel" instead of "Preta vessel".

The Buddhists use the idea of "raising" (*ullumpati*) in the sense of saving as well as of "taking up into the order", because it is "raising from a lower to a higher state". [1]

The form *ullumpana* is found in two passages referred to by Dr. Rahder in favour of his interesting hypothesis. In Buddhaghosha's commentary on the *Dīghanikāya*, called *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* (I, p. 177), the Buddha is said to be "indifferent to wordly pleasures, mild-hearted, with a mind full of mercy (salvation, *ullumpanam*)" in "preaching the doctrine to spread the good and to increase friendliness towards all living beings".

In Dhammapāla's commentary on the *Petavatthu*, entitled *Paramatthadīpanī* (p. 35) a *petī* (a female peta, Sanskrit *Preta*) says

[1] Cf. O. Franke, *Dīghanikāya*, p. 176, who translates *ullumpatu* by emporführen (litt. emporreissen), i. e. saving the Brahmans from their sinful state. *Cullavagga* X 22 (pp. 360—362, on the duties of Bhikkunīs), *ullumpatu* is translated by Prof. Kern into: "taking up into the order"; Rhys Davids and Oldenberg render it by „raising up" (out of the worldly life) in the sentence: "Let the Saṅgha raise her up (out of the wordly life) out of compassion for her".

to a thera: "Having been the wife of an unhappy husband in that village, having been jealous by nature, having done a bad deed, I am reborn in the *peta*-realm. Please, Sir, go to the house of my husband. He will give you a present. You must dedicate that *dakkhiṇā* to me ("a donation given to a holy person with reference to unhappy beings in the *peta* existence, intended to induce the allevation of their sufferings; an intercessional, expiatory offering", according to Stede, *Peta Vatthu*, p. 151 sq.). Thus I shall be released from this peta-world". "The theras (at once the plural form is used), having heard this, pitied her, being of a helpful disposition (full of mercy, *ullumpana-sabhāva-saṇṭhitā*) and visited the house of her husband in order to obtain alms. The landlord, having seen the theras, joyfully went out to meet them and, having taken the alms-bowl, let them sit down and caused them to eat plentiful food. The theras, having told the landlord what they had heard, dedicated the sacrificial gift to the *petī*. At the same moment the *petī* was freed from suffering and, having assumed superb beauty, showed herself to her husband at night".

As to the *Pretas*, Dr. Rahder quoted the *Pali-English Dictionary* of the Pali text Society, Part V, s. v. *peta*, where we read that *petas* are "the dead, departed, the departed spirits". The Buddhist *peta* represents the Vedic *pitarah* (manes) as well as the Brāhmanic *preta*. The first are souls of the "fathers", the second ghosts.[1] By means of the *dakkhiṇā* (sacrificial gift) they may be raised in this existence to a higher category of *mahiddhikā petā* (alias *yakkhas*) or after their period of expiation shift into another form of existence (manussa, deva, tiracchāna).

Here we see that the meaning of the word *preta* is very extensive, and that it indicates the souls of the ancestors in particular as well as the spirits of the dead in general. The name of the

[1] Cf. Caland, *Totenverehrung*, p. 22: *pretas* are souls which have not yet been taken up among the *Pitaras* by means of the *śrāddha*, *piṇḍa* and *sapiṇḍīkarana* ceremonies.

offering, destined to raise them, i.e. to save them from their misery and to raise them to a higher state of existence, may have been read *ullumpana bhājana*, "the raising, saving vessel" by some of the Chinese scholars, who translated it into 救器. In this case the transcription *b'antsana* must be a slight mistake for *b'atsana*, perhaps caused by the words *bhaṇḍaka* and *bhaṇḍa* for vessel.

With regard to the use of the character *lan*, 蘭, in the term *u-lan-b'an* to designate *lun* of the word *ullumpana* Dr. Rahder referred to Stanislas Julien's *Méthode pour déchiffrer et transcrire les noms sanscrits*, Nos. 1718 and 1730, where the two characters *t'an*, 曇 and 談, are said to have been used to represent the sound *dun* in *Udumbara*. Further we may compare the use of the character 嵐, *lan*, in the word *Lumbinī* (嵐毗尼), given in the *Bukkyō daijiten*, p. 1783, 1 (also behind a labial, which may have been the cause of the sound *a* instead of *u*).

The fact that this festival was never mentioned in India might point to Central Asia as its main place of development. [1] It was a mixture of the ancient Hinduist sacrifice to the fathers and forefathers of seven generations with the Buddhist *Pravāraṇa*. The latter festival, the solemn termination of the Retreat of the monks during the rainy season in India, was held on two successive days, the 14th and 15th of the bright half-month, on which Uposatha was kept. It was "a festival and an occasion for giving presents to the monks, for inviting them to dinner, and for processions. Immediately after the Pravāraṇa there follows a distribution of robes which the believers offer to the fraternity". [2] There were also *illuminations* at night, apparently borrowed from the Hinduist *Dīpālī* or "Festival of Lamps". [3]

[1] We do not believe with Eitel (*Sanskr.-Chin. Dict.* s. v.) that it is "the Tibetan Gtorma ritual engrafted upon Confucian ancestral worship", because it s much older than the Tibetan influence upon Buddhism and it has specially Buddhist features.

[2] Kern, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 100.

[3] Kern, *Histoire du Bouddhisme dans l'Inde*, II, p. 228 (210); I-tsing (Nanjō

Dharmaraksha I, a native of *Tukhāra*, who during his stay in Loh-yang (A.D. 266—317) translated a large number of Sanskrit texts, probably knew the *U-lan-b'an* rite by autopsy and thought it a very good Buddhist ceremony for the Chinese people with its elaborate ancestor worship. It is very interesting that, as stated above, in A.D. 657 people from *Tukhāra* were entertained by the Japanese Empress Saimei on the 15th of the 7th month, when the *Urabon* congregation was held (the first time that it was called by this name). Was perhaps Dharmaraksha's native country considered to be closely connected with this festival?

§ 3. *The contents of the Sūtra (Nanjō No. 303) and the Pravāraṇa festival.*

As we saw above, Hüen-ying speaks of an *offering to the Buddha and the Saṅgha*, Tsung-mih, however, says that it was a sacrifice to the *Triratna*. Nanjō (Catal. Nos. 303 and 304) follows the former, and Oda Tokunō (織田得能), the learned author of the *Bukkyō daijiten*, agrees with the latter. In the *sūtra* itself, however, (Nanjō No. 303) the Buddha says to Maudgalyāyana, that his mother can only be saved from her Preta sufferings and obtain salvation *by the majestic and divine power of the priests of the ten quarters* (當須十方衆僧威神之力乃得解脫). There we read that one day, when the Buddha was in Anāthapiṇḍada's Venuvana park at Śrāvastī, Mahāmaudgalyāyana began to obtain the six *abhijñās* or supernatural talents (celestial eye, celestial ear, knowledge of the thoughts of others, knowledge of former existences of one's self and others, dominion at

No. 1492) on the *Vinaya* in the "South-Sea", Ch. II; Oldenberg, *Buddha, sein Leben, seine Lehre, seine Gemeinde*, p. 425 (*Pravāraṇā*, "Einladung": "Ich lade, ihr Ehrwürdigen, die Gemeinde, ein: wenn ihr etwas von mir gesehen habt, oder gehört habt, oder einen Verdacht gegen mich habt, habt Erbarmen mit mir, ihr Ehrwürdigen, und redet. Wenn ich es einsehe, will ich es sühnen".

will over one's body, and destruction of defiling passions), and wished to bring salvation to his father and mother and to requite the favours received from them as a child, when they had given him milk and food. Then his celestial eye saw his mother, reborn as a Preta, without drink and food, her body being only skin and bones. Full of compassion he forthwith filled his bowl with boiled rice and went to feed his mother, but as soon as she tried to eat, the food changed into fire and ashes before it reached her mouth.[1] Weeping bitterly he hurried back to the Buddha and told him the matter, whereupon the Buddha said: "Your mother's 'roots of crime' are deep and complicated. You alone cannot help her. Although the voice of your filial piety might move heaven and earth, even the gods of heaven and earth, the wicked demons, the heterodox priests, nay even the Four Deva Kings cannot help her. *Only by means of the majestic and divine power of the priests of the ten quarters may you obtain her salvation.* Now I shall explain to you the way to save her, liberating her from all her sufferings, and causing her crimes to be extinguished. On the 15th day of the 7th month, *at the time of self-indulgence of the priests* (僧自恣時), on behalf of those of the parents of seven generations and of the present parents who are in danger, the hundred delicacies and the five kinds of fruits, vessels for drawing water and washing, odorous oil and candles, bed-clothes and mattresses must be given to the priests of the ten quarters, and all kinds of delicacies of the world must be put in a vessel and offered to them. On this day all the priests of great virtue of the ten quarters, the whole holy crowd, either sitting in *samādhi* in the mountains, or obtaining the fruit of the four roads (to Nirvāṇa) (*shidō-kwa*),[2] or performing peripatetic

[1] As to Chinese theatrical versions of this story cf. De Groot, *Fêtes annuellement célébrées à Emoui*, pp. 417 sqq.; Grube, *Zur Pekinger Volkskunde*, pp. 78 sqq.; Duyvendak, *The Buddhistic Festival of All-Souls in China and Japan, Acta Orientalia*, V 1, pp. 42 sq.

[2] Cf. *Daijiten*, p. 727, 1, s. v. *shidō*.

meditation under a tree, or, endowed with the independence of the six supernatural talents instructing and converting *śrāvakas* and Pratyekabuddhas, or Bodhisattvas of the ten *bhūmis*, manifesting themselves as great men or *bhikṣus* among the large crowd, they all must unanimously accept the *Pravāraṇa* meal (鉢和羅飯) and keep the commandments of purity. The blessing power of the road of the holy crowd is vast and wide, and if those offerings are made to those self-indulgent priests, the present parents (and those of seven generations) as well as the six kinds of relatives (of the donators) shall be able to escape from the sufferings of the three (wicked) roads and according to the circumstances, as a natural result (of the ceremony), they shall obtain salvation, clothes and food. If the parents (of the donors) are still alive, they shall live a hundred years in felicity and joy; as to the deceased parents of seven generations, they shall be reborn in a heaven or, obtaining independent rebirth by transformation, enter into the light of a heavenly flower (and receive immeasurable happiness)".

Then the Buddha instructed the monks of the ten quarters what in the first place they had to do on behalf of the donors. They must recite a litany for the benefit of their parents of seven generations, practise meditation, and then accept the food. As soon as they receive it, they must place it before the Buddha; after the litany of the priests has been recited before the Buddha in the temples, they themselves may forthwith take the food.

That day Maudgalyāyana's mother was freed from the Preta sufferings of one kalpa. Thereupon he spoke to the Buddha: "Your disciple's mother has received (the blessing produced by) the *blessing power of the Triratna* [1] *and the majestic and divine power of the priests.* Therefore, if also in future times all the Buddha disciples (i. e. monks, nuns and lay-members of the community) in accordance with this rule offer up the *U-lan-b'an*

[1] These words must have caused Tsung-mih to speak of a sacrifice to the *Triratna.*

in order to save their present parents and those of seven generations, shall that be allowed or not?" The Buddha praised him and said: If monks and nuns, kings and crown princes, ministers and lords, magistrates and common people practise love and filial piety, they must act as follows. On the 15th of the 7th month, the day of Buddha's enjoyment, the day of self-indulgence of the priests, they must take the hundred delicacies, drink and food, and put them in an u-lan-b'an and distribute them to the self-indulgent monks of the ten quarters, on behalf of their present parents and of those of the seven former generations, wishing to cause the former to live a hundred years, without illness and suffering, and the latter to be saved from their Preta tortures and to be reborn in a heaven, in limitless felicity and joy. Those of these Buddha-disciples who practise filial piety must always remind their parents and those of the seven former generations, and yearly, on the 15th day of the seventh month, they must in pious remembrance of them make an u-lan-b'an and distribute (the drink and food) to the Buddha and the Saṅgha in order to requite the favour of education and love obtained from their parents. If all Buddha-disciples will act accordingly they must receive and keep this rule". Then Maudgalyāyana and the disciples of the four kinds (monks, nuns and laymembers of the community, male and female) received the rule with joy, and went away.

At the end of No. 304, which is a shorter text (only one leaf) the litany is omitted, but the meditation before taking the meal is mentioned. By placing the food before the Buddha it is first offered up to him; then the priests take it, so that it actually is an offering to the Buddha and the Saṅgha.

The expression "day of self-indulgence of the priests" indicates the last day of the Retreat of the monks. This term (*jishi*, 自恣, self-indulgence) is the old translation of the word *Pravāraṇa*

(鉢和羅, 鉢剌婆剌拏, *hatsuwara, harabarana*), later translated by *zui-i*, 隨意, "following one's will". [1]

Prof. Caland kindly informs me that the word *pravāraṇa* is found in one passage of the *Mahābhārata* in the sense of *satisfaction, indulgence* (etymologically belonging to *pravārayati*). This agrees with the two Chinese translations, "self-indulgence" and "following one's will".

The pilgrim I-tsing deals with the *Pravāraṇa* in his work on the *Vinaya* of the "South-sea" (Nanjō No. 1492, written between 700 and 712: 南海寄歸內法傳, Ch. II). Takakusu (Ch. XV, p. 86) translates as follows: "The day on which the summer-retreat ends and the season (lit. the year) closes should be the *Zui-i* (lit. 'according to one's wish' or 'indulgence', *Pravāraṇa*), i.e. pointing out the faults of others, as one likes, according to the three points (i.e. what one has seen, what one has heard, and what one has suspected). Then follows confession and atonement for faults. A former translation of *Pravāraṇa* was *Sse-sse* (*jishi*), i.e. 'self-indulgence' according to its sense. [2] On the night of the fourteenth day (the fifteenth day is the last day of the retreat), the assembly should invite a precentor to mount a high seat and recite a Buddhist *Sūtra*, when lay devotees as well as priests throng together like clouds or mist. They light lamps continually, and offer incense and flowers. The following morning they all go out round villages or towns and worship all the

[1] *Daijiten*, p. 894, 2, s. v. *jishi*; p. 1423, 1, s. v. *hatsuwara*; p. 1429, 3, s. v. *harabarana*.

[2] 凡夏罷歲終之時。此日當名隨意。即是隨他於三事之中任意舉發說罪除愆之義。舊云自恣者義翻也。 Takakusu refers to *Mahāvagga* IV, 1, 14, where we read: "Let the senior bhikshus say: 'I invite the Saṅgha to charge me with any offence of which they think me guilty, which they have seen, or heard of, or which they suspect; may you speak to me, sirs, out of pity towards me; if I see (an offence), I will atone for it'". Cf. Oldenberg, quoted above, p. 68, note 3.

caityas with sincere minds. They bring storied carriages, images in sedan-chairs, drums, and other music resounding in the sky, banners and canopies hoisted high in regular order (lit. entwined and arranged), fluttering and covering the sun; this is called *Sa-ma-kin-li* (*Sāmagrī*), which is translated as 'concord' or 'thronging together'. All great Upavasatha-days are like this day. This is what we call in China 'Ceremony of going around a city'. At the beginning of the forenoon (9 to 11 a. m.) they come back to the monastery, at noon they keep the great Upavasatha-ceremony, and in the afternoon all gather together, each taking in his hand a tuft of fresh rushes. Handling it with their hands or treading on it with their feet they do what they like, first Bhikshus, next Bhikshuṇīs; then the three lower classes of the members. If it be feared that the time be too long owing to the largeness of the number, the Saṅgha should order several members to go together and receive the *Pravāraṇa* ceremony. When any offence has been pointed out by another, one should confess and atone for it according to the Law. At this time, either the laymen present gifts, or the Saṅgha itself distributes them, and all sorts of gifts are brought out before the assembly. The five venerable persons (one each of the five Parishads (?)) should then ask the heads of the assembly (i.e. Sthaviras): 'Can these things be given to the members of the Saṅgha and made their own possession, or not?' The heads of the assembly reply: 'Yes, they can'. Then all garments, knives, needles, awls, etc., are received and equally distributed. Such is the teaching (of the Buddha). The reason why they present knives and awls on this day is that they wish the recipients to obtain (sharp) intelligence and keen wisdom. When thus the Pravāraṇa ends, all go their ways (lit. to east or west). If they have fully kept their residence in the summer there is no need of passing a night there; this is fully explained elsewhere, and I shall not here state it in detail. The idea of the 'confession of sins' is that, declaring one's own offence and speaking of one's past faults, one will desire to alter

(i.e. atone for) past conduct and repair the future, being careful to condemn oneself with perfect sincerity .... Sanskrit *pravāraṇa* is translated by '(doing) as one wishes', it also means 'satisfying', and conveys the sense of 'pointing out another's offence according to his wish'" (梵云鉢刺婆剌拏。譯爲隨意。亦是飽足義。亦是隨他人意擧其所犯).[1]

It seems that the word *pravāraṇa* as well as its Chinese translations "self-indulgence" and "following one's will" were thus explained in an artificial way, because the translators did not take it in its original meaning of invitation (to the community, as Oldenberg translates it).

As to the yearly date of the ceremony,[2] this was the last day of the Indian rainy season, the three-monthly period of the summer-retreat of the Buddhist monks (*Varsa, Vārṣika*). This is the *ango* (安居), or *u-ango* (雨安居), "rest" or "rain-rest", dealt with below (Ch. IX). It ended with the full moon of *Kārttika*, but the Northern Buddhists ended it on the first of that month.[3] According to the Chinese translators of the old school of Nan-shan, 南山 (*ta-shi*, 大師, *lüh-chu*, 律主, "*Vinaya* master", or *lüh-shi*, 律師, i.e. Tao-süen, 道宣, A.D. 596—667, Nanjō App. III 21, the founder of the *Lüh*, 律, or *Vinaya* school) the Retreat began on the 16th day of the 4th month and ended on the 15th of the 7th month; the thirty days from VII 16 to VIII 15 formed the month *Kārttika* (迦提月). The translators of the new

[1] J. Takakusu's translation of *A Record of the Buddhist Religion as practised in India and the Malay archipelago* (A. D. 671—695), by I-tsing (Oxford 1896), Ch. XV, pp. 86 sqq.

[2] Cf. Caland, *Totenverehrung*, pp. 43 sqq., about the pretas and pitaras leaving the house of Yama on the 13th day in the dark half of *Āśvina* and under Maghā in the rainy season, remaining on earth till the appearance of the Scorpion; tortured by hunger and announcing their own sins they want offerings of rice-gruel, mixed with honey, from their sons and grandsons.

[3] Kern, *Manual of Buddhism*, pp. 80 sq.

school (of Hüen-tsang, A.D. 600—664, and I-tsing, A.D. 635—713), however, considered the Retreat to last from V 16 to VIII 15, and Kārttika from VIII 16 to IX 15. [1] But the date of the Avalambana festival always remained the same as of old: the 15th of the 7th month.

§ 4. *The first dates in China.*

In China the Avalambana festival was held for the first time in A.D. 538 (Ta-t'ung 4) by the Emperor Wu Ti (武帝) (A.D. 502—549) of the Liang dynasty, who in person went to the T'ung-t'ai monastery (同泰寺), erected by him in A.D. 521, N.E. of his capital Kien-k'ang (Nanking), where he used to celebrate many Buddhist festivals. It was called a "vegetarian entertainment" (U-lam-ban-chai, 齋). [2]

Many emperors followed his example. In A.D. 766 (Ta-li 1) the Emperor Tai-tsung (代宗) (to whom Amoghavajra in A.D. 771 presented his translations of Buddhist texts) held an "Avalambana-meeting" (*U-lam-ban-hwui,* 會) *in the Palace, in honour of his seven predecessors,* beginning with Kao-tsung (A.D. 650—683), for whom seven thrones and seven gigantic banners with their imperial names were erected (evidently in accordance with the *Avalambana sūtra* as regards the ancestors of seven generations). From then this palace festival was celebrated every year, as we read in the *Shih-shi kien-ki-ku lioh,* 釋氏鑑稽古略, a brief history of Buddhism, written in Annal form, by the Buddhist priest Kioh-gan, 覺岸, who finished it about A.D. 1341. [3]

[1] *Daijiten* p. 194, 2, s. v. *Kachina* (*Kaṭhina* was the raw cotton cloth of the robes, distributed to the priests in this month, immediately after the *Pravāraṇa,* cf. Kern, *Manual,* p. 100).

[2] Nanjō No. 1661, 佛祖統紀 (written about A. D. 1269—1271), Ch. 18; 33.

[3] Quoted in the *Wakan sansai zue,* 和漢三才圖會, written in 1713 by Terajima Ryōan, 寺島良安, and based upon the Chinese encyclopaedia *San-ts'ai t'u-hwui,* 三才圖會, written by Wang K'i, 王圻, A. D. 1586—1627; Ch. IV, s. v. *Urabon.*

§ 5. *The contents of the Tantric sūtras and kalpas on distributing drink and food to the Pretas (Nanjō Nos. 539, 984, 985, 1467).*

A. *The different texts.*

Afterwards the character of the festival was changed by Tantric and Taoist influences. It was intermixed with the Tantric *Shingo-kwéi* (*segaki*), **施餓鬼**, or "Distributing (drink and food) to the Pretas", based upon the Tantric texts Nanjō Nos. 539, 984, 985 and 1467.

Nanjō No. 539, **佛說救面然餓鬼陀羅尼神咒經**, *Buddhabhāshita-jvālāmukha-preta-paritrāṇa-dhāraṇy-ṛddhimantra-sūtra*, "*Sūtra* spoken by the Buddha on the *dhāraṇīs* and *ṛddhimantras* for saving the pretas", was translated in A.D. 695—700 by Śikshānanda, **學喜**, a *śramaṇa* of Khotan (App. II 145) (3 leaves; it agrees with Tibetan).

Nanjō No. 984, **佛設救燄口餓鬼陀羅尼經**, "*Sūtra*, spoken by the Buddha on the *dhāraṇīs* for saving the pretas", is the same text, translated A.D. 746—771 by Amoghavajra, **不空金剛** (App. II 155), the famous Indian propagator of the Tantric School in China (4 leaves).

Amoghavajra also translated No. 985, **瑜伽集要救阿難陀羅尼焰口軌儀經**, *Yoga-mahārtha-saṅgraha-Ānanda-paritrāna-dhāraṇī-jvalavaktra* (*preta*)*-kalpa-sūtra*, containing many *mudrās* to be used in saving the pretas by means of magic formulae (1 fasc.), and No. 1467, **瑜伽集要焰口施食起教阿難陀緣由**, "The reason why (the Buddha) instructed Ānanda with regard to the distribution of food to the Pretas, belonging to the collection of important Yoga matters". The other title of this work (its second part), mentioned in Nanjō's Catalogue, is **燄口施食儀**, "*Ceremonial Rules for giving food to the Pretas* ("*Flaming Mouths*") (1 fasc., 42 leaves). In one of the two appendices the ten kinds of Pretas, here called **孤魂**, i.e.

"solitary, neglected, orbate spirits", are treated (fallen in battle, drowned in rivers or at sea, having died abroad or in prison, etc.). A fourth work from his hand is the "*Ceremonial Rules for distributing drink, food and water to the Pretas*" (施諸餓鬼飲食及水法).[1]

§ 5, B. *The Sūtra on the dhāraṇīs for saving the Pretas (Nanjō No. 984).*

The contents of No. 984 (this translation gives the names of the four Buddhas, omitted in No. 539, Śikshananda's translation) are as follows. Once upon a night, when Ananda was alone in a quiet place, a Preta appeared to him. His name was "Flaming Mouth", his shape was ugly, his body withered and emaciated, and he had fire in his mouth. His throat was (thin) like needles and spear points, the hair of his head was entangled, his claws and teeth were long and sharp. Much to Ānanda's alarm he announced to him that he should die after three days and be reborn among the Pretas. When Ananda asked him how he could escape this frightful fate, the Preta answered: "If to-morrow you give one bushel (as used in Magadha) of drink and food to each of the numberless *Pretas* and *Brahman-ṛṣis*, and if on my behalf you make an offering to the *Triratna*, your life shall be lengthened and I shall be freed from the sufferings of the Pretas and be reborn in a heaven". The next day Ānanda threw himself at the feet of the Buddha and asked him how he could give food to all those Pretas and *Ṛṣis*. The Buddha replied that he could do so by reciting the *dhāraṇī* called 無量威德自在光明勝妙力 (in No. 539, p. 2*a* it is called 一切德光無量威力; in Nos. 985, p. 2*a*, and 1467, p. 2*a* *Muryō itoku jizai kwōmyō Nyorai darani hō*, the first eight characters being

[1] Cf. *Daijiten*, p. 1025, s. v. *Segakihō*.

the same as in No. 984, followed by 如來陁羅尼法). By reciting this formula he would cause each of the numberless Pretas and Brahman-*ṛṣis* [1] to obtain seven times seven Magadha bushels of food (七七斛; in No. 539, p. 2*a*: 四斛九斗, i. e. 49 pecks, one bushel holding ten pecks). The Buddha had received this *dhāraṇī* in a former life, when he was a Brahman in the land of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara and in that of the Buddha 世間自在威德, *Seken Jizai Itoku Nyorai*, for which reason he was able to distribute all kinds of drink and food to the numberless Pretas and *Ṛṣis*, and to cause the salvation of the Pretas from their miseries, and their rebirth in a heaven. "Ananda", said the Buddha, "if you now receive and keep (this *dhāraṇī*), your felicity, virtue and life shall all be increased". Then the Buddha explained the formula (consisting of 20 characters) to him, and added that if a virtuous man or woman wished to increase his or her life, felicity and virtue, they should take a pure vessel, fill it with pure water, parched barley flour, rice-cakes and cooked rice, and, holding it in the right hand, they should recite the afore-mentioned *dhāraṇī* seven times, and then invoke the four following Buddhas:

1. *Tahō Nyorai*, 多寶如來, "Many Treasures", i.e. *Prabhūtaratna*, the Buddha who according to the *Lotus Sūtra* (*Hokkekyō*, Ch. IV, 見寶塔品) in remote times lived in an *Eastern* world, called *Ratnaviśuddha*, "Precious Purity" (寶淨), and who, according to his original vow, *after entering Nirvāṇa* appeared in all countries and in all places where the Lotus *sūtra* was expounded, in his full shape as a relic in his pagoda, testifying to the Lotus. Thus his seven-storied pagoda, containing his Buddha-shaped

[1] *Baramon-sen*, 婆羅門仙, also called 半天婆羅門, *Hanten Baramon*, a kind of Pretas, cf. *Daijiten*, p. 1455, 2, s. v. *Baramonsen*, and p. 1437, 2, s. v. *Hanten Baramon*. Cf. Eitel s. v. *Richi*: 鬼仙, *Pretaṛṣis*, the fifth of the five classes of *ṛṣis*; 10 and 68 kinds of *ṛṣis* are enumerated in the *Daijiten*, p. 1037 s. v.

relic, suddenly appeared from beneath the earth and rose into the air, when Śākyamuni was expounding the Lotus *sūtra* on the Vulture Peak, and his voice was heard, praising Śākyamuni and testifying to the Lotus. Then the Buddha explained which Buddha it was, who thus manifested himself as the patron of the Lotus *sūtra*.[1]

The invocation of this Buddha can destroy the obstacles caused by the evil deeds of all demons and *cause their complete felicity and virtue.*

2. *Myōshikishin Nyorai,* 妙色身如來, *Surūpakāya* Tathāgata, the Buddha "Beautiful-Shape Body" (like Prabhūtaratna one of the Seven Buddhas (*Sapta Tathāgata*), whose names are inscribed on a hectagonal pillar (七如來寶塔) in Buddhist temples.[2] This invocation can destroy the ugly shape of the demons and *give them a beautiful appearance.* In the *Segaki no hō* the *Eastern* Buddha of the Five Buddhas, *Akṣobhya,* is called by this name; this is however not based upon this text, but upon the "*Ceremonial Rules for distributing drink, food and water to the Pretas*", also translated by Amoghavajra.[3]

3. *Kwōhakushin Nyorai,* 廣博身如來, The Tathāgata "Wide and Vast Body", *Vyāsakāya,* whose invocation can make the (very narrow) throats of the demons wide and large, so that they can eat the food distributed to them and satisfy their hunger. The fact that the three other Buddhas belong to the Seven Tathāgatas, enumerated by Eitel (different from the so-called Seven Buddhas of the Past (七佛, *Bukkyō daijiten,* p. 739, 1), and that in No. 985 those Seven Tathāgatas are invoked, makes it very probable that this Buddha is the same as *Vyāsa,* 廣博仙人. In the *Bukkyō daijiten* (p. 324, 2), however, he is said to be *Dai-Nichi Nyorai, Mahāvairocana,* the central and main figure of the Five Buddhas, whose shape is wide and vast. This

[1] Cf. *Daijiten,* p. 1115, 3 and 1116, 2, s. v. *Tahōtō* and *Tahō Nyorai*; p. 1387, 3, s. v. *Hōkuraran* (*Bahularatna*); p. 1430, 1, s. v. *Harabuta-ratanaya*; *Daijii* III, p. 3256, s. v. *Tahōtō* and *Tahō Butsu.*

[2] Cf. Eitel s. v. *Sapta Tathāgata.*

[3] Cf. *Daijiten,* p. 1729, 1 s. v. *Myōshikishin Nyorai*; p. 1024, 3 s. v. *segaki-hō.*

is based upon a passage of the 秘藏記本, *Hizōki* (*Pi-tsang ki*)[1] and belongs to the invocation of the Five Buddhas on behalf of the Pretas.

4. *Rifuï Nyorai*, 離怖畏如來, The Tathāgata "Rid of Fear", *Abhayaṃdada* ("Giver of Fearlesness"), also one of the Seven Tathāgatas, enumerated by Eitel. His invocation can liberate the demons from all fear and save them from the Preta path. In the *Bukkyō daijiten* (p. 1791, 1) he is said to be Śākyamuni, one of the Five Buddhas of the *Segaki-hō*, whose place is in the *North*. It is curious that here Śākyamuni takes the place of *Amoghasiddhi*, the fifth of the Five Wisdom Buddhas, the *Gochi Nyorai*, 五智如來, or "Tathāgathas of the Five kinds of Wisdom" of the *Kongōkai* or "Diamond World,"[2] at the same time representing the Five Elements (五大, *Godai*) of the *Taizōkai* or "Womb World," namely Earth, Water, Fire, Wind (Air) and Ether (地水火風空). This is also the case in the enumeration of the five bodies of the Five Buddhas, where Śākyamuni is the "Body of Transformation," 作變化身, *sahen keshin*[3].

If one invokes these four Buddhas seven times, jerking his fingers in incantation, then takes a vessel of food and, stretching his arm, pours it on a pure spot and distributes it to the four sides, each of the numberless Pretas receives seven times seven Magadha bushels of food, and after having been entirely satiated they all throw off their demon bodies and are reborn in a heaven. If monks and nuns and laymembers of the community, male and female, by means of this magic formula and the incantation (*kaji*, 加持) of the names of the four Buddhas always distribute food to the Pretas, they may forthwith obtain immeasurable felicity

[1] Although the *Bukkyō daijiten* calls this work *Hizōkihon* (*Pi-tsang ki-pǎn*, 本), it must be identical with the *Hizōki* referred to below, Ch. v, § 2, L 2, and mentioned in the *Himitsu-jirin*, p. 896, s. v. *Hizōki*.

[2] *Daijiten*, p. 550, s. v. *Gochi* and *Gochi-Nyorai*.

[3] *Daijiten*, p. 566, 2, s. v. *Gobutsu goshin*.

and virtue. This has the same blessing power as an offering to numberless Buddhas; it lengthens life, increases physical strength and gives plenty of "virtuous roots", so that no evil demon dares to hurt them.

If one wishes to make an offering to the *Brahman-ṛṣis*, he must fill one vessel with drink and food, and, after having made two times seven incantations by means of the afore-said magic formula and Buddha names, *he must throw it into a pure stream.* Then all those *ṛṣis* shall fulfill their original vow of bestowing long life, physical power, peace and joy upon those who give them food, and to make their insight clear and pure. This has also the same blessing power as an offering to the numberless Buddhas, so that no enemies can hurt them.

If monks, nuns or lay-members wish to make an offering to the *Triratna*, they must take incense, flowers, and pure drink and food, and offer it up after having made twenty one incantations as mentioned above (the magic formula and the invocation of the four Buddhas). Then they shall be protected by all the devas and good spirits and reach the *Dāna-pāramitā* (檀波羅蜜, *dan-baramitsu*), the first of the six or ten steps on the road to *Nirvāṇa*, that of *charity* (*dāna*, 布施, *fuse*).

§ 5, C. *The Ānanda-paritrāna-dhāraṇī-preta-kalpa-sūtra (Nanjō No. 985).*

In No. 985 the Buddha says to Ānanda, that the *dhāraṇī* and incantations, repeated seven times, cause the drink and food offered up to the Pretas to be changed into *amṛta* (甘露, *kanro*, „sweet dew"). By means of *mudrās* and magic formulae the hells are opened, the pretas are invited, their crimes invoked and urged (i.e. their requital is accelerated), their karma is fixed, their crimes are extinguished by repentance, their bodies embellished, and their throats opened. Then the following seven Buddhas are invoked:

1. *Hōshō Nyorai,* 寶勝如來, "Precious Conqueror", *Ratnaśikha.*[1] According to the *Bukkyō daijiten* (p. 1583, 2) it is *Ratnasambhava* (*Hōshō,* 寶生), one of the Five Wisdom-Buddhas, invocated in the *Segaki-hō* or "Rite of giving food to the Pretas", who rules the *South.* He is called Śākyamuni's original teacher, and Amitābha's merciful father.

2. *Rifuï Nyorai,* 離怖畏如來, *Abhayaṃdada,* the Giver of Fearlessness, mentioned above as the last of the four Buddhas, invoked in No. 984. As the last of the Five Wisdom Buddhas (*Śākyamuni* instead of *Amoghasiddhi*) he rules the *North.*

3. *Kwōhakushin Nyorai,* 廣博身如來, "Wide and Vast Body", *Vyāsakāya,* who widens the throats of the Pretas. The third of the four Buddhas of No. 984, the central figure of the Five Wisdom Buddhas, *Mahāvairocana,* ruler of the *Centre.*

4. *Myōshikishin Nyorai,* 妙色身如來, "Beautifully shaped-Body", *Surūpakāya,*[2] mentioned above as the second of the four Buddhas of No. 984, who gives the Pretas a beautiful appearance. He is the *Eastern* figure of the Five Wisdom-Buddhas, i. e. *Akṣobhya.*

5. *Tahō Nyorai,* 多寶如來, "Many Treasures", *Prabhūtaratna,* the first of the four Buddhas of No. 984, not belonging to the Five Wisdom Buddhas.

6. *Amida Nyorai,* 阿彌陀如來, *Amitābha,* the *Western* figure of the Five Wisdom-Buddhas. He gives rebirth in his *Western* Paradise, where the souls are born from lotusses by means of transformation, in a land without retrogression upon the road to *Nirvāṇa* (不退地).

7. *Seken kwōdai itoku jizai kwōmyō Nyorai,* 世間廣大威德自在光明如來, "The Tathāgata who in the worlds (displays) a wide and great majesty and blessing power, inde-

[1] Cf. Rosenberg, *Introduction to the study of Buddhism,* I, Vocabulary, p. 149, 2, s. v. *Hōshō.*

[2] Cf. Rosenberg, l. l., p. 130, 2, s. v. *Myōshikishin*: *Surukāya.* Dr. Rahder prefers *Surūpakāya.*

pendence (i. e. miraculous power), and light (of wisdom)". Thus the name is explained in the text. When comparing it with Eitel's list of the Sapta Tathāgata, it must be *Amṛtōdana Rāja*, 甘露飯王, the "King who feasts on ambrosia", but "*Amṛta-king*" is the well-known title of *Amitābha*,[1] who manifesting himself and preaching the Law has a blessing power like a rain of *amṛta*. Therefore Amitābha is invoked by the name of *Kanro-ō*, "*Amṛta-king*", among the Five Wisdom Buddhas, mentioned in the ceremonial rules of the *Segaki-hō*, whereas *Ratnasambhava* is called "Ruler of Treasures", 寶掌, *Hōshō Nyorai* (cf. the first of the seven Buddhas mentioned in this text).

In No. 984 we found *Seken Jizai Itoku Nyorai* mentioned as the Buddha in whose land *Śākyamuni* in a former life, when he was a Brahman, received the *dhāraṇī* by means of which all kinds of drink and food could be distributed to the Pretas, and their salvation and rebirth in a heaven could be caused.

§ 5, D. *The Kalpa for distributing food to the Pretas (Nanjō No. 1467, 2).*

The same seven Buddhas are invoked in the second part of No. 1467, the 瑜伽集要焰口施食儀, "*Kalpa* (*ceremonial rules*) *for distributing food to the Pretas*", at the end of which the "venerable and excelling *dhāraṇī* of Buddha's *uṣnīṣa*," the excrescence of his skull, 佛頂尊勝陀羅尼 (cf. Nos. 348—351, 796) is given in *Devanāgarī* writing and Chinese transcription. These invocations are preceded by the eight *mudrās* for opening the hells, inviting the pretas, etc., mentioned above (No. 985), all given in picture and accompanied by magic formulae in *Devanāgarī* and Chinese characters. It is a typical and interesting Tantric text, with extensive explanations in small type. The names of the *mudrās* are also given in *Devanāgarī*. In the same way seven *mudrās* and formulae accompany the names of

[1] Cf. *Daijiten*, p. 220, 1 s. v. *Kanro-ō*.

the seven Buddhas, and six other *mudrās* close the row, thus forming the number of twenty one (three times seven) in all. In the beginning of the second part the *Triratna, Śākyamuni, Amitābha* and 34 other Buddhas are invoked.

If we reflect upon the contents of the different texts concerning the ceremony of feeding the Pretas, we find that they differ mainly in the numbers of the special Buddhas invoked, which are four, five (according to the ceremonial rules referred to by the *Bukkyō daijiten*) and seven. The two former numbers are those of the four or five quarters, whereas seven is the holy number *par excellence*, also used with regard to the incantations, mudrās and bushels of drink and food, obtained by the Pretas.

§ 5, E. *Amoghavajra propagated the Preta-feeding ceremony in China (A.D. 746—771), which was mixed up with the U-lan-b'an festival.*

It is evident that it was Amoghavajra who propagated the *Segaki* ceremony in China, which was mixed up with the earlier *Avalambana* festival and in its new form spread throughout the country. Afterwards the same process took place in Japan, and in both countries the festival of the dead, celebrated in the seventh month of the old calendar, is a mixture of the two ceremonies: the offering of food to the Buddha and the Saṅgha for the sake of the deceased parents of seven generations (originally also on behalf of the living parents, that they might enjoy a long, happy and healthy life), and on the other hand the *Segaki* or offering of food to the Pretas.

§ 6. *The "All Souls" Festival in China at the present day.*

There must, however, be a third element in the "All Souls" Festival of the present day in China and Japan. Eitel (s.v. Ullambana) describes it as follows: "The festival of all souls

(醮, *tsiao*), as now annually held in China during the seventh moon, when Buddhist (and Taoist) priests read masses to release from purgatory the souls of those who died on land or sea, scatter rice to feed *Pretas*, consecrate domestic ancestral shrines, burn paper clothes, on the beach or in boats, for the benefit of those who were drowned (燒衣節), and recite Yoga Tantras (such as are collected in the 瑜伽集要燄口施食儀, translated by Amoghavajra, A.D. 746—771), accompanied by magic fingerplay (*Mudrā*) to comfort ancestral spirits of seven generations in purgatory (*Nāraka*). This is done in temporary sheds in which statues of the popular Buddhist deities, groups of statuettes representing scenes from Chinese history, dwarf plants, silk festoms, chandeliers and lamps are brought together in a sort of annual religious exhibition, enlivened by music and fire works, the principal ceremonies being performed at midnight (especially on the 15th day of the 7th moon). The expenses of the priests and the exhibition are defrayed by local associations (盂蘭勝會) levying contributions on every shop and household, the whole performance being supposed to exorcize the evil spirits which otherwise would work financial and sanitary ruin in the neigbourhood, besides giving every individual an opportunity of obtaining the intercessory prayers of the priests for the benefit of his own deceased ancestors or relatives". In Eitel's opinion the Chinese ceremonial is the Tibetan Gtorma ritual ("strewing oblations") engrafted upon Confucian ancestral worship. "This agrees", he says, "with the known fact that a native of Tukhāra, Dharmaraksha I (A.D. 265—316), introduced into China and translated the *Ullambana sūtra*, which gives the whole ceremonial the (forged) authority of Śākyamuni".

We learn from Prof. Caland (*Totenverehrung*, pp. 45 sq.) that the idea of the *pretas* and *pitaras* leaving Yama's house is an ancient Indian conception. The sources giving different details, the calculation of the time of this period and of the offering

ceremonies is uncertain, but they were said to leave their abode on the 13th day of the dark half of *Āśvina* (or another month) and under Maghā in the rainy season. The appearance of the Scorpion is the sign for them to return to their dark home; they are very hungry and, announcing their own sins, they want rice-gruel, mixed with honey, from their sons and grandsons during their stay on earth, especially on that thirteenth day, but also during the whole dark half of the month. Here we have the prototype of the Chinese festival of the dead.

Prof. de Groot gives a very interesting description of the whole ceremony in his "*Fêtes annuellement célébrées à Emoui*".[1] There we read that the hell is opened in the evening of the first day of the seventh month; the hungry spirits are invited, and wine, food, paper clothes and paper money are offered up to them on tables placed before the doors of the houses; incense is burned and candles are lighted to show the spirits the way. During the whole month a square lantern is lighted before each door, called *lo-ting*, 路燈, or road-lantern. The main festival, however, takes place on the 15th of the month (or, in the towns, for the sake of convenience, on different days in different quarters). Then three or five priests, clad in ceremonial dresses and accompanied by musicians and people who carry banners and lanterns, go along the streets, and, stopping at each door where an offering-table is set up, they light incense and distribute the food and drink to the pretas by means of the magic formula, mentioned in the above-mentioned texts. Thereupon the inhabitants make offerings of paper clothes, incense, wine and food to the spirits, and finally have a feast themselves. The principal ceremony, however, is celebrated in the temples, where a large altar is erected with all kinds of food; among other paper objects an enormous paper image of a male deity, considered to be the ruler of the demons or an incarnation of *Kwanyin*, the Saviour from Hell, is set up,

[1] *Annales du Musée Guimet*, XII, Vol. II, pp. 420 sqq.

and theatrical performances are given, especially that of Maudgalyāyana's visit to his mother in hell. By means of the magic formulae, mentioned in the texts on the Feeding of Pretas, the offerings are multiplied, the spirits saved, the Buddhas (and *Kwanyin*, although not spoken of in the texts) invoked. Finally, all the paper objects are burned, among them the images of the king of the demons and of Yama with his two attendants, and the food offerings plundered by the crowd, who apparently considers them to be lucky food. Sometimes even children have their special festival, celebrated in the same way on a small scale. On the last day of the month the hell is closed and the offering tables are set up at the doors for the last time; in some quarters even a second great sacrifice takes place on that day.

On a smaller scale this autumnal festival is repeated in the feeding of the pretas in the evening of the last (the fourth) day of the ordinary masses for the dead, described in extenso by De Groot in his "*Buddhist Masses for the dead at Amoy* (Leyde, 1884; § 3, pp. 86 sqq.). "This all, however, is done on behalf of the spirits of the land alone. Those which live on and in the water should be evoked in a special manner. Mostly, some Taoist priests are engaged for the purpose. Accompanied by some of the mourners, a band of musicians, and a few coolies who carry a number of small earthen bowls, each containing some oil or preparation of pitch wherein a wick is swimming, they repair to the edge of the nearest running water, or, at Amoy, which is a sea-port, to the nearest jetty on the shore. Arrived there, each bowl is placed in a cheap earthen vessel, around the brim of which paper imitations of the lotus or some other flower are affixed; and thereupon the lamps are lighted, with the vessels placed on the surface of the water and so allowed to float off. Small lanterns of paper and bamboo, each with a lighted candle within and planted by means of a short stick, attached underneath, in some sand or earth which has been placed in the bottom of the vessels, some-

times take the place of the lamps described. When the vessels are floating away, the priests repeat certain incantations, beat their gongs and cymbals, and blow their horns, all to inform the spirits that they are desired to allow themselves to be lighted to the place of entertainment". After having welcomed the invisible guests, the procession returns home with burning lanterns. "This curious ceremony, which is performed especially for the convenience of the manes of persons who drowned or died abroad, is called 放水燈, "to launch water-lamps" .... "The ceremonies on behalf of the pretas, already described, are almost always performed between sunset and midnight. This is because the spirits are believed to dislike the day-time, as the influences, which then prevail, are more powerful than those of the night, to which spirits are, naturally, subject".

We may add that the water-lamp ceremony, as we learn from the Japanese *Bon* festival, also belongs to the great festival of the seventh month, and that the spirits of those who were drowned in rivers or at sea, or who died abroad, are the fourth and sixth of the ten kinds of Pretas, enumerated at the end of Nanjō No. 1467. The Pretas are also divided into two main categories, namely those who live in the world of men and appear to them on the road at night, and those who live in hell, 50 yojanas beneath the earth. [1]

§ 7. *The Bon festival in Japan at the present day.*

In Japan the days of the festival are only from the 13th to the 16th of the seventh month (in the country from the 13th to the 16th of Aug., because there the old Chinese calendar is still in vogue with regard to such ancient ceremonies). In the evening of the 13th a small fire is lighted before the doors, in order to show the way to the spirits, and again in the evening of the 16th, when they are supposed to return to hell. Incense powder is

[1] Cf. *Daijiten*, p. 225, 3, s. v. *gaki*; *Daijii*, I, p. 538, 1, s. v. *gakidō*.

strewn into the fire, and food offerings, after the feast wrapped up in mats and thrown into a river, are placed upon an altar, specially erected in a room, where a priest reads masses for the dead. The graves have been cleansed beforehand by the relatives of the deceased and adorned with flower offerings, whilst lanterns are lighted to show them the way. In the temples the priests read masses for the souls of those whose relatives come and light incense sticks on the altar and on the graves, as well as for those who have no family to care for them. During those days only vegetarian food (rice cakes, vegetables etc.) is eaten. [1] During the five years of my stay in Japan I repeatedly saw this festival in Hakone, where we lived in the *Jōdo* temple *Hongenji* and had to leave the main hall during those three days. In the evening small lights were seen floating upon the water of the beautiful Ashi lake, which agrees with the Chinese custom described by Professor de Groot; also along the sea shore (as in China) such lights are made to float upon the waves.

Chamberlain [2] describes the festival as follows. "This is the great Buddhist festival of *Bon,* which is often termed by foreigners the Feast of Lanterns, but might better be rendered as All Souls' Day. The spirits of dead ancestors then visit the altar sacred to them in each household, and special offerings of food are made to them. The living restrict themselves to maigre dishes as far as possible. The ceremony of "opening the river" (*kawa-biraki*), as it is called, generally takes place in Tōkyō about this time. The spectacle is a delightful one. Half the town goes out on the River Sumida in boats gaily decked with lanterns, while fireworks and music add to the gaiety of the evening. The rural population of most parts of the empire celebrate the festival by a dance known as *Bon-odori* (盆踊). It is usual for masters to fee their servants at the *Bon* season. This should

[1] Cf. Lange, in Chantepie de la Saussaye's *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte,* 3e ed., pp. 137 sq.

[2] *Things Japanese,* s. v. Festivals, July 13—16.

be done not later than the 13th". In another passage of his excellent work (*Things Japanese*)[1] he describes the *bon-odori* as follows. "The details vary from village to village; but the general feature of this dance is a large circle or wheel of posturing peasants, who revolve to the notes of the song sung and the flute and drum played by a few of their number in the middle. Kyōto and Tōkyō, being too civilised for such rustic exercises in which all share, do their dancing by proxy". In the towns this festival takes place according to the new calendar (July 13—16), but in the country in the middle of August, this being the seventh month of the old Chinese lunar calendar. We may be sure that the lanterns of the *kawa-biraki* (so often represented by the *Ukiyo-e* masters in the ancient Japanese colour-prints) are the lights of the Avalambana festival.

The *Kokushi daijiten* (p. 323, s. v. *Urabon*) gives an interesting account of the history of the *Urabon* (*gu*) (供), or *Urabon-e* (會), or *Bon*, or *Shōryō-matsuri* (精靈祭, "Offering to the Vital Spirits (of the dead)". The *Shōryō-dana* (精靈棚) is the shelf or stand on which the ofierings of drink and food to the deceased relatives are placed. According to this author the 14th day was the date when the Japanese Emperor, seated upon a round rush-mat, made obeisance (to the Buddha and the Saṅgha), but this did not take place when the Emperor was a child. In the Muromachi period (A.D. 1392—1490) the *Urabon-e* was held during three days, from the 14th to the 16th. At the time of the *Bakufu* (1603—1867) the Shōgun's family offered lanterns (*tōrō*, 燈籠) in the Palace, and ate cooked rice of the new crop, wrapped up in lotus leaves and prepared by the Ōkusa family (大草氏). At the same time the people celebrated the festival from the 13th to the 16th day, but the 15th was the principal day of the *Shōryō-matsuri*. On the 12th there was a market called *Kusa no ichi* (草市) or *Bon no ichi* (盆市), where people bought the *tamadana* (魂棚) or "soul-shelves"

[1] Ibid., s. v. Dances.

(the *shōryō-dana*) and ornaments for the festival. On the 13th all classes of the population erected those altars and spread *makomo* (眞菰) (Indian rice or water oats) upon them; in front of these they erected two bamboo pillars, one on the left and one on the right, adorned at the top with undulating vermicelli (*sōmen*, 索麵). The vessels of cooked rice were placed on *kuge-dai* (i. e. *sambō-dai*), wooden offering stands, and tea, fruits, incense and flowers were offered, lanterns (*kiriko-dōrō*, lanterns of a cubical form with square corners) were lighted, Buddhist priests invited to read the *sūtra*, and thus the souls of the ancestors were worshipped. That night fires of hemp-stalks were lighted (the *mukae-bi*, 迎火, or "welcome-fires", mentioned below, § 10, p. 105) in order to welcome the spirits, and again in the night of the 16th (the *okuri-bi*, 送火, or "seeing-off fires"), to send them home. The 15th day (the principal day of the festival) was called *Chūgen* (中元) (cf. below *Chung-yuen*, pp. 97 sqq); then all classes ate *hasu-meshi* (荷飯), i. e. rice wrapped in *hasu* (lotus) leaves and steamed, and *sashi-saba* (刺鯖), i. e. salted mackerels strung on a bamboo stick. In many respects this description of the festival in the Tokugawa days may also apply to the present day. [1]

[1] Cf. also *Kokumin nenju gyōji, Das Jahr im Erleben des Volkes*, übersetzt von Barghoorn, Keyssner, Van der Laan, Rudolf und Simonis, Tōkyō 1926 (Deutsche Ges. f. Nat. und Völkerkunde Ostasiens, pp. 165 sqq.). A recent Japanese newspaper gives the following description.

"The Bon season officially began yesterday this year, although the country folks still observe it according to the lunar calendar. The season lasts three days during which the spirits of the departed are received at home, and food and other sacrifices are offered to them during their short visit to their former abode. Early in the morning of tbe first day of the Bon season, the members of a family make a visit to the family graveyard, and bring the spirits of the dead home. 'We have come to welcome you to your former home this morning', they would say towards the silent tombs. 'Please come and follow us to your old home'.

When the welcoming party reaches home, the doors of the house are opened and the spirits of the dead are first led inside and are placed upon the family altar. Children are told not to cry while the spirits of

§ 8. *The Hindu Dīvālī and the Taoist Chung-yuen festival.*

A. *The Indian Feast of Lamps.*

It is remarkable that light plays such an important part in the Buddhist festival of the dead in China and Japan, whereas the Avalambana and Preta-feeding texts, referred to above, are all silent on this part of the ceremony! Only in one passage (Nanjō No. 985, p. 5*a*), where the offerings are enumerated, lamps are mentioned together with water, incense water, flowers, clay (used for making small pagodas as offerings), drink and food, hot water and medicine, but nowhere in the texts is their special use as guides of the Pretas spoken of. Thus we must seek the reason of the great importance of light in the Chinese and Japanese All Souls' festival in other Indian or Chinese festivals, which are mixed up with the two ceremonies treated above.

Although it evidently has no connection with the so-called *Mandō-e*, 萬燈會, or "Ten thousand Lamps meetings", celebrated in temples in honour of the Buddha (cf. below, Ch. VII, §§ 4—8), there is another Indian lantern festival which, although not Buddhistic, may have been identified by the Tantric priests with the Taoist *Chung-yuen* festival and mixed up with the Buddhist rites for the dead. Originally I considered the lights of the Chinese and Japanese Avalambana to be due to the Taoist *Chung-yuen* rites, performed on the same day (VII 15), but when my friend Dr. W. F. Stutterheim directed my attention to the Hindu *Dīvālī* or "Feast of Lamps", I became aware of the fact that also with respect to the lights Indian ideas must have

their forefathers are staying in the house, and the master of the family is most strict in enforcing the family regulations. At the end of the season the spirits are again led back to the graves and told to rest there until the next season.

It may be said that this practice is a Buddhistic form of Japanese ancestor worship, for it shows our people's reverence and love towards their ancestors who have long ago departed from this world".

played an important part in creating the Chinese Buddhist festival of the dead.

Dr. Stutterheim referred to the *Sanskṛit-English Dictionary* (Oxford 1899) of Monier Williams (p. 481), where we read s. v. *dīpālī*: "'a row of lights', a festival with illuminations on the day of new moon in the month *Āśvina* or *Kārttika*", and s.v. *dīpōtsava*: "a festival of lights." He further quoted another work of the same author, entitled "*Brāhmanism and Hinduism*" (London 1887) (p. 432), where the *Dīvālī* (properly *Dīpālī* or *Dīpāvalī*) is described as follows. "*Dīvālī*, 'the feast of lamps', is observed twenty days after the Nava-rātra (the autumnal equinoctial festival) on the last two days of the dark half of *Āśvina*, and on the new moon and four following days of Kārttika, in honour of Vishṇu's wife Lakshmī or of Śiva's wife Bhavānī (Pārvatī). It is marked by beautiful illuminations, in the preparation of wich Indians far excel Europeans. The Dīvālī is celebrated with splendid effect at Benares. There its magnificence is heightened by the situation of the city on the bank of the river and the unique contour of the buildings. At the approach of night small earthen lamps, fad with oil, are prepared by millions, and placed quite close together so as to mark out every line of mansion, palace, temple, minaret, and dome in streaks of fire. All the vessels on the river are lighted up, and the city is a blaze of light".

§ 8, B. *Guiding the spirits and floating lamps on the water.*

Underhill, in his work on "*The Hindu Religious Year*" (Calcutta, 1921) (p. 59), also referred to by Dr. Stutterheim, states that this festival is compounded of some five different festivals. On the thirteenth of the dark half of Āśvina (i.e. the 28th) lamps are lighted and kept burning throughout the five nights. On the next day Vishṇu's victory over the demon Bali is celebrated; the latter becomes king of hell, and thus the festival is connected with

Yama. In a note it is stated that Sir W. Jones, in Asiatic Researches III, pp. 25 sqq., says that the lights are to guide to Yama's halls spirits of kinsmen who have died abroad, or in battle. The Dīvāpalī proper (the fourth of the five festivals) is celebrated on the first day of Kārttika; in some parts of India this is the first day of the year. Bali worship belongs to its ceremonies, but in Bengal this cult is unknown, and "in its place we have the launching, on a stream, by women and girls, at twilight, of small saucers, each containing a lamp. If the lamp founders, or drifts ashore again, the year will bring misfortune; but if it floats safely down-stream, the year will be happy". The last day is devoted to an "exchange of amenities between brothers and sisters, to celebrate Yama's dining with his sister". We further learn that the *dīpāvalī* is the ancient New-Year's festival, and that on *Āshāḍha* new moon (June—July) Lakshmī is worshipped by women by means of lamps (p. 107). As to lamps set afloat on the water, this is also done in honour of the sun on the day of the winter solstice, the *Makara Saṃkrānti*, when the sun enters Capricornus (Makara), "to secure freedom from sickness or sorrow for the year".

§ 8, C. *Return of the spirits of the dead.*

In connection with this valuable information Prof. Vogel showed me a passage in W. Crooke's *Popular Religion and Folk-lore of Northern India* (Westminster 1896) (II, pp. 295 sq.), where the *Dīvālī* or Feast of Lamps, which is performed on the last day of the dark fortnight in the month of Kārttika (this must be *Āśvina*), is said to be more of a city than a rural festival. "But even in the villages everyone burns a lamp outside the house on that night". "The original basis of the feast seems to have been the idea that on this night the spirits of the dead revisit their homes, which are cleaned and lighted for their

reception". This seems to be the ground of the legend concerning the origin of the festival, which runs as follows. "Once upon a time an astrologer foretold to a Rāja that on the new moon of Kārttik his Kāl, or fate, would appear at midnight in the form of a snake; that the way to avoid this was that he should order all his subjects on that night to keep their houses, streets, and lanes clean; that there should be a general illumination; that the king, too, should place a lamp at his door, and at the four corners of his court, and sprinkle rice and sweetmeats everywhere. If the door-lamp went out it was foretold that he would become insensible, and that he was to tell his Rānī to sing the praises of the snake when it arrived. These instructions were carefully carried out, and the snake was so pleased with this reception, that he told the Rānī to ask any boon she pleased. She asked for long life for her husband. The snake replied that it was out of his power to grant this, but that he would make arrangements with Yamarāja, the lord of the dead, for the escape of her husband, and that she was to continue to watch his body. Then the snake carried off the spirit of the king to Yamarāja. When the papers of the king's life were produced before Yamarāja his age was denoted by a cipher, but the kindly snake put a seven before it, and thus raised his age to seventy years. Then Yamarāja said: 'I find that this person has still seventy years to live. Take him back at once'. So the snake brought back the soul of the king, and he revived and lived for seventy years more, and established this feast in honour of the event". In another passage of the same work (II, p. 74) the author says: "All Hindus believe that the ghosts of the dead return on the night of the Dīvālī or feast of lamps".

§ 8, D. *Lighting the spirits to their home.*

The idea of lighting the soul is found on p. 55 of the second volume of the same book. There we read that, when a Hindu

dies, a lamp made of flour is placed in his hands to light his ghost to the realm of Yama. "Devout people believe that the spirit takes three hundred and sixty days to accomplish the journey, so an offering of that number of lamps is made. In order, also, to help him on his way, they feed a Brāhman every day for a year; if the deceased was a woman, a Brāhmanī is fed. The lamps are lighted facing the south, and this is the only occasion on which this is done, because the south is the realm of death, and no one will sleep or have their house door opening towards that ill-omened quarter of the sky".

§ 8, E. *Dīvālī combined with U-lan-b'an, Preta-feeding and Chung-yuen.*

On considering these facts we arrive at the conclusion that the Hindu *Dīvālī* festival must have been combined by the Tantric priests in China with the Avalambana and Preta-feeding rites. The fact that the latter were performed on the same date as the Taoist *Chung-yuen*, a festival in honour of Earth and ancestors, said to have originally been celebrated with nocturnal illuminations, may have given some support to this association of ideas. Kārttika 1, apparently the principal day of the *Dīvālī* festival, is the day following the last day of the Retreat of the monks, which according to the Chinese translators before Hüen-tsang and I-tsing, lasted from IV 16—VII 15. Kārttika was also called *Kaṭhina* after the raw cotton cloth of the robes, distributed to the monks immediately after the Pravāraṇa.[1] Thus the principal date of the Dīvālī festival also belonged to the days of offering to the Saṅgha, proper to the Avalambana festival, and was only one day after the principal date of that festival and the Chung-yuen rites; it is no wonder that they were identified.

[1] Cf. Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 100; *Daijiten*, p. 194, s. v. *Kachina.*

We have seen that the idea of lamps being guides to the spirits of the dead is of Indian origin, as well as the floating of lamps on the water and the return of the souls to their homes on a special day. It may be that originally those Indian festivals of light were intended to strengthen the sun in a magical way; but at any rate, if this has been the case, it was forgotten and the lamps became guides to the returning spirits, because they were used in this way at the time of their death to light them on the road to the land of darkness. This Indian thought was introduced into China and applied to the Buddhist festival of the dead. If the *Chung-yuen* festival actually was a lantern feast with ancestor worship, its rites were also adequate for such an interpretation.

§ 8, F. *The Taoist Chung-yuen festival.*

The Bukkyō daijiten (s. v. *Chūgen*, p. 1205, 3) informs us that according to the Taoist books the *Chung-yuen*, 中元, or "Middle Beginning" festival, celebrated on the 15th of the 7th month, is the day when the "Official of Earth" (地官), i.e. the god who in the service of the Emperor of Heaven has to administrate the Earth, descends (from Heaven) and fixes the virtuous and wicked deeds of mankind. All the great sages from all sides go to the Imperial Palace; at night the Taoist doctors expound the classics, the great sages equally give records of the holy volumes (靈篇), in order to release (解脫, *gedatsu*, save) the hungry demons as well as the prisoners (囚徒) (in hell). Further we read there that in the Taoist classics the fifteenth day or full of the moon (望) of the first month is called 上元, *Siang-yuen* or "Upper (First) Beginning", that of the *seventh* month 中元, *Chung-yuen*, or "Middle Beginning", and that of the *tenth* month 下元, *Hia-yuen* or "Lower (Last) Beginning".

Prof. de Groot's *Fêtes annuelles à Emoui*[1] gives us full and very interesting details with regard to these three important Taoist festivals. The "Lords of the Three Worlds" (三界公, *Sankiai-kung*) are the 天官, 地官 and 水官, the "Officials of Heaven, Earth and Water", i.e. the gods who rule those three departments of nature: heaven or the sky, the earth and hell, the atmosphere and water. Their festivals are called their *birthdays,* 生日; these are the three "Beginnings", mentioned above. The first of the three is the most important, because it is devoted to the cult of all of them, but especially to the "Official of Heaven". The word yuen (元), "beginning, origin", means the creative force of Heaven and Earth; on the day of the full moon of the first month, in the beginning of spring, the creative power of heaven commences its action; on that of the seventh month, in the beginning of autumn, that of earth; and in the beginning of winter that of water. On the first and the fifteenth day of each month two lanterns are lighted in the houses in honour of the Lords of the Three Worlds and three incense-sticks are offered up to them in an incense-burner, specially devoted to their service. But the fifteenth of the first month is the great day for lighting lanterns and candles in honour of the "Official of Heaven", before the gates, in the streets, within the houses and in the temples. These lanterns have all kinds of forms, whilst the predominant colours are red (fire and luck) and white (sunlight and moonlight). If the candles offered up in the temples are not yet entirely burned after five evenings, the remainders are brought back to the houses of the donators, who give some money, enveloped in red paper, to the priests, and use them on their domestic altars for the benefit of the family. At the same time, i. e. on the evening of the 15th, the day of the Lantern festival (thus called by the foreigners), bonfires are lighted, mostly before temples, where combustibles have been heaped up in an open place. The day

[1] *Fêtes annuelles à Emoui,* I, pp. 124 sqq.; II, pp. 445 sqq.

before the image of a small tiger is carried about in a palanquin and the combustibles are collected from house to house; this is the Celestial White Tiger, the constellation which in spring receives the Sun and spreads its vivifying rays, and whose large image, made of bamboo and paper and filled with crackers, is drawn along the streets on the day of the festival, while with a loud noise the crackers burst forth from its body. In the evening of the 15th the piles before the temples are lighted and Taoist priests, bare-footed and sometimes half-naked, jump through the flames with the little tiger (which belongs to the temple and was carried before in a palanquin) in their arms, followed by the crowd, which gets into a fury of excitement. For hours they jump through the fire again, with an immense noise of gongs and cries, till the pile is consumed and the hot ashes are collected by women, who take them home and lay them upon their hearths, thus causing the domestic animals to prosper by the power of the vernal fire, which represents the reviving sun. Similar customs are found all over the world, and the present writer, quoting Frazer's *Golden Bough* and Teylor's *Primitive Culture*, in his treatise on "*Fire and ignes fatui in China and Japan*" suggested that the custom of leaping or walking over those fires probably serves to *lustrate* the performers as well as to give them strength and health. [1]

The second of the three festivals, the *Chung-yuen*, popularly called the "Middle of the Seventh Month" (七月半), celebrates the birthday of the "Official of Earth", the beginning of autumn, when the products of the earth have ripened and the power of the sun is gradually decreasing. The offerings to this god are the same as those made to the "Official of Heaven", but at the same time rice-cakes, sweets, ducks and wine are presented to the ancestors. Finally, on the fifteenth day of the tenth month

[1] *Fire and ignes fatui in China and Japan*, Mitt. des Seminars f. Orient. Sprachen zu Berlin, XVII, Abt. 1, Ostasias. Studien, Berlin 1914, Ch. II, §§ 7 and 8.

the "Official of Water" is worshipped with a domestic sacrifice similar to that of the two other ceremonies. The element water corresponds to the colour black, the North and winter;[1] hence the Spirit of Water is worshipped at the beginning of winter.

According to the *Wu-tsah-tsu* (五雜組, a work of the Ming dynasty),[2] quoted by the *Wakan sansai sue* (Ch. IV, s.v. *Urabon*), about A.D. 420, at the beginning of the early Sung dynasty, nocturnal illuminations took place at the *Chung-Yuen* and *Hia-Yuen* as well as at the *Siang-Yuen* festivals; but at the two former ceremonies they were abolished in the Shun-hwa era (A.D. 990—995) by the Emperor T'ai Tsung (太宗).

As to the *Chung-yuen*, other Taoist names of this autumnal All-souls festival are 打醮 or 建醮 or 設醮 or 作醮, *Ta-tsiao* or *Kien-tsiao* or *Sheh-tsiao* or *Tsoh-tsiao*, "Striking, Setting up, Arranging, Making the Sacrifice". The character 打, *ta*, to beat, is used for *striking fire* by means of the "fire-striker", 火打, and 醮 indicates the fire as well as the libations used in worship of the dead.

In reply to the valuable remarks of Dr. Duyvendak with regard to my treatise on this subject in the "*Mededeelingen*" of the Royal Academy of Sciences in Amsterdam (*Acta Orientalia*, V 1, p. 39 sqq.), I agree that the *Chung-yuen* festival, forming part of a Taoistic group of Triads, seems to be of comparatively recent origin.[3] In imitation of Buddhism the Taoists created such Triads, and this must have been the reason why they omitted Summer (Fire) in this group of festivals of the seasons and "Officials" of Heaven, Earth and Water. From olden times, however, there had been four festivals devoted to the "renewal of fire".

[1] Cf. ibid., Ch. II, § 9, p. 18. (Hwai-nan-tszĕ, Ch. III, p. 11, and the *Pen-ts'ao kang-muh*, Sect. Fire, Ch. VI, p. 5a.

[2] *Wu-tsah-tsu*, 五雜組, written by *Sié Chao-chi*, 謝肇淛, who lived during the Wan-lih era (1573—1620). Cf. *Kanseki kaidai, zakki*, p. 819.

[3] Cf. Doré, *Researches into Chinese superstitions*, Vol. VI, art. 4, quoted by Dr. Duyvendak.

The *Cheu li* (周禮) says that the *Szĕ-kwan*, 司爟, have the task of giving the official order with regard to putting the fire into action. "In the four seasons they change the Fire of the Empire in order to save (the country) from the diseases of the time". In my treatise on "*Fire and ignes fatui in China and Japan*[1] I referred to Frazer's *Golden Bough* and Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, in order to show that this "renewal of fire" in the four seasons was a magical act (not "light-worship", as Dr. Duyvendak calls such ceremonies) to cause the sun to become stronger and stronger in spring, to retain its strength in summer, and to strengthen the sun at its decline and weakness in autumn and winter. At the same time these fires, representing the sun itself, were believed to drive away all demons of disease from man, cattle and crops, and to make them strong and prosperous. Moreover, the custom of leaping or walking over those fires probably served to lustrate the performers as well as to give them strength and health. In autumn they often had the character of harvest festivals.

In later times, after the Han dynasty, the "renewal of fire" is said to have been limited to spring instead of being still practised in the four seasons. This was the very time when the Taoistic Triad of Heaven, Earth and Water and their festivals seems to have been formed, the first of which was the famous Lantern Festival of Spring. Probably they did not create new ceremonies, but took the ancient fire rites of autumn (the harvest festival practically retaining its former value, but now in worship of the Earth and the ancestors) and winter, in order to set up their new Triad. The "nocturnal illuminations" of the *Chung-yuen* and *Hia-yuen* may have been a survival of the "renewal of fire", practised on those dates in former times. Evidently this ancient renewal of fire in autumn was not, as Dr. Duyvendak calls it, "going against the Tao of Heaven", for this would never have

[1] L. l., Sect. I, Ch. II, §§ 1, 8, 9.

been done by a good Taoist, but it was an endeavour to turn the remaining power of Yang, as much as possible, to the benefit of mankind.

As to the term "striking the sacrifice" (打醮), used for the *Chung-yuen* rites, as stated above this points to the ancient use of the "fire-striker" at the renewal of fire. With regard to the word *tsiao* I acknowledge the fact that it is a general term for Taoist sacrifices, but I consider the composition of the character to be clear evidence of its meaning libations and "burning". The "phonetic element" 焦, instead of having no significance, must on the contrary have been the original form of the character, and the radical 酉 was added to designate the libations, made at this kind of sacrifice.

It may be that Dr. Duyvendak is right in not believing that the *Chung-yuen* festival has to any considerable degree influenced the celebration of Avalambana, and I am very grateful to him for his highly valuable criticism. But the above facts may prove the possibility of its having contained survivals of an ancient fire ceremony, namely the "nocturnal illuminations", which were so remarkable in view of the coincidence with the Buddhist festival of the dead.

§ 9. *The lights of the Avalambana festival in China.*

If we consider the above facts, we arrive at the conclusion, that the illuminations predominating at the Avalambana festival in China (and afterwards in Japan) were due to Hinduist and, perhaps, Taoist influences. The original Avalambana rites were offerings to the Buddha and the Saṅgha for the sake of the parents of seven generations, and its date was the last day of the summer retreat, "a day of enjoyment" to the Buddha and his monks. It is no wonder that the Taoists, always ready to identify Buddhist ideas with theirs and to combine the Indian and Chinese elements of religion, especially with regard to

the dead, agreed with the Buddhist propagators in celebrating the two festivals on the same day. Afterwards the Tantric School mixed up the rites of Preta feeding, introduced by Amoghavajra (who translated a large number of works from A.D. 746—771), with the Avalambana ceremony, and finally the illuminations, proper to the Indian *Dīvālī* and (perhaps) to the Chinese *Chung-yuen*, became a most important part of the Avalambana in its new Tantric form. We know how the Tantric School was accustomed to make free use of Hindu and foreign elements and to adopt them in order to enlarge its own sphere of influence. It declared the different Hindu and foreign gods to be manifestations of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas and took them up into its pantheon, and did not hesitate to annex the Hindu (and Taoist?) illuminations and to explain them, according to Indian thought, as guides of the Pretas. In this way a new and fascinating element was added to the Buddhist festival of the dead.

As to the Buddhist methods of adopting native customs and ceremonies and explaining them in a Buddhist sense we may compare the offering of pebbles by Japanese travellers to the Bodhisattva *Jizō* (*Kṣitigarbha*) in his function of god of the roads. In olden times such little stones were laid at the feet of the phallic gods of the roads, the *Sae* or *Sai no kami* (also called by the Chinese term *Dōsōjin*), not as an offering, but to place one's self under their protection by bringing into contact with them something which had before been touched by the person himself (cf. the *Hermaia* of the ancient Greeks). When Jizō had taken the place of these gods, the Buddhists continued the old custom and explained it by saying that each of those pebbles meant one pebble less to be heaped up on the beach of the river in hell by the souls of the children, who stood under Jizō's protection! [1]

In the same way the Taoist lights, which in olden times had

[1] Cf. my treatise on "*The Bodhisattva Ti-tsang (Jizō) in China and Japan*", Ch. III, § 2, p. 120.

served to strengthen the declining power of the sun, may have been identified by Buddhists and Taoists with the *Dīvālī* lamps as guiding lights to show the Pretas the way to the sacrificial tables of the human world! I say "Buddhists and Taoists", for it was a mutual process of borrowing and identifying and changing the original conceptions. We saw above, how the Taoist performers of the *Chung-yuen* rites used their holy texts "to save the hungry demons" (the Pretas); on the other hand the Ten Kings of Hell are a Taoist idea accepted by the Buddhists. They gave the supremacy to Shang Ti, the Taoist Emperor of Heaven, but under him they placed Ti-tsang as the Lord of Hell. [1] So extensive was the process of mutual adaptation.

As to the time when the lights of the *Chung-yuen* festival may have been identified with the *Dīvālī* lamps as an essential part of Avalambana, the above passage of the *Wu-tsah-tsu* about their abolition at the *Chung-yuen* (which thenceforth became an ordinary domestic ancestral rite) between A.D. 990 and 995 by the Emperor T'ai Tsung, may point to the fact that from that time all illuminations on that day were considered to belong to the Buddhist and not to the Taoist festival.

§ 10. *The lights and fires of the Bon festival in Japan.*

In Japan Kwanki 2 (A.D. 1230) is designated in the *Wakan sansai zue* [2] as the date when by order of the Emperor Go Horikawa (1222—1232) for the first time candles were lighted from the 14th night of the seventh month to the end of the month. At the *Jōgen* and *Gegen* (the *Siang-yuen* and *Hia-yuen*) festivals no candles were lighted. It is clear that this Emperor considered the lights as belonging to the Buddhist festival of the dead, whereas the author whose statement was used in the *Wakan*

[1] L. I., Sect. II, Ch. I, 25 sqq.

[2] *Wakan sansai zue* (A. D. 1713), Ch. IV, s. v. *Urabon.*

sansai zue thought of the *Chūgen* in connection with the two other Taoist festivals.

The fires of hemp-stalks, kindled in Japan before the eaves or the gates in the evening of the thirteenth (Fujii says the fourteenth, but according to the *Bukkyō daijiten* it is the thirteenth) of the seventh month (the beginning of the *Urabon* or *Bon* festival) are called *mukae-bi* or *mukai-bi* (迎火), "Welcome-fires", because they are a welcome to the spirits of the ancestors;[1] in the evening of the sixteenth day (the end of the festival) they are sent back to their infernal abode in the same way by means of the *okuri-bi* (送火) or "Seeing-off fires".[2] The latter name is also given to the fires kindled before the gate at funerals, when the coffin is carried out of the house;[3] thus, as in India and China, these ideas were also connected with the funeral ceremonies.

The *Jōdo Shinshū* priest Ekū (慧空) (A.D. 1644—1721), of the Higashi Hongwanji branch of this sect, in his work entitled *Sōrinshū*, 叢林集 (Ch. IX, 下), says that the *okuri-bi* are not lights to see off the spirits, but fires kindled on the mountains and moors and on the banks of the rivers in order to burn the offerings. These sacrifices are food for the demons, but people seem to have thought them to be only offerings to the spirits of their ancestors and deceased parents. After the ceremony of distributing the different kinds of food (to the spirits) the altar and the offerings were burned, but as this was dangerous in the neighbourhood of the houses, people went to the mountains, moors and riversides to burn them there. Those fires were called *okuri-bi*, because they served to send the offerings to the world of the spirits.

Although this explanation of the word *okuri-bi* is wrong (be-

[1] Fujii Nobumasa's *Bukkyō jirin*, p. 813, s. v. *mukae-bi*.
[2] *Daijiten*, p. 149, 1 s. v. *okuri-bi*; *Bukkyō jirin*, p. 89, s. v. *okuri-bi*.
[3] Ueda, *Daijiten*, no. 11983, s. v. *okuri-bi*.

cause they are the counterparts of the *mukae-bi*), yet this passage is interesting with regard to the fires kindled on the mountains and moors and on the banks of the rivers, and the tenacity of popular tradition which partly kept to the original meaning of the Avalambana festival as celebrated on behalf of the parents and ancestors of seven generations instead of for the benefit of the pretas. We say "partly", because they forgot that originally those offerings were not made to the parents and ancestors themselves, but to the Buddha and the Saṅgha on their behalf.

§ 11. *The character* 大 *represented in a mystic fire rite on the last day of the Bon festival in Japan.*

With regard to the fires and lights of the Avalambana festival a curious custom is related in the *Wakan sansai zue* s.v. *Urabon*. In the evening of the sixteenth day of the seventh month (i. e. the last day of the festival) more than 400 inhabitants of two villages in the province Yamashiro, East of the Kamo river, namely *Jōdoji mura* and *Jishōji mura* (淨土寺村, 慈照寺村), called after two ancient Buddhist temples there, used to light torches of pine-wood on the top of the mountain near Jōdoji mura, which are still considered to be *okuri-bi* or "seeing-off fires" for the "holy spirits" (*shōryō*, 聖靈). This term *shōryō* is also used in the name *shoryōsai*, 聖靈祭, or "Festival of the Holy Spirits", a popular name for the *Urabon-e*, which clearly indicates that the Japanese people kept to the original meaning of the Avalambana in so far as it was not celebrated on behalf of the hungry demons but for the sake of the souls of the parents of seven generations. [1]

Tradition says that Kōbō Daishi was the first to practise this rite. By means of the torches the character 大, *dai*, "great", is formed, ten *jō* (丈), i. e. about 100 English feet, square, and it is called *Daimoji no hi*, 大文字火, "Fire of the character

[1] Cf. *Daijiten*, p. 794, s. v. *shōryōsai*.

great". The ground being uneven it is levelled by means of pebbles. Every year on the sixth day of the seventh month pine-trees are cut in the mountains, dried, and burned on the 16th. From far the character 大 is visible. If these pine-trees are used by mistake for another purpose, the whole family of the culprit is sure to suffer from dyssentery. [1]

Yoshida Tōgō, 吉田東伍, relates the same fact, and gives the name of the mountain as *Nyo-i ga take* (如意岳), called after the ancient temple *Nyoirinji* near *Jōdoji machi*; it is a spur of Hieizan. According to tradition it originated from the Higashi-yama-dono, i. e. *Ginkakuji*, built in A.D. 1473 on Higashi-yama by the Shōgun Ashikaga no Yoshimasa, and made after his death (A.D. 1490) into a Buddhist temple called *Jishōji*, 慈照寺. A monk was said to have made it, and it was a summer-evening's sight for the people south of the Kamo river (洛陽). Afterwards it was imitated also on Matsuzaki and Ōkita-yama, North of the Kamo river.

The fact that this remarkable ceremony took place in the evening of the 16th of the 7th month indicates that Terajima Ryōan, the learned author of the *Wakan sansai zue* (A.D. 1713) was right in connecting it with the Avalambana festival. The character 大 has many meanings in Buddhist phraseology, e. g. excelling (勝), wonderful (妙), mysterious (不可思議); the *sandai*, 三大, are the eternal constancy, blessing power and converting power of Absolute Nature (*Shinnyo*, 眞如, *Bhūtatathātā*). [3]

Thus the mystic meaning of this character is very important,

[1] *Wakan sansai zue*, Ch. IV, s. v. *Urabon*.

[2] *Dai Nihon chimei jisho*, I, p. 46, s. v. *Nyo-i ga take*.

[3] Cf. *Daijiten*, p. 1122, 3, s. v. *dai*; the *godai*, 五大, are the five elements, *earth, water, fire, wind(air)* and *ether*; in the 六大, *rokudai*, a sixth element, *knowledge* (識, *shiki, vijñāna*) is added, and in the 七大, *shichidai*, a seventh, *thought* (見, *ken, darśana*) is included before knowledge.

and we may be sure that the *Shingon* sect or the mystic branch of the *Tendai* sect were the originators of this introduction of mysticism into the fire rites of the Avalambana festival. Perhaps the *sandai* were represented on the three mountains mentioned above, in order to show to the departing spirits the eternal constancy, blessing power and converting power of Absolute Nature.

§ 12. *The Preta-feeding ceremony of the Tantric School in Japan.*

According to the *Himitsu jirin* (秘密辭林) or "Mystic Dictionary", written by Tomita Kōjun (富田敎純)[1] the mystic creed still distinguishes the Avalambana rites, consisting of a secret ceremony *in honour of Śākyamuni* to save the dead, from the *Segaki-hō* (施餓鬼法) and the *Segaki-e* (會), the Ceremony and Meeting for distributing food to the Pretas. The *Segaki-hō* takes place *in the dark of night, under a tree on a quiet spot, or by the waterside*, where an altar is erected, three feet (*shaku*) high or less, or without an altar and *without lighting of fire*. In the deepest silence and quietness water is sprinkled upon the drink and food, the *Amṛta-dhāraṇī* (*kanro-darani*) is recited and the "Meditation upon the Water-wheel" (*suirin-kwan*, 水輪觀) is made, the names of the *Five Buddhas* are invoked and thus the offerings are distributed to the Pretas. If priests of the mystic creed perform this ceremony *every night*, they accumulate meritorious and blissful actions (*kudoku*, 功德). The *Amṛta-dhāraṇī* is explained in Nanjō No. 540, entitled 佛說甘露經陀羅尼, *Buddhabhāshitāmṛta-sūtra-dhāraṇī*, and translated by Śikshānanda (App. II 145), who also translated No. 539, the *Sūtra* on the magic formulae for saving the Pretas, mentioned above (A.D. 700—712; half a leaf). There we read the following

[1] *Himitsu jirin*, p. 85, s. v. *Urabon-e*. This work was published in 1911 by the *Kaji Sekaisha* in Tōkyō.

words: "Take one handful (掬) of water, pronounce the *dhāraṇī* (given in the text) over it seven times, and sprinkle it in the air; then one drop of that water changes into ten bushels of *amṛta* ("sweet dew", *kanro*), and all the pretas together can drink it and become completely satisfied". Therefore this *dhāraṇī* is also called "The mantra for distributing *amṛta*" (施甘露眞言, *shikanro-shingon*) and "The *dhāraṇī* of the ten *amṛtas*" (十甘露咒, *jūkanro-ju*).[1] The *suirin-kwan* or "meditation on the water-wheel" causes the water to be supplied everywhere. It was used by Kōgyō Daishi (興教大師), the famous *Shingon* priest Kakuban (覺鑁) (founder of the *Shingi Shingonshū*), who lived A.D. 1095—1143.[2] The five *rin* or wheels are the five elements.[3]

In the *segaki-e* or "Meetings for distributing food to the Pretas" only the *dōshi* (導師) or "Leading Master" performs the *segaki-hō*, wheras the *shikishu* (職衆) or attendant priests (generally twenty in number) chant Sanskrit hymns in praise of the Triratna (*bai no ku*, 唄匿) and scatter flowers (thus practising the two *hōyō*, 法要, of the mystic doctrine).[4] "As in such a solemn ceremonial meeting the hungry demons cannot be present, *according to the main kalpa* (軌, *rule*) *all their offerings are thrown into the water* and thus distributed to them. It is wrong to confound the Avalambana rites with this meeting because as a rule it takes place on the date of the Avalambana festival".[5]

As stated above, in Japan the food offerings are wrapped up in mats and thrown into a river, which agrees with this passage and partly also with the text of Nanjō No. 984, where we read that the ordinary Pretas receive the food, poured out on a pure spot, whereas the *Brahman-ṛṣis* obtain it, when it is *thrown into*

[1] *Daijiten*, p. 220, 2, s. v. *kanrokyō darani.*
[2] *Himitsu jirin*, p. 635, s. v. *suirin.*
[3] *Daijiten*, p. 1803, 3, s. v. *rin.*
[4] *Himitsu jirin*, p. 988, s. v. *hōyō.*
[5] *Himitsu jirin*, p. 642, s. v. *segaki-e.*

a pure stream. Evidently this rule has no connection with the floating of "water-lamps" in China and Japan, but both are Indian conceptions; as to the latter we may refer to the *Dīvālī* and *Makara Saṃkrānti* festivals, mentioned above.

Although the Tantric priests themselves appear to distinguish the Avalambana rites from the *segaki-hō*, by celebrating the latter on the date of the Avalambana festival the Tantric School in China must have combined them intentionally, in order to propagate the Preta-feeding rites among the Chinese people in a quick and easy way.

The *Usuzōshi*, 薄草紙, a very interesting work on mystic ceremonies, written by the Japanese *Shingon* priest Jōken (成賢) (A.D. 1162—1231), [1] who also wrote the *Sahōshū*, 作法集 (containing 54 ceremonies), [2] gives a description of the *Segaki-hō* with the magic formulae in Devanāgarī writing (as in Nanjō No. 1467) with katakana reading, verses of four characters in each line (those of No. 1467 are lines of seven and five characters) and short quotations in prose, apparently from the "Ceremonial Rules for distributing drink, food and water to the Pretas" (施諸餓鬼飲食及水法), translated A.D. 746—771 by Amoghavajra, and mentioned in the *Bukkyō daijiten* (p. 1025, s.v. *Segaki-hō*). This is evident from the fact that in both texts the same *Five Buddhas* are invoked in the same order, whereas the other texts, referred to above, gave four or seven names. The quarters and ordinary names of the Five Buddhas (among whom Śākyamuni takes the place of *Amoghasidhi*) are not given in the text, but added in the passage of the *Bukkyō daijiten.* As the *Himitsu jirin* also speaks about the invocation of the Five Buddhas we may be sure that the Japanese *Shingon* priests, in accordance probably with their Chinese teachers, have generally followed the rules, given in this text.

[1] *Himitsu jirin,* p. 74, s. v. *Usuzōshi*; p. 637, s. v. *Seigen* (Washio, p. 674, 2, calls him Jōken).

[2] *Himitsu jirin,* p. 401, s. v. *sahōshū.*

These Five Buddhas are:

Hōshō	寶勝	South	寶生	Ratnasambhava
Myōshikishin	妙色身	East	阿閦	Akshobhya
Kanro-ō	甘露王	West	彌陀	Amitābha
Kwōhakushin	廣博身	Centre	大日	Mahāvairocana
Rifuï	離怖畏	North	釋迦	Śākyamuni

§ 13. *The Ikitama-e or "Festival of the living spirits", celebrated in Japan in the seventh month.*

The *Wakan sansai zue* (l.l.) quotes a passage from the *Jibutsu kigen*, 事物紀源 (time?) which states that on the 15th day of the seventh month the monks and nuns were entertained. This was called *Ubonsai*, 盂盆齋 (an abbreviation of *Urabon-sai*), and it originated in the story of Maudgalyāyana. Afterwards it was largely celebrated with flower ornaments. The contemporaries of the author of the *Jibutsu kigen* made round bamboo shelves, on the top of which they placed *lotus leaves* (*hasu no ha*), and in the centre they accumulated all kinds of delicacies, fruits and food. They then set up a picture of Maudgalyāyana saving his mother (from hell) and made sacrifices to it. Terajima adds that "the *hasu no meshi*, 蓮飯, or "*lotus-meal*" is offered up to the souls of one's deceased father and mother; it is presented further to one's relatives, and this is made a ceremony, called *iki-mitama no matsuri* (生靈祭), "Sacrifice to the living spirits". Stewed glutinous rice is wrapped up in lotus leaves and tied up by means of "*Kwannon-zō*", 觀音草 (the *Kwannon-chiku*, 竹, is the Rhapis humilis or ground-rattan). The (invocation of the) names of the Buddhas is considered proper for the purpose".

The *iki-mitama* or *ikiryō* or *shōryō* (生靈), "Living spirits", are the spirits of *living* persons, which, when angry, may cause a curse even before their death.[1] The *iki-mitama no matsuri* (a *Shintō* expression) is evidently intended to worship such spirits. Fujiwara no Chikanaga (親長) (A.D. 1419—1497) in his diary, the *Chikanaga kyōki* (親長卿記), which he began to write after having returned to the capital in A.D. 1470, mentions such a ceremony celebrated by a son of the Emperor on the twenty-first day of the seventh month of Bummei 8 (A.D. 1476). Andō Tameaki (安藤爲章) in his work entitled *Nenzan kibun* (年山紀聞), written in A.D. 1702, refers to this passage and says that this must be *the worship of the "living spirits"* (*iki-mitama*, 生御靈) *of the living parents and elder brothers and sisters*, a ceremony dating from before the Bummei era (A.D. 1469—1487) and originating in the worship of the souls of the dead, said to come (from hell) at the *Bon* (Avalambana) festival of the seventh month.[2] Washio Takayasu (鷲尾隆康), in his diary entitled *Nisuiki* (二水記), which runs from 1504—1532, relates that the *iki-mitama* ceremony was performed by the Imperial Princes and the other Court dignitaries in the seventh month of Eishō 14 (A.D. 1517), on a lucky day between the eighth and the thirteenth of that month. Tanikawa Kotosuga (谷川士清) (A.D. 1706—1796), in his *Wakun no shiori* (和訓栞), quotes this passage and states that also in the *Shiki monogatari* (四季物語) or "Tales of the four seasons", which gives the public matters of the whole year (written by Kamo Chōmei, 鴨長明, A.D. 1154—1216, the famous author of the *Hōjōki*, 方丈記, written in A.D. 1212), this ceremony is specially mentioned in the seventh month and said to be more

[1] *Daijiten*, p. 50, 3, s. v. *ikiryō*; p. 792, s. v. *shōryō*.

[2] *Nenzan kibun*, Ch. VI, in the *Hyakka setsurin*, 百家說林, a collection of Tokugawa works, *zokuhen*, 上, p. 138.

important than the other *Tamamatsuri* or "offerings to the spirits", even than that of the end of the year. Tanikawa adds that the *iki-mitama-e*, 生靈會, held by the people of his own day (18th century), was in his opinion a survival of that ceremony of the 12th century, and that originally the food, given to one's living parents, was said to have been called *iki-mitama*, 生見玉.[1] In this way, and also with the characters 生身玉, the word *iki-mitama* is written in the *Kokushi daijiten* (國史大辭典) (1908), which also gives 生御靈 (p. 138, s.v.). The author of that work states that it is based upon the *Avalambana sūtra*, and that the ceremony was first performed by the people and finally also by the Court, but that the time of its beginning is unknown. In the *Tsurezuregusa* (徒然草) (A.D. 1334—1339, by Yoshida Kenkō, 吉田兼好, a *tama-matsuri* is mentioned, but it is not clear whether an offering to the living spirits is meant. In the *Chikamoto nikki* (親元日記), a diary of the fifteenth century, it is found for the first time as a festival of the military class, celebrated in the seventh month of the year Kwanshō 6 (A.D. 1465), Bummei 5 (A.D. 1473) and Bummei 13 (A.D. 1481).

It took place at the Court for the first time in Bummei 8 (A.D. 1476), when we read about it in the passage of the *Chikanaga-kyōki*, quoted above, and in Mei-ō 4 (A.D. 1495), according to Miyu-dono's 上日記, another diary of that time. The visits paid by the people were afterwards changed into receptions of invited guests. That day the ladies, wearing *suzushi* (fine silk gauze), received the first cup of wine; then the men were called to perform the ceremony of six or seven wine cups. At the Shōgun's Court in Yedo, on the eleventh day of the seventh month, dishes were sent from the *Nishimaru* palace to the *Honmaru* palace, consisting of three kinds of juice and one kind of cooked vegetable, and the Court officials went to the Palace, where a banquet was given. And on the fifteenth day fishes, caught in the garden

[1] *Wakun no shiori*, I, p. 153, s. v. *iki-midama.*

by the shore, were sent as a present from the Nishimaru palace to the Honmaru building.[1] As to the Imperial Court in Kyōto, in the fifteenth century offerings of a thousand rolls of silk, accompanied by an official document, to the Sambōin-dono, and of one box of vermicelli (sōmen), one of young lotus roots, and three barrels of Imperial wine to Ichijōin-dono, are mentioned in the *Denchū mōshitsugi no ki,* 殿中申次記, "Diary of the transmitting of messages of the palaces", with regard to the ninth day of the seventh month.[2]

It is evident that this worship of living spirits was based upon the passage of the *Avalambana sūtra* (Nanjō No. 303), mentioned above, where the Buddha says that on the fifteenth of the seventh month delicacies, drink and food should be offered up (to the Buddha and the Saṅgha) on behalf of their living parents as well as of the ancestors belonging to the seven former generations.

Then the life of their living parents would last a hundred years, without illness and suffering, and the ancestors would be saved from their Preta tortures and be reborn in a heaven of limitless felicity and joy. Through the influence of the Preta-feeding ceremony these rites had become offerings to the spirits themselves (instead of to the Buddha and Saṅgha on their behalf), which was a very welcome idea to the Chinese with their elaborate ancestor worship, as also to the Japanese. The latter, bearing in mind the words of the *sūtra,* extended this conception to the cult of their living parents, and this explains their presents of drink and food (and silk) to the *iki-mitama.* Wine drinking ceremonies and banquets accompanied these rites, which in this way became a regale of the living guests just as the Preta offerings were a feast of the dead.

[1] *Kokushi daijiten,* p. 138, s. v. *iki-mitama.*

[2] *Gunsho ruiju,* 群書類從, No. 407, p. 279; *Matsu-no-ya hikki,* 松屋筆記, written in 1839 by Takada Tomokiyo, 高田與清, Vol. III, Ch. 105, p. 313, s. v. *iki-mitama.*

With regard to the words of Kamo Chōmei (A.D. 1154—1212) in the *Shiki monogatari*, quoted above, as to the different offerings in the four seasons, we may remark that the *Wakan sansai zue* (Ch. IV, s. v. *Urabon*) enumerates the so-called *rokubon*, 六盆, or "Six Vessels" or "Six Avalambana's", apparently to be understood as offerings to the dead. They took place on the following dates and hours:

II 15, hour of the tiger (3—5 A.M.) —
II 16, hour of the horse (11—1 P.M.)
V 15, hour of the hare (5—7 A.M.) —
V 16, hour of the snake (9—11 A.M.)
VII 14, hour of the hare (5—7 A.M.) —
VII 16, hour of the horse (11—1 P.M.)
VIII 15, hour of the dragon (7—9 A.M.) —
VIII 16, hour of the monkey (3—5 P.M.)
IX 16, hour of the sheep (1—3 P.M.) —
IX 17, hour of the monkey (3—5 P.M.)
XII 30, hour of the horse (11—1 P.M.) —
I 1, hour of the hare (5—7 A.M.).

We have not found these *rokubon* mentioned elsewhere, but that of the end of the year was, as we learn from the author's words, the second in importance after the great festival of the seventh month.

The above facts have shown us, how the festival of the seventh month is composed of many elements, and how India, China and Japan have furnished their Buddhist, Hinduist, Taoist and Shintōist ideas (in so far as the *iki-mitama* is a Shintō thought), thus making it a picturesque festival of light, incense and offerings, dances and presents, recreating the dead and enjoying the living.

CHAPTER V.

THE NINNŌKYŌ OR "SŪTRA OF THE BENEVOLENT KINGS", AND THE NINNŌ-E, BASED THEREON.

§ 1. *The Ninnō-e and the Ninnōkyō in the seventh and eighth centuries.*

The first time we find mention of this *sūtra* and of a meeting devoted to it, is in A.D. 660, in the 5th month of the 6th year of the reign of the Empress Saimei. There we read: "*In this month, by order of the Empress, the officials prepared one hundred raised seats and one hundred nō-gesa, and held a Ninnō-hannya meeting*". [1] The reason why it was held is not given. The *nō-gesa*, afterwards written 袈裟, also called *nō-e* (袈衣), the "patched *kāṣāya*" or the "patched garment", is a lined priestly robe, originally meant as a poor covering, but as it was worn by high-priests at important ceremonies it gradually became a rich and precious attire. [2] According to the *Fusō ryakki* [3] the *Ninnōkyō* was expounded in the third month, and the meeting devoted to it took place in the fifth.

In A.D. 676 (fifth year of the Emperor Temmu's reign), on the 20th day of the eleventh month, "messengers were sent by the Emperor to all provinces to expound the *Konkwōmyōkyō* and the

[1] 是月。百司奉勅造一百高座。一百納袈裟。設仁王般若之會。 *Nihongi*, Ch. XXVI, K. T. K. (*Kokushi taikei*), Vol. I, pp. 466 sq.; Aston, *Nihongi*, II, p. 264 sq.

[2] Cf. *Daijiten*, p. 1298 s. v. *nō-gesa*; *Daijii* III, p. 3793.

[3] *Fusō ryakki*, K. T. K. VI, Ch. V, p. 517.

Ninnōkyō". The day before His Majesty had "given orders to the provinces near the capital to release living things" (放生, *hōjō, ikimono wo hanatsu,* to let loose fishes or birds as a meritorious act).[1] According to the *Fusō ryakki*[2] the expounding of the *sūtra* was ordered on account of the great famine caused by the heavy drought of that year.[3]

In A.D. 693 (the seventh year of the reign of the Empress Jitō), on the 23th day of the 10th month, "the *Ninnōkyō* began to be expounded in the hundred provinces. This came to a close after four days". This is the first time we read about its being read throughout the country separately (not in combination with the *Konkwōmyōkyō*).[4]

In A.D. 729 (Tempyō 1, the sixth year of the Emperor Shōmu's reign) (VI 1) the *Ninnōkyō* was expounded in the Palace (*chōdō*) and in all the provinces.[5]

In A.D. 746 (Tempyō 18, III 15) the same Emperor ordered the *Ninnō-hannyakyō* to be expounded for the strength and maintenance of the dynasty, the rest of the State, and the welfare of the people. At the same time partial amnesty was granted.[6]

In A.D. 747 (Tempyō 19, V 15) the *Ninnōkyō* was explained in the Southern Park (of the Palace) and in all the provinces.[7]

In A.D. 750 (Tempyō Shōhō 2, V 8) the Empress Kōken invited a hundred priests to the *Nanden* of the *Chūgū,* in order to expound the Ninnōkyō, and at the same time she had it explained in all provinces.[8]

In A.D. 753 (Tempyō Shōhō 5, III 29), under the same Empress,

[1] *Nihongi,* Ch. XXIX, p. 512; Aston II, p. 335.
[2] K. T. K. VI, Ch. V, p. 526.
[3] *Nihongi,* Ch. XXIX, p. 510; Aston II, p. 332.
[4] *Nihongi,* Ch. XXX, p. 566; Aston II, p. 413. Cf. *Fusō ryakki,* Ch. V, p. 530.
[5] *Shoku Nihongi* (written by Sugeno no Memichi in A. D. 797), K. T. K. II, Ch. X, p. 171.
[6] Ibid., Ch. XVI, p. 263.
[7] Ibid., Ch. XVII, p. 271.
[8] Ibid., Ch. XVIII, p. 294.

a hundred high seats were arranged in *Tōdaiji* and the *Ninnōkyō* was expounded. But that day a heavy storm arose so that the meeting had to be closed before the end of the ceremony. The next month (IV 9), when the *sūtra* was explained a second time, a storm again broke forth. [1]

In A.D. 756 (Tempyō Shōhō 8, XII 5), under the same Empress, a hundred priests were again invited to *Tōdaiji* and *tendoku* (partial reading) of the *Ninnōkyō* took place. [2]

In A.D. 757 (Tempyō Hōji 1, VII 24) the Empress gave a vegetarian entertainment to the monks (*sessai, sai wo mōkuru*) in the Palace and had them expound the *Ninnōkyō*. [3]

In A.D. 760 (Tempyō Hōji 4, II 29) the Emperor Junnin arranged a *Ninnō-e* in the Palace and in *Tōdaiji*. [4]

In A.D. 770 (Hōki 1, I 15) the Empress Shōtoku (identical with Kōken Tennō) held a *Ninnō-e* in the Palace. [5]

In A.D. 772 (Hōki 3, VI 15) the Emperor Kōnin had a *Ninnō-e* held in the Palace, all the large and small Buddhist temples of the capital and in all the *Kokubun-konkwōmyōji* (Provincial State monasteries, erected in A.D. 741) of the country. [6]

In A.D. 794 (Enryaku 13, IX 9) the Emperor Kwammu (A.D. 781—806) forbade the killing of living beings (*kindan sesshō*) for three days in all provinces of the Empire, on account of the expounding of the *Ninnōkyō*. And on the 29th of the same month he invited a hundred Buddhist priests and had them explain this *sūtra* in the new Palace at Kyōto (evidently to consecrate the building and to bless the new capital). [7]

[1] Ibid., Ch. XIX, p. 303.
[2] Ibid., Ch. XIX, p. 317.
[3] Ibid., Ch. XX, p. 334.
[4] Ibid., Ch. XXII, p. 379.
[5] Ibid., Ch. XXX, p. 519.
[6] Ibid., Ch. XXXII, p. 561.
[7] *Nihon kiryaku, Zempen* (*Kokushi taikei*, Vol. V), Ch. XIII, p. 372.

§ 2. *The text of the sūtra.*

§ 2, A. *The old translation of the Ninnōkyō, and its commentaries (T'ien-t'ai sect).*

The *Ninnōkyo* (仁王經) is one of the most important *sūtras* of Japanese Buddhism. In order to understand why from the seventh to the thirteenth century this text and the ceremony connected with it (the *Ninnō-e,* 仁王會 or "Meeting of the Benevolent Kings") were so prominent among the *sūtras* and ceremonies read and celebrated at the Japanese Court, we first have to examine its contents.

The Chinese Tripiṭaka contains two translations of this *sūtra,* by Kumārajīva and Amoghavajra. The title of Kumārajīva's translation (Nanjō No. 17, A.D. 402—412), which consists of two fasciculi and eight chapters, is 仁王護國般若波羅蜜經, *Jen-wang hu-kwoh pan-jé po-lo-mih king,* in Japanese pronuncation *Ninnō gokoku hannya haramitsu kyō,* i. e. "*Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* (*explaining*) *how benevolent kings* (*kāruṇika-rāja*) may protect their countries".

This translation was used by the *T'ien-t'ai* (*Tendai*) sect in China and Japan, which also had recourse to the two commentaries (Nanjō Nos. 1566 and 1567) entitled 仁王護國般若經疏, "A commentary on the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* on the protection of countries by benevolent kings", and 佛說仁王護國般若波羅蜜經疏神寶記, commonly called 神寶記, *Shen-pao-ki* (*Shimbōki*) or "Record of Divine Treasures", a commentary on No. 1566. The former work, written by Kwanting, 灌頂 (A.D. 561—632), the fifth patriarch of the *T'ien-t'ai* School, [1] contains the oral explanations of his famous teacher, Chi-i (智顗), better known by his posthumous title Chi-ché Ta-shi, 智者大師, "The Great Master the Wise Man"

[1] Nanjō, App. III, 15.

(A.D. 531—597), the founder (and fourth patriarch) of the same school.[1] It consists of five chapters, the third and fourth of which refer to the second and third chapters of the *sūtra*, whereas the fifth explains the third, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh and eighth chapters.

The *Shen-pao-ki* (神寶記) (Nanjō No. 1567) dates from much later times. It was compiled in A.D. 1230 by the *T'ien-t'ai* priest Shen-yueh, 善月, of the Southern Sung dynasty.[2] It consists of four chapters and is a commentary on No. 1566. These commentaries are not important for the study of the ceremonies relating to this *sūtra*.

The *Bukkyō daijii* (III, p. 3742, 1), which states that Amoghavajra's translation is much used, enumerates thirteen commentaries on the *Ninnōkyō*, most of which, however, belong to the *Tendai, Sanron, Kegon* and *Hossō* sects and not to the Tantric School. The first of those commentators is Paramārtha (眞諦) (App. II 104, 105, translated A.D. 548—569); then follow Chi-ché Ta-shi (A.D. 531—597), the founder of the *T'ien-t'ai* school, mentioned above (Nanjō No. 1566) and Kih-tsang (吉藏) (A.D. 549—623, the founder of the *San lun* sect in China. The next four are Yuen-ts'eh, Liang-pi, Yü-yung (圓測, 良賁, 遇榮) and the Korean Tsing-yuen (淨源), of the Northern Sung dynasty, A.D. 960—1127) (*Avataṃsaka* school), the second of whom (Liang-pi of the T'ang dynasty) wrote a commentary on the new translation (that of Amoghavajra).[3] Kia-siang (嘉祥), called after the Chinese monastery of that name, is probably Kih-tsang, 吉藏, but also Hwui-kiao, 慧皎, of the Liang dynasty, who in A.D. 519 compiled Nanjō No. 1490, was designated in this way.[4]

As to the Japanese commentaries, two of them are writings of unknown authors; the other works belong to the *Hossō* sect

[1] Nanjō, App. III, 12.
[2] Nanjō, App. III, 67.
[3] *Daijiten*, p. 1368, 3; p. 1018, 2, s. v. *Seiryūsho.*
[4] *Daijiten*, p. 189, 3, s. v. *Kajō.*

(written by Gyōshin, 行信, who died A.D. 750), but especially to the *Tendai* school. Saichō (最澄) (Dengyō Daishi, A.D. 767—822) wrote a commentary on the old translation, and Enchin (圓珍) (Chishō Daishi, 智證大師, A.D. 814—891) on that of Amoghavajra. Other *Tendai* commentaries are those of Kakuchō (覺超, about A.D. 1028), Ryōjo (良助, about A.D. 1299), and Kwōken (光謙, who lived 1652—1739). How important the *Ninnōkyō* was to the *Tendai* sect even in the nineteenth century is evident from the fact that in 1817 the ascetic *Tendai* priest Ryō-a (亮阿) (1800—1882) copied this *sūtra* with his blood, as well as the *Hokkekyō*, the *Konkwōmyōkyō* and the *Bosatsukai-kyō*.[1]

§ 2, B. *The later translation of the Ninnōkyō, and its commentaries (Tantric School).*

Not less famous than Kumārajīva was the author of the second translation, Amoghavajra (不空金剛, commonly abbreviated into 不空, Amogha) (A.D. 705—774), who with his teacher Vajrabodhi arrived in China in A.D. 719. After having travelled in India from A.D. 732 to 746, he returned to the Chinese capital with more than 500 different texts, *Sūtras* and *Śāstras*, and from then to A.D. 771 he translated 77 works in more than 120 fasciculi. He stated this in a memorial, presented to the Emperor Tai-tsung in A.D. 771, together with all his translations. This very active and influential priest was the mightiest propagator of the Tantric School in China.[2] In A.D. 765 the Emperor Tai-tsung (代宗, A.D. 762—779) wrote a preface to Amoghavajra's translation of the *Sūtra of the Benevolent Kings* (Nanjō No. 965, 仁王護國般若波羅蜜多經).[3] The text is divided into

[1] Washio, p. 1208, 1, s. v. *Ryō-a.*
[2] Nanjō, App. II, 155.
[3] Cf. Edkins, *Chinese Buddhism*, p. 124 sqq.

two fasciculi and eight chapters, like that of the old translation, but here (in the new translation) 36 *dhāraṇī's* are given towards the end of the seventh chapter (奉持品, fasc. II, pp. 14 sq.), which are lacking in Kumārajīva's work. Amoghavajra made it one of the important *sūtras* of the Tantric School, as he did too with the *Mahāmayūrī sūtra.*[1] He also translated three treatises in order to explain the *dhāraṇī's* (Nanjō No. 1406),[2] to define the "Ceremony of reciting (the *dhāraṇī* of) this *sūtra*" (Nanjō No. 1419),[3] and to expound the place of worship and the recital of the text (Nanjō No. 1435).[4] All these works belong to the Tantric School, and in Japan the mystic rites were performed by *Shingon* priests.

The T'ang priest Liang-pi (Ryōbi), mentioned above, wrote a commentary on the new translation, which is popularly called the 青龍疏 (*Seiryūsho, Ts'ing-lung-shu*), because he lived in the monastery of that name.

There is also a commentary (*kaidai*), from the hand of the great *Tendai* priest Enchin (Chishō Daishi), mentioned above.

The following are commentaries on Amoghavajra's translation, written by Japanese *Shingon* priests: the *Ninnōkyō kaidai* (開題) and the *Ninnōkyō-bō* (法) by Kūkai (Kōbō Daishi, A.D. 774—835), and the commentaries of Shinkaku (心覺) (A.D. 1181), Dōhan (道範) (A.D. 1184—1252), Raiyu (賴瑜) (*Shingi Shingon,* A.D. 1226—1304), and Ryōta (亮汰) (1622—1680).

§ 2, C. *How the two translations of the Ninnōkyō were used.*

Amoghavajra's translation was used in the "*Rite of the Sūtra of the Benevolent Kings*", *Ninnōkyōbō,* 仁王經法, practised

[1] Cf. my treatise on "*Die Pfauenkönigin in China und Japan*", *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift,* Jahrg. VIII (Festschrift Prof. Hirth) (1920), pp. 370–387.

[2] *Ninnō-hannya-darani-shaku* (8 leaves).

[3] *Ninnō-hannya-nenjuhō* (7 leaves).

[4] *Ninnō-gokoku-hannya-haramita-dōjō-nenju-giki* (1 fasc., 5 divisions).

by the *Shingon* sect in the *Tōji,* 東寺, the famous Shingon temple in Kyōto. The "*Meetings of the Benevolent Kings*", *Ninnō-e,* 仁王會, however, belonged to the public cult, [1] and for this reason Kumārajīva's version may have been the orthodox text in performing these ceremonies. Yet in China the first of these meetings of a hundred seats, as prescribed in the *sūtra,* is said to have been presided in A.D. 765 by Amoghavajra, by order of the Chinese Emperor Tai-tsung (A.D. 762—779), and the new translation (with a preface by the Emperor himself) was used in order to cause rain. [2] In Japan, however, there was such a meeting in the fifth month of the sixth year of the reign of the Empress Saimei (A.D. 655—661), Shōtoku Taishi's grand-daughter, i. e. A.D. 660; a hundred seats were erected in the Imperial Palace on behalf of a hundred priests, each of whom was presented by the Empress with a priestly robe (*kāshāya*). [3] In the third month, the *sūtra* had been read in the Palace beforehand. Thus the old translation, that of Kumārajīva, was used in Japan a century before Amoghavajra's time, and we may be sure that also in China "Meetings of the Benevolent Kings" were held in the seventh century, probably by priests of the *T'ien-t'ai* sect. In the Chinese Tripiṭaka of Japan (the great edition of Leiden and of the India Office) Kumārajīva's text is explained on behalf of the Japanese readers by means of *okuri-gana* and the other well-known signs of the *kundoku,* which are lacking in Amoghavajra's translation. This is evidence of the fact that the old text was much used in Japan; although Amoghavajra's translation was also in frequent use. The *Ninnō-e* being performances of a public cult and not

[1] Cf. *Himitsu jirin,* p. 839, s. v. *Ninnō-e.*

[2] Cf. the great Chinese encyclopaedia entitled *K'in-ting ku-kin t'u-shu tsih-ch'ing,* 欽定古今圖書集成 (published in 1725), Vol. 986, Ch. 60 (釋教部, 彙考二), p. 5b sqq. Further, *Daijiten,* p. 1369, s. v. *Ninnō-e.*

[3] *Genkō Shakusho,* K. T. K. XIV, Ch. XXI, p. 993. *Nihongi,* Ch. XXVI, p. 467; *Nihon kiryaku,* Ch. VIII, K. T. K. V, p. 190.

belonging to the mystic rites, it is quite possible that the original way of celebrating them by means of Kumārajīva's translation of the *sūtra* was maintained in later ages, while on the other hand the *Shingon* priests practised the mystic "Rite of the *Sūtra* of the Benevolent Kings" (*Ninnōkyōbō*) by means of Amoghavajra's version. The *Ninnō-e* were also called *Ninnō-gu* (仁王供, "Offerings of the Benevolent Kings"). [1] The three kinds of *Ninnō-e* will be treated below.

§ 2, D. *The eight chapters of the Ninnōkyō.*

The titles of the eight chapters of the two translations are as follows:

Old translation (No. 17).	New translation (No. 965).
Section I.	Section I.
1. 序, Preface (pp. 2*a*—4*b*).	1. 序, Preface (pp. 2*b*—5*a*).
2. 觀空, Considering Emptiness (pp. 4*b*—7*a*).	2. 觀如來, Considering the Tathāgata (pp. 5*a*—8*a*).
3. 菩薩教化, Instruction and conversion (to be practised by) the Bodhisattvas (pp. 7*b*—16*b*).	3. 菩薩行, Actions (to be performed by) the Bodhisattvas (pp. 8*a*—18*a*).
4. 二諦, The Two Reflections (Truths) (pp. 16*b*—19*b*).	4. 二諦, The Two Reflections (Truths) pp. 18*a*—21*a*).

[1] *Daijiten*, p. 1368, s. v. *Ninnōgu*.

Old translation (No. 17).	New translation (No. 965).
Section II.	Section II.
5. 護國, Protecting the country (pp. 1*a*—4*a*).	5. 護國, Protecting the country (pp. 1*a*—3*b*).
6. 散華, Spreading flowers pp. 4*b*—5*a*).	6. 不思議, Miracles (pp. 3*b*–5*a*).
7. 受持, Receiving and keeping (this *Sūtra*) (pp. 5*a*–13*a*).	7. 奉持, Respectfully receiving and keeping (this *Sūtra*) (pp. 5*a*—16*a*).
8. 囑累, (The Buddha) commits (this *Sūtra* and the Triratna to the Kings) (pp. 13*a*—15*a*).	8. 囑累, (The Buddha) commits (this *Sūtra* and the Triratna to the Kings) (pp. 16*a*—18*a*).

Thus we see that the division and size of the two translations are nearly the same; Kumārajīva only omitted the *dhāraṇīs* (in ch. 7), whereas in Amoghavajra's version the final five lines of ch. 4 of the old translation (section I, ch. 4, p. 19*b*), where the Buddha composes the name of the *Sūtra*, are found at the end of the final chapter. As Kumārajīva "seldom made a full translation, but preferred to give an abstract of the original" [1] (as he did with the *Mahāmayūrī sūtra*), we can easily deduce the great importance he attached to our *sūtra* from the fact that he translated it in full.

§ 2, E. *The first chapter* (序, *Jo, Preface*) *of the Ninnōkyō.*

One day the Buddha stayed on the *Gṛdhrakūta* near *Rājagṛha* with a large crowd of *bhikṣus*, all Arhats, of *Ṛṣis*, Bodhisattvas, sages, devout women, hermits, the kings of the Six Devalokas, sixteen kings of countries, and innumerable other living

[1] Nanjō No. 15, p. 7.

beings of the five *gati*. In the new translation, which we henceforth shall follow because it was used in the "Rite of the *Sūtra* of the Benevolent Kings", those assembled at this meeting are enumerated as follows: "*bhikṣus* and *bhikṣuṇīs*, *upāsakas* and *upāsikās* (lay-members of both sects), Sixteen Great Kings of countries (king *Prasenajit* etc.) with many thousands and ten-thousands of followers, the Kings of the Six Devalokas (*Cakra Deva* etc.) with their numberless followers (deva-sons), and innumerable sentient beings of the *gati* (Asuras etc.)".

Further, in a miraculous way the "Pure Lands" (淨土) of the ten quarters were made visible, and a hundred *koṭi* (myriads) of lion seats, upon which Buddhas were seated, broadly expounding the main points of the Law. Before each seat one flower was seen, and each of these flowers was adorned with a precious stone. Further, there were innumerable *Buddhas* and *Bodhisattvas*, *bhikṣus* and beings of the eight classes (Devas, Nāgas, Yakshas, Gandharvas, Asuras, Garuḍas, Kinnaras and Mahoragas). Among them the Buddhas all explained the *Prajñāpāramitā* to all sides. And the whole crowd bowed before the Buddha's feet and retired to their seats on one side.

At that time the Venerable of the World had entered the great, silent, quiet, wonderful *Samādhi* (deep meditation), and his body emitted a great, brilliant light over all the Buddha lands of the ten quarters. And the innumerable Devas of the *Devalokas* caused wonderful flowers to rain, and the Devas of the *Rūpalokas* also sent down a rain of heavenly flowers, as well as those of the third of the three regions, the world without form (comprising four heavens). These odorous flowers descended like a cloud and covered the large crowd, and all the six kinds of Buddha worlds shook.

Then King Prasenajit of Śrāvastī and the large crowd all asked in vain, why the Tathāgata emitted such a brilliant light, what lucky sign this might be. And King Prasenajit and the other kings, having received the Buddha's divine power, made a far sounding music, and all the devas of the worlds of desire and

form did the same, causing it to resound all over the three thousands, great thousands (i. e. milliards) of worlds.

Then the Tathāgata again emitted numberless rays of mixed colours, and in each ray he caused a precious, thousand-leaved, gold-coloured lotus flower to appear, upon each of which a Buddha was seated, preaching the Law. This light of the Buddha shone over all the Buddha lands of the ten quarters. And from these Buddha lands ten Bodhisattvas, each with a retinue of innumerable Bodhisattvas, came to the place of meeting, holding all kinds of incense, spreading all kinds of flowers, making immeasurable music, which they all offered to the Tathāgata. They bowed before his feet, then silently retired to their seats, joined their hands and gazed at the Buddha, reverently and with their whole heart.

These ten Bodhisattvas were:

East	普光	Universal Light	Samantaprabha
South-East	蓮華手	Lotus-hand	Padmapāni
South	離憂	Rid of Sorrow	Vigataśoka [1]
South-West	光明	Brilliant Light	Raśmiprabhāsa
West	行慧	He who is disposed to good conduct	Cāritramati (?) [2]
North-West	寶勝	Precious Conqueror	Ratnajaya (jina?)
North	勝受	Receiver of Victory	Jayapratigraha (?)
North-East	離塵	Rid of Dust	Vigatarajas (?)
Upper region	喜受	Receiver of Joy	Nandapratigraha (?)
Lower region	蓮華勝	Lotus Conqueror	Padmajina (?)

[1] Rosenberg, *Vocabulary*, p. 496, 2.

[2] Cf. *Mahāvyutpatti* 23—37. Dr. Rahder, who kindly gave we most of these equivalents, informed we that 慧 is not *prajñā*, but *mati*, mind, disposition (意思量); thus 勝慧 is *Jayamati*.

The old translation gives only the names of the Bodhisattvas of the four principal quarters:

South	法才	Talent (hero) of the Law	Dharmaśūra (?)
East	寶柱	Precious Pillar	Ratnasthunā (?)
North	虛空性	Nature of Empty Space	Ākāśamaya (?)
West	善住	Maintainer of Virtue	Supratishṭha (?) [1]

§ 2, F. *The second chapter of the Ninnōkyō (Kwan Nyorai,* 觀如來, *Contemplating the Buddha).*

In Kumārajīva's translation the title of this chapter is 觀空, "Contemplating Emptiness". As a matter of fact "Emptiness" is its main subject. But the highest Emptiness, the "Great Emptiness" (大空), is, according to Hīnayāna partial Nirvāṇa, according to Mahāyāna *Parinirvāṇa*, the "Emptiness of Emptiness", which the Secret School represented by means of the sound *A* (阿). Testifying (證) to this "Great Emptiness" is called "Wisdom of the Great Emptiness" (大空智). [2]

Then the Tathāgata awoke from *samādhi* and rising from his lion seat he spoke to the large crowd: "I know that the Sixteen Kings all have this thought: 'The Tathāgata's Great Compassion everywhere spreads benefits and joy. We, the Kings, say: "How shall we protect our countries?"' But I shall first explain on behalf of the Bodhisattvas, how to protect the Buddha fruit and how to protect the actions of the ten stages (*daśabhūmi*, forming the whole career of a Bodhisattva). [3] You must all listen attentively and virtuously think about it".

[1] Rosenberg, l. l., p. 85, 3.
[2] Cf. *Daijiten*, p. 1129.
[3] Cf. Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 67; Rahder, *Daśabhūmika sūtra.*

Then the large crowd, King Prasenajit etc., on hearing the Buddha's words, all praised him, saying: "How virtuous! How virtuous!" And they spread innumerable flowers, wonderful and precious, into the air, and made them into precious parasols which covered the large crowd on all sides. Then King Prasenajit rose from his seat, made a prostration before the Buddha's feet, joined his hands and, kneeling down, spoke to the Buddha, saying: "Tathāgata, the Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas say: 'How shall we protect the Buddha fruit? How shall we protect the actions of the ten stages?'"

Then the Buddha, addressing King Prasenajit, answers his questions concerning the protection of the Buddha fruit. The emptiness of everything is illustrated and manifested by the deep *Prajñā-pāramitā*. Eighteen kinds of Emptiness are enumerated (p. 6*b*) (thirteen in the old translation), culminating in the Emptiness of the *Prajñā-pāramitā*, of the *Nidānas*, of the Buddha fruit, and of Emptiness itself. Finally King Prasenajit explains his ideas about Buddhahood, which are approved by the Buddha.

§ 2, G. *The third chapter of the Ninnōkyō* (菩薩行, *Bosatsu-gyō, the Bodhisattva Path*).

Then the Buddha at King Prasenajit's request dealt with the actions of the Bodhisattvas and their converting the living beings, whereupon all those present rose from their seats, spread innumerable flowers and burned incense as an offering to the Buddha, and reverently praised him. And King Prasenajit, standing before the Tathāgata, spoke a long hymn (gāthā) in praise of him and of the fourteen Bodhisattvas (kings), representing the fourteen kinds of forbearance (*kṣānti*, 忍), explained by the Buddha. [1]

[1] Cf. *Bukkyō daijiten*, pp. 1362 sqq., s. v. *nin*, 忍. Each of the 五忍, *gonin*, five kinds of forbearance, is divided into three degrees, the upper, middle and lower degree, except the last one, which has only two degrees.

And the Venerable of the World said to all those present: "Ten thousand kalpas ago this King Prasenajit was King *Nāgaprabhā* (or *Nāgaraśmi*?) (龍光王), a Bodhisattva of the fourth stage, while I was a Bodhisattva of the eighth stage. And now, standing before me, he has uttered a lion's howl (preaching) like this, like this!" And again the Buddha digressed upon the wonderful blessing power of the fourteen kinds of forbearance, practised by the Bodhisattvas of the ten stages. And by this preaching numberless men and devas among the audience reached one of the ten stages of Bodhisattvahood, and numberless Bodhisattvas were advanced on their way to Buddhahood.

§ 2, H. *The fourth chapter of the Ninnōkyō.* (*The two kinds of truth, Nitai,* 二諦).

At King Prasenajit's request the difference is explained between the "Vulgar Truth" (*sezoku-tai,* 世俗諦, *saṁvṛti-satya,* which only refers to the outer appearance of the world) and the "Truth of the first meaning" (*dai-ichi gi,* 第一義), mostly called the "Real Truth" (*shintai,* 眞諦, *paramārtha-satya,*

These five are: *buku, shin, jun, mushō* (or *mushōhō*), *jakumetsu-nin,* 伏, 信, 順, 無生(法) and 寂滅忍, i. e. Forbearance of Subjection (of the reasons of suffering), Belief, Following (the Bodhi-road), No Rebirth, and Nirvāṇa. The first of the five does not yet represent a *bhūmi* (stage of the Bodhisattvas), but the three degrees of lower virtue (三賢); the second kind of forbeance belongs to the first, second and third *bhūmi*; the third kind refers to the fourth, fifth and sixth *bhūmi*; the fourth kind regards the seventh, eighth and ninth *bhūmi*; and the fifth kind concerns the tenth or highest *bhūmi* and Perfect Enlightenment. As to these kinds of forbearance, *kṣānti*, cf. Prof. de la Vallée Poussin's translation of and annotations on Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa* (L'*Abhidharmakośa de Vasubandhu*, Ch. v, No. 6, pp. 13 sq.; Ch. vi, No. 26 c.). With regard to the *daśabhūmi* cf. Dr. Rahder's *Daśabhūmika sūtra.*

which is free from errors and consists of the views of the Sages concerning the nature (*rishō*, 理性) of things. [1]

After having dealt with this subject in verse and prose, the Tathāgata praises the immeasurable blessing power of the *Prajñā-pāramitā*, which, being expounded by the Buddhas, causes innumerable sentient beings to reach Buddhahood. Whoever in reading this *sūtra* can form one thought of pure belief, thus passes over ten thousands of kalpas of birth and death and suffering. How much greater is its blessing power to those who copy and keep and read it, thus obtaining salvation and protection from all the Buddhas and speedily reaching *anuttara samyaksambodhi* (the complete wisdom of the Buddhas).

By these words of the Tathāgata many myriads among the audience reached different stages of Bodhisattvahood. Here the fourth chapter of the new translation is concluded, but in the old translation the Buddha goes on speaking about the name of the *sūtra* and its blessing power as regards the protection of countries, of houses, and of the bodies of all living beings. It may be called the Medicine of the Law for all kings of countries; when they use it, it will be very useful in protecting their homes and all that lives; this *Prajñā-pāramitā* shall protect them as walls and swords and shields.

It is clear that these lines cannot have belonged to the original text, if the Buddha's words end before the statement about the great number of hearers of his preaching who reached a higher stage by it. Amoghavajra's translation seems to give the right text; he concludes the chapter with the words: "When he (the Buddha) explained this Law (說是法時) there were ten myriads of men etc." Kumārajīva, however, apparently considers this line as belonging to the Buddha's words: "Then, when the large crowds hear them explain this *sūtra* (時諸大衆聞說是經), ten myriads of men shall reach etc.". And here the

[1] Cf. *Daijiten*, p. 1330, s.v. 二諦, *nitai*, and p. 1096, s.v. 諦, *tai*.

Buddha continues: "Great Kings, the name of this *sūtra* is: 仁王般若波羅蜜經, *Prajñā-pāramitā sūtra* (in answer to) the questions of benevolent kings", etc. The last lines of the second and third chapters, however, agree with Amoghavajra's translation, and Kumārajīva's final lines of the fourth chapter are out of place. In Amoghavajra's translation they are found at the end of the last chapter, which must be the right place.

§ 2, I. *The fifth chapter of the Ninnōkyō (Protecting the country, Gokoku,* 護國).

Here the second section of the *sūtra* begins. This chapter is the main part of the text, as it deals with its principal object, the protection of countries. The Buddha said to the great kings: "Listen attentively, listen attentively! Now I shall explain on your behalf the Law of Protecting the Country. In all countries, when riots are imminent, calamities are descending, or robbers are coming in order to destroy (the houses and possessions of the inhabitants), you, the Kings, ought to receive and keep and read this *Prajñā-pāramitā*, solemnly to adorn the place of worship (the altar), to place (there) a hundred Buddha images, a hundred images of Bodhisattvas, a hundred lion-seats, to invite a hundred Dharma-masters (priests) that they may explain this *sūtra*. And before the seats you must light all kinds of lamps, burn all kinds of incense, spread all kinds of flowers. You must liberally offer clothes, and bedding, food and medicine, houses, beds and seats, all offerings, and every day you must read this *sūtra* for two hours. If kings, great ministers, monks and nuns, male and female lay-members of the community, listen to it, receive and read it, and act according to the Law, the calamities shall be extinguished. Great Kings, in the countries there are innumerable demons and spirits, each of whom has innumerable relatives (followers); if they hear this

sūtra, they shall protect your countries. If riots are imminent, the demons and spirits are uproarious beforehand, and it is for this reason that the people revolt; then robbery arises, and the hundred families (the people) perish; the Kings and the Crown-princes, the princes and the hundred magistrates mutually do right and wrong. If unnatural things happen in heaven and on the earth: the sun, the moon and the stars lose their times and their courses, and great fires, inundations and storms are prevalent, if all these calamities arise, all people must receive and keep and read this *prajñā-pāramitā*. If they receive and keep and read this *sūtra*, all their desires shall be fulfilled; they shall obtain rank and wealth, sons and daughters, wisdom and intelligence, success in their actions, human and heavenly rewards. The dangers of disease and pestilence shall be removed from them, and if fetters, the cangue or chains restrain and bind their bodies, they shall be released. Even if they have broken the four important commandments, committed the five evils and violated all the commandments, even immeasurable crimes shall all be wiped out".

Thereupon the Buddha relates how in olden times *Śakra* (*Indra*), the Ruler of the Devas, caused the four armies of king Murdhajarāja, who came to attack his heavenly abode and to destroy Śakra himself, to retire only by the power of the *Prajñā-pāramitā sūtra*, read by a hundred priests at his request. Śakra thus followed the Law of the former Buddhas, and peace and joy returned among the devas.

In a second tale, related by the Buddha, the conversion of a thousand kings is described. When the Crown-prince of *Devala* [1] ascended the throne, he was baptized by a heterodox priest, who ordered him to take the heads of a thousand kings in order to

[1] 天羅國, cf. *Daijiten*, p. 1258, s. v. *Tenra-koku*. His name was 斑足王, ibid., p. 1435, s. v. *Hansoku ō*, where the 賢愚經, Ch. XI, and this passage are quoted.

sacrifice them to *Mahākāla Deva* in the grave (of his father). After having caught 999 kings he went ten thousand miles to the North and found a king, called „Universal Light" (普明, *Samantaprabhāsa*). The latter requested him to allow him to hold a service one day in honour of the Triratna and give drink and food to the monks. After having obtained the conqueror's permission he followed the doctrine, preached by the Buddhas of the past (the older translation says: "the seven Buddhas"), had a hundred high seats prepared and invited a hundred priests to explain eight thousand milliards of *gāthās* (hymns) on the *Prajñāpāramitā* one day during two hours.

Then the first of those priests explained a hymn on behalf of king *Samantaprabhāsa*, who, on hearing the Law, rose with all his relatives to a high degree of enlightenment. When they arrived in Devala, he caused the other 999 kings, whom he addressed as "Benevolent Ones", to read the *gāthās* on the *Prajñā-pāramitā*, whereupon they all reached the same degree of "*Samādhi* of Emptiness" (空三昧). Then the king of Devala asked, which doctrine they were reading, and on hearing King Samantaprabhāsa reciting the hymn, explained to him by the priest, he too was converted and danced with joy. Now he said to the thousand kings: „I was deceived by a heterodox priest. Return to your countries and invite Buddhist priests to explain the *Prajñā-pāramitā*". And he himself became a monk and obtained the "Forbearance of the Law of Redemption from rebirth" (無生法忍), i. e. the fourth of the five kinds of forbearance, representing the seventh, eighth and ninth *bhūmi* (stage) of the Bodhisattvas. [1]

"Great Kings", continued the Tathāgata, „there were in former times 5000 kings of countries, who always read this *sūtra*, and who in their present life have got their reward. In the same way you, sixteen Great Kings, must practise the Rite of Protecting the Country, and you must keep, read and explain this *sūtra*. If

[1] Cf. above, this paragraph, G, p. 129 sq., note 1.

in future ages the kings of countries wish to protect their kingdoms and to protect their own bodies, they too must act in the same way".

When the Buddha explained this doctrine, numberless men obtained "not to turn back" (不退轉, *avaivartya*, i.e. going straight to *Nirvāṇa*), Asuras obtained to be reborn in a heaven, and numberless devas of the worlds of desire and form got the "forbearance of no rebirth".

§ 2, K. *The sixth chapter of the Ninnōkyō* (*Miracles, Fushigi*, 不思議).

Then the sixteen kings of countries and the whole large crowd, on hearing the Buddha explain the very profound meaning of this *Prajñā-pāramitā*, danced with joy and spread innumerable precious lotus flowers in the air. These flowers became precious lotus seats, upon which the numberless Buddhas of the ten quarters were seated and explained the *Prajñā-pāramitā*. Thus various flower miracles took place in the air, and the *Prajñā-pāramitā* was expounded by Buddhas and great Bodhisattvas. King Prasenajit and the whole crowd joined their hands and said to the Buddha: "We wish that in past, present and future the Buddhas may always explain the *Prajñā-pāramitā*, and that the living beings may always see and hear what we see and hear to-day". The Buddha answered: "Great Kings, this *Prajñā-pāramitā* is the mother of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, and the origin of blessing and supernatural power. As the Buddhas by explaining it in the same way can create much benefit, you must always receive and keep it". Then the Tathāgata on behalf of the great crowd showed his wonderful supernatural power by means of five miracles, putting one flower into numberless flowers, and these again into one; one Buddha-land into innumerable Buddha-lands and vice-versa; one of the countries, numerous as the particles of dust, into innumerable such countries,

and vice-versa; an immeasurable sea into the hole of a hair, and the immeasurable Mount Sumeru into a mustard seed; one Buddha body into innumerable bodies of living beings, and vice-versa. Thus he caused large things to appear as small ones, and small things as large, pure things as dirty and dirty ones as pure. At the sight of these miracles ten thousand women became men and obtained the *samādhi* of supernatural power, numberless devas and men obtained the "forbearance of the Law of not being reborn" (the 7th, 8th and 9th stages of Bodhisattvahood), innumerable Asuras attained the Bodhisattva road, and Bodhisattvas became Buddhas.

§ 2, L. *The seventh chapter of the Ninnōkyō (Respectfully receiving and keeping this sūtra, Hōji,* 奉持).

1. *General contents of this chapter.*

This is a very important chapter, as it deals with the rites and the images of the Five Bodhisattvas.

After having explained how virtuous men can get the clear insight mentioned in this *sūtra* by practising the different kinds of forbearance up to the *vajra-samādhi* (金剛定) and always performing the ten acts of virtue, the Buddha expatiates in prose and verse on the Bodhisattvas of the ten stages (*bhūmi*). These stages are called *kwangi-ji* (歡喜地), the stage of joy, *rikuji* (離垢地), the stage of absence of filth (of passions) etc., well-known from other texts.[1] All these Bodhisattvas receive, keep and explain the Law and, going to the Buddha-lands, obtain perfect enlightenment. He also speaks about practising the 84000 *pāramitās*, i. e. the numberless ways leading to *Nirvāṇa*.

[1] Cf. Kern, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 67, note 7; Rahder, *Daśabhūmika-sūtra*; De Harlez, *Vocabulaire bouddhique sanscrit-chinois*, No. 19, p. 25 sq. (T'oung-pao VII 4, VIII 2).

Then the Tathāgata states that at the time when after his death the Law shall be about to be extinguished and all the sentient beings shall commit evil deeds, in the countries all kinds of calamities shall arise. Then all the kings, crown-princes, queens and their relatives, the hundred officials and the hundred families (the people) of all the countries must receive and keep this *Prajñā-pāramitā*, in order to protect themselves; and peace and joy shall be their reward. The Buddha commits this *sūtra* to the kings of the countries and not to the monks ad nuns or to the male and female lay-members of the community, because these kings alone have the royal majesty and power, necessary to establish the Law (in those times). Therefore these kings must receive and keep, read and explain this text, in order to drive away the *seven calamities* (七難) which may descend upon the 16 large, 500 middle and 100000 small countries of Jambudvīpa.

These seven calamities are: 1) the sun and the moon lose their courses, or their colours change, or they are eclipsed, or surrounded by several haloes.

2) The stars lose their courses, comets appear, the five planets change or appear in the day-time.

3) *Nāga* fire, demon fire, human fire and tree fire, the four great fires, arise and burn down everything.

4) The seasons change: it rains and thunders in winter; there is hoar-frost, ice and snow in summer; it rains earth and stones, sand and pebbles; it hails at wrong times; it rains red or black water; the rivers swell and overflow, carrying stones and rocks along.

5) Heavy storms arise, clouds cover the sun and the moon, houses are destroyed and trees uprooted; sand and stones fly about.

6) Excessive heat causes ponds to dry up, grass and trees to wither and die, and the hundred cereals to remain in a state of unripeness.

7) From all sides enemies come to attack the country; internal

and external wars break out, and the hundred families go to ruin and death.

In all calamities of heaven and earth this *Prajñā-pāramitā* (i. e. this *sūtra*) must be received and kept, read and explained.

On hearing these words of the Buddha, the sixteen kings were all terrified, and King Prasenajit asked the Tathāgata, for what reasons there were these numberless calamities of heaven and earth. Then the Buddha answered that they were caused by impiety of the people towards their parents, by irreverence towards their teachers and elders, *śramaṇas* and brahmanas, kings and ministers, and by not acting according to the Correct Law (*Saddharma*). And again he enumerated the blessing powers of this *Prajñā-pāramitā* with regard to Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, kings and all sentient beings. Like a precious pearl (*maṇi*) it gives them all kinds of virtues, it can protect them from poisonous Nāgas and from the evil demons and spirits; it can fulfill the desires of human hearts and give them the title of a king or a pearl which grants all desires. It can cause the great Nāga kings to send down a sweet and beneficent rain upon grasses and trees. It is like a brilliant light, placed upon a high standard in the darkness of night.

"You, kings, must order precious flags and canopies to be made, light lamps and spread flowers, make extensive offerings, precious boxes and splendid *sūtras*, and place these upon precious tables. When you are about to perform the ceremony, you always must lead (the performing priests) before these tables, and around the place of worship curtains made of the seven precious materials ought to be hung; seats ought to be made of all kinds of precious materials, and the *sūtras* ought to be placed on these seats, and all kinds of offerings ought to be made as if serving your parents, or the devas, or Śakra, their ruler. Great kings, I see that all human kings have obtained this rank because in former ages they served the 500 Buddhas and respectfully made offerings to them, and that all holy men and those who obtained the fruit of the

Law are reborn in their countries and cause great blessings. But if the felicity of those kings is exhausted and they do not walk in the Law, the holy men go away and violent calamities arise. Great kings, if in future ages the kings of the countries establish the Saddharma and protect the Triratna, I order the crowds of Boddhisattvas Mahāsattvas of the five quarters to go and protect their countries.

From the East side the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Vajrapāni (*Kongō-shu*, 金剛手) shall come to protect those countries, carrying a vajra-club (litt. vajra-pestle, i. e. a vajra) (金剛杵, *kongō-sho*) in his hand and emitting a red lustre; he shall be accompanied by four koṭi (forty millions) of Bodhisattvas. [1]

From the South side Vajraratna (*Kongō-hō*, 金剛寶) shall come, holding a vajra-jewel (*maṇi*) (*kongō-mani*, 金剛摩尼) in his hand, and emitting a sun-coloured lustre; he too shall be accompanied by four koṭi of Bodhisattvas. [2]

From the West side Vajratīkshna (*Kongō-ri*, 金剛利) shall come, carrying a vajra-sword (*kongō-ken*, 金剛劍) in his hand and emitting a golden lustre; he too shall be accompanied by the same retinue of Bodhisattvas. [3]

From the North side Vajrayaksha (*Kongō-yakusha*, 金剛藥叉) shall come, carrying a vajra-bell (*kongō-rei*, 金剛鈴) in his hand and emitting a *vaiḍūrya*-coloured lustre; he too shall be accompanied by four koṭi of Bodhisattvas.

From the Centre Vajrapāramitā (*Kongō-haramita*, 金剛波羅蜜多) shall come, carrying a vajra-wheel (*kongō-rin*, 金剛輪) and emitting a five-coloured lustre; he too shall be accompanied by four koṭi of Bodhisattvas.

All these Bodhisattvas shall cause great blessings to your

[1] In the public cult his name is *Samantabhadra.*

[2] In the public cult his name is *Ākāśagarbha* (cf. Nanjō No. 1406, p. 12b).

[3] In the public cult his name is *Mañjuśrī* (cf. Nanjō No. 1406, p. 13a).

countries. You ought to erect their images and to make offerings to them".

Then Vajrapāni and the other Bodhisattvas rose from their seats, made a prostration before the Buddha's feet, retired to one side and spoke to the Tathāgata: "Venerable of the World, it is our original vow to receive the Buddha's divine power and, if in the worlds of the ten quarters and in all the Buddha lands there are spots where this *sūtra* is received and kept, read and explained, to arrive there within a moment with all these followers in order to protect and erect the Saddharma, to cause those countries to be free from all calamities, war as well as pestilence, and to remove them all. Venerable of the World, we possess *dhāraṇīs*, which can maintain, embrace and protect (加持擁護, *kaji ōgo*) (those who use them); this is what all the Buddhas originally have practised and which causes a speedy salvation. If a man once hears this *sūtra*, all obstacles of crime are taken away; how much more is its blessing power, if he reads and studies it! By means of the majestic power of the Law we shall cause the countries to be always free from all kinds of calamities".

Then, with different mouths but one sound, they pronounced the *dhāraṇīs* before the Buddha.

Here follow the *dhāraṇīs*, thirty six in all. On hearing them, the Tathāgata praised the Bodhisattvas and said: "If there are persons who read and keep these *dhāraṇīs*, I and all the Buddhas of the ten quarters shall always protect them; the bad demons and spirits shall revere them like Buddhas, and soon they shall obtain *anuttara samyaksambodhi* (the unexcelled perfect intelligence, i. e. Buddhaship). Great kings, I commit this *sūtra* to you, kings of the sixteen countries (here the name of these countries are enumerated, Vaiśālī, Kosala, Śrāvastī, Magadha, Vārāṇaśī (the modern Benares), Kapilavastu, Kuśinagara, Pāṭaliputra, Campā, Sāṃkāśya, Gāndhāra etc.), you must receive and keep the *Prajñāpāramitā*!"

Then all the big crowds, the Asuras etc., on hearing the Buddha's

words regarding the calamities, were excited; the hair of their bodies stood erect, and with loud voices they exclaimed: "We vow that henceforth we shall not be reborn in those countries". And the sixteen kings forthwith threw away their thrones and became monks, provided with the "eight conquering faculties" (*hasshōsho*, 八勝處), i. e. the eight points of insight, by means of which one is able to abandon eager desire and affection, [1] and the "ten universal faculties" (*jūissaisho*, 十一切處), by means of which one may contemplate all things (i. e. the ten kinds of dharmas (*hō*, 法): green, yellow, red and white, earth, water, fire, wind, air, and knowledge), [2] and they obtained the forbearances of subjection, belief and redemption from birth (*bukunin*, *shinnin*, *mushōhōnin*, 伏忍, 信忍, 無生法忍), i. e. the three degrees of lower virtue, the first, second, third, seventh, eighth and ninth *bhūmi* (stages of Bodhisattvahood). [3]

Then all the men, Devas, Asuras, etc. spread four kinds of flowers as an offering to the Buddha and reached the three gates of salvation. And innumerable Bodhisattvas also spread flowers and immediately reached the third and fourth of the five kinds of forbearance (from the fourth to the ninth *bhūmi*) or developing a great compassion in the numberless Buddha lands they brought extensive blessings to the living beings, and in their present life reached Buddhahood.

There are two important points in which Amoghavajra's translation of this part of the *sūtra* differs from the older text of Kumārajīva: the names of the five Bodhisattvas and the *dhāraṇīs*. The latter, as stated above, are entirely omitted by Kumārajīva. He does not even mention them. Yet his translation evidently follows the original much more precisely than that of Amoghavajra, who often omits numbers and small details. Thus in the de-

[1] Cf. *Daijiten*, p. 1413, s.v. *hachi-haisha*, 八背捨.

[2] Ibid., p. 1414.

[3] Cf. above, this paragraph, G, p. 130, note.

scription of the ceremony to be performed Kumārajīva translates as follows.

"Great Kings, you must (order to) make nine-coloured flags, nine *chang* (*jō*, 丈, ninety feet, 尺) long, and nine-coloured flowers, two *chang* high, and a thousand lamps, five *wăn* (文) high, and nine boxes of jade, nine covers of jade (玉巾)[1] and tables (or a table?) made of the seven precious materials (*saptaratna*), and place the *sūtras* [apparently nine copies of this *sūtra*, preserved in the nine boxes and covers] thereon. If a king celebrates the ceremony, he must always distribute (the offerings) one hundred steps before these tables (or this table). This *sūtra* always emits a thousand brilliant rays and prevents the seven calamities and crimes from arising within a radius of a thousand miles. If a king resides (somewhere), he must have curtains made of the seven precious materials, and inside these curtains a high seat, also consisting of the *saptaratna*, on which the *sūtra* must be placed. Day after day he must make offerings, spread flowers, and burn incense, as if he served his father and mother or king Śakra, the ruler of the devas."

§ 2, L, 2. *The Five Great-Power Bodhisattvas.*

As to the five Bodhisattvas the Buddha says: "If in future ages a king of a country receives and keeps the Triratna, I shall cause the *Five Great-Power Bodhisattvas* (五大力菩薩, *Godairiki Bosatsu*)[2] to go there and protect that country.

[1] These "covers" were a kind of boxes, as we learn from the *Shen pao ki* (Nanjō No. 1566), the T'ien-t'ai commentary mentioned above (this chapter, § 1), Ch. IV, p. 29a.

[2] The five *bala*'s (powers) are: the power of faith, energy, memory, meditation and wisdom. Cf. Kern, *Manual of Buddhism*, pp. 62, 67; Eitel, *Sanskr.-Chin. dict.*, s. v. *Bala* or *Pancabalāni*.

1) *Vajra-nāda*	金剛吼 *Kongō-ku*	Vajra-howl
2) *Nāgarāja-nāda*	龍王吼 *Ryū-ō-ku*	Nāga-king-howl
3) *Abhaya-daśa-bala-nāda*	無畏十力吼 *Muï-jūriki-ku*	Fearless-ten power-howl [1]
4) *Meghadundubhi-nāda* (?)	雷電吼 *Raiden-ku*	Thunder and Lightning-howl
5) *Amita-bala-nāda*	無量力吼 *Muryōriki-ku*	Immeasurable power-howl

The first Bodhisattva shall come, holding a "thousand treasures-wheel (千寶相輪, *sembō-sōrin*). The second shall come carrying a golden wheel lamp" (金輪燈, *konrintō*). The third shall come holding a "vajra-club" (金剛杵, *kongō-sho*). The fourth shall come carrying a "thousand treasures-net" (千寶羅網, *sembō-ramō*). The fifth shall come carrying a "fifty swords-wheel" (五十劍輪, *gojūken-rin*).

These "Five Great Officers" (五大士, *godaishi*) are the Kings of the 5000 Great Spirits (大神), and they shall produce great blessings in your countries. You must erect their images and make offerings to them. Great Kings, I now commit the Triratna to you all". [2] Here follows the enumeration of the sixteen countries.

These five Bodhisattvas are the "*Shapes of the Wheels of the*

[1] Cf. *Kokkwa*, No. 360, II and Tanaka Toyozō's article on the *Godairiki Bosatsu (Kōyasan)*.

[2] Cf. the *Ninnōkyō mandara*, in colours on silk, painted in the early part of the 12th century, and preserved in *Daigoji*, the famous *Shingon* sanctuary in Kyōto. Attributed to Jōkai, 定海 (A. D. 1075—1149) of *Daigoji*, who copied the Chinese originals brought home in A. D. 806 by Kōbō Daishi (*Kokkwa* No. 363, III), and draughts of deities of the *Ninnōkyō*, after Kōbō Daishi's designs, *Kokkwa* No. 363, IV and V.

Saddharma" (正法輪身, *Shōhōrinshin*), i. e. the real Bodhisattva shapes of the *Five Great Vidyā-rājas* (五大明王, *Go Dai-Myōō*), whose "*Shapes of the Wheel of the Doctrinal Order*" (教令輪身, *Kyōryōrinshin*) (i. e. of the command of Mahāvairocana and the four other Buddhas, whose manifestations they are) are the angry figures of the so-called *Five Great Venerable Ones* (五大尊, *Godaison*),[1] i. e.

1) *Fudō Myōō*, 不動明王	Acala Vidyārāja
2) *Gōzanze Myōō*, 降三世明王	Trilokya-vijaya Vidyārāja
3) *Gundari Myōō*, 軍荼利明王	Kuṇḍali Vidyārāja
4) *Dai-itoku Myōō*, 大威徳明王	Yamāntaka Vidyārāja
5) *Kongō Yasha Myōō*, 金剛夜叉明王	Vajrayaksha Vidyārāja

These five real and five doctrinal shapes together with the "*Shapes of the Wheel of the Original Nature* (自性輪身, *Jishōrinshin*) of the Five Buddhas form the so-called *Sanrinshin* (三輪身, "Shapes of the Three Wheels"). According to the Commentary on the *Sūtra* of the Benevolent Kings (Nanjō No. 1435, Ch. I) their relation is as follows.

Quarters	The Five Buddhas	Real Bodhisattva shapes	Doctrinal (angry) shapes
Centre	Mahāvairocana	Vajrapāramitā	Acala Vajra
East	Akshobya	Vajrapāni	Trilokya-vijaya Vajra
South	Ratnasambhava	Vajraratna	Kuṇḍali Vajra
West	Amitābha	Vajratīkshṇa	Yamāntaka Vajra
North	Amoghasiddhi	Vajrayaksha	Vajrayaksha Vajra

[1] Cf. *Daijiten*, p. 380, s. v. *kyōryō-rinshin*; *Himitsu jirin*, p. 322 sq.

In this list the names of the Bodhisattvas are given according to Amoghavajra's translation. The quarters to which they belong are, as we saw above, the Centre, the East, the South, the West and the North. The *Five Great-Power-Howl Vidyārājas* (五大力吼明王, *Godairikku Myōō*) are, according to the *Himitsu jirin* (p. 323) the angry shapes of Vajrapāramitā etc., and the *Bukkyō daijiten* instructs us that these Bodhisattvas are the real shapes of the *godaison Fudō, Gōzanze, Gundari, Dai-itoku* and *Kongō Yasha* (represented with angry figures). At the present time they are believed by the people to expel thieves and are worshipped for this reason. In the four corners of the houses paper labels are pasted with the inscription: 五大力菩薩, *Godairiki Bosatsu*, "The Five Great-Power Bodhisattvas". [1]

The term *sanrinshin*, 三輪身, or "Bodies of the Three Wheels", i. e. of the Five Buddhas in their Original Nature, their Bodhisattva shape and their angry (doctrinal) shape, belongs to the Mystic Doctrine. These wheels relate to the "turning of the wheel", i. e. the preaching of the Law, and not to the five elements, the *godai*, 五大 (the "Five Great Ones"), also called the *gorin*, 五輪, the "Five Wheels": Ether, Air (Wind), Fire, Water and Earth (空, 風, 火, 水, 地), connected with the Five Buddhas by the Mystic School. According to Amoghavajra these elements are represented by the shapes of the Five Buddhas of the *Taizōkai* (胎藏界, the Phenomenal World) as follows:

Centre	Earth	Yellow	Mahāvairocana	Acala (Fudō)
East	Ether	Blue	Akshobhya	Trilokya-vijaya (Gōzanze)
South	Fire	Red	Ratnasambhava	Kuṇḍali (Gundari)
West	Wind	White	Amitābha	Yamāntaka (Dai-Itoku)
North	Water	Black	Amoghasiddhi	Vajrayaksha (Kongō Yasha)

[1] *Daijiten*, p. 549 s. v. *Godairiki Bosatsu*. Cf. De la Vallée Poussin, *Bouddhisme*, p. 396.

Śubhakarasiṃha (善無畏, A.D. 637—734),[1] however, gives a better explanation, connecting Mahāvairocana with the Ether and Amitābha with the Water, in this way:

Centre	Ether	Blue	Mahāvairocana	Acala (Fudō)
East	Earth	Yellow	Akshobhya	Trilokya-vijaya (Gōzanze)
South	Fire	Red	Ratnasambhava	Kuṇḍali (Gundari)
West	Water	White	Amitābha	Yamāntaka (Dai-Itoku)
North	Wind	Black[2]	Amoghasiddhi[3]	Vajrayaksha (Kongō Yasha)

The *Butsuzō-zuï* (佛像圖彙)[4] gives pictures of the "Five Great-Power Bodhisattvas" and says: "Thirteen hundred years after the Buddha's Nirvāṇa a hundred demons entered the land of 彌提, Mi-t'i, and spread pestilence which caused the death of many people. On the eighth of the first month the king ordered that the whole population of the country should have pictures made of the Five Great-Power Bodhisattvas; 'Purification-meetings' (齋會, *Sai-e*,[5] i. e. meetings of Buddhist monks, arranged in order to give them food) of the Benevolent Kings were prepared and offerings were made to these Five Bodhisattvas (or those pictures were offered to them). Then the demons and spirits were terrified and left the country". Here they are represented as menacing figures, with a halo of flames behind their whole body. They are given in this order: Centre, North, West, South, East, but we shall keep to the order given in the former lists.

[1] Nanjō App. II, 154. In A. D. 716 he arrived in Ch'ang-ngan.

[2] Cf. Hackin's list (*Guide-Catalogue du Musée Guimet, Les Collections Bouddhiques*, p. 88), where the colours are given in this order: blanc, bleu, jaune, rouge, vert.

[3] Cf. *Daijiten*, p. 544, s. v. *Godai*, 五大.

[4] Published in 1690, with pictures by Tosa Hidenobu, 土佐秀信, and text by the Buddhist priest Gizan, 義山. Ch. II, pp. 19 sqq.

[5] *Daijiten*, p. 590, s. v. *sai-e*; above, Ch. II.

1. Centre Vairocana	*Muryōriki-ku* 无量力吼	*Amita-bala-nada* Innumerable Power-Howl	Seated cross-legged on the lotus, and carrying an upright sword in his right, the Wheel of the Law in his left hand.
Vajrapāramitā	*Fudō Myō-ō* 不動明王	Acala Vajra	
2. East Akshobhya	*Kongō-ku* 金剛吼	*Vajra-nada* Vajra-Howl	Dancing upon two lotus flowers; his right hand carries a wheel.
Vajrapāni	*Gōzanze Myō-ō* 降三世明王	Trilokya-vijaya Vajra	
3. South Ratnasambhava	*Ryū-ō-ku* 龍王吼	*Nāgarāja-nada* Nāga-king-Howl	Dancing upon two lotus flowers; his right hand brandishes a sword.
Vajraratna	*Gundari Myō-ō* 軍荼利明王	Kuṇḍali Vajra	
4. West Amitābha	*Mu-i-hō-ku* 無畏方吼	*Abhaya . . . . nada* acc. to the *sūtra*:	Dancing upon two lotus flowers; his left hand carries a *vajra*.
Vajratikshṇa	*Mu-i-jūriki-ku* 無畏十力吼	*Abhaya-daśabala-nada*	
	Dai-Itoku Myō-ō 大威德明王	Fearless-Ten powers-Howl Yamāntaka Vajra	
5. North Amoghasiddhi	*Raiden-ku* 雷電吼	*Meghadundubhi-nada* (?) Thunder and Lightning-Howl	Dancing upon two lotus flowers; his left hand carries some vajra-symbol. [1]
Vajrayaksha	*Kongō Yasha Myō-ō* 金剛夜叉明王	Vajrayaksha Vajra	

[1] According to the passages treated above and below it is a vajra-bell or a vajra-tooth *(jakṣa)*. Centre: vajra-wheel, East: vajra-club, South: vajra-jewel, West: vajra-sword, North: vajra-bell or tooth.

Here we see that the difference between these figures and the Five Great Venerable *Vidyārājas* (五大尊明王, *Godaison Myō-ō*) (*Butsuzō-zuï*, II, p. 20*b*, 21) relates to the attributes and the number of the arms. All the Great-Power Bodhisattvas have only two arms, whereas of the other group only *Fudō*, the central and main figure, has two arms, the others six (*Kongō Yasha* and *Dai Itoku*) or eight (*Gundari* and *Gōzanze*). But in both groups the expression of the faces and the attitude is menacing; they are angry expellers of the evil demons of disease, calamity and war.

There are different explanations of the relation between the Five Buddhas and the shapes of the Saddharma-wheel (*Shōhō-rinshin*, 正法輪身) and of the Wheel of the Doctrinal Order (*Kyōryōrinshin*, 教令輪身). The *Bukkyō daijiten* (p. 547, s.v. *Go Daimyō-ō*, 五大明王) states that Amoghavajra in the first chapter of the commentary on the *Sūtra* of the Benevolent Kings (Nanjō No. 1435, translated by Amoghavajra) refers to the *Vajrasekhara Yoga sūtra* (金剛頂瑜伽經 (Nanjō No. 1033, cf. 534, 1319 etc.) and deals with the relation between the five Bodhisattvas of the latter *sūtra* and those of the former. The "Three Wheel-shapes" (三輪身, *Sanrinshin*) are, according to this commentary, those which are explained above: 1) the "Shape of the Original Nature" of the Five Buddhas (自性輪身); 2) the "Shape of the Saddharma Wheel", i. e. the real Bodhisattva-shape; 3) the "Shape of the Wheel of the Doctrinal Order", i. e. the angry *Vidyārāja* shape. According to the 蓮華三昧經 these three shapes represent the actions of the body, mouth and mind of the Five Buddhas. Thus the *Hizōki*, 秘藏記,[1]

[1] The *Hizōki*, a Chinese writing consisting of two chapters, said to have been written by Kōbō Daishi according to the oral explanations of his Chinese teacher Hwui-kwo (慧果) (Egwa Ajari), the seventh patriarch of the *Shingon* sect, or by the latter according to the oral explanations of Amoghavajra, the fourth patriarch, or by Wăn-pi (文祕), a pupil of I-ts'ao (義操) of the T'ang dynasty. Apparently it is partlythe latter's work, partly that of Kōbō Daishi. Cf. *Himitsu jirin*, p. 896, s. v. *Hizōki*.

calls them all "Shapes of the Wheels of the Original Nature" (of the Five Buddhas): their Buddha shape and their two Bodhisattva shapes, because saving the living beings is their original nature. Then four different lists of names are given (in the *Bukkyō daijiten*); those of the Buddhas and Vidyārājas are the same, but those of the Bodhisattvas of the Saddharma wheel are different.

When comparing the names of the Five Bodhisattvas in this list, we see that *Vajrāpāramitā*, the central figure, is also called *Dhārmacakra pravartana*, *Tembōrin*, the "Turner of the Wheel" (of the Law) or *Hannya Bosatsu*, the "Bodhisattva of Wisdom". *Vajrapāni*, the eastern figure, is identified with *Samantabhadra* (*Fugen*) or *Vajrasattva*, and *Vajratikṣṇa*, the western figure, with *Mañjuśrī*. *Vajraratna*, the southern figure, is a form of *Ākāśagarbha* or *Vajragarbha*, and *Vajrayakṣa* is also called the "Suppressor of all the bad demons" or the "Storehouse of the Air" (Emptiness).

According to the commentaries on the *Mahāvairocana sūtra* (大日經, Nanjō No. 530) the "Bodies of the Wheel of the Original Nature" of the Five Buddhas are the original forms (本地, *honji*) of the three shapes, whereas the commentaries on the *Sūtra* of the Benevolent Kings consider the "Bodies of the Saddharma Wheel" as the original forms of the Bodhisattvas, who, on having received the doctrinal order (教令) of their Original Buddha (one of the Five Buddhas) appear in the angry form of the *Vidyārājas*. The *Hizōki* follows the latter explanation. Apparently the difference is only nominal; in reality the Bodhisattva shape represents the Buddha's compassion and blessing power, whereas the *Vidyā-rāja* shape represents his anger against the evil demons.

In a Tantric commentary on the *Ninnōkyō*, entitled *Ninnō hannya darani shaku*, "Explanation of the *dhāraṇīs* of the *Prajñā* (*pāramitā-sūtra*) on the Benevolent Kings" (Nanjō No. 1406, cf. below § 3, B), we find the following explanation of the Five Bodhisattvas.

1. The first of the five, Vajrapāni (金剛手, *kongōshu*),

The Five Buddhas.

Centre	East	South	West	North
Vairocana 大日	Akshobhya 阿閦	Ratnasambhava 寶生	Amitābha 彌陀	Amoghasiddhi 不空

The Five Vidyā-rājas (Doctrinal wheel-shape).

Acala Vajra Fudō Myō-ō 不動明王	Trilokya-vijaya Vajra Gōzanze Myō-ō 降三世明王	Kuṇḍali Vajra Gundari Myō-ō 軍荼梨明王	Yamāntaka Vajra Dai-Itoku Myō-ō 大威德明王 (六足尊)	Vajrayaksha Vajra Kongō Yasha Myō-ō 金剛夜叉明王 (淨身)

The Five Bodhisattvas (real Saddharma-wheel shape).
1) Old translation (Kumārajīva).

Amita-bala-nāda Muryōriki-ku 無量力吼	Vajra-nāda Kongō-ku 金剛吼	Nāgarāja-nāda Ryū-ō-ku 龍王吼	Abhaya-daśabala-nāda Muï-jūriki-ku 無畏十力吼	Meghadundubhi-nāda Raiden-ku 雷電吼

2) New translation (Amoghavajra).

Vajrapāramitā Kongō-haramitsu Bosatsu 金剛波羅蜜	Vajrapāni Kongō-shu Bosatsu 金剛手	Vajraratna Kongō-hō Bosatsu 金剛寶	Vajratikshṇa Kongō-ri Bosatsu 金剛利	Vajrayaksha Kongō-Yakusha Bosatsu 金剛藥叉

3) Vajrasekhara-Yoga-*sūtra* (*Kongōchō-yuga-kyō*, No. 1033).

Dharmacakra-pravartana, Turner of the Wheel of the Law Tembōrin-Bosatsu 轉法輪	Samantabhadra Fugen Bosatsu 普賢	Ākāśagarbha Kokūzō Bosatsu 虛空藏	Mañjusrī Monju Bosatsu 文殊	Suppressor of all evil demons Suifuku issai ma-en Bosatsu 推伏一切魔怨

4) Hizōki.

Prajñā Hannya Bosatsu 般若	Vajrasattva Kongōsatta Bosatsu 金剛薩埵	Vajragarbha Kongōzō Bosatsu 金剛藏	Mañjuśrī Monju Bosatsu 文殊	Vajrajaksha Kongōge Bosatsu 金剛牙

5) Bodaishin gohongi (菩提心五本義).

Dharmacakra-pravartana Tembōrin Bosatsu 轉法輪	Samantabhadra Fugen Bosatsu 普賢	Ākāśagarbha Kokūzō Bosatsu 虛空藏	Mañjuśrī Monju Bosatsu 文殊	Ākāśa-[storehouse] Kokūko Bosatsu 虛空庫

is called thus because he always carries a vajra (*kongō-sho*, 金剛杵) in his hand. The vajra is the inner symbol of a bodhi-heart, and the outer symbol of destroying and suppressing sorrow and vexation. His public name is *Samantabhadra* (cf. Nanjō No. 1435, p. 2*b*).

2. Vajraratna (金剛寶, *Kongōhō*) is named after the vajra-jewel (*vajra-maṇi*) in his hand, which is a six-fold symbol; 1) it is difficult to obtain, 2) it is pure and stainless, 3) it has great, majestic blessing power, 4) it inspires the world with profound reverence, 5) its superiority is incomparable, 6) it does not change. The public name of this Bodhisattva is *Ākāśagarbha*.

3. Vajratikshṇa (金剛利, *Kongō-ri*) carries a vajra-sword (*kongō-ken*, 金剛劍). This is the sharp sword (*riken*, 利劍) of the *Prajñā-pāramitā*, which can cut off all kinds of sorrows and vexations. His public name is *Mañjuśrī*.

4. Vajrayaksha (金剛藥叉, *Kongō-yakusha*) is explained as the exhaustive tooth of wisdom (he is also called *Kongō-ge*, 金剛牙, Vajra-tooth, Vajra-jaksha) which devours all sorrows and vexations. He carries a vajra-bell (*kongō-rei*, 金剛鈴), because the sound of this bell gives perfect enlightenment; it is the bell of *prajñā-pāramitā*. His public name is "He who represses all the evil demons" (or the anger of all demons, 摧一切魔怨).

5. Vajrapāramitā (金剛波羅蜜多, *Kongō-haramita*) carries a vajra-wheel (*kongō-rin*, 金剛輪), because this Bodhisattva requested Vairocana Buddha, when the latter had reached Buddhaship in the upper world, to turn the Wheel of the Law of the *Vajra-yāna* (金剛乘法輪, *Kongōjō-hōrin*), which causes the numberless sentient beings to cross the stream towards the other bank, i.e. to enter *Nirvāṇa*. His public name is "He who just having directed his mind to *Bodhi* turns the Wheel of the Law" (纔發心轉法輪, *Saihosshin Tembōrin*) (commonly called *Tembōrin*, "He who turns the Wheel of the Law").

In another Tantric commentary on the *Ninnōkyō*, entitled "Rules on the place of worship and the chanting of the liturgies of the *Ninnō-gokoku-kyō*" (Nanjō No. 1435, already quoted above, and treated below, § 3, C) the "Real shapes of the Wheel of the Law" (法輪現眞實身) of the Five Bodhisattvas are said to express the result of the fulfillment of the vows (of the Five Buddhas), whereas their "Awful and angry shapes of the Wheel of the Doctrinal Order" (教令輪示威怒身) express the stern fierceness of their great compassion.

The relation of these Bodhisattvas is described as follows.

Quarter	Public cult	Real shape of the Wheel of the Law	Angry shape of the Wheel of the Doctrinal Order.
East	Samantabhadra	Vajrapāni	Trilokyavijaya Vajra
South	Ākāśagarbha	Vajraratna	Kuṇḍali Vajra
West	Mañjuśrī	Vajratikshṇa	Yamāntaka Vajra [1]
North	He who suppresses all bad demons	Vajrayaksha	Vajrayaksha Vajra [2]
Centre	Dharmacakra-pravartana	Vajrapāramitā	Acala Vajra

1. Trilokyavijaya Vajra (*Gōzanze Kongō*, i.e. *Gōzanze Myōō*, 降三世明王) has four heads and eight arms. He is the angry looking, doctrinal shape of the Eastern Buddha *Akṣobhya*. He emits a blue lustre and suppresses the armies of *Maheśvara* (*Śiva*), the demons who violate and damage the Saddharma and hurt living beings. He comes with *Dhṛtarāṣtra*

[1] Called *Rokusoku Kongō*, 六足金剛, "Six-feeted Vajra"; cf. *Daijiten*, p. 1836 s. v.

[2] Called *Jōshin Kongō*, 淨身金剛, "Pure-bodied Vajra".

(*Jikoku Ten*, 持國天), one of the *Catur Mahārājas* (*Shitennō*, 四天王), the white king of the Gandharvas, the protector of the East, who leads the innumerable Gandharvas and Piśācas, and with four koṭi of Bodhisattvas, in order to protect the country (where this *sūtra* is read and the ceremony performed).

2. Kuṇḍali Vajra (*Gundari Kongō*, i.e. *Gundari Myō-ō*, 軍荼梨明王, here written 軍吒利) has eight arms. He is the angry looking, doctrinal shape of the Southern Buddha *Ratnasambhava*. He emits a sun-coloured lustre, and suppresses all the Asuras and all the demons who by means of epidemic diseases vex and hurt sentient beings. He comes with *Virūdhaka* (*Zōchō Ten*), the second of the Four Deva Kings, the blue king of the Kumbhāndas, the protector of the South, who leads the innumerable Kumbhāndas and Pretas, and with four koṭi of Bodhisattvas, in order to protect the country.

3. Yamāntaka Vajra (*Rokusoku Kongō*, 六足金剛, the "Six-feeted Vajra", i.e. *Dai-Itoku Myō-ō*, 大威德明王) has six heads and a thousand arms, and each of his six feet rests upon a buffalo. He is angry looking, the doctrinal shape of the Western Buddha *Amitābha* (*Amitāyus*). He emits a golden lustre, and suppresses all poisonous Nāgas who hurt sentient beings by raising evil storms. He comes with *Virūpākṣa* (*Kwō-moku Ten*), the red king of the Nāgas, the protector of the West, the third of the Four Deva Kings, who leads the innumerable Nāgas and Putanas (Pretas who rule over fevers), and with four koṭi of Bodhisattvas, in order to protect the country.

4. Vajrayaksha Vajra (*Jōshin Kongō*, 淨心金剛, the Pure-bodied Vajra", i.e. *Kongō Yasha Myō-ō*, 金剛夜叉明王) has four arms. He is the angry looking, doctrinal shape of the Northern Buddha *Amoghasiddhi*. He emits a *vaiḍūrya* [1] coloured lustre, and suppresses all the terrible Yakshas who, in the day-

[1] Lapis lazuli, one of the Sapta-ratna, described as a green coloured jewel. Cf. Eitel s. v.

time and at night, always try to seize by force the vital spirit of men and to hurt sentient beings. He comes with *Vaiśravana* (*Kubera*, *Bishamon* or *Tamon Ten*, 毗沙門天, 多門天), the fourth of the Four Deva Kings, the yellow king of the Yakshas, the protector of the North, who leads the innumerable Yakshas and Rākshasas, and with four koṭi of Bodhisattvas, in order to protect the country.

5. Acala Vajra (*Fudō Kongō*, i. e. *Fudō Myō-ō*, 不動明王) is the two-armed, angry looking, doctrinal shape of the Central *Vairocana* Buddha of the *Kue-mandara* (九會曼荼羅), the "Maṇḍala of the Nine Sections" of the *Kongōkai* (金剛界). He emits a five-coloured lustre, and suppresses all the evil demons who embarrass and vex sentient beings by causing errors and confusion. His five-coloured lustre is a symbol of his blessing powers, which break all darkness. He comes with *Śakra Deva* (Indra), the Ruler of the Devas, who leads the innumerable Devas, and with four koṭi of Bodhisattvas, in order to protect the country.

After having written this I read Professor Przyluski's excellent article on the *Vidyārājas*,[1] based upon the *Ārya-Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (Nanjō No. 1056), the original sanskrit text of which work was discovered in 1909, and the first part of which was published by Mr. Gaṇapati Śāstri In 1920. This kalpa is a kind of encyclopaedia, dealing, in the form of sermons, with iconography, rites, astrology and many other subjects. Professor Przyluski points out that in the oldest parts of this text the word *vidyārāja* means *personification of magic formulae;* those issued from the top of the head, the *uṣṇīṣa*, of the Buddhas, also called *Uṣṇīṣarājas*, are the kings among the other vidyārājas, the *Vidyārājacakravartin.* The second or *Lotus* group of vidyārājas, wearing

[1] Jean Przyluski, *Les Vidyārāja, contribution à l'histoire de la magie dans les sectes mahāyānistes, Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient,* XXIII, 1923, pp. 301—318.

the names of brahmanic deities, and the third or *Vajra* group, led by the Bodhisattva *Vajrapāni* and representing the ancient Brahmanic genii of the air, the *Vidhyādhara*, appear gradually to have supplanted the personified magic formulae of the Tathāgatas. In the third group the *vajra* has taken the place of the *nandana* of the Vidhyādhara, and most of their names are composed with the word *vajra*. When comparing these interesting details with the fact that Kumārajīva's text calls the five Great-Power Bodhisattvas *nāda* (howl), whereas Amoghavajra's translation enumerates them as *Vajrapāni*, *Vajraratna* etc., we recognize the first and the third group of the Vidyārājas and we see how the Tantric text used by Amoghavajra had put the Vajra-carrying figures in the place of the ancient personifications of magic formulae, utterances of the Tathāgatas. *Vajrapāni*, the Eastern Bodhisattva, is the leader, but in reality *Vajrapāramitā*, the Central figure, corresponding to *Vairocana* and *Acala Vajra* (*Dai Nichi Nyorai* and *Fudō Myōō*), is the most important figure of the group.

§ 2, M. *The eighth (last) chapter of the Ninnōkyō (The Buddha commits this Sūtra and the Triratna to the Benevolent Kings* (*Zokurui*, 囑累).

Here the Buddha predicts to the kings, that fifty, five hundred, five thousand years after his death (in the older translation eighty, eight hundred, eight thousand years) there will be no Buddha, no Dharma, no Saṅgha (and, according to the old translation, no devout man or woman). Then this *Sūtra* and the Triratna shall be committed to the kings of the countries and to the four classes of Āryas (the Śrotaāpannas, Sakṛdāgāmins, Anāgāmins and Arhats), to the former that they may erect and protect them, to the latter that they may receive and keep and read the *Sūtra* and explain its meaning and on behalf of the living beings extensively expound the essential points of the Law.

Then he prophecies the extinction of the Doctrine and the

ruin of the states at the time when all Kings and royal princes and ministers shall be self-confident and haughty and when they shall destroy the Buddha's doctrine and promulgate rules and laws in order to restrain his disciples, monks and nuns; when they shall not allow (their subjects) to become monks, to walk in the correct path, to build pagodas and to make Buddhist images, white robes and high seats etc. He warns the kings, that, at the time when after his death the four classes of Āryas, the Kings, royal princes and officials, who all have the task of maintaining and protecting the Triratna, shall destroy it, like worms within the body of a lion devouring its flesh, all kinds of calamities shall fall upon them and they shall be reborn in hell or as pretas or as poor and mean men. He warns them that the extinction of the Law shall be near, when wicked bhikshus hanker for fame and gain and without relying upon the Buddha's Law cause the kings to set up rules and laws and not to depend upon the Buddha's commandments.

The sixteen kings, on hearing this prophecy, were deeply distressed, and the sound of their crying moved the three thousand heavens: darkness fell upon the earth and there was no light to be seen. All the kings decided to receive and keep the Buddha's words, to follow his instructions, and not to restrain the four classes of his followers from leaving their homes and studying the doctrine. But the numberless crowd of devas lamented the approaching emptiness of the world, the Buddhaless age.

Then King Prasenajit said to the Buddha; "Venerable of the World, how shall we call this *sūtra*?" And the Tathāgata answered: "Great King, this *sūtra's* name is "*Prajñā-pāramitā* (*sūtra*) on benevolent kings protecting their countries"; it has also the name of "Sweet dew (*amṛta*), Medicine of the Law". If one obeys it, it is able to cure all diseases. Great King, the blessing power of the *Prajñā-pāramitā* is immeasurable as the empty space. If it is received and kept and read, its blessing power can protect the benevolent kings and all living beings, like a fence or the

wall of a castle. Therefore you ought to receive and keep it."

When the Buddha had ended explaining this *sūtra*, Maitreya, Siṃhacandra, and all the numberless Bodhisattvas, śravakas, devas, monks and nuns, upāsakas and upāsikās rejoiced greatly and received his words devotedly.

§ 3. *The Tantric commentaries on the Sūtra of the Benevolent Kings.*

§ 3, A. *The older translations and the T'ien-t'ai commentaries.*

As stated above (Ch. I, § 1), two commentaries on this *sūtra* (Nanjō Nos. 1566 and 1567) belong to the writings of the *T'ien-t'ai* sect and date from the sixth and thirteenth centuries. We learn from the former work (Ch. I, p. 6*b*), that at that time (the sixth century) three translations of this *sūtra* existed. The first one was written in the Yung-kia era (A.D. 307—313) of the Western Tsin dynasty by the Indian priest Dharmaraksha, who in A.D. 266 arrived at Loh-yang, where he translated many *sūtras* till A.D. 313 or 317. This translation consisted of two fasciculi and was entitled 仁王般若, "*Prajñā of the Benevolent kings*". Then followed Kumārajīva's work (Nanjō No. 17), according to this passage written at Ch'ang-an in A.D. 401 (Hung-shi 3), i.e. immediately after his arrival. If this is right, it must have been the first work he translated, a new evidence of the great importance he attached to it. In the Ta-t'ung era (A.D. 535—546) of the Liang dynasty the third translation, consisting of one fasciculus and entitled 仁王般若經, was written by Cheng-ti (眞諦) in the *Shih-yin* monastery (實因寺) in Yü-chang (豫章) (Kiang-si province). There was a commentary of six fasciculi, edited in three volumes.

Thus we see that the priests of those times devoted much study to this important *sūtra*. Afterwards two translations and

the commentary were lost, but Kumārajīva's work remained and was evidently used by the *T'ien-t'ai* priests, whose famous patriarch Chi-i (A.D. 531—597) orally expounded it to his pupil Kwan-ting (A.D. 561—632). As the latter's commentary (Nanjō No. 1566) as well as the *Shen pao ki* (Nanjō No. 1567, A.D. 1230) explain many terms but do not give us details upon the rites and images, used in this cult, we may leave them aside and concentrate our attention upon the commentaries of the Tantric School.

The three Tantric works on this *sūtra*, preserved in the Canon, are all translated by Amoghavajra (cf. Ch. I, § 2) and were presented by him to the Emperor Tai-tsung in A.D. 771.

§ 3, B. *The "Explanation of the dhāraṇīs of the Prajñā (pāramitā-sūtra) of the Benevolent Kings (Ninnō hannya darani shaku,* 仁王般若陀羅尼釋) *(Nanjō No. 1406).*

This short treatise (pp. 12—19) does not deal with the rites, but only explains the names of the Five Bodhisattvas, mentioned in the seventh chapter of the *Sūtra* (cf. above pp. 142 sqq., where those explanations are given), Vairocana's name, terms like *Bodhisattva, vajra, pāramitā* etc., and the mystic meaning of the different syllables, used in the magic formulae as the "seed-characters" (種字, *shuji*), i. e. as those principal syllables, which are considered as the source of all blessing power. These Lanca signs are attached to the different Buddhas and Bodhisattvas of the "Vajra-world" (*Kongōkai*) and the "World of the Womb" (*Taizōkai*); they are the first or the last syllables of their tantras, or they represent their original vows (本誓, *honzei*), or are their general "seed-signs" (通種字). [1]

[1] Cf. *Himitsu jirin*, p. 565 sq., s. v. *shuji*.

§ 3, C. *The "Rules on the place of worship and the chanting of the liturgies of the Sūtra on the Protection of Countries by Benevolent Kings* (仁王護國經道場念誦儀軌, *Kāruṇikarāja-raṣṭrapāla-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra-bodhimaṇḍā-dhyāya-kalpa*) (*Nanjō No. 1435*).

§ 3, C 1. *Division of the text.*

This treatise consists of 19 pages and is divided into five parts:

1. The majestic blessing power of the Five Bodhisattvas (pp. 2–5).
2. Rules (*kalpa*) concerning the erection of a *maṇḍala* (pp. 5—8).
3. Rules with regard to entering the place of worship (pp. 9—14).
4. Explanation of the way in which the characters of the *dhāraṇīs* are to be contemplated (pp. 14—18).
5. Explanation of the distribution of the "character-wheels" (布字輪) of the *dhāraṇīs* by means of meditation (pp. 18 sq.). [1]

§ 3, C 2. *A great ceremony in Amoghavajra's time.*

A preface, written by Hwui-ling (慧靈), a "*sūtra*-translating *śramaṇa* of the *Hing-shen* monastery" (興善寺), where Amoghavajra lived, praises the holy virtue of the Emperor (Tai-tsung, 代宗, A.D. 762—779), who "blows the great trumpet (conch) of the Law", and relates how Amoghavajra with other priests made a new translation of this *sūtra* (between A.D. 762 and 771). Five months later (in the ninth month of A.D. 765) the Emperor ordered a hundred seats to be arranged on behalf of a hundred monks (fifty of the *Tszĕ-shing* and fifty of the *Si-ming* monastery), and a thousand officials had to pay reverence to the *sūtra*. Thousands of people from the capital and from the country looked at the ceremony and were full of admiration. A five-coloured cloud floated in the sky as an omen of felicity, and the majestic

[1] Cf. *Daijiten*, p. 998, s. v. *jirinkwan*, 字輪觀.

procession procceded through the streets with banners and flowers at the head and music in the rear. There was joy in the capital and in the palace, and the roads and walls were crowded with people. There had never been such a great Buddhistic festival in China, celebrated by high officials, since Mātaṅga's arrival (in 64 A.D.), when the auspicious Law came from the West.

The first part of the treatise deals with the Five Bodhisattvas. For their description in this text we may refer the reader to § 2, L 2, pp. 142 sqq. (the Five Great-Power Bodhisattvas).

§ 3, C 3. *How to erect the maṇḍala (here the altar with utensils and symbols).*

In order to protect one's country, one's family and one's self, to ward off calamities and remove obstacles, one ought to erect the *maṇḍala* entirely in accordance with the *Yoga*. In the first place a quiet and pure spot is to be chosen. The best place is that where a relic (*śarīra*) is preserved, but it may also be a pure house, or a cave in high mountains and woods, or a confluence of two rivers, or a lotus pond in a garden, abounding in flowers and fruits, or a spot where a wise and holy man found the way (to wisdom and holiness), or a spot beloved by anchorites (performers of religious austerities). It may also be erected on a ship, or on a double-storied belvedere, or on a rock or under delightful trees. Such spots are fit for the erection of a *maṇḍala*. On an auspicious day dig a hole in the ground, two *hasta*'s (肘, litt. fore-arm, the 16000th part of a *yojana*) deep and either four or from six to twelve *hasta*'s broad. Remove all dirty things like potsherds, hair, ashes, bones etc. A different way is to take pure earth from the banks of two confluent rivers and make an altar according to the Law on a superior spot without dirty objects. Then fill in the hole with the old earth (i. e. with the old earth out of which all dirty objects are removed). If there is a remainder of earth, this is evidence that it is an

excellent spot and that the prayer shall soon be fulfilled. If the hole is filled without a remainder of earth, the spot is of ordinary quality (中) and the wish shall be attained (中). If the earth is not sufficient to fill the hole, the spot is inferior and the obtainment of the wish shall be slow and difficult. If it is beneath or upon a *śarīra*-pagoda, or on a double-storied belvedere or on a rock or on a pure spot, free from all uncleanness, it is sufficient to erect a *maṇḍala* according to the Law, and it is not necessary to dig a hole in the midst of the altar. After having levelled the ground choose an auspicious day, and in the morning of that day dig a hole, one cubit deep and one cubit long and broad and put in it a few seeds of the five cereals and a little fragrant medicinal herbs. Then recite the following *tantra* of the *Devī* of the Earth (Kenrō jishin) (here the *tantra* is given). After having recited this *tantra* twenty one times (3×7, holy numbers), put magic incense into the hole and fill it with earth. Then sit down upon the altar, with your face towards the East. In the centre of the altar one round altar, one *hasta* long and broad, must be smeared with incense-water, flowers of the season must be strewn over it, and offerings of milk, gruel, rare fruits, drink and food should be placed upon that altar with the right hand. Thereupon the *tantra* of the *Devī* of the Earth, above mentioned, has to be pronounced a hundred and eight times, and the following *gāthā* must be recited thrice:

You, Devī, in the Buddha's abode,
Yourself testify and complete the Perfect Intelligence,
I erect the *maṇḍala*,
You must vow to protect me for ever.

Then follow prescriptions with regard to the smearing (with the right hand) of the altar with incense-water, and the recital of the tantra, mentioned above, twenty one times, beginning with the N.E. corner, without interruption and without speaking other words. In the same way it should be smeared with a kind of juice, after having dried up. Then (after having dried up again)

it must be rubbed off with lotus nuts or flowers in order to make it bright and pure. A blue canopy should be fixed above it, and it must be called great or small. Around it twenty four flags should be hung, and in its centre a multi-coloured picture must be painted according to the Law. The painter must have taken a bath and put on new, clean clothes and receive the "commandments of residing near (to the *Triratna*)" (近住戒, *gonjūkai*, i. e. the eight commandments for the lay-members of the Buddhist community, the 在家, *zaike*, implying purity of body, speech and mind.[1] This altar consists of three layers, and must be painted with harmonious colours; no cow's glue is to be used, but incense glue, and, if this is lacking, juice of boiled glutinous rice. In the centre of the altar twelve wheels must be painted, in the East a five-pointed vajra-club (litt. vajra-pestle, i. e. vajra), in the South a vajra-jewel, in the West a vajra-sword, in the North a vajra-tooth.[2] These five objects (the wheels, the vajra-club, the vajra-jewel, the vajra-sword and the vajra-tooth) are the secret attributes of the Bodhisattvas of the Five Quarters. In the S.E. corner a three-pointed vajra-club should be painted, in the S.W. corner a precious cap (crown), in the N.W. corner a lute (箜篌), and in the N.E. corner a karma-vajra-club, *viśva-vajra*, four three-pointed vajras combined.[3] Above the four corners four "vases of virtue" (賢瓶, *kembyō*)[4] must be placed (which are used in praying to the devas, because that which one wishes to obtain is believed to come out of them).

These vases must be of gold, silver, copper and porcelain, or of new earthenware. They must contain one pint (升) and be

[1] Cf. *Daijiten*, p. 582 s. v. *gonjū*; p. 673 s. v. *zaike*.

[2] In other passages it was a vajra-bell; the tooth, *jakśa*, is thought to be connected with *Vajrayakṣa*.

[3] Cf. *Daijiten*, p. 198 s. v. *kammakongō*; *Daijii* I, p. 579 s. v.

[4] Cf. *Daijiten* p. 425 s. v. *kembyō*, also called *zembyō*, *tokubyō*, "vases of virtue" (善瓶, 德瓶), or *kichijō-byō*, "vases of felicity" (吉祥瓶), or *nyoi-byō*, "vases which fulfill one's wishes" (如意瓶).

filled with excellent water. Flowering branches (litt. branched flowers) should be put in these vases, and around their necks silken bands should be wound thrice. These bands must have a length of four cubits (尺) and their colours must be blue, red, yellow and green according to the four corners (S.E., S.W., N.W., N.E.).

At the eastern gate a vajra-hook (*vajrakuśa, kongōkō*) should be painted, at the southern gate a vajra-cord (*vajrapāśa, kongōsaku*), at the western gate a vajra-chain (*vajraphoṭa, kongōsa*), and at the northern gate a vajra bell (*vajraghaṇṭā, kongōrei*) (鉤, 索, 鎖, 鈴). In the south-eastern corner an incense-burner must be painted, in the south-western corner a flower-branch, in the centre different flowers, in the north-western corner a lamp, and in the north-eastern corner a utensil for daubing with incense (*zukōki,* 塗香器). All these objects must be painted in bright colours.

Besides this threefold altar there is a single altar (界道, *kaidō*), with gates painted on the four sides and wooden or iron posts nailed at the four corners. They may also be twelve fingers long, four fingers within the ground. The third *vajra-tantra* (to be given in the further text) must be recited twenty-one times over these posts, before they are fixed. A virgin must assist, and combine five-coloured silkthreads, course and fine, into a cord of the thickness of her little finger, in order therewith to wrap round the heads of the posts and to surround the upper part of the altar. At the four gates of the altar four incense-burners should be placed, in which incense of a special kind must be burned. At the four corners of the altar a three-and-a-half-pointed vajra-club (*sanko-han kongōsho,* 三股半金剛杵) must be painted, and one lamp above each of them. Outsides the four gates, on the left and on the right side two flower-bowls should be placed, made of gold, silver, copper and porcelain. Excellent incense-water must be used, changed every time and sprinkled on a pure spot, not trodden by feet.

If it is an important prayer, from seven and two times seven to seven times seven days, every morning fresh offerings should be divided respectfully into eight portions, i. e. there must be eight dishes of milk and gruel, eight dishes of cream and boiled rice, eight plates of rare fruits and eight plates of sweet and crisp delicacies.

If it is not an important prayer, the ordinary offerings of incense and flowers of the season must be made, and on the 14th and 15th day of the month (the second and third of the six fast-days), the days for this common ceremony, milk, gruel, flowers and fruits must be offered.

1. *If calamities are to be removed on behalf of one's country, one's family or one's self,* the supplicant ought to sit down with his face towards the *North* and to concentrate his thoughts upon the principal deity (evidently *Vajrayakṣa*, the northern figure of the Five Great Bodhisattvas) and the offerings. White ought to be the colour of the whole ceremony, and the text ought to be read quietly and in silence.

2. *If one prays for increase of wealth,* he must sit down with his face towards the *East* and concentrate his thoughts upon the principal deity (*Vajrapāni*) etc. Yellow is the colour of the whole ceremony, and the text ought to be read in joyful quietness without uttering a sound.

3. *If demons are to be subjected,* one must sit down with his face towards the *South* and concentrate his thoughts upon the principal deity (*Vajraratna*) etc. Blue is the colour of the whole ceremony, and the text ought to be read with a loud voice, with great inner compassion (sorrow) and outwardly with solemn anger.

4. *If reverence and love are prayed for,* one must sit down with his face towards the *West* and concentrate his thoughts upon the principal deity (*Vajratikṣṇa*) etc. Red is the colour of the whole ceremony, and the text ought to be read audibly with a heart full of joyful passion.

In the first of these four cases the days of worship are from

the first to the eighth of the month, in the second from the 9th to the 15th, in the fourth from the 16th to the 22nd, and in the third from the 23rd to the end of the month.

Every time a new altar is erected. In case of urgency, when only parts of the day-time or the night and not days can be chosen, the first part of the night is the time for removing calamities, the first part of the day in praying for increase of wealth; the last part of the night in praying for reverence and love, and the middle of the day and of the night in subjecting the demons.

These are the constant rules in those four cases for the urgent prayers mentioned above. But if one strives for the unsurpassed *bodhi* and practises *Yoga*, then the fourth hour of the day and the night, the latter part of the night and the middle of the day, the gloaming and midnight are the times when the turning of the heart (towards the aim) and the offerings shall be most successful in removing all fears, vexations and troubles. Therefore the altar must be painted by them at those hours.

If we recapitulate the rules for the four kinds of prayer, we may represent them in the following table.

Removal of calamities	North	White	Silence	1—8th day	First part of the night
Increase of wealth	East	Yellow	Silence	9th—15th day	First part of the day
Reverence and love	West	Red	Audibly	16th—22nd day	Last part of the night
Subjection of demons	South	Blue	Loud voice	23rd—30th day	Noon and midnight

The choice of the colours white and yellow for the North and the East is wrong, for, as stated above, white is the colour of *Dhritarāṣtra*, the protector of the East, and yellow is that of

Vaiśravana, the protector of the North. The colours red for the West and blue for the South agree with those of *Virūpākṣa* and *Virūdhaka*, the protectors of the West and the South.

§ 3, C 4. *How to enter the place of worship (a description of the whole ceremony, the ten mudrās, etc.).*

He who wants to stop calamities, ought to take a bath and put on new, pure garments, and if he is at home, he has to receive the "commandments of residing near" (to the *Triratna*: the eight commandments for the lay-members of the Buddhist community) and to cause his heart to be quite devoted to the Mahāyāna. He who strives for *siddhi* (*jōju*, 成就, litt. "perfect obtaining", in the secret cult the same as 悉底, *shitsuchi*, i. e. magic power, obtainable by *samādhi*)[1] must not spare his life and must desire to save numberless sentient beings. He who can do so soon obtains *siddhi*.

After having entered the place of worship, the supplicant must prostrate himself and touch the ground with his fore-arms, knees and head (*gotai tōchi*, 五體投地),[2] and pay reverence to the entire world of the Law and to the *Triratna*. With his right knee touching the ground he must repent the three actions (of body, speech and mind) (*sange sangō*, 懺悔三業)[3] and all his sins which are obstacles (on the road to salvation). He must beseech the Buddhas of the ten quarters to turn the wheel of the Saddharma, and all the Tathāgatas to stay a long time in this world and to be pleased with the felicitous wisdom practised by the three vehicles (*yāna*), that thereby all the meritorious deeds

[1] Cf. *Daijii*, Vol. II, p. 2608 s. v. *jojū*; Eitel s. v. *siddhi*.

[2] Cf. *Daijiten*, p. 544 s. v. *gotai tōchi*. It is the same as *gorin tōchi*, the elbows, knees and head being called *rin*, wheels. Cf. also *Daijii*, Vol. I, p. 1374 s. v. *tōchi*.

[3] Cf. *Daijiten*, p. 615 s. v. *sange*, and *Daijii*, Vol. II, p. 1554 sqq. s. v. *sange*.

of the worshippers may be turned towards the unexcelled *Bodhi*; and he must wish that all the desires of all the sentient beings of the *Dharma* worlds may soon be fulfilled.

Then he must sit down with crossed legs.[1] If there is no occasion to take a bath, he must besmear his hands with incense. With a heart full of devotion he must make the "mudrā of purity" (*shōjō-in*, 清淨印). He must hold both his hands near his heart, and with an empty heart (i. e. free from passions) join his palms. He ought to spread lotus flowers as not yet before, and thrice recite a tantra (given in the text). When doing so he devotes his heart to the original purity of all the dharmas and therefore also his own body becomes perfectly pure. Then he must close his eyes and meditate upon the perfect emptiness and upon all the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. The whole assembly present in the place of worship must take and hold in their hands all kinds of very beautiful and fragrant flowers, and being pure of body, speech and mind they must sincerely and respectfully participate in the ceremony.

Now follows a description of the ten different *mudrās* to be made and the *tantras* to be read thrice. The names of those ten mudrās are:

1. *Samaya-mudrā of the Buddha department* (*Butsubu sammaya-in*, 佛部三昧耶印). *Samaya* is the original vow of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas to save the living beings from the errors of the six senses (六塵, eye, ear, nose, tongue, body, mind) by bestowing their magic power upon them (加持力, *kaji-riki*) by means of tantras and mudrās, that they might understand the equality (*byōdō*, 平等) of the original nature of the

[1] *Kekka fuza*, 結跏趺坐, cf. *Daijii*, I, p. 1041 s. v. This is sitting like a Buddha (the diamond pose) with the soles of the feet upwards.

Hankaza, 半跏坐, "half-crossed-legged sitting", is the same with the right foot, but the left is placed under the right knee. Cf. *Daijiten*, p. 397 s. v. *kekka fuza*.

Buddhas and the living beings and thus escape the vexations of the six senses. [1]

Both hands are held near the heart, folded and clenched into fists, with the two thumbs held upright next to eachother.

When this mudrā is made and a tantra (given in the text) is read, all the Buddhas of the ten quarters assemble like a cloud and cause universal emptiness, and the performer is freed from all obstacles and vexations, his three actions (of body, speech and mind) are pure, and speedily his wishes are completely fulfilled.

2. *Samaya-mudrā of the Bodhisattva department* (*Bosatsu-bu sammaya-in*, 菩薩部三昧耶印).

Both hands are held near the heart, fists are made as before, the left thumb is bent into the palm.

When this mudrā is made and a tantra (given in the text) is read, all the Bodhisattvas of the Dharma worlds of the ten quarters assemble like a cloud and cause universal emptiness, and the performer of the magic act is pure in his three actions and free from all calamities. If is said that the Bodhisattvas, having received the great vow of compassion, cause all wishes to be fulfilled.

3. *Samaya-mudrā of the Vajra department* (金剛部三昧耶印, *Kongōbu sammaya-in*). As before, but the left thumb is stretched and the right thumb is bent into the palm.

When this mudrā is made and a tantra (given in the text) is read, all the Vajras of the Dharma worlds of the ten quarters, appearing in their awful and angry shapes, assemble like a cloud and fill the world with emptiness. The performer of this magic act is strong as adamant (the vajra) in his three actions (of body, speech and mind). It is said that those saints (the Vajras), having received the Buddha's majestic spirit, by means of the power of their own vow can protect and maintain a country as well as

[1] Cf. *Daijiten*, p. 663, s. v. *sammaya*; p. 1493, s. v. *byōdō* (opp. *shabetsu*, p. 809).

the single individuals thereof, and cause them to be free from all calamities and dangers.

4. *Mudrā for protection of the body* (護身印, *goshin-in*).

This is a combination of the three preceding mudrās and tantras. It is the "magic act of the five places" (*gosho kaji*, 五處加持), in which the forehead, the right and left shoulder, the heart and the throat, respectively representing Mahāvairocana, Ratnasambhava, Amoghasiddhi, Akshobhya and Amitāyus (according to another version Amitābha and Vairocana are the first and the last) are touched by the mudrā-forming fingers or by the vajra-club or bell. [1]

The mudrā is dissolved on the top of the head. This magic act covers the performer with a strong vajra-armour and helmet, strong as adamant (vajra), and causes his body to emit a majestic lustre, brilliant and beautiful, unbearable to the eyes of all the evil demons and causers of suffering, who quickly run away.

5. *The mudrā for repressing and removing* (i. e. exorcising evil influences) (辟除印, *byakujo-in*), and the mudrā of the precious Vajra worlds (of the Buddhas) of the square corners (N.W., S.W., N.E., S.E.) (金剛方隅寶界印, *kongō-hōgu-hōkai-in*).

The afore-mentioned mudrā of the Vajra department (No. 3) with the tantra given there. If one goes around the altar three times, turning to the left, he can exorcise the powerful demons; if he obeys the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas and his virtue is acting in secret as well as openly, he may go far away to other worlds and act according to his will in great and small matters. If one goes around the altar three times, turning to the right, he may rise to the precious Vajra worlds of the square corners; the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas do not transgress it, and sufferings may remove by it. This mudrā is dissolved above the top of the head.

[1] Cf. *Daijiten*, p. 199 s. v. *kaji* (*adhiṣṭhāna*), the mystic assistance of the Buddhas whose power is received by the performer of the prayer, and hence the prayer itself; cf. l. l. p. 536, s. v. *gosho-kaji*.

6. *The mudrā for requesting all the saints (Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and Vajras) to descend upon the altar* (請諸聖衆降壇印, *shōshoshōshu-kōdan-in*). The mudrās of the three departments mentioned above (No. 1, 2 and 3) and their tantras. If one points with his thumbs to his own person and utters three inviting calls, all the saints (Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and Vajras) of the afore-said three departments, filled with emptiness, come to their original seats (in the *maṇḍala*, 本位, *hon-i*) and quietly reside there without hindering eachother.

7. *The mudrā for offering argha-incense-water* (to the saints) (*argha*, 閼伽, Jap. *aka*, is *offering*)[1] (獻閼伽香水印, *ken-aka-kōsui-in*).

The performer must hold a precious offering-bowl with both hands, fill it with incense-water, and place it between his shoulders, reading thrice a tantra (given in the text). Doing so with all his heart, he gives a bath to all the saints. The mudrā is dissolved above the top of the head. Then all the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas of all the dharma-worlds shall protect the performer, and the latter shall receive the various kinds of baptism (獲諸灌頂),[2] i. e. the blessings of the great compassion of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas.

8. *The mudrā for presenting precious seats* (to the saints) (獻寶座印, *ken-hōza-in*). The performer must hold both his hands near his heart, with a passionless heart join his palms, join his thumbs with his little fingers and bend them a little, and spread the remaining six fingers, slightly bending these too. When the fingers are opened, he must spread lotus flowers and read a tantra (given in the text). In this way it is as if all the saints in reality received and used precious seats; then they all cause the performer to arrive among the seats of the fruit (果位,

[1] Cf. *Himitsu jirin*, p. 11 s. v. *aka*; *Daijiten*, p. 9 s. v. *aka*; *Daijii*, p. 9 s.v.

[2] About the various kinds of baptism cf. *Daijiten*, pp. 347 sqq.; *Daijii*, p. 951, s. v. *kwanjōkyō*; *Himitsu jirin*, p. 223 s. v. *kwanjō*.

kwa-i, i. e. of the Buddha-fruit, 佛果, *Bukkwa*) and to obtain a strong Vajra seat.

9. *The mudrā of the universal offering* (to the saints) (普供養印, *fukuyō-in*). The performer must join his palms and mutually mix the five fingers, pressing those of the left hand with those of the right, and placing the hands above his heart he must read a tantra (given in the text). If he does so with a heart full of devotion, the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas of all the dharma-worlds assemble as a sea at the place of worship. Then he must diffuse like rain all the offerings to the saints, reading the tantra five times; the first time he must offer "daubing-incense" (*zukō*, 塗香); the second time all kinds of flower-wreaths; the third time he must burn all kinds of incense; the fourth time he must plentifully offer excellent drink and food in precious utensils; and the fifth time he must offer precious lights to the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. By the mystic power of the tantras all the offerings shall really be received and used by the great number of saints, assembled at the ceremony, and the performer shall constantly be recompensed by them for these sacrifices.

10. *The original mudrā of the Prajñā-pāramitā* (般若波羅蜜多根本印, *hannya-haramita-kombon-in*). The backs of both hands are joined, the two forefingers united, the two little fingers bent into the palms, the thumbs pressing the tops of the two other fingers. Placing the hands above the heart, the performer must read the *dhāraṇī*, mentioned in the *sūtra*, seven times. When doing so, he himself is transformed and completed.

Prajñā-pāramitā, the Bodhisattva, is the mother of all the Buddhas. As to her image, she is sitting crossed-legged upon a white lotus flower, the colour of her body is that of yellow gold; she wears a precious necklace and her whole body is grave and majestic. On her head she wears a precious crown, with white silken bands hanging down on both sides. Her left hand is held near her heart and carries a "*Hannya bonkō*" (般若梵夾, i. e. the

Prajñā-pāramitā-sūtra written on palm leaves) (leaves of the *tāla*, 多羅, the Lontarus domestica). Her right hand is held near her breasts, making the mudrā of explaining the Law (說法印, *seppō-in*), the thumb pressing the top of the "nameless finger" (the ring-finger).

Then the performer must meditate upon the Bodhisattva, and he shall see how from the top of her head to her feet a bright, multi-coloured light streams forth from the hairs of her body, filling all the dharma worlds with its lustre. And in each ray numberless Buddhas appear, pervading the worlds with emptiness and explaining unto the root, on behalf of the living beings, the very profound Law of the *Prajñā-pāramitā*, causing them all to understand it and to dwell in *samādhi*. After having ended this meditation, the performer must dissolve the mudrā above the top of his head, and, with a rosary in his hands, he must join his palms and hold them near his heart, reading the tantra (given in the text).

Reading this *tantra* thrice he must raise the rosary above the top of his head and then hold it near his heart. Receiving the beads with his left hand, he must move them with his right, and his thoughts must dwell in the *samādhi* of the Buddha mother (*Prajñā-pāramitā*). Without interruption he must read the tantra one hundred eight times (the number of the beads of the rosary, $4 \times 3 \times 3 \times 3$) or twenty one times ($3 \times 7$); then he must raise the rosary over his head and lay it on its original place. Now he must make the *samādhi-mudrā*, spreading out his hands horizontally, pressing the right upon the left, and placing them under his navel. In a correct attitude, with his eyes closed and his head slightly bent, he must concentrate his attention upon his heart, and contemplate a round, bright mirror, one hasta in diameter. Gradually a row of "distributed characters" (布字)[1] (called thus because they are mystically distributed over the different

[1] *Daijiten*, p. 1525, s. v. *fujikwan*, "Meditation upon the distributed characters".

parts of the meditator's body, the first and most important of all, the 阿, *a,* being applied to the heart), representing all the dharma-worlds, revolves to the right, and while the performer considers them one after one they emit a bright pervading light. He gradually contemplates them all in their circulation, from the outside towards the inside unto the character 地, and from the inside towards the outside, and after a circuit he begins anew. After three times his heart has sunk into a virtuous and quiet samādhi, and with a perfect intelligence he sees their meaning, and understands that there is neither birth nor death, that everything is equal (平等, *byōdō*), that all the dharma-worlds neither move nor stand still, and that *samādhi* and wisdom move together, without differing in appearance. This is the meditation of the *samādhi* of the *Prājñā-pāramitā.* Then the *Prajñā-pāramitā-mudrā* must be made and the *dhāraṇī* must be read seven times. The mudrā is to be dissolved above the top of the head.

Thereupon the "*mudrā of the universal offering*" (*fukuyō-in,* No. 9), is made as before, and with a devout heart offerings are made to the saints, that they may first give blessings and wealth and fulfillment of wishes on behalf of the country and the family, and afterwards turn the living beings towards the Pure (Buddha) lands (淨土, *Jōdo*),[1] and to the Reality (實際, *Jissai,* of the *Shinnyo,* 眞如, True and Constant", i. e. the *Bhūtatathātā* or Absolute Nature, the true and original Buddha nature),[2] and to the unsurpassed Bodhi, and vow that the sentient beings soon may reach the other shore (*Nirvāṇa*).

Then is made the "*mudrā for binding the region*" (結界印, *kekkai-in*), i. e. for mystically protecting a fixed region against the invasion of evil influences (bad demons) (e. g. at the erection of temples or an altar)[3] and the tantra, connected thereto, is read thrice. When turning to the right, the region is dissolved

[1] Cf. *Daijiten,* p. 970, s. v. *jōdo*; *Daijii,* II, p. 2674, s. v.
[2] Cf. *Daijiten,* pp. 879 sq., s. v. *shinnyo* and *jissai.*
[3] Cf. *Daijiten,* pp. 396 sq., s. v. *kekkai.*

(i. e. the mystic protection is raised). Then are made the mudrās of the three departments (of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and Vajras), mentioned above, and the tantras, given in connection with them, are read. Finally the saints are sent away to their original lands by turning the thumbs outwards (this is done by all those who participate in the ceremony); then the performers make a reverence and go away, strictly following the ceremonial rules.

The fourth and fifth sections of this treatise explain the way in which the characters of the *dhāraṇīs* should be contemplated (pp. 14—18), and the "character-wheels" of the *dhāraṇīs* distributed by means of meditation (pp. 18 sq.). We omit these details, because they do not refer to the rules of the ceremony, fully described in the third section. These rules are given in exactly the same way in Nanjō No. 1419, entitled *Ninnō hannya nenju hō*, 仁王般若念誦法, "Ceremony of reciting (the *dhāraṇīs* of) the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* of the Benevolent Kings", where the Buddha explains them to King Prasenajit.

§ 4. *The history of the Ninnōkyō and the Ninnō congregations in Japan (A.D. 660—1469).*

§ 4, A. *The first dates in China.*

In A.D. 559 (Yung-ting 3) the Emperor Wu Ti of the Ch'en dynasty ordered to arrange a *Great Vegetarian Banquet* (for the monks) in accordance with the *Ninnōkyō* (*Ninnō daisai*, 仁王大齋).[1]

In A.D. 765 (Yung-t'ai 1) the Emperor Tai Tsung (代宗), Amoghavajra's great protector, had the *Ninnōkyō* expounded in two temples: the *Tszĕ-shing-szĕ* (資聖寺) and the *Si-ming-szĕ* (西明寺). These were meetings of a hundred seats (the text of the *Ancient T'ang Books* speaks of seats a hundred feet high);

[1] *Daijii*, III, p. 3742, 1, s. v. *Ninnō-e.*

it took place in the ninth month, and the Emperor had presented the copies of the *sūtra* to the two temples. The next month it was expounded again in the *Tszĕ-shing-szĕ.* [1] The text was used to suppress the raids of some barbarian tribes, but also to cause rain, as we learn from another author, who states that the Emperor caused Amoghavajra to lead a congregation of a hundred seats and explain his new translation of the *Ninnōkyō*, and that this way of praying for rain was successful. [2]

In Amoghavajra's biography it is stated that in A.D. 765 he translated the *Ninnōkyō* in the "Southern Peach garden of the Ta-Ming Palace", and that the Emperor Tai-tsung, after having written a preface to it, held a *musha-e* (無遮會, Moksha-congregation, explained as "unlimited meeting", cf. below, Ch. VI) in honour of this *sūtra.* [3]

The Korean history repeatedly mentions *Ninnō* congregations of a hundred seats. [4]

§ 4, B. *The different kinds of Ninnōe in Japan.*

There are four kinds of *Ninnōe*, frequently mentioned in Japanese history.

1. The *Ichidai ichido Ninnōe*, 一代一度仁王會, "Ninnō congregations of one generation and one time". This is a great assembly, *daihōe*, 大法會, also called *Nyohō dai-Ninnōe*, or "Great Ninnōe according to the Doctrine".

In A.D. 660, in the fifth month, the Empress Saimei held the first *Ninnō hannya* congregation with a hundred high seats and

[1] *Ancient T'ang Books*, 舊唐書, Ch. XI, 本紀 No. 11 (of the Emperor Tai Tsung), p. 10.

[2] Cf. *Daijiten*, p. 1369, 2, s. v. *Ninnō-e*, quoting the 三寶感應錄, Ch. II; cf. *Konjaku monogatari*, Ch. VII, K. T. K. XVI, p. 354.

[3] *Himitsu jurin*, p. 925, 1.

[4] *Daijii*, l. l.

presents of a hundred *nō-gesa*. The author of the article on the *Ninnōe* in the *Bukkyō daijii* (III, p. 3742, 1) considers this meeting as the first *ichidai ichido Ninnōe*.[1]

In A.D. 729 (Jinki 6), on the first day of the sixth month, the Emperor Shōmu had the *Ninnōkyō* expounded in the *Chōdō* (朝堂) of the Palace and in the temples of the *kinai* and the other provinces.[2] Oda Tokunō, the author of the *Bukkyō daijiten* (p. 1369, 2), mentions this ceremony as the first *ichidai ichido Ninnōe*, because the *Genkō Shakusho* says that this Palace congregation was an *ichidai no e* (一代之會), now instituted as a constant ceremony (立爲式)[3]

The next meetings took place in 747 (V 15), 750 (V 8), 772 (VI 15), 794 (IX 3), 811 (X 20), 825 (VII 19), but no fixed rule was set up before Seiwa Tennō (859—876), as we learn from the *Bukkyō Daijii* (l.l.). Afterwards we shall deal with the passages of the Annals, which give more details. In the *Nihon kiryaku*[4]) we found the *ichidai ichido Ninnōe* mentioned for the first time in A. D. 947 (III 5); in the *Fusō ryakki*[5]) in A. D. 898 (VI 26, against pestilence). In A. D. 1017 (IX 1) (Kwannin 1) the Emperor Go Ichijō (1017—1036) sent official documents concerning the celebration of a *Dai-Ninnōe*, and the text to be read on that occasion (the *jugwammon*, 咒願文) to all the provinces; and on the 8th day of the tenth month this *ichidai ichido Ninnōe* took place;[6]) but this official document is not mentioned afterwards (the text of the *Nihon kiryaki* calls it *kwampu*, 官符, the *Bukkyō daijii Dajō-kwampu*, 太政官符). The author of the *Bukkyō daijii* supposes the gradual decay of the *kokubunji* (the provincial state monasteries treated below) and the 15 great

[1] *Nihongi*, Ch. XXVI, pp. 466 sq.; Aston II, pp. 264 sq.
[2] *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch, X, p. 171.
[3] *Genkō Shakusho*, Ch. XXII, p. 1014.
[4] *Nihon kiryaku, kōhen*, Ch. III, K. T. K. V, p. 839.
[5] *Fūso ryakki*, Ch. XXIII, K. T. K. VI, p. 668.
[6] *Nihon kiryaku, kōhen*, Ch. XIII, p. 1111.

temples (the seven great temples of Nara and eight other sanctuaries) to have caused the decline of the Ninnō ceremony in the provinces. But at the Court it was still in use during the reign of Go Fukakusa Tennō (1247—1259); about the *Nambokuchō* (1336—1392) the matter is not certain, but after the Ōnin era (1467—1469), together with the decline of the Imperial Court, the *Ninnō* ceremony came into disuse.

The *Bukkyō daijii* remarks further that the history of this congregation is different from other such assemblies. It began in the Palace and then spread to the provinces (this was, after all, often the case!); having a hundred places of worship it was unexcelled from Saimei Tennō (A.D. 660) till after the removal of the capital from Nara to Heian (A.D. 784). As to the number of places in the capital and the provinces, where it was held, this was different according to the times. According to the votive text (*jugwammon*) of a *Ninnōe* during the Jōgwan era (A.D. 859–876) (there were *Ninnō-e* in 859, 860, 866, 867) it was held in 31 places of the capital and 69 in the country (together exactly a hundred, the holy number with regard to this rite in connection with the words of the *sūtra*); in de Genkei era (877—885) there were 32 in the capital and 68 in the provinces, [1] and in the Kaō era (1169—1171) 36 chapels of the capital, enumerated by the *Bukkyō daijii*, were used for this ceremony. First five *den* (palaces), namely the *Chūden* (中殿), *Nanden* (南殿), *Daigokuden* (大極殿), *Burakuden* (豐樂殿) and *Butokuden* (武德殿), all buildings of the Imperial Palace. Then follow two *mon* (gates), namely the *Suzakumon* (朱雀門) and the *Rajōmon* (羅城門), of the Palace. Eight *in* (院) are enumerated: *In*, *Shin-in* (新院), *Kwōkamon-in* (皇嘉門院), *Jōsaimon-in* (上西門院), *Hachijō-in* (八

[1] Cf. *Sandai jitsuroku*, Ch. XLVII, K. T. K. IV, p. 662; *Fusō ryakki*, Ch. XXII, p. 624: in A. D. 885 (Ninna 1), on the same day at the same hours (two hours in the morning and in the evening) at 32 places of the capital (the palaces and offices, the 12 gates, the *Rajōmon*, *Tōji* and *Saiji*) and in the provinces.

條院), *Takamatsu-in* (高松院), *Kujō-in* (九條院) and *Kenshunmon-in* (建春門院). After three *gū* (宮), namely the palaces of the *Taikwō Taigō* (太皇太后, the grandmother of the Emperor), the *Kwōgō* (皇后, the Empress), and the *Chūgū* (中宮, here probably the Empress-Dowager), follow the 15 most important government offices, namely the *Dajōkwan* (太政官), the *Gekichō* (外記廳), and the five departments (*shō*), namely the *Nakatsukasa* (中務), *Shikibu* (式部), *Hyōbu* (兵部), *Ōkura* (大藏) and *Kunaishō* (宮內省); the *Sakyōshiki* (左京職) and the *Ukyōshiki* (右京職), and the *Roku-e-fu* (六衞府) (the Six sections of the Imperial Guards); finally three temples: *Tōji* (東寺), *Saiji* (西寺) (Shingon shrines), and *Shōjinji* (聖神寺).

This list shows the great importance attached to the *Ninnōe* with regard to the welfare of the State.

The *honzon* or principal images of the ceremony were *Śākyamuni, Bodhisattvas* and *Arhats* (the text of the *sūtra* prescribes a hundred Buddha images, a hundred Bodhisattva images, a hundred lion-seats, and a hundred priests). Only in the *Daigokuden* a *taka-mi-kura* (高御座) a "high august seat") is used as *Butsudai* (佛臺) ("Buddha-stand"); further the five images of the *Five Great-Power Bodhisattvas* (五大力菩薩), a "couch of the Holy Monk" (聖僧榻, evidently for *Piṇḍola*, the "Holy Monk"), [1] and tables for incense, flowers and presents for the monks.

As to the rites (*sahō*, 作法) the *Bukkyō daijiten* (p. 1368) refers to Ch. XV of the *Kōke shidai*, 江家次第, written by Ōe Masafusa (大江匡房), who lived 1041—1111.

[1] Cf. Lévi et Chavannes, *Les Seize Arhat Protecteurs de la Loi, Journal Asiatique*, 1916, pp. 216 sqq.; J. Przyluski, *La Légende de l'Empereur Açoka dans les textes indiens et chinois*, many passages on *Piṇḍola*; De Visser, *The Arhats in China and Japan*, pp. 76 sq.

2. The *Rinji(no) Ninnōe*, 臨時仁王會, or "Special Ninnō Congregations" were assemblies specially convoked by Imperial order.

According to the *Bukkyō daijiten* (l.l.) the first meeting of this kind took place in the 17th year of the Enryaku era (A.D. 798), on account of the banishment of the so-called Sudō Tennō (崇道天皇) (the posthumous title conferred upon Sawara Shinnō, the Emperor Kwammu's former heir apparent, whom he had banished in A.D. 785 to Awaji and who, refusing all drink and food, had died on the way to his place of exile. Afterwards the Emperor tried to appease his angry spirit by several measures).

The *Bukkyō daijii*, however, seems to consider the dedication of the Emperor Kwammu's new palace, on the 29th day of the ninth month of Enryaku 13 (A.D. 794), when he caused a hundred priests to expound the *Ninnōkyō*, to be the first occasion when a *Rinji Ninnōe* took place; for this is the first instance of such a congregation, mentioned there, together with that of A.D. 840 (VI 7), held in the Palace by the Emperor Nimmyō. Some of the *Rinji(no) Ninnōe* took place in the *Daigokuden* (in the Palace), other *Ninnō* meetings of this kind were held in temples, but always by order of the Emperor. Although the arrangement and the order of the rites were not very different from those of the Vernal and Autumnal *Ninnōe*, yet they were more pompous than the other Ninnōe. When, for instance, in A.D. 1001 (Chōhō 3, III 10) Ichijō Tennō held a *Ninnōe* of a hundred seats against the prevailing pestilence, and when in A.D. 1031 (Chōgen 4, XI 30) Go Ichijō Tennō followed his example, both Emperors went in person to the congregation and paid reverence to the Buddha, and all the ministers took part in the ceremony, which was not the case at the other *Ninnōe*. Further, in A.D. 1264 (Bunei 1) the Emperor Kameyama went to *Shitennōji* in Settsu province, and held a *Ninnōe* of a hundred seats in the kondō of that sanctuary. This was also a *Rinji(no) Ninnōe*, being celebrated at the Emperor's special desire.

In the *Fusō ryakki* the term *Rinji(no) Ninnōe* is found for the first time in A.D. 898 (V 26);[1] in the *Nihon kiryaku* not before A.D. 947 (VI 29), the same year when the *Ichidai ichido Ninnōe* are mentioned there for the first time.[2]

3. The *Shunshū niki* (春秋二季) *no Ninnōe* or "Vernal and Autumnal Ninnō congregations" are also called *Rinji (no) Ninnōe,* but they are a little different. According to the *Bukkyō daijii* (l.l.) they are not mentioned in the *Engishiki* (A. D. 927), but in the *Nishi no miya no ki* (西宮記) and in the *Ono no miya no nenjū gyōji* (小野宮年中行事, Ceremonies of the whole year, performed in the Shintō shrine of Ono", in Shiga district, Ōmi province) they are dealt with as a fixed kind of *Rinji no Ninnōe,* which is evidence of the fact that at that time (10th or 11th century?) they had become regular festivals: the vernal Ninnōe in the second or third month, the autumnal in the seventh or eighth month. A hundred seats were erected in the *Chūden, Nanden, Daigokuden* and the other palace buildings (*den, in, gū*), chapels (*dō*) and temples (Shintō as well as Buddhist). This continued until the *Nambokuchō* (1336—1392); subsequently the matter is uncertain.

In A. D. 865 (Jōkwan 7) (11th month) Izumo province requested the expounding of the *Ninnōkyō*, the "*King of Sūtras*", in the middle months of spring and autumn, in order to expel the prevailing calamities of pestilence and bad crop, to protect the country and give peace to the people by means of the power of the *Prajñā*.[3]

4. The *Nyo-in no Ninnōe,* 女院仁王會, "*Ninnōe* of the *Nyo-in*" (title of the Empresses-Dowager who had become nuns by the title of *Mon-in*) is mentioned in the *Ranjōshō,* 濫觴抄, an encyclopaedia containing all kinds of ancient matters. There

[1] *Fusō ryakki,* Ch. XXIII, p. 668.
[2] *Nihon kiryaku, kōhen,* Ch. III, p. 842.
[3] *Sandai jitsuroku,* Ch. X, p. 173.

we read that on the fifth day of the fourth month of A. D. 1052 (Eijō 7) (by mistake called the 8th instead of the 7th year of Go Reizei Tennō's reign) that Emperor held such a meeting in the *Buraku-in* (豐樂院), one of the buildings of the Palace used for banquets and other festivities. The Kwampaku, the Sadaijin and lower officials went there and a general ceremony took place. [1]

§ 4, C. *The different aims of the Ninnōe in Japan.*

1. The principal aim of the *Ninnōe* was to give peace and prosperity to the Empire (天下安寧黎元利益), for "to raise the Triratna is a field of felicity to the State" (興隆三寶國家之福田), as we read in the Imperial edict promulgated in A. D. 746 (Tempyō 18, III 15) by the Emperor Shōmu. [2] This is the first time the reason is given in the Annals why this *sūtra* was expounded and the congregation held; in A. D. 660 (V), 676 (XI 20), 693 (X 23) and 729 (VI 1) no reason is mentioned.

In the fifth chapter of the *Ninnōkyō* all kinds of calamities, riots and robbery, diseases and pestilence, inundations and storms, great fires and sun or moon eclipses, ("if there happen unnatural things in heaven and on the earth, and the sun, the moon and the stars lose their times and courses") are said to be stopped or averted by reading this *sūtra.* [3] In this way it promoted the peace and welfare of the country.

In A. D. 940 the *Tendai* priest Jōzō (淨藏) was one of the leaders of a *Ninnōe* in the Palace, held in order to suppress Taira no Masakado's rebellion; for the same purpose he cele-

[1] *Ranjōshō,* Ch. 下, *Gunsho ruijū,* 群書類從, Ch. 465; *Daijiten,* p. 1369.

[2] *Shoku Nihongi,* Ch. XVI, p. 263.

[3] Cf. above, this Chapter, I pp. 133, 137. The seven calamities relate to sun, moon and stars, water and fire, storms, drought, war and robbery.

brated the *Dai-Itoku no hō* (大威徳法) in *Shuryōgon-in* (首楞嚴院) on Hieizan. [1]

In A. D. 1170 the *Shingon* priest Jōkai (乗海) practised the *Ninnōkyō-hō* (法) against the raids of the monks of *Enryakuji*, who plundered Kyōto. [2]

In A. D. 1281 the *Kairitsu* priest Ninshō (忍性) held a *Ninnōe* on Inamura-yama "in order to pray for the suppression (調伐) of the Mongols". In the same year the *Kairitsu* priest Eison (睿尊) received a *Ninnō-mandara* from the Emperor, and obeying His Majesty's ordinance he practised the *Aizen no hō* (愛染法) after having opened a *Ninnōe* in the *Hachimangū* on Otoko-yama in Yamashiro, where more then 560 priests from Kyōto and Nara assembled. [3]

In A. D. 1342 the *Shingon* priest Kanshun (賢俊) "prayed for the peace of the Empire" by means of the *Ninnō daihō* (大法) in *Tōji*, the main temple of the Shingon sect in Kyōto. [4]

2. The next aim was causing rain, which was called "praying for rain" (祈雨, *ki-u*, or 請雨, *shō-u*, or 雨乞雩, *amagoi*.[5]

According to the *Fusō ryakki* (Ch. V, p. 526) the terrible drought of A.D. 676, followed by a great famine throughout the country, caused the Emperor Temmu to have the *Saishōōkyō* and the *Ninnōkyō* expounded in all provinces. The *Nihongi* (Ch. XXIX, p. 512), however, does not state any connection between the drought of that summer (in the ninth month "owing to the rain, the beginning of the month was not announced", so then there was even too much rain) and the sending of men to all parts to expound both *sūtras*.

In A.D. 839 (Jōwa 6, IV 17), when heavy drought prevailed,

[1] Washio, p. 668, 2; *Nihon kiryaku, kōhen*, Ch. II, p. 827. With regard to the name of the shrine cf. Nanjō No. 446.

[2] *Himitsu jirin*, p. 581, 2.

[3] Washio, p. 78, 1.

[4] *Himitsu jirin*, p, 256, 1.

[5] Cf. above, Ch. I, §§ 12, 13, pp. 22 sqq.

not only *gohei* were sent to the Shintō gods of Matsu-no-o, Kamo, Kawashimo, Kibune and the "Rain-master" of Nibu Kawakami, but for seven days the *Ninnōkyō* was read in the 15 great Buddhist temples, and for three days the *Daihannyakyō* was read by means of the *tendoku* system by a hundred priests who had assembled in the *Hasshō-in* (八省院), i.e. the *Chōdō-in* (朝堂院), also called *Daigokuden-in* (大極殿院), the principal building of the Palace. In the fifth month during three days one thousand chapters of the *Kongō hannyakyō* were read by *tendoku* in the Kamo shrine, and 5000 chapters of the *Ninnōkyō* were read in the same way in *Enryakuji* in consequence of an Imperial vow. In the sixth month the Emperor *Nimmyō* caused the priests of the seven great temples of Nara to assemble in *Tōdaiji* and during three days and three nights to praise the name of *Ryū-jizai-ō Nyorai* (龍自在王如來), the "Dragon-independent king Buddha". [1]

In A.D. 877 (Genkei 1, VII 9) the *Daihannyakyō* and the *Ninnōkyō* were used for the same purpose, [2] and the next year (A.D. 878, IV 29) a *Ninnōe* of a hundred seats, the ceremonial text of which is given in extenso in the *Sandai jitsuroku* and was sent to all provinces, had great success in causing rain. [3]

In A.D. 891 (VI 2) the "King of *Sūtras*" (the *Ninnōkyō*) was read by *tendoku* in all the temples of the capital and the Home provinces, and *gohei* were sent to all Shintō shrines, in order to pray for rain; the *Daihannyakyō* was read in the *Daigokuden*, and the *Mahāmegha sūtra* (the special rain-praying text) in the *Shinzen-en* (the park where such rain ceremonies used to be held). [4]

The *Nihon kiryaku* further mentions rain-praying *Ninnōe* in

[1] *Shoku Nihon kōki*, Ch. VIII, K. T. K. III, pp. 256 sqq.

[2] *Sandai jitsuroku*, Ch. XXXII, K. T. K. IV, p. 466. *Fusō ryakki*, Ch. XX, p. 596 (*Ninnō hyakkō* in the 3rd month).

[3] *Sandai jitsuroku*, Ch. XXXIII, p. 483.

[4] *Nihon kiryaku, zempen*, Ch. XX, p. 757.

A.D. 919 (VI 30), 943 (V 17) (both in the *Daigokuden*), 948 (V 5) (VI 5), 957 (VI 3) (against drought and pestilence), 963 (VII 9), 991 (VI 18), 1004 (VIII 6, in the *Daigokuden*), 1018 (VI 3) (in the *Daigokuden*), 1028 (VII 18) (in the *Daigokuden*), 1032 (V 20, 300 priests in the *Daigokuden*, for rain and against pestilence; V 24 again; VI 15, *Rinji Ninnōe*; 1033 (V 19, 500 priests in the *Hasshō-in*).[1]

3. The third aim was to stop pestilence, small-pox, leprosy or other epidemics.

Although this was in accordance with the words of the *sūtra*, we do not read about it before A.D. 893 (intercalary V 18).[2] From that time this way of driving away the demons of disease (especially of pestilence) became frequent. The *Nihon kiryaku* mentions such *Ninnōe* in A.D. 898 (III 22, VI 26); 904 (III 15); 909 (V 9) (V 26); 912 (V 5); 947 (intercalary VII 13) (IX 7, in the *Shishinden* and the *Ryōkiden*, 紫宸殿, 綾綺殿, buildings of the Palace); 949 (VI 17); 957 (VI 3); 974 (VIII 28); 994 (V 15) (cf. VI 27); 995 (II 9); 1001 (III 10); 1015 (V 15); 1017 (VI 14); 1020 (IV 22); 1021 (I 28) (VII 10, *Rinji Ninnōe* in the *Daigokuden*); 1028 (VII 18); 1030 (VI 20, idem); 1032 (V 20).[3]

4. The fourth aim was to avert evil omens, i.e. the evil consequences (rebellion, drought, pestilence) of the appearance of comets, sun or moon eclipses, or other strange events (*kwai-i*, 怪異).

In A.D. 866 (IV 26) the *Ninnōkyō* was read (it is not called a *Ninnōe*, but only a ceremony of reading the text) in the building of the *Onyōryō*, in the temples *Tōji* and *Saiji*, in de *goki* and

[1] *Nihon kiryaku, kōhen*, Ch. I, p. 802; Ch. II, p. 832; Ch. III, p. 852; Ch. IV, p. 869; Ch. IV, p. 898; Ch. IX, p. 1010; Ch. XI, p. 1056; Ch. XIII, p. 1115; Ch. XIV, p. 1148; Ch. XIV, p. 1163; Ch. XIV, p. 1166.

[2] *Nihon kiryaku, zempen*, Ch. XX, p. 762.

[3] *Nihon kiryaku*, Ch. I, pp. 774, 783, 789, 793; Ch. III, pp. 844, 846, 861; Ch. IV, p. 868; Ch. VI, p. 946; Ch. IX, p. 1020; Ch. X, pp. 1023, 1046; Ch. XII, p. 1098; Ch. XIII, pp. 1110, 1123, 1127, 1147; Ch. XIV, pp. 1156, 1162.

in the *shichidō* (the Home and other provinces), because the *Ōtenmon* (應天門, the southern front gate of the *Hasshō-in* of the Palace) had been destroyed by fire. The *sūtra* was read in order to avert further calamities.[1]

In A.D. 867 (XI 23) a comet appeared. Six days later an Imperial proclamation announced, that on account of this omen drought and pestilence were predicted, and that the way to save the country from these imminent dangers was to read the *Kongō hannyakyō* and the *Daihannyakyō* during three days throughout the country, and to expound the *Ninnō hannyakyō* in the seven great temples of Nara, in order by means of the power of the *Prajñā* to obtain the protection of the Five Great Bodhisattvas and to cause all demons to stop their evil doings themselves.[2]

In A.D. 893 (I 11) on account of strange events (*kwai-i*) the *Ninnō hannyakyō* was read by *tendoku* in the temples of the different provinces,[3] and again in A.D. 970 (VIII, 21).[4]

In A.D. 1002 (X 1) the *Onyōryō* predicted war and pestilence because several evil omens had been observed. Thus two days later an *ō-harai* (great lustration) took place before the *Kenreimon* (建禮門) in order to purify the Palace and to prepare it for the *Ninnō-e*, held with a hundred priests on the sixth of that month in the *Daigokuden*.[5] These *ō-harai* preceding the *Ninnōe* are mentioned regularly from A.D. 957 (II 19) (V 14).[6]

In A.D. 1007 (VII 14) the Emperor Ichijō tried to avert the evil consequences of a comet by personally attending a *Rinji no Ninnōe* in the *Nanden*.[7]

In A.D. 1026 (X 22) a *Rinji no Ninnōe* was held by the

[1] *Sandai jitsuroku*, Ch. XII, K. T. K. IV, p. 211; *Nihon kiryaku, zempen*, Ch. XVII, p. 607.
[2] *Sandai jitsuroku*, Ch. XIV, p. 262.
[3] *Nihon kiryaku, zempen*, Ch. XX, p. 760.
[4] *Nihon kiryaku, kōhen*, Ch. VI, p. 934.
[5] *Nihon kiryaku, kōhen*, Ch. X, p. 1050.
[6] Ibid., Ch. IV, pp. 867 sq.
[7] Ibid., Ch. XI, p. 1073.

Kwampaku Fujiwara no Yorimichi (Michinaga's son) and led by the *Tendai zasu* Ingen Sōjō (院源僧正) (A.D. 954—1028), who the year before had obtained the privilege of entering the Palace by carriage, in order to expound the *Ninnōkyō*. [1]

Sun and moon eclipses and the dying of a dog in the Palace (which caused defilement) were the causes of this special *Ninnōe*, which was celebrated with music and incense burning. [2]

Severe earthquakes were, of course, dangerous events which necessitated religious measures like the reading of the *Ninnōkyō* (A.D. 938, VII 3). [3]

§ 4, D. *The Votive Texts (jugwammon).*

Extensive votive texts (*jugwammon*, 咒願文) were written, as we stated before, and copies were sent to the provinces, that the same text (verses consisting of lines of four characters) should be read everywhere in the country. The annalists repeatedly give these *jugwammon* in extenso, which is evidence of the great importance they attached to the *Ninnōkyō* and the *Ninnōe*. They were read by the leading priest on behalf of the donators. The first time such a text is given in the annals is in A.D. 847 (III 15) (in prose) (800 priests invited to the Palace to expound the *sūtra*, in order to avert calamities). [4] In A.D. 878 (IV 29), when the *Ninnōkyō*, read in 32 places of the capital (the palaces, the offices and temples mentioned above) and in 68 places of the provinces (everywhere by a hundred priests), by its mighty power caused fertilizing rain, the votive text consisted of more than seventy lines of four characters each (in verse). [5]

[1] Washio, p. 17, 2.

[2] *Nihon kiryaku, kōhen*, Ch. XIII, p. 1141.

[3] *Honchō seki*, 本朝世紀 (A.D. 935—1153), K.T.K. VIII, p. 5.

[4] *Shoku Nihon kōki*, Ch. XVII, p. 383.

[5] *Nihon Sandai jitsuroku*, Ch. XXXIII, pp. 487 sq.

In A.D. 885 (IV 26) in the same 100 places, on the same day and hours, in the morning and in the evening the ceremony took place; then the number of lines of the *gāthā* (four characters forming a line) was sixty. [1]

The *Honchō seki* gives very extensive accounts of the *Ninnōe*, with the names of the leaders and other details. Twenty lines of four characters of the *gāthā* recited in A. D. 942 (intercalary III 26) are quoted; that of A.D. 986 (II 20) (60 lines of four characters) was the ceremonial text of a *Dai Ninnōe* (a "vernal *sūtra* reading", *shunki mido(k)kyō*, 春季御讀經, assisted by the ministers and other high dignitaries), composed, not by a priest, but by the *Uchūben* Sugawara *Ason* Suketada (右中辨菅原朝臣資忠). It was held in the *Daigokuden* by a hundred priests. [2]

The *jugwammon* of the *Rinji Ninnōe* of A.D. 1152 (Nimpyō 2, III 16) and of A. D. 1153 (II 26, vernal Ninnōe) were *gāthās* of 88 and 78 lines of 4 characters, also given in the *Honchō seki.* [3] This work omits the ceremonial text of A. D. 994 (Shōryaku 5, V 15), but in other respects the description of that ceremony is very interesting. Every high-priest belonging to the *sōgō* (僧綱), i. e. to the three leading classes of priests, the *Sōjō*, *Sōzu* and *Risshi*, received two pieces of silk, 20 pieces (*tan*) of Shinano cotton, and 3 *koku* of rice, and the ordinary priests 5 *tan* of Shinano cotton and 5 measures (*to*, 斗) of rice. In the hour of the horse (11 A. M.—1 P. M.) the expounding of the *sūtra* began, and in the hour of the monkey (3—5 P. M.) it came to an end. In a hall of the *Daigokuden* a hundred high seats were erected for the officiating priests, who hung a hundred pictures of Buddhist figures (*Butsuzō*) on the Northern wall of the hall and offered to them several kinds of incense and flowers. North of the throne the pictures of the *Five Great-Power Bodhisattvas* (五大力)

[1] Ibidem, Ch. XLVII, p. 662.
[2] *Honchō seki*, Tenkei 5 (942), p. 101; Kwanwa 2 (986), p. 150.
[3] *Honchō seki*, Nimpyō 2 and 3, pp. 896, 934.

were hung, and before the throne the images of the *Sanzon* (*Śākyamuni, Mañjuśrī* and *Samantabhadra*), made of white sandal wood, were placed. In the *Seiryōden* and in the *in, gū* and Shintō shrines (院宮社々) the usual rites were performed. The leader (*kōshi,* 講師) of the *Seiryōden* was the *Gonsōjō* Shinki (眞喜), a *Hossō* priest (A. D. 932—1000), who in A. D. 975 had been the leader of the *Yuimae* [1]); and the *kōshi* of the *Daigokuden* was the *Gonshōsōzu* Kakkyō (覺慶), a *Tendāi* priest (A. D. 927—1014), who from Jie Sōjō had learned the public and mystic doctrines. [2] Thus we see that at that time no *Shingon* priests were leaders of the *Ninnōe* rites. By Imperial order the *Ninnōkyō* was expounded in the houses of the high officials of the capital, and high seats were erected for the same purpose at the cross-roads in the suburbs. The holy text should be read by the whole people, from the highest (the family of the *Kwampaku,* who practised the reading in a hundred Buddhist temples) to the lowest (wood-cutters and peasants). This was all done to expel the prevailing pestilence. A large number of officials, high and low, young and old, assembled in the court-yard of the *Daigokuden,* where the reading was held, and, folding their hands and bowing down their heads, praising the ceremony and shedding tears, they said: "All hands respectfully raise on high the ceremonial text; all mouths expound the (*Ninnō*) *hannyakyō*; although the calamities sent by Fate[1] are entirely fixed (or their stopping, 彌, is fixed), yet there is obscure (mystic) assistance that drives them away." [3]

As we stated above, the *Ninnōe* of the provinces fell into disuse earlier than those of the Court (perhaps in the beginning of the 13th century); in the Palace these ceremonies took place until the Ōnin era (1467—1469).

[1] Washio, p. 455, 2, s. v. *Shinki.*
[2] Washio, p. 135, 1, s. v. *Kakkyō.*
[3] *Honchō seki,* Shōryaku 5, V 15, p. 218.

CHAPTER VI.

THE MUSHA-DAIE (無遮大會) OR "GREAT LIMITLESS MEETINGS", AND THE HŌJŌE (放生會) OR "MEETINGS FOR LIBERATING LIVING BEINGS".

A. *The Musha-daie.*

§ 1. *The Indian names of this quinquennial festival.*

These *Musha-daie* or "Great Limitless Meetings", i. e. *Pañca-vārṣika* or *Pañca-varṣa-pariṣad*, otherwise termed *Mahāmokṣa-pariṣad*, were quinquennial assemblies, explained by Prof. Kern as follows. "In the palmy days of Buddhism in India the quinquennial assembly, *Pañcavārṣika* (etc.), was a grand solemnity and festival. From the description of it in the *Divyāvadāna* and other sources we may gather that it was something like a *Pravāraṇā, a distribution of presents on a large scale*, and an occasion for an extraordinary display of liberality to the Saṅgha. The celebrated King Harsha of Kanauj, surnamed Śīlāditya, had the custom of regularly convoking such an assembly".[1]

The term "limitless" (*musha*) means that nobody was excluded from these meetings; even the poorest and lowest laymen were allowed to partake in them together with priests and noblemen, and all laymen had equal rights in distributing alms to the clergy, whereas all monks had the same in explaining the Law (財施, *zaise*, distribution of clothes, food and drink, land, houses, and precious things, and 法施, *hōse*, expounding the Law). But at the same time it seems to be a transcription of the word

[1] Kern, Manual of Indian Buddhism, p. 101.

mokṣa (mostly transcribed 木叉), although this is not stated in the *Bukkyō daijiten* s. v. *musha.*[1] The name of the festival also being *Mokṣa* (deliverance, salvation) *mahāpariṣad,*[2] and the character 無 sometimes being used as the first part of the word *mokṣa,*[3] whereas the character 遮 is used phonetically in 般遮, *pañca,* we are inclined to think that the word *musha* must be taken as a phonetic sound as well as in its meaning.

"Limitless" not corresponding with a Sanskrit equivalent as regards the name of the festival, we consider the phonetical use as primary, and the meaning as secondary, although it agrees very well with the nature of the assembly.

Another term for these festivals is *muge dai-e,* 無礙大會, "Great Limitless Assembly", used by the Emperor Wen Ti (A.D. 560—566) of the Ch'en dynasty in his Texts of Repentance (below, Ch. VIII, § 13). They are also called *daise-e,* 大施會, "Great distributing-meetings"; this term is found in the *Yuimakyō* (Chapter on the Bodhisattvas) (Nanjō No. 146).

The transcription of the Sanskrit word *pañca-vārṣika* is 般遮于瑟, *pan-cha wo-sik,* Jap. *hansha ushitsu,* or 般遮婆瑟 or in other ways.[4] Its correct translation is 五年會, *gonen-e,* or "Five years-meeting".

In the dictionary of "sounds and meanings of the whole canon" (一切經音義, *Yih-ts'ieh-king yin-i, Issaikyō ongi*) (Nanjō No. 1605, compiled in A.D. 649 by the Chinese priest Hüen-ying, 玄應, hence often quoted as *Hüen-ying yin-i, Gen-ō ongi*) (Ch. XVII) these transcriptions and the meaning of "Great Five-yearly meeting" are given, and King Aśoka is said to have held such a congregation a hundred years after the Buddha's Nirvāṇa. Apparently this was considered to be the origin of the custom.

[1] *Daijiten,* p. 1702, 2, s. v. *musha*; p. 1704, 1, s. v. *musha-e.*

[2] Cf. Eitel s. v. *Pañca pariṣad,* and Beal, *Si-yu-ki,* I, p. 52, note 178.

[3] Cf. Stanislas Julien, *Méthode pour déchiffrer et transcrire les noms sanscrits,* p. 226, s. v. *wou*; Eitel s. v. *Mokchala.*

[4] *Daijiten,* p. 1434, 1, s. v. *hansha-ushi.*

§ 2. *Accounts of the pilgrims Fah-hien and Hüen-tsang.*

In the record of his journey (法顯傳, also called 佛國記, Nanjō No. 1496, written A. D. 414) Fah-hien, the famous pilgrim, states that the *pañca-vārṣika* were great five-yearly meetings held by the kings of states. He describes such a congregation in the land of 竭叉 (Jap. *Kassha*) in the Karakorum Mountains of Turkestan (葱嶺), which he himself witnessed. From all sides the monks assembled, and during one, two or three months, mostly in spring, the king and his ministers made offerings according to the Law. Then the king held a meeting and again exhorted the ministers to arrange offerings for one, two, three or five days, whereafter he ordered his principal retainers to go out on horseback and collect all kinds of precious and useful things for the monks. Thereupon the king and his ministers, after having made a vow together, distributed those things to the monks, finally buying them back from them. [1]

Hüen-tsang, in his *Ta-T'ang si-yüh-ki* (大唐西域記, "Records of the Western regions made under the Great T'ang dynasty", Nanjō No. 1503, written A. D. 646, Ch. V) relates that King 戒日 (Śīlāditya, mentioned above) held a *musha daie* once in five years. Then he emplied his stores and distributed their contents to the multitude, except the weapons. [2] Hüen-tsang also mentions these great meetings in Ch. I in connection with the countries of *Kutche* (屈茨, or 庫車, in E. Turkestan) and *Bayana* (梵衍那), in Bokhara. In Kutche outside the western gate of the great city two standing images of Buddha, more than 90 feet high, were erected. *Before these images, on the place where one great assembly was held every five years,* all the priests of

[1] *Fah-hien chw'en*, Nanjō No. 1496, p. 3*b*; *Daijiten*, p. 196, 2, s. v. *Kassha*; *Daijii*, III, p. 3890, s. v. *Hansha ushitsu*.

[2] Nanjō No. 1503, Ch. v, p. 4*b*: 五歲一設無遮大會 etc.; Beal, II, p. 214.

the country assembled yearly at the autumnal equinox during several tens of days. The king and all his subjects, from the highest to the lowest, (on this occasion) abstained from public business and observed a religious fast. Receiving the *sūtras* and listening to the Law they did not feel any weariness. [1]

In Bayana (Bāmiyān) every time that the king arranged *a musha daie* he sacrificed all his possessions, from his wife and children down to the country's precious things; and after having emptied his treasuries he gave even his own body away. Then his officials went to the monks and bought these possessions back from them. The congregation took place at a monastery with a gigantic image of the Buddha after having entered Nirvāṇa. [2]

In the *Abhidharma vibhāṣa-śāstra* (Nanjō No. 1264, 阿毗曇毗婆沙論, translated A.D. 437—439, cf. Nanjō No. 1263, translated by Hüen-tsang in A.D. 656—659) (Ch. XIV) such a meeting, connected with a "long fast" (長齋, *chōsai*) [3] and the distribution of drink and food to many people, is said to have been held in order to cause the fulfillment of the donator's vow to become a *cakravartin rāja.*

§ 3. *The Musha-daie in China (A.D. 527, 563 and 765) and in Japan (6th—11th centuries).*

Holding such assemblies was a meritorious work, consisting of opening one's storehouses on behalf of the poor and the virtuous. According to the author of the article on this subject in the *Bukkyō daijii* (III, p. 3890) the people sometimes made the

[1] Ibid., Ch. I, p. 7*a*: 此像前建五年一大會處 etc.; Beal, I, p. 21.

[2] Ibid., Ch. I, p. 17*a*: 其王每此設無遮大會、上自妻子下至國珍府庫既傾復以身施。群官僚佐就僧酬贖。Beal, II, p. 51 sq.

[3] Cf. *Daijiten,* p. 1200, 1, s. v. *chōsai.*

mistake of confounding the *musha-e* with the *segaki-e*, the Preta-feeding assemblies dealt with above (pp. 76 sqq.).

The *musha-e* were meetings from which nobody was excluded; the wise and the stupid, the ordinary men and the sages, high and low, monks and nuns and laymen, all were welcome and had equal rights to practise the two kinds of distribution, the *zaise* (財施) and the *hōse* (法施), of property and of the Law.

In China such a meeting was held in A.D. 527 (Ta-t'ung 1) for the first time in the *T'ung-t'ai* monastery (同泰寺) by the Emperor Wu Ti of the Liang dynasty. [1]

In A.D. 563 (T'ien-kia 4) the Emperor Wen Ti of the Ch'en dynasty held a *Musha-daie* in the *Ta-kih-tien* (大極殿, *Daigoku-den*) of his Palace, on which occasion the *Hōdō-darani-hō* (方等陀羅尼法), based upon Nanjō No. 421 (the *Mahāvaipulya-dhāraṇī-sūtra*), the *Hokke-sembō* (法華懺法), "Rites of Repentance based upon the Lotus *sūtra* (Nanjō No. 134), and the *Konkwōmyō-sembō* (金光明懺法), "Rites of Repentance based upon the *Suvarṇa-prabhāsa sūtra* (Nanjō No. 127), were performed. [2]

In A.D. 765 (Yung-t'ai 1), when Amoghavajra (不空三藏) expounded the *Ninnōkyō* (仁王經, cf. above, Ch. I, § 7, Ch. V) in the Southern Peach Garden of the Ta-Ming Palace (大明宮南桃園) in the Chinese capital Ch'ang-ngan, the Emperor Tai-tsung (代宗), who in person wrote a preface to the translation of this text, held a *Musha-e* in praise of this *sūtra*. [3]

In Japan the first *musha-e* was convoked by the Empress Suiko in the fourth year of her reign (A.D. 596), when in the 11th month the building of *Hōkōji* (*Asuka-dera*) was finished.

[1] Cf. *Daijiten*, p. 1704, s. v. *musha-e*; *Daijii*, III, p. 3890, s. v. *Hansha ushitsu*; cf. below Ch. VIII, § 13 (A. D. 557—565).

[2] 佛祖統紀, *Fuh-tsu t'ung-ki (Busso tōki)*, a history of Chinese Buddhism compiled about A. D. 1269—1271 by the *T'ien-t'ai* priest Chi-p'an, 志磐; Ch. XXXVII (Nanjō No. 1661). As to the rites of repentance cf. below, Ch. VIII, §§ 7, 12, 18.

[3] *Himitsu jirin*, p. 925, s. v. *Fukū Sanzō*.

This is not stated in the *Nihongi*, but in the *Genkō Shakusho.*[1] A *musha-daie* or "Great Unlimited Meeting" was (theoretically) held once in five years.

According to Washio Junkyō in his *Nihon bukke jimmei jisho* (p. 1053, s. v. *Hōdō*)[2] the *Tendai* priest Hōdō (法道), an Indian monk who was said to have come to Japan by way of China and Korea, "riding on a purple cloud", and who lived as an ascetic on *Hokke-san* in Satsuma, reading the *Hokkekyō* (the Lotus *sūtra*), worshipping a copper image of *Senju Kwannon* (the Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara) and a relic of Buddha, and practising mystic meditation, in Taikwa 5 (A.D. 649) was summoned to the Palace, where he cured the Emperor Kōtoku by his prayers. He remained in the Palace for seven days, explained the Law and held a *musha-e*; then he returned to *Hokke-san*, where the Emperor had a chapel built for his *Senju Kwannon* image. The next year His Majesty went there in person and celebrated the dedicatory ceremony of the chapel (*kuyō-e*, 供養會), and in A.D. 651 a *Daizōkyō-e* (大藏經會) (cf. that of the last day of the year, described in the *Nihongi* and mentioned above, Ch. I, § 4, p. 8) was held according to this priest's instructions, as well as a maigre entertainment (*sai-e*) in the second month. Afterwards he said that he was a *ṛṣi* (仙人, *sennin*) from the Vulture Peak, near *Rājagṛha*, who had come to Japan only for a time in order to lead (the Emperor and the people) on the road of the Law. Then, after pronouncing one *gāthā*, he flew away through the air. In many provinces monasteries were said to have been erected by this legendary monk, e. g. *Jōdōji*, 成道寺, in *Tanshū* (the present Tamba, Tango and Tajima provinces).

[1] *Genkō Shakusho*, 元亨釋書, *Kokushi taikei* Vol. XI V, Ch. XX, p. 980.

[2] Washio refers to the *Genkō Shakusho* (Ch. XXI, p. 991, where the great Palace meeting of the 30th of the 12th month of A. D. 651 is said to have been due to this monk's teaching) and to the *Honchō kōsōden* (57 *kwan*, written in 1702 by the *Rinzai* priest Shiban, 師蠻 (A. D. 1626—1710).

In A.D. 686 (XII 19) a "*Kagiri-naki ogami*" (無遮大會, *Musha dai-e*) or "Limitless Great Assembly" was held in the five principal Buddhist temples, i. e. those of Asuka, Kawara, Owarida, Toyora and Sukata, on behalf of the soul of the Emperor Temmu, who had died three months before (IX 9).[1]

In A.D. 688 (I 8) one such great congreation was held in the *Yakushi* temple, for the same reason.[2]

In A.D. 693 (V 15 and IX 10) (five years later) two of these great assemblies were held within the inner precincts of the Palace. The second time it again took place on behalf of the Emperor Temmu's soul, and all prisoners were released (seven years after his death).[3]

In A.D. 697 (III 8) such a great meeting took place in the Eastern Palace (of the Heir-Apparent).[4] In this year, as well as in A.D. 693, we repeatedly read of Shintō prayers for rain; it may be that the Buddhist congregations were thought also to be useful in averting the prevailing drought and thus liberating the country from suffering.

We do not find a *musha-daie* mentioned in the eighth century except in A.D. 745 (VIII 14), again a year of severe drought; it was held in the *Daianden* (大安殿).[5]

In A.D. 861 (Jōkwan 3) the Shingon priest Shinnyo (眞如), a pupil of Kōbō Daishi, who six years earlier had repaired the *Daibutsu* of *Tōdaiji*, arranged a *musha-daie* in that temple, on which occasion more than three thousand monks were entertained (*kuyō*).[6]

In A.D. 926 (Enchō 4, XII 19) the Court nobles held a *musha-se* (無遮施) or "Unlimited distribution" (offering to the priests,

[1] *Nihongi*, Ch. xxx, p. 546; Aston II, p. 384.
[2] *Nihongi*, Ch. xxx, p. 548; Aston II, p. 387.
[3] *Nihongi*, Ch. xxx, pp. 565 sq.; Aston II, pp. 412 sq.
[4] *Nihongi*, Ch. xxx, p. 571; Aston II, p. 422.
[5] *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. xvi, p. 260.
[6] *Himitsu jirin*, p. 541, s. v. *Shinnyo*; *Sandai jitsuroku*, Ch. v, p. 81.

i. e. a *musha-daie*) of 1200 *koku* of grain, with *sūtra* readings in 14 great temples, seven of Kyōto and seven of Nara, to celebrate the sixtieth birthday of the Emperor Daigo.[1]

In A.D. 966 the Tendai priest Ryōgen (良源, A.D. 912—985) became *zasu* of *Enryakuji* and did his utmost to promote the glory of *Hieizan*, not only by building many chapels and pagodas and increasing the number of *ajari* from thirteen to sixteen, but also by holding several *musha-daie*. This great priest, who in A.D. 980 led a *Godampō* or "Five Altars-ceremony" (in honour of the Five *Vidyā-rājas*) in the Palace and the following year, after having twice cured the Emperor Enyū, became *Daisōjō*, died in A.D. 987 and received the posthumous title of Jie Daisōjō (慈慧大僧正).[2]

In A.D. 1007 the Tendai priest Hyōgwan (平願) prayed to obtain a miraculous sign of his future rebirth in Amitābha's Paradise (*Gokuraku ōjō*) in consequence of his virtuous actions. The next day more than a thousand white lotus flowers shot up on the bank of the Kamo river (near Kyōto) and spread a strange smell. Therewith he was sure to be reborn in Paradise. His virtuous deeds were: writing the *Hokkekyō*, painting Buddha images and opening a musha-e on the bank of the Kamo river.[3]

We gather from the above facts that the *Tendai* and *Shingon* sects were the main propagators of this kind of general congregations, and that they took place in temples except at the end of the seventh century and in the eighth, when the Court held them in the palaces.

B. *Meetings for liberating living beings* (放生會).

§ 1. *The twentieth commandment of the Brahmajāla-sūtra.*

The *Bommōkyō* (梵網經) (*Brahmajāla-sūtra*, Nanjō No. 1087,

[1] *Genkō Shakusho*, Ch. XXIV, pp. 1065 sq.
[2] Washio, p. 1175 sq., s. v. *Ryōgen*.
[3] Washio, p. 1022, s. v. *Hyōgwan*.

to be treated below, Ch. XV, § 1) is a famous work, belonging to the *Vinaya* of *Mahāyāna* and translated in A.D. 406 by Kumārajīva. Its second part deals with the ten *Pratimokṣas*, the strict commandments of the Bodhisattvas, and the 48 secondary commandments, to be followed by all Buddha sons. The twentieth of these 48 is entitled "commandment (litt. warning) against not practising the liberation and rescue (of living beings)" (不行放救戒). It runs as follows. "If one is a son of Buddha, one must, with a merciful heart, intentionally practise the work of liberating living beings (若佛子、以慈心故行放生業). All men are our fathers, all women are our mothers. All our existences have taken birth from them. Therefore all the living beings of the six *gāti* are our parents, and if we kill them, we kill our parents and also our former bodies; for all earth and water are our former bodies, and all fire and wind are our original substance. Therefore you must always practise liberation of living beings (*hōjō*, 放生) (since to produce and receive life is the eternal law) and cause others to do so; and if one sees a wordly person kill animals, he must by proper means save and protect them and free them from their misery and danger". [1]

§ 2. *Ten thousand fishes saved by the Buddha in a former incarnation.*

In the fourth chapter of the *Konkwōmyōkyō* (*Suvarṇaprabhāsa sūtra*, translated A.D. 414—423 by Dharmaraksha II, Nanjō No. 127) the *śreṣṭhin* "Flowing Water" (流水長者, *Rusui chōja*) rescues ten thousand fishes. This former incarnation of Śākyamuni was called *Jalavāhana*, and had two sons, who, according to the Buddha who relates this story of one of his former births, were previous incarnations of his son Rāhula and his favourite disciple

[1] *Bommōkyō*, II, p. 121, 1 (small ed.); p. 11 (large ed.); De Groot, *Code du Mahāyāna en Chine*, p. 53.

Ānanda. During a trip Jalavāhana, accompanied by his sons, came to a large, deep valley with a pond, which had dried up, so that the 10000 fishes in it were exposed to the sun and about to die and become the food of birds and quadrupeds. Full of compassion the *śreṣṭhin* covered them with branches and caused 20 big elephants to transport river water to the pond, thus saving the life of all the fishes. Then he gave them food and, as spiritual nourishment, he spoke to them of the Buddha and his doctrine. Afterwards, when he gave a large banquet in his house, a severe earthquake caused all those ten thousand fishes to die together and, by the influence of his former preaching, they were all reborn as angels in the *Trāyashiṃśat* heaven (*tōriten*). When that night after the banquet the *śreṣṭhin* lay asleep in an upper room of his house, he saw those ten thousand angels arrive; they brought him numberless pearls and ornamental rings (*yōraku*), and scattered heavenly flowers upon him as a reward for the great favour obtained from him in former days. They were, as the Buddha said, the ten thousand deva sons present at the meeting. [1]

This passage is said to have been the origin of the *hōjō-e* or "meetings for liberating living beings", so frequent in Chinese and Japanese Buddhism. But the commandment of the *Bommōkyō* as well as many other passages of the holy texts were, of course, powerful warnings against the killing of animals and promised heavenly rewards to those who liberated and saved them. It is well-known that from olden times one of the six utensils of the Buddhist monks (*rokumotsu*, "six things") [2] was the *parisrāvaṇa* or water-strainer, [3] the *rokusui-nō* (漉水嚢) or "bag for filtering water", also called *rokunō* or *rokusuitai* (袋, bag), intended to save small animals living in the water, which otherwise would be killed by using it. [4]

[1] *Konkwōmyōkyō*, Ch. IV; *Daijii*, III, 2, s. v. *Rusui chōja.*
[2] *Daijii*, III, p. 4619, 2, s. v. *rokumotsu.*
[3] Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 80.
[4] *Daijii*, III, p. 4603, 1, s. v. *rokusui-nō.*

§ 3. *The hōjō-e in China (6th—11th cent. A.D.).*

In the second half of the sixth century Chi-i (智顗), i. e. Chi-ché ta-shi (智者大師) (A.D. 531—597), the founder of the *T'ien-t'ai* sect, came to *Yoh-cheu* (岳州) in Hunan province, where the Siang-kiang river and its affluents flow into the great Tung-t'ing lake. [1] By expounding the *Konkwōmyōkyō* he converted the people of the whole region and caused more than thousand fishermen to abandon their work (on account of the passage treated above). Moreover, in Cheh-kiang province, where S.W. of Ningpo the celebrated *T'ien-t'ai-shan* rises and with its height of nearly 4000 feet forms the highest point of the Southern mountain range, which, running into the sea, ends at the Chusan (Cheushan) archipelago, [2] he purchased 300 miles of land, from the bay of *T'ien-t'ai* to the land of Hu-liang, and presented this to the royal family as a "place for letting loose living beings" (放生地, *hōjōji*). At the same time he made the bay of *T'ien-t'ai* a "pond for liberating living beings" (放生池, *hōjōchi*), where he caused the fishermen of the coast to liberate fishes and molluscs, in order to make progress themselves on the path to Salvation. This was all based upon the story of the *śreṣṭhin* Jalavāhana (*Rusui chōja*), and was the origin of the *Hōjōe*. [3]

Between A.D. 700 and 712 the famous pilgrim I-tsing (義淨) wrote a small work of 3 leaves, entitled: "Rules (*kalpa*) for life-protecting liberation of living beings", 護命放生軌儀法, *Hu-ming fang-shăng kwei-i fah*, *Gomyō hōjō kigi hō* (Nanjō No. 1508).

In A.D. 759 (K'ien-yuen 2) the Emperor Suh-tsung (肅宗) of the T'ang dynasty by Imperial Ordinance instituted 81 "ponds for liberating living beings", and the powerful Yen Chen-k'ing (顏眞卿) (A.D.709—785), who "when acting as Censor in Shansi

[1] Richard, *Comprehensive geography oj the Chin. empire*, pp. 132, 136.
[2] Ibid., p. 228.
[3] *Daijii*, III, p. 4123, 3, s. v. *hōjōe*; *Daijiten*, p. 1388, 2, s. v. *hōjōchi*.

set at liberty a number of persons who had been unjustly confined; whereupon rain, which had been long prayed for in vain, fell upon the parched fields", [1] wrote the inscription of the stone monument erected on this occasion (i. e. in A.D. 759, about the ponds). [2]

In the ninth century Tsung-mih (宗密) (A.D. 779—840), the fifth patriarch of the *Hwa-yen* (*Kegon, Avatamsaka*) school, respectfully called „the Great Teacher of the Kwéi peak" (圭峰大師, Kwéi-fan Ta-shi), [3] in his "*Commentary on the Avalambana sūtra*" (盂蘭盆經疏) (Nanjō No. 1601) wrote about the "*hōjō-e* of the three times" (三節放生): at the end of the year, at the end of the summer (i.e. of the Summer Retreat of the monks and nuns, *ango*), and on days of mourning (for one's parents) (歲終, 夏滿, 忌辰). [4]

In A.D. 1017 (T'ien-hi 1) the Emperor Chen-tsung (眞宗) of the Northern Sung dynasty issued an ordinance by means of which he restored the rule of the *hōjō* ponds and forbade fishing within an area of five miles above and below the regions along the Yang-tszĕ-kiang and the Hwai river. [5]

About the same time the well-known *T'ien-t'ai* priest Tsun-shih (遵式) (A.D. 963—1032), alias Ts'zĕ-yun, 慈雲, "Cloud of Compassion" (Nanjō App. III, no. 47), in a memorial to the Throne made the West Lake (*Si-hu*, 西湖) in Cheh-kiang province (where the 500 Arhats were worshipped) [6] a "pond for liberating living beings"; there he held an assembly of the people of the district on the Buddha's birthday (IV 8) and caused them to let loose fishes and birds, at the same time praying for long life for the Emperor. [7]

[1] Giles, *Chin. Biogr. Dict.*, No. 2461.

[2] Chi-p'an (志磐) 's 佛祖統紀, *Fah-tsu t'ung-ki*, Nanjō No. 1661 (A. D. 1269—1271), Ch. XXXIII.

[3] Nanjō, App. III, No. 38.

[4] *Fah-tsu t'ung-ki*, l. l., quoted *Daijiten*, p. 1388, 2, s. v. *hōjōchi*; *Daijii*, III, p. 4123, 3, s. v. *hōjō-e*.

[5] Ibid., l. l.

[6] Cf. the present writer's *Arhats in China and Japan*, Ch. II, § 15, p. 34 sqq.

[7] *Fah-tsu t'ung-ki*, l. l.; *Daijii*, *Daijiten*, l. l.

Another famous *T'ien-t'ai* priest, Chi-li (知禮), called Sze-ming tsun-ché (四明尊者) or "The Saint of *Sze-ming-shan*" (in Cheh-kiang province), who compiled in about A.D. 1020 ten works of the Canon (Nanjō App. III, 51), yearly celebrated the Buddha's birthday in the same way, namely by letting loose fishes and birds at the South Lake (Nan-ku) and praying for the Emperor. When the Governor of the district reported this matter to the Emperor, His Majesty ordered the *Ch'u-mih* (樞密, General, Military Leader) Liu Kiün to compose an inscription and erect a stone monument at the temple gate. [1]

We learn from these passages that some of the Chinese T'ang and Sung Emperors and high dignitaries paid much attention to these meetings, and that the *T'ien-t'ai* sect was their principal propagator.

§ 4. *The hōjō-e, prohibition of killing living beings, and general amnesty in Japan.*

A. *In the seventh century.*

The *Genkō Shakusho* and the *Fusō ryakki*, always inclined to antedate Buddhist events in Japan, say that already in A.D. 578, in the seventh year of Bidatsu Tennō's reign (II) Prince Toyotomimi (i. e. Shōtoku Taishi) (A.D. 572—621), who was only seven years old (six according to our calculation of age), issued a memorial to the Throne with regard to the Six Fasting Days (*rokusai-nichi*, 六齋日) (the 8th, 14th and 15th of the *byaku-gwatsu*, 白月, the "white month", i. e. the "bright half" of the Indian month, and the 23th, 29th and 30th of the *kokugwatsu*, 黑月, the "black month", i. e. the "dark half"). On these days the demons are more dangerous than ever, and the Four Deva Kings (*Shitennō*), who on the 8th (and 23th) send their messengers

[1] Ibid., l. l.

to the earth, in order to examine the virtuous and evil deeds of mankind, and to observe, whether they are pious and obedient to their parents, respectful to the monks and elders, faithful in keeping the fasts and the commandments, liberal in their offerings to the *Saṅgha* and compassionate in rescuing the poor, after having obtained their reports on the 14th (and 29th) send their eldest sons, and on the 15th (and 30th) come themselves to make personal investigations concerning their good and evil deeds. [1] They are the so-called "fasting days of the eight commandments" (八戒齋日, *hakkai sainichi*). [2] According to the *Fusō ryakki* Shōtoku Taishi stated that on those days Brahma and Indra came to look how the empire was ruled, and that then the killing of living beings (*sesshō*, 殺生) ought to be forbidden. The Emperor (his uncle) followed this advice and by Imperial Ordinance forbade the taking of life on the six fasting days. [3]

The *Nihongi* does not mention this early fact; there we only read that three months before (A.D. 577, XI 1) the King of Kudara had presented to the Japanese Emperor not only a number of holy texts, but also three monks, a nun, a maker of Buddhist images and a temple architect, and that a temple had been founded at Naniwa. In A.D. 691, however, in the fifth year of Jitō Tennō's reign (II 1), this Empress addressed a decree to the Ministers, saying: "In the reigns of the (former) Emperors (*Tennō no yo ni*) the Nobles erected Buddhist Halls and *Sūtra* Treasuries, and practised the six monthly fasts (*tsūki-goto no mu-yori no imi*, 月六齋). From time to time the Emperors sent Ohotoneri to inquire after the welfare of the priests, and the same has also been done in Our own reign. Let us therefore with zealous hearts continue to uphold the Buddhist faith." [4]

It is probable, indeed, that such a fervent propagator of Buddhism

[1] *Daijii*, III, p. 4583, 2, s. v. *rokusai-nichi*.
[2] *Daijiten*, p. 1822, 3, s. v. *rokusai-nichi*; p. 157, 3, s. v. *hakkai-sai*.
[3] *Genkō Shakusho*, Ch. XX, p. 974; *Fusō ryakki*, Ch. III, p. 489.
[4] *Nihongi*, Ch. XXX, p. 558; Aston II, p. 402.

as Shōtoku Taishi may soon have tried to introduce the observance of the fasting days and, connected therewith, the prohibition of killing living beings on those days. At any rate Jitō Tennō's words point to an early institution of the six monthly fasts. As to these holidays or Sabbaths in India, Prof. Kern mentions four of them, kept in Ceylon, Burma and Nepāl on the days of the new-moon, of the full-moon and on the 8th of each *Pakṣa* (half-month), i.e. on the first, eighth, fifteenth and twenty-third; in Tibet on the 14th, 15th, 29th and 30th. Evidently the Chinese Buddhists have combined these dates into a system of six.

The first Japanese Emperor to order *hōjō* (*ikimono wo hanatsu*, 放生) in all provinces was Temmu Tennō, who in A.D. 676, the fifth year of his reign (VIII 17), after having commanded a Great Purification to be held in all quarters, issued a decree, saying: "Let all sentences of death, confiscation, or the three classes of banishment be mitigated one degree" and, granting pardon to those about to be banished, at the same time ordered the various provinces "to let loose living beings". Probably he took these measures because "that summer there was great drought" and in the 7th month "a star (evidently a comet) had appeared in the East, seven or eight feet in length. In the 9th month it at length disappeared from the sky". Three months after this first *hōjō* ordinance (XI 19) he again "gave orders to release living things", but this time only to the provinces near the capital. [1]

A "general amnesty granted throughout the Empire" (大赦天下) is mentioned for the first time in A.D. 673 (Temmu Tennō's second year of reign, III 17), because in Bingo province a white pheasant (a very auspicious omen) had been caught and presented to the Emperor. [2] It was again proclaimed in A.D. 677 (XI 1), when the Viceroy of Tsukushi had presented a red crow, another very lucky omen, because a red crow with three

[1] *Nihongi*, Ch. XXIX, pp. 511 sq.; Aston II, pp. 334 sq.
[2] *Nihongi*, Ch. XXIX, p. 504; Aston II, p. 322.

legs was supposed to inhabit the sun, and in A.D. 683 (I 18), when a three-legged sparrow, sent from the same province, had caused great joy at the Court. [1]

In A.D. 675 (IV 17), twelve days after having given a great feast of vegetable fare to 2400 monks and nuns, the Emperor issued a decree to the provinces, saying: "Henceforth fishermen and hunters are to be restrained from making pitfalls or using spear-traps and such like contrivances. Moreover, from IV 1 to IX 13, let no one set *himi-sakiri* fish-traps. Further, let no one eat the flesh of cows, horses, dogs, monkeys, or barn-door fowls. This prohibition does not extend to other kinds of meat. Offenders against this regulation will be punished". [2]

In A.D. 680 (XI 12), when the Empress-consort was unwell, Temmu Tennō, "having made a vow on her behalf, began the erection of *Yakushiji*, and made one hundred persons enter religion as priests (度, *do seshimu*). In consequence of this the Empress recovered her health. On this day an amnesty was granted (赦罪). [3] Six years later (A.D. 686, V 24), when the Emperor himself was very ill (he died the same year, IX 9), not only was the *Yakushikyō* expounded in the Temple of Kawara and a Retreat (*ango*) held within the Palace, but also "the *Ohotoneri* of the Left and Right were sent to cleanse the Halls and Pagodas of the Temples. Accordingly a general pardon throughout the Empire was proclaimed, and the prisons were empty"; VII 15 again "a general amnesty was granted". [4]

In A.D. 684, when on XII 13 "there was a general pardon to all criminals except those guilty of capital crimes", we do not read why this took place, but on IV 16 of the same year a pardon, "given to the Toneri (attendants of the Emperor) who had been guilty of offences", was due to a vegetarian feast (of monks, *sai*),

[1] *Nihongi*, Ch. XXIX, pp. 514, 529; Aston II, pp. 337, 359.
[2] *Nihongi*, Ch. XXIX, p. 508; Aston II, p. 328.
[3] *Nihongi*, Ch. XXIX, p. 521; Aston II, p. 348.
[4] *Nihongi*, Ch. XXIX, pp. 541 sq.; Aston II, pp. 376 sqq.

prepared that day within the Palace.[1] Thus there was a close connection between Buddhist meritorious measures, such as cleansing the temples or entertaining the monks and nuns, and the granting of a general or partial amnesty.

The Empress Jitō (A.D. 687—697, VIII 1) likewise frequently pardoned criminals throughout the Empire, either on behalf of Temmu Tennō's soul (A.D. 687, VI 28; 688, VI 11; 693, IX 10, when a *musha-daie* was held in the Palace and all prisoners were released; probably it took place the day before, on the seventh anniversary of his death),[2] or in case of illness (A.D. 689, III 24, probably because the Prince Imperial Kusakabe, who died IV 13, was severely ill), or when the crops were damaged by too profuse rain (A.D. 691, VI 20, when the Empress also ordered abstinence from strong drink and animal food, repentance of sins, and reading of *sūtras* for five days).[3] She further gave amnesty when she proceeded to the Great Shrine of Ise (A.D. 692, III 17, IV 25, when she also exempted the sacred districts, the horse-men, bagage-coolies and labourers in her service during the journey, and the families who had provided horsemen, from commuted taxes and forced labour; at times of drought (A.D. 692, VII 2, VIII 3; 697, VI 2, VII 7); when she was about to remove her residence to the Palace of Fujiwara (A.D. 694, XI, 26), and after an eclipse of the sun (A.D. 696, VII 2; perhaps also because Prince Takechi, who died eight days later, was severely ill).[4]

In the third year of her reign (A.D. 689, VIII 16) "hunting and fishing were prohibited in the sea of Muko in the province of Settsu for a distance of 1000 paces (步), for a space of 20000 *shiro* (頃) on the plain of Nagino, Ate district, Kii province; and for a space of 20000 *shiro* on the plains of Minono,

[1] *Nihongi*, Ch. XXIX, pp. 533, 535; Aston II, pp. 364, 367.
[2] *Nihongi*, Ch. XXX, pp. 547, 549, 566; Aston II, pp. 385, 388, 413.
[3] *Nihongi*, Ch. XXX, pp. 551, 559; Aston II, pp. 391, 403.
[4] *Nihongi*, Ch. XXX, pp. 561, 563, 568, 570; Aston II, pp. 406 sq., 409, 417, 420.

Iga district, Iga province. Keepers (守護人, *mori*) were attached to these places in the same way as to the Sea of Takashi in Ōtori district, Kawachi province". Five days afterwards the Empress ordered the Governor-General of Iyo to set at liberty the white swallow (a good omen), caught in Miki district, Sanuki province. [1] We see by these actions how devoutly she followed the Buddhist rules of sparing and releasing living beings, from mankind to the lowest animals.

§ 4, B. *In the eighth century.*

In A.D. 720 (Yōrō 4, IX), when there were riots in the provinces of Hyūga and Ōsumi (Kyūshū), the Court sent messengers to the Hachiman shrine, the temple of the Shintō wargod Hachiman, at Usa in Buzen province (the *Usa jingū*, 宇佐神宮), in order to pray for pacification of the rebels. By means of possession (託) the great god gave the following oracle.

"In joining the spears the dead and wounded are many. I pity them very much, and I wish that after the pacification of the rebels, (the ceremony of) letting loose living beings (*hōjō*) may be established in all provinces". This was, according to Shiren (師錬), a *Rinzai* priest, author of the *Genkō Shakusho* (A.D. 1278—1346), the origin of the *Hachiman hōjō-e.* [2] The *Fusō ryakki* states the same fact, and adds that, when the Court nobles prayed in the Usa shrine, its priest led the sacred troops to the riotous provinces and subdued them. Those enemies having been pacified, the great god gave the oracle about the liberation of living beings, which was the beginning of the *hōjō-e* of all provinces. [3] The *Shoku Nihongi* does not mention this oracle, nor the assistance of Hachiman against the insurgents.

[1] *Nihongi,* Ch. XXX, p. 553; Aston II, p. 394.

[2] *Genkō Shakusho,* Ch. XXII, p. 1011; this work also mentions *hōjō* in all provinces in A.D. 725 (IV), p. 1012.

[3] *Fusō ryakki,* Ch. VI, p. 548.

In A.D. 726 (Jinki 3, VI 15), when the *Dajō Tennō* (the Empress Genshō, who had abdicated two years before and who lived till 748) was unwell, her nephew and successor, Shōmu Tennō, ordered *hōjō* in all provinces of the realm.[1]

In A.D. 732 (Tempyō 4, VII 5) he tried to expel the severe drought by prayers and offerings of *gohei* to the Shintō gods of famous mountains and large rivers, by forbidding the use of strong spirits and the slaughter of animals, by rendering assistance to widowers and helpless and solitary people, who could not live independently, and by granting amnesty to the realm.[2]

In A.D. 737 (Tempyō 9, VIII 2) he ordered the monks and nuns of all provinces to purify themselves, to bathe two or three times a month, and to read the *Saishōōkyō*; he further forbade the killing of living beings on the six fasting days.[3] Evidently it was necessary to repeat this ancient rule, which had been neglected. Also in A.D. 741 (III 24), in his famous ordinance by which he instituted the *kokubunji*, he added the prohibition of fishing, hunting, and otherwise killing animals, publicly as well as privately, on the six fasting days of every month. The governors of the provinces had constantly to control the observance of this rule.[4]

In A.D. 745 (Tempyō 17, IX 19), when Shōmu Tennō was indisposed, he had *Yakushi kekwa* ceremonies performed in all the Buddhist temples of the capital and the Home provinces and in all the shrines ("pure places") of the famous mountains; he further sent gohei and prayers to the Shintō sanctuaries of Kamo and Matsu-no-o, caused 3800 persons to become monks, and ordered all the provinces to set free the falcons and cormorants in their possession (with the double aim of liberating

[1] *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. IX, p. 157.
[2] Ibid., Ch. XI, p. 187.
[3] Ibid., Ch. XII, p. 210.
[4] Ibid., Ch. XIV, p. 234.

those birds and prohibiting hunting and fishing with them). The next day he ordered the Governor of Satsuma province to offer up *gohei* to the shrine of Hachiman (in Usa), and proclaimed that a hundred copies of the whole *Daihannyakyō* (600 *kwan*) should be made by the people of the capital and the provinces, who also had to make seven *Yakushi* images, six *shaku* three *sun* high, and to copy seven *kwan* of the *Yakushikyō*. [1]

In A.D. 748 (Tempyō 20, III 8) he granted a great amnesty to the Empire, in order to purify the country from all the crimes committed by the people, because everywhere there was sin and he alone had to wash away all this impurity. Shortly afterwards the Dajō Tennō, the Empress Genshō, died, aged 69 years (IV 21); it may be that also her illness caused him to try to save her life by this merciful act. The next year (A.D. 749, I 1—6) he ordered *kekwa* to be performed in all Buddhist temples of the realm, during the first seven days of the year, and *tendoku* of the *Konkwōmyōkyō*; throughout the country no killing of living beings was allowed during that time. [2]

The Empress Kōken (749 VII 2—758 VIII 1), like her father Shōmu Tennō a very devout Buddhist, repeatedly tried to purify the country or to restore the health of her parents by general or partial amnesty. Thus it accompanied her proclamation of A.D. 750 (Tempyō Shōhō 2, IV 4) about her taking refuge with the *Yakushikyō* and performing circumambulations and ceremonies of repentance (*gyōdō kekwa*), in order to wash away the sins of the people, and that of A.D. 751 (X 23) about the ceremonies for lengthening the life of her father, to be practised for seven days by 49 wise priest in *Shin-Yakushiji*, who were entertained with vegetable fare, in order to restore his health. [3]

In A.D. 754 (Tempyō Shōhō 6, XI 8) she issued on ordinance for the peace and repose of her parents ("the two venerable ones",

[1] Ibid., Ch. XVI, p. 261.
[2] Ibid., Ch. XVII, p. 275, 277.
[3] Ibid., Ch. XVIII, pp. 294, 298.

nison), and for the lengthening of their precious lives. She again invited 49 (7 × 7) priests to worship *Yakushi Rurikwō Butsu*, the Healing Buddha, from whose *sūtra* she quoted the words: "Hang up banners for continuing life, light 49 lamps, and set free all kinds of living beings". [1] She added that since the highest form of *hōjō* was to rescue human beings, according to this doctrine she ought to proclaim a great amnesty for the Empire, with the exception of those who had committed serious crimes, such as murder, false coinage, robbery and theft, and other crimes which were usually excepted in case of amnesty; the punishment of those who had been sentenced to death was to be mitigated by one degree. [2]

In A.D. 756 (Tempyō Shōhō 8, VI 8) she forbade *sesshō* (the killing of living beings) in all provinces from VI 8 to the next year V 30, on account of the mourning for her father Shōmu, who had died the previous month (V 2). [3]

Two years afterwards (A.D. 758, Tempyō Hōji 2, VII 4) she tried to restore her mother's health and to lengthen her life by the same prohibition, this time lasting from VII 4 to XII 30, and by stating that wild boars and stags could not be presented for a long time. At the same time she gave freedom to all male and female slaves, except to those belonging to the magistrates and Court. [4]

During her second reign (that of Shōtoku Tennō), in A.D. 768 (XII 4), her favourite, the ambitious and deceitful *Hossō* priest Dōkyō (道鏡), proposed to the Empress to give titles of nobility to some persons and amnesty to the country on account of a pretended lucky omen. The priest Kishin (基眞) of *Yamashinadera* (*Kōfukuji, Hossō*), who taught heretical doctrines and obscure

[1] Cf. below, Ch. XIV, § 1. In the text of the *sūtra* the number 49 is also used with regard to the liberation of living beings.

[2] *Shoku Nihongi,* Ch. XIX, p. 311.

[3] Ibid., Ch. XIX, p. 316.

[4] Ibid., Ch. XX, p. 347.

matters, had made an image of *Bishamon Ten* (*Vaiśravana Deva*) and secretly placed some pearls (or rosary beads) before it, which he pretended were relics of the Buddha. Dōkyō, who wished to delude the people by something conspicuous, said that it was a felicitous omen and advised the Empress to proclaim amnesty and give ranks of nobility. Kishin actually obtained the title of Mononobe no Kiyoshi no Ason, and the rank of *Hō-sangi*, with eight military followers; but we do not read that the amnesty was granted. [1]

In A.D. 773 (Hōki 4, XII 25) Shōtoku Tennō's successor, Kōnin Tennō, following the example, given by her in A.D. 754, in order to increase his fields of felicity and heighten the glory of the dynasty by the blessing power of great compassion, according to the *Yakushikyō*, not only entertained wise priests and caused them to perform circumambulations around Yakushi's image, but also proclaimed a great amnesty (serious crimes excepted) throughout the Empire, because man was the most important of the living beings, whose liberation was prescribed by that *sūtra*. [2]

His son Kwammu Tennō (A.D. 781, IV 1—806, III 17, his death), who was much less devout than his predecessors, did not think of such measures until the beginning of A.D. 805 (Enryaku 24, I 7). Then his illness, which ended with his death in the following year, A.D. 806, III 70, at the age of 70 (i. e. 69) years, caused him to request the *Daihōshi* (High-priest) Shōgu, a *Hossō* priest, to set falcons and dogs free (both used in hunting); on hearing this the attendant ministers could not repress their tears. At the same time he ordered a Buddhist temple to be built for Sudō Tennō in Awaji, in order to soothe his angry soul. Moreover, he pardoned the monks whom he had caused to retire, and allowed them to return to their monasteries, and he gave orders that all the Buddhist temples and pagodas of the country should be repaired. [3]

[1] Ibid., Ch. XXIX, p. 500.
[2] Ibid., Ch. XXXII, p. 572.
[3] *Nihon kōki*, Ch. XII, p. 43; as to Sudō Tennō cf. below Ch. XI, § 7, F.

Afterwards no *hōjō-e* are mentioned in the Annals beyond those of *Iwashimizu*, to be treated in the next paragraph.

§ 5. *The hōjō-e of the Hachiman shrine in Iwashimizu.*

A. *The Hachiman shrine in Usa, Buzen province, and that of Tsuru-ga-oka near Kamakura.*

We saw above (§ 4, B, p. 207) that according to the *Genkō Shakusho* and the *Fusō ryakki* the origin of the *Hachiman hōjō-e* was the oracle of the war-god Hachiman of the Usa shrine in Buzen province, given in A.D. 720 (Yōrō 4, IX) to the Court nobles with regard to the rebellion of Hyūga and Ōsumi provinces.

The name of this Shintō god *Hachiman* (*Yahata*, pronounced *Yawata*), the "Eight Banners", 八幡, points to China as the country whence it was borrowed. Although the number eight was also very important to primitive Japan, in China it was evidently connected with the eight quarters, and used in relation with many very ancient conceptions and groups.[1] Even in the Ts'ing dynasty the Chinese army consisted of eight divisions under eight banners (八旗, *pah k'i*), two of which were yellow, two white, two red and two blue, whereas those of the same colour had different borders.[2]

There are several different traditions as to the origin of this Shintō deity, who was said to be the third son of Jimmu Tennō or of Jingō Kwōgō, or Ugayafuki-aezu no Mikoto, or *Ōjin Tennō*; from the Jokwan era (A.D. 859—876) this last identification was generally accepted, but it seems to be most probable that it was originally a cult of *Hiko-hohodemi no Mikoto* and his Consort *Toyotama-hime*, the daughter of the Sea god, Ugayafuki-aezu no

[1] Marcel Granet, *Danses et légendes de la Chine ancienne*, I 354 sqq., cf. II, p. 655.

[2] Couvreur, *Dict. de la langue chinoise*, p. 417, s. v. 旗.

Mikoto's parents and Jimmu Tennō's grandparents.[1] Hachiman was the tutelary god of the *Seiwa-Genji*, i. e. the Minamoto family.

The Emperor Shōmu, under whose reign a new Usa shrine was erected on Hishikata-yama (Jinki 4, A.D. 727), with the name of *Hirohata* (Broad banners) *no Hachiman daijingū*, was the first Emperor who paid much attention to this deity. In Tempyō 3 (A.D. 731), at the request of Ōga Ason Tamaro (a descendant of Ōga Hige, 大神比義, by whose mouth the god had revealed his name),[2] who had erected the new temple and had come to worship the Great Buddha of *Tōdaiji*, Shōmu Tennō sent official offerings (*gohei*) to Usa Hachiman, and in A.D. 740 (Tempyō 12), on account of warlike operations, by Imperial proclamation he gave the sanctuary a fief of 20 houses and by means of official messengers (*chokushi*) presented sacred treasures (*shimpō*) to it.[3]

In A.D. 741 (Tempyō 13, Interc. III 24) the *Shoku Nihongi* begins to take notice of the *Hachiman-jingū* in Usa, and relates how Shōmu Tennō offered up to this god one "secret brocade cap" (秘錦冠), one copy of the *Saishōōkyō* and of the *Hokkekyō*, both written in golden characters, 18 converts (*dosha*, people who became Buddhist monks), and 5 horses; he further had a three-storied pagoda made in the compound of the temple, in order to give thanks for the fulfilment of prayers made in former lives (*shukutō*, 宿禱, *ni sai suru*, 賽).[4] We learn from this

[1] *Daijiten*, III, p. 3849, 2, s. v. *Hachimangū*. Cf. Yoshida Tōgo, I, pp. 1409 sqq., s. v. *Usa Hachimangū*; *Kokushi daijiten*, pp. 2015 sq., s. v. *Hachiman no kami*.

[2] According to the tradition Ōga Hige lived in Bidatsu Tennō's time (A. D. 572—585), but he must have lived much later. The god is said to have possessed him and to have said: "I am the Emperor Honda (i. e. Ōjin Tennō), *Hirohata no Hachiman-maro*. My name is *Gokoku reigen iriki jintsū daijizai-ō Bosatsu*, "The Bodhisattva Great Independent King of State-protecting, miraculous, majestic, divine power". This tradition must date from the 8th century, when he was declared to be a Bodhisattva. Kōnin Tennō gave him this full title officially in A. D. 781.

[3] Yoshida Tōgo, I, p. 1410, 1, quoting the *Tōdaiji yōroku*.

[4] *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. XIV, p. 235.

passage that already at that time the Hachiman shrine was connected with the Buddhist church. In A.D. 745 (IX 20), however, the same Emperor ordered the Governor of Satsuma to bring *gohei* to the *Hachiman jinja*, as one of the means of restoring his health; then it was treated as a mere Shintō sanctuary. [1] The next year (Tempyō 18, A.D. 746) he rewarded the god for having caused his recovery by elevating him to the third Court rank and by giving him a fief of 400 houses and 20 *chō* of low rice land. He further sent prayers to him concerning the erection of the *Daibutsu* of *Tōdaiji* and asked for gold for this purpose. The oracle answered: "The yellow gold shall come from this country itself; you must not send an ambassador to the Land of T'ang". When afterwards Rikuoku province actually presented gold, the Emperor offered 120 *ryō* of that money to the Usa Hachiman shrine. [2]

In A.D. 749 (Tempyō Shōhō 1, XII 18) the Empress Kōken, who had ascended the throne on VII 2, sent ten officials of the fifth rank, 20 of divers ranks, and 20 *toneri* of each of the six *efu* (departments of the military men of guard at the gates of the Palace), "to welcome the god Hachiman in Heguri district, Yamato province". On the same day he entered the Capital, and forthwith a new hall was built in the *Nashiwara no miya*, situated South of the Palace, and made his *jingū*. Forty Buddhist priests were invited and for seven days rites of repentance (*kekwa*) were performed. Nine days afterwards (XII 27) a Buddhist nun, *negi* (priestess) of the Great God (Hachiman), Ōga no Ason Yashirome(?) (社女, *Shajo*, "Temple Woman"), a relative of Ōga no Tamaro, who in A.D. 731 had erected the new Usa shrine) went in a purple palanquin (*koshi*) to *Tōdaiji*. She represented the god, who was said to have possessed her on XI 19 and to have

[1] Ibid., Ch. XVI, p. 261.

[2] *Yoshida Tōgo*, I, p. 1410, 1, quoting the official documents of Kōnin 12 (A. D. 821), cited in the *Tōdaiji yōroku*. Cf. *Fusō ryakki*, *bassui*, Shōmu Tennō, Tempyō 21 (A. D. 749), see below Ch. XVI, § 3B.

pronounced his wish to go to the capital in order to visit *Tōdaiji* and worship Locana Buddha. On the first of the preceding month the Empress had bestowed the family name of Ōga no Ason upon this priestess and Ōga no Tamaro, who belonged to the secondary fifth and eighth ranks.[1] According to the *Genkō Shakusho* the official escort (a high councillor and 100 officers of the Imperial Guards), sent to welcome the god on his way to the capital, abstained from wine and meat, the roads were cleaned, and *hōjō*, letting loose living beings, was performed in the provinces where the procession passed.

On XII 27, when the god, represented by the nun, his priestess, went to *Tōdaiji*, he was accompanied by the Empress, the Dajō Tennō (Shōmu Tennō, her father) and the Empress Dowager (her mother); thither came all the officials and gentry, and also 5000 priests, invited for this occasion, worshipped the Buddha Locana (Vairocana's *Sambhoga-kāya*) and read *sūtras*. Chinese music and dances were performed in honour of the Great God, who received the first degree (一品), and of the female deity (his consort), *Hime* (比咩) *no kami*, who obtained the second degree (and whose Shintō-Buddhist temple, *jingū-ji*, was built in A.D. 767).[2] Thereupon by order of the Empress the Left Minister Tachibana no Sukune Moroe (the first of the Tachibana's, who compiled the *Manyōshū*) spoke in praise of *Hirohata no Yahata (Hachiman) no Oho-kami* of *Usa*. In former years (Tempyō 12, A.D. 740) the Empress had worshipped Locana Buddha of *Chishikiji* (知識寺) in Kawachi province, and, wishing to make an image of that Buddha (i. e. to erect the *Daibutsu* of *Tōdaiji*), had been unable to do so. Then Hachiman of Usa had promised his divine assistance, proclaiming that he, leading the gods of Heaven and Earth, would complete the work, changing copper into hot water (i. e. melting copper) and mixing their own bodies

[1] *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. XVII, pp. 290 sq.; *Genkō Shakusho*, Ch. XXII, p. 1022; *Fusō ryakki*, Kōken Tennō, pp. 567 sq.

[2] *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. XXVIII, p. 483, A. D. 767 (Jingo keiun 1, IX 18).

with the plants and trees and earth, so that there should be no obstacle whatever. At the same time the nun, his priestess, was promoted to the secondary fourth Court rank (位) and Ōga no Ason Tamaro to the secondary fifth. *Tōdaiji* obtained a fief of 4000 houses, further 100 converts (new monks) and 100 female slaves. To those who had been charged with the building of *Tōdaiji* various ranks were given according to their work. [1]

As to the tutelary shrine of *Tōdaiji*, dedicated to Usa Hachiman when he had entered the capital in A.D. 749, this is the so-called *Tamuke-yama Hachimangū* (手向山, *Tamuke-yama*, is a hill east of this shrine), situated at a distance of five *chō* from *Tōdaiji*, in an easterly direction. When in A.D. 1294 (Einin 2) the *Tōdaiji* priests had complaints against the Court, they brought the *mikoshi* or August palanquin of the god within the capital, and afterwards often made use of this powerful means to terrify the Court nobles. [2]

In A.D. 750 (Tempyō Shōhō 2, II 29) the Empress Kōken gave a fief of 800 houses to *Yahata no Ohokami* (*Hachiman*), god of the first degree (一品) (i. e. she added 380 houses to the 420 formerly given) and 80 *chō* of rice-fields (30 added to the 50 given previously); *Hime-gami*, his consort, obtained a fief of 600 houses and 60 *chō* of rice-fields, [3] but afterwards, in consequence of the god's command (uttered by means of possession), it was all returned to the Court, except the ordinary sacred rice-fields (of the Usa shrine). [4] In A.D. 764 (Tempyō Hōji 8, IX 29), after the suppression and death of Emi no Oshikatsu (Fujiwara no Nakamaro), who had tried to break the *Hossō* priest Dōkyō's power, the Empress again honoured the war-god by giving him a fief of 25 houses. [5] This was, of course, her offering and not that of Junnin Tennō, whose favourite minister had been con-

[1] *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. XVIII, pp. 291 sq.
[2] Yoshida Tōgo, I, pp. 195 sq., s. v. *Tamuke-yama Hachimangū.*
[3] Ibid., Ch. XVIII, p. 293.
[4] Yoshida Tōgo, I, p. 1410, 1, s. v. *Usa Hachimangū.*
[5] *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. XXV, p. 428.

quered and killed and who through Dōkyō's influence was himself banished to Awaji a few days afterwards (X 9).

In A.D. 769 (Jingo Keiun 3, IX 25) the Empress issued a long proclamation against the loyal and courageous Wake no Kiyomaro (A.D. 733—799) and his elder sister Hōkin, accusing them of having deceived her by falsifying Hachiman's oracle. In reality it was Dōkyō who, assisted by Nakatomi no Asomaro, the *kanzukasa* or head of the Shintō department of the *Dazaifu*, had tried to convince the Empress that she ought to abdicate in his favour by falsely stating that Hachiman had ordered his accession to the throne. The Empress, however, summoned Kiyomaro and told him that a messenger of Hachiman had appeared to her in a dream and had advised her to request him and his sister, the nun Hōkin[1] (法均) (A.D. 729—798), to go to Usa and listen to the god's command. When they were about to go, Dōkyō promised a high official rank to Kiyomaro, if he would report Hachiman's wish in favour of his, Dōkyō's, accession to the throne. However, on arriving at the temple, Kiyomaro received the famous oracle denying the right of succession to the throne of a subject who did not belong to the Imperial House. When the faithful nobleman reported this to the Empress, Dōkyō flew into a rage, deprived Kiyomaro of his official rank, expelled his sister from the religious order, and banished them to Osumi and Bingo. Although she issued the above proclamation as to Kiyomaro's and Hōkin's deceit, the Empress followed the oracle transmitted by them and did not abdicate in Dōkyō's favour. When she died the next year (A.D. 770 VIII 4), her successor Kōnin Tennō immediately banished Dōkyō to Shimotsuke, recalled Kiyomaro and his sister, and made him Right Minister. It is a remarkable sign of the influence of Buddhism, especially of the *Hossō* sect, that a priest could obtain such a powerful position and that his life was spared even after his fall. Also Hachiman's power and

[1] Washio, p. 1047, 2, s. v. *Hōkin ni.*

the great value attached to his oracles are well illustrated by these historical facts. [1]

In A.D. 781 (Tenō 1, before IV 1, when Kōnin Tennō abdicated) the Emperor Kōnin bestowed upon Hachiman the title of *Gokoku reigen iriki jinzai Dai-Bosatsu* (護國靈驗威力神通大菩薩), "The Great Bodhisattva of state-protecting, miraculous, majestic, divine power", thus connecting him still closer with the Buddhist church. [2]

In A.D. 823 (Kōnin 14), shortly before his abdication (IV 16), by official proclamation the Emperor Saga in consequence of an oracle of a god added the temple (*jinja*) of a third deity, the goddess *Oho-tarashi Hime* (大帶姬) (declared to be the Empress Jingō, A.D. 170—269, Ojin Tennō's mother) to those of Hachiman (Yawata) and Hime, and henceforward these gods were worshipped in Usa in three different shrines, although they belonged together. [3]

After that the annals repeatedly mention the sending of Imperial messengers with *gohei* to the *Hachiman Daibosatsu-gū*, e. g. in A.D. 851 (Ninju 1, X 11, the Hachiman temple in *Kashii*, Chikuzen province), in A.D. 857 (Tenan 1, X 29), [4] and in A.D. 859 (Jōgwan 1, II 30). [5]

Fujiwara no Yoshifusa, Seiwa Tennō's grandfather and Regent (*Sesshō*) (A.D. 804—872), was a faithful believer in Usa Hachiman's divine protecting power. This may be the reason why in A.D. 859 (Jōgwan 1, VIII 8) an Imperial ordinance put on end to the custom by which all provinces used to send "Imperial falcons" as a tribute to the Emperor. [6] This was, of course, a

[1] *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. XXX, pp. 510 sqq.

[2] Official documents of Kōnin 12, quoted by Yoshida Tōgo, I, p. 1410, 2 s. v. *Usa Hachimangū*.

[3] *Usa takusenshū*, 宇佐託宣集, "Collection of Usa oracles", quoted by Yoshida Tōgo, l. l.

[4] *Montoku Tennō jitsuroku*, Ch. III, p. 479; Ch. IX, p. 561.

[5] *Sandai jitsuroku*, Ch. II, p. 25.

[6] Ibid., Ch. III, p. 41.

measure against hunting, one of the forms of *sesshō* or killing living beings, a crime detested by the god who through his oracle had ordered *hōjō-e* in all provinces. In A.D. 863 (III 15), when pestilence prevailed in the country and *tendoku* of the "king of *sūtras*" (probably the *Saishōōkyō*) was ordered to all provinces during the *ango* (Retreat), as well as the expounding of the same text, the ordinance of two years before was quoted and it was strictly forbidden to keep falcons and to kill living creatures by hunting. [1]

In A.D. 867 (Jōgwan 9, XII 19), at the beginning of the *Butsumyō sange* (cf. below, Ch. VIII, § 19, B), the *Hossō* priest Kengo (賢護) of *Tōdaiji*, having painted 8 groups of 13000 Buddhist figures, to be used at this festival of Repentance, celebrated at the end of the year, requested the Emperor Seiwa to present one of them to the Hachiman shrine of Usa; the seven others were distributed among the provinces of the Hokurikudō. [2]

In A.D. 875 (Jōgwan 17, III 28) the Emperor Seiwa sent the high-priest Anshū (安宗) to dedicate the *Issaikyō* (the whole canon, cf. below, Ch. XV, § 5) to the *Maitreya* shrine *Mirokuji* in *Dazaifu*, i. e. in *Usa*, erected there in A.D. 767 in the compound of the Hachiman temple. The late *Dajō-daijin* Yoshifusa had beforehand appointed the late *Sanron* priest Gyōkyō (行教), a *Dentō-daihōshi* (who in A.D. 859 had stayed in the Usa Hachiman shrine for ninety days and after his return had built the Iwashimizu sanctuary), supervisor of the copying of the *Issaikyō* in honour of Hachiman Daibosatsu, which he had ordered to be done in Buzen province. This work having been completed, in A.D. 875 the dedicatory ceremony took place in *Mirokuji*. [3]

In A.D. 877 (Genkei 1, II 21) the Emperor Yōzei announced his accession to the Throne to the Usa and Kashii shrines, with offerings of *gohei*, a sword and other objects. [4]

[1] Ibid., Ch. VII, p. 126.
[2] Ibid., Ch. XIV. p. 263.
[3] Ibid., Ch. XXVII, p. 411.
[4] Ibid., Ch. XXX, p. 449.

In A.D. 879 (Genkei 3, III 16), a few days before a severe earthquake and the death of Masako, Junna Tennō's widow, two evil omens were observed. A vase, standing before *Jingō Kwōgō* (Ohotarashi Hime), worshipped in a shrine east of the *zenden* of the Hachiman Daibosatsu temple in Usa, without any reason broke into 90 pieces, with a sound like the bleat of a calf; and in Higo province the door of an arsenal creaked by itself. [1]

In A.D. 884 (Genkei 8, IV 25), when the Emperor Kwōkō had ascended the throne, this was announced to Hachiman Daibosatsu of Usa, with offerings of *gohei*, damask, brocade, and Chinese things. [2]

In A.D. 890 (Kwampyō 2) Uda Tennō sent *gohei* to the *Usa Hachimangū* and to the Imperial ancestral shrine (*byō*, 廟) of *Kashii* (香椎) in Chikuzen province, [3] dedicated to Hachiman (Ōjin Tennō)'s mother *Oho-tarashi Hime* (*Jingō Kwōgō*). [4]

In A.D. 897 (Kwampyō 9, VIII 22) the Emperor Daigo, whose father Uda Tennō had abdicated the month before (VII 3), on account of his accession to the throne sent an official messenger to the three sanctuaries of *Iwashimizu*, *Usa* and *Kashii*. [5]

In A.D. 938 (Tenkei 1, X 9), when earthquakes terrified the country, the Emperor Suzaku sent *gohei* and prayers to the *Usa Hachimangū*, that the god might avert this calamity; at the same time he gave a title of nobility to the head of the great shrine at Kashii. [6]

In A.D. 942 (Tenkei 5, IV 27) the same Emperor by offering *gohei* to the *Usa*, *Kashii* and *Iwashimizu* shrines expressed his

[1] Ibid., Ch. XXXV, p. 513.

[2] Ibid., Ch. XLV, p. 629.

[3] Kashii was the place where *Chūai Tennō*, *Jingō Kwōgō*'s Consort, was said to have had his camp in his expedition against the Kumaso, and to have died in A. D. 200.

[4] *Nihon kiryaku*, *Zempen*, Ch. XX, p. 754.

[5] Ibid., *Kōhen*, Ch. I, p. 772.

[6] Ibid., *Kōhen*, Ch. II, p, 823.

thanks to those deities for their divine assistance in suppressing the rebels of East and West. [1]

In A.D. 966 (Kōhō 3, X 25) the Court nobles (*kuge*) offered up the *Daihannyakyō* to the *Hachimangū*. Sixty Buddhist priests were invited, and an Imperial messenger went to the temple. [2] It is not said whether it was the Usa shrine or that of Iwashimizu; but afterwards the latter sanctuary was mentioned much more frequently especially in connection with the *hōjō-e* of VIII 15 (the middle of autumn). Gradually Hachiman shrines were erected in all parts of the country, and the places where they stood are still called by this deity's name.

In A.D. 1063 (Kōhei 6, VIII) Minamoto no Yoriyoshi (頼義, of the *Uda-Genji*, A.D. 995—1082), after having invited Hachiman of *Iwashimizu*, dedicated a temple to this tutelary god of his family at *Yui-ga-hama*, the sea-coast near Kamakura. In A.D. 1081 (Eihō 1, II) it was enlarged by his eldest son Yoshiie (A.D. 1041—1108), called *Hachiman Tarō*, because at the age of 7 years he had performed the *gembuku* ceremony in the *Iwashimizu* temple. This was the *Wakamiya Hachiman* temple, removed in the Jishō era (A.D. 1177—1181) by the great Yoritomo to *Tsuru-ga-oka* near Kamakura. There was a Buddhist altar, called *za-samasazu no dansho* (座不冷壇所) in the south-eastern corner of the corridor, and day and night twelve Buddhist priests prayed incessantly to the *honzon*, a "mystic Buddhist image" (*hibutsu*) called *Go* (*Mi*) *shōtai* ("The August Correct Body"), for peace and abundance of the country. The rites were called *za-samasazu no gyōhō*, because "the seats did not become cool" on account of their uninterrupted use. In A.D. 1180 (Jishō 4, X), in consequence of his vow, Yoritomo began this worship by offering up not only the so-called "three state-protecting wonderful books" (*chingo kokka sambu myōten*), namely the *Hokke*, *Ninnō* and *Saishōōkyō*, but also the *Daihannya*, the *Kwanzeon*, the *Yakushi*

[1] Ibid., *Kōhen*, Ch. II, p. 830.
[2] Ibid., *Kōhen*, Ch. IV, p. 911.

and the *Jumyōkyō*. In A.D. 1181 (Juei 1, IV) a *hōjōchi* (放生池) or "pond for liberating living beings" was made in the south-western corner of the compound of this shrine, called *Keba-gawa*. It was a large pond, with seven islands, on one of which was a „chapel of the heavenly women", and beautiful bridges of stone and precious wood. In A.D. 1187 (Bunji 3, VIII 15) the *Tsuru-ga-oka hōjō-e* was held there for the first time.[1] In A.D. 1191 (Kenkyū 2, III 4) the *Wakamiya* temple burnt down, but it was rebuilt the next month and at the same time a new sanctuary, the *Kami no Miya* or "Upper shrine", i. e. the main temple, was erected. This is one of the three great Hachiman shrines of the country: *Usa*, *Iwashimizu* and *Tsuru-ga-oka Hachimangū*, all three of which still exist in our days.[2]

§ 5, B. *Mirokuji, the Maitreya temple attached to the Usa Hachiman shrine, and further Buddhist conceptions with regard to this Shintō god.*

As to the Buddhist conceptions with regard to Hachiman, we have seen above that in A.D. 741 (Tempyō 13, Interc. III 24) the Emperor Shōmu was the first to offer up *sūtras*, *dosha* and a pagoda to the Usa temple; the horses he added were a Shintō offering, like the *gohei* sent in A.D. 745. In A.D. 767 (Jingo keiun 1, IX 18) his daughter, Shōtoku Tennō, began to erect the *Hachiman Hime jingūji* (神宮寺), a Buddhist shrine dedicated to Hachiman's consort, which had to be completed within four years.[3] It is evident that before that date *Mirokuji*, the *Maitreya* shrine in Usa Hachiman's compound, erected in honour of Hachiman himself, already existed. As a matter of fact this temple was erected before A.D. 749 by Shōmu Tennō, since

[1] *Azuma kagami*, Ch. VII, p. 281.
[2] Yoshida Tōgo, II, pp. 2729 sq., s.v. *Tsuru-ga-oka Hachimangū*.
[3] *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. XIV, p. 235; Ch. XXVIII, p. 483.

an official document of the *Dajōkwan* of the sixth month of that year says that every year one of the *kambe* (神戸, administrative priests) of Hachiman in Buzen should become a Buddhist monk of *Mirokuji.*[1] Afterwards there were many houses of Buddhist priests in the vicinity of the Hachiman temple, and *Rendaiji* (蓮臺寺), erected by Minamoto no Sukemichi (A.D. 995–1060) by order of the Emperor Go Reizei (A.D. 1046—1068) on one of the three peaks of Hishikata-yama in the neighbourhood of the Hachiman shrine, was also connected with it. As to *Mirokuji*, according to its *engi*, quoted by the *Buzenshi*, it dated from A.D. 725 (Jinki 2, I), when it was built (by order of Shōmu Tennō) east of the Hachiman shrine on Hishikata-yama.[2]

As stated above, in A.D. 781 the Emperor Kōnin bestowed upon the god the official title of "State protecting Great Bodhisattva", which the latter was said to have indicated himself in an oracle two centuries previously, although it was, of course, a much later idea, having arisen in the eighth century.

In A.D. 814 (Kōnin 5, in the spring) Saichō (Dengyō Daishi) went to the *Usa Hachimangū* and explained the *Hokkekyō*, whereupon the god expressed in an oracle his great admiration for this doctrine and the Shintō officials and priests were deeply moved.[3]

Mirokuji is mentioned in an official document of the *Dajōkwan*, issued in A.D. 830 (Tenchō 7, VII) as "a temple erected by the Imperial Court". It speaks of the "*Hachiman bettō Kwannonji kōshi Kwōfu*" and the "*Mirokuji kōshi Kwō-e*", thus connecting the two principal Buddhist temples of the *Dazaifu* (Tsukushi).[4] We saw above how the *Issaikyō* was copied and offered up to *Mirokuji* in honour of Hachiman in A.D. 875 (III 28).

The Maitreya cult was the predecessor of the Amitābha worship in China, Korea and Japan (cf. below, Ch. VIII, § 16, A).

[1] Yoshida Tōgo, I, p. 1413, 3, s. v. *Mirokuji.*
[2] Ibid., l.l., l.l., quoting the *Buzenkokushi.*
[3] *Genkō Shakusho*, Ch. I, *Saichō*, p. 645.
[4] Yoshida Tōgo, l.l.

These doctrines, both preaching salvation by *tariki*, "the power of another" (Maitreya or Amitābha), promised happiness in heaven (Maitreya's or Amitābha's paradise, *Jōdo*, the *Tuṣita* heaven or *Sukhāvatī*) to faithful believers in *Miroku* or *Amida*. It was during the seventh century that Amidism gradually superseded the Maitreya doctrine in China; from there it spread to Korea, and in Japan it began to be practised throughout the country from the year A.D. 760. The *Taema-dera*, where in A.D. 763 the so-called *Taema-mandara*, representing Amitābha's Paradise, was made, was a Maitreya temple (*Zenrinji*). It is clear that the similarity of the two cults was the reason why a Maitreya shrine was chosen for Amitābha's worship. For the same reason the god Hachiman, first worshipped in a Maitreya temple, was afterwards declared to be a manifestation of Amitābha, and his trinity was identified with the *Amida sanzon* (Amida, Kwannon and Seishi). Ojin Tennō's four children, *Wakamiya* (Nintoku Tennō) and *Wakahime* (若宮, 若姫), *Ure* and *Kure* (宇禮, 久禮), worshipped in the so-called *Wakamiya-shijosha* (四所社) in consequence of Usa Hachiman's oracle, explained in a writing of Jōgwan 18 (A.D. 876), were venerated as *suijaku* (垂迹) (manifestations) of *Jūichimen Kwannon*, *Daiseishi*, *Monju* and *Fugen*, the Eleven-faced Avalokitesvara, Mahāsthānaprāpta, Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra.[1] The idea of the great Shintō gods (*daimyōjin*) being *suijaku* of Buddha's and Bodhisattvas (their *honji*, 本地), i. e. "traces" of "original places" (manifestations), was based upon passages of the *Lotus sūtra* (*Nyorai juryōbon*, 如來壽量品, the "Long life of the Buddha", Ch. XVI, in Kern's translation Ch. XV)[2] and the *Mahāvairocana sūtra* (*Dainichikyō*, *Taizōkai*

[1] *Daijii*, III, p. 3849, 3, s. v. *Hachimangū*; Yoshida Tōgo, I, p. 1412, 1, s. v. *Usa Hachimangū*.

[2] Kern, *Sacred books of the East*, Vol. XXI, p. 301: "the word that the Tathāgata delivers on behalf of the education of creatures, either under his own appearance or under another's, either on his own authority or under the mask of another (*aparāvaraṇena*), all that the Tathāgata declares.... is true".

shijū-mandara, Nanjō No. 530, translated in A.D. 724 by Śubhakarasiṃha). It was propagated in the beginning of the ninth century by Dengyō Daishi and Kōbō Daishi, who thus promoted the spread of the *Tendai* and *Shingon* sects. The word *suijaku* is found in the preface of the *Yuimakyō*. [1] Hachiman and Amaterasu were the first gods introduced in this way into the Buddhist pantheon as *suijaku* of Amitābha and Mahāvairocana. Gradually Hachiman shrines were erected within the compounds of *Tōdaiji*, *Daianji*, *Saidaiji*, *Yakushiji* etc., where he was worshipped as their tutelary deity under the name of *Hachiman Daibosatsu*. In *Tōdaiji* he was represented as a Buddhist priest, seated cross-legged upon the lotus, with a round halo behind his head and a *khakkhara* in his right hand. [2] This is the shape of Jizō, the Bodhisattva *Kṣitigarbha*, whom the Japanese *Shingon* priests had made their war god as *Shōgun Jizō* (a warrior on horseback) and whom they further identified with Hachiman. Thus the *Saezurigusa* (written in A.D. 1859) says that images of Jizō, with the *khakkhara* in his hand, were worshipped in Hachiman temples in Yedo (Ichigaya, and Ana Hachiman) as *shintai* or "god-bodies" of this deity; and also *Tōji*, the Shingon sanctuary in Kyōto, possessed such an idol. [3] Jizō was as *Indō Jizō* the guide to Amida's paradise and he belonged to this Buddha's retinue of 25 Bodhisattvas. In this way Amida's *suijaku* could be represented, as a Bodhisattva, in Jizō's shape.

In the *Butsuzō zuï* Hachiman is called Ojin Tennō's spirit (*tamashii*), with Amida as *honji* (III, p. 2*b*, seated, in his imperial shape, with bow and arrows, *Hachiman Daimyōjin*, among the "mystic Buddhas, *hibutsu*, of the 30 days" (of the month) (三十日祕佛) the protector of the eleventh day). The Buddhist priest, called *Shōshinshi Gongen* (聖眞子權現),

[1] *Daijiten*, p. 1007, 2, s. v. *suijaku; Daijii*, III, p. 4210, s. v. *honji suijaku*.

[2] *Daijii*, III, p. 3849, 3, s. v. *Hachimangū; Daijiten*, Fig. 93.

[3] Cf. the present writer's treatise on "*The Bodhisattva Ti-tsang (Jizō) in China and Japan*", Ch. II, § 6 (*Shōgun Jizō*), p. 105.

"Manifestation of *Shōshinshi*, the Holy True child", the protector of the 19th day of the month, whose *honji* is *Amida*, is also called *Hachiman Daibosatsu* (III, p. 4*a*). This is the third of the *Sannō shichisha Gongen* (山王七社權現), the "Manifestations of the Seven Shintō shrines of the Mountain Kings", the seven protectors of the *Tendai* sect. [1] As such we find this deity, which the *Daijiten* calls *Shōshinji*, represented as a Buddhist priest, seated, with a *khakkhara* in his right hand (resembling *Jizō*), on p. 6*a* of the *Butsuzō zuï* (Vol. III). There he is said to be *Hachiman Daibosatsu*, who in the first year of Mommu Tenno's reign (A.D. 697) manifested himself in Shiga district, Ōmi province, and whose *honji* is Amitābha.

The name of the god *Hachiman*, "Eight banners", is explained on p. 8*a* of the same volume, where he is represented as *Honda Hachiman*, i. e. as *Ōjin Tennō*, standing, with a bow in his left hand. There we read that at his birth eight banners, four white and four red, descended from heaven. As to Buddhist explanations, according to the *Genkō Shakusho* the name *Hachiman Daibosatsu* was due to the fact that he, as a manifestation of the Eightfold Path of the Āryas (*hasshōdō*, 八正道, also called the "Eight correct Gates", *hasshōmon*, 八正門, sc. to *Nirvāṇa*, correct views, thoughts, speech, deeds, life, exertion, recollection and meditation) [2] was able to liberate the living beings from misery. The god himself explained this in a dream to the priest Kaijō (開成) (A.D. 724—781), who then built *Mirokuji* in Settsu province, in order to worship the *aragami* (荒神) (once more a connection between the Maitreya and Hachiman cults!). The Emperor presented several hundreds of acres of rice-land to this temple. [3] The *Shingon* sect, identifying Hachiman with Amitābha, made eight flags of different colours

[1] *Daijiten*, p. 671, 1, s. v. *Sannō*.

[2] Kern, *Manual*, p. 23; Eitel, *Sanskr.-Chin. Dict.*, s. v. *marga*.

[3] *Genkō Shakusho*, Ch. XV, life of *Kaijō*, pp. 892 sqq.; Washio, p. 128, 1, s. v. *Kaijō*.

the *sammaya-gyō* (三昧耶形), i. e. the *samaya* shape, of this Buddha. These shapes are the symbols of the original mystic vows of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas; in this way a sword represents *Fudō Myōō*'s vow, a lotus flower that of *Kwannon*, a precious pearl that of *Hōshō Nyorai* (*Ratnasaṃbhava*) and a medicine pot that of *Yakushi Nyorai*; [1] thus the eight flags or banners are symbols of Amida's vow to liberate the living beings by means of the Eightfold Path. They are described as long banners, set upright in the eight quarters, at short distances apart, according to the Law. They have eight different colours, viz. white (East), vermilion (紅) (S. E.), black (South), smoke colour (brown) (S. W.), purplish light red (赤) (West), blue (N. W.), yellow (North), red and white (N. E.). [2]

§ 5, C. *The Hachiman shrine of Iwashimizu on Otoko-yama, south of Kyōto (founded A.D. 859).*

The Emperor Seiwa's name is closely connected with that of the Hachiman shrine of Iwashimizu, because it was founded under his reign, and the *Seiwa-Genji*, i. e. the Minamoto's, descendants of his son Sadazumi-shinnō, worshipped this god as their tutelary deity. But Seiwa Tennō, the first child-emperor of Japanese history, Montoku Tennō's son, was only nine years old when he ascended the throne after his father's death (in A.D. 858, VIII 27). He abdicated in A.D. 876 (XI 29), and his reign, the *Jōgwan* (or *Jōkwan*) era (A.D. 859—876), forms the beginning of the power of the Fujiwara family, because his maternal grandfather, Fujiwara no

[1] *Daijiten*, p. 663, 2, s. v. *sammaya-gyō; Himitsu jirin*, p. 430, 2. s. v. *sammaya-gyō*.

[2] *Kuke-kyō* (*Gukya*, i. e. Secret, *sūtra*, 瞿醯經, 中), quoted by the *Daijiten*, p. 1419, 1, s. v. *Hachiman Daibosatsu; Kuji kongen*(公事根源), written A. D. 1422 (Ōei 29), *Nihon bungaku zensho*, Vol. XXII, p. 87, s. v. *Iwashimizu no hōjō-e* (VIII 15).

Yoshifusa, first reigned for him as *Sesshō* (Regent), and then (from 864) as *Kwampaku* (Prime Minister), and in A.D. 868 gave him his daughter (the Emperor's aunt) in marriage. Thus we see that the erection of the Iwashimizu shrine was an act of this mighty Fujiwara, who, as we saw above, was a devout worshipper of Usa Hachiman.

In A.D. 859 (Jōgwan 1) or, according to the *Sandai jitsuroku*,[1] in A.D. 860, the *Sanron* priest Gyōkyō (行教) of *Daianji*, who had studied the *Shingon* doctrine as well as that of the *Sanron* school, and who had reached the rank of *Dentō daihōshi*, went to the *Usa Hachiman* shrine and remained there the whole summer (90 days) (probably in connection with the Summer Retreat, *ango*). He belonged to the old and famous house of Ki (紀). When performing *tendoku* of the Mahāyāna *sūtras* he received a divine revelation from the god, stating that he, grateful for the reconstruction and repair of his temple (executed the same year by order of the Emperor by Tachibana no Yoshimoto) would remove his residence to the neighbourhood of the capital and protect the State. And in the night of his return to Kyōto the god indicated *Iwashimizu* on *Otoko-yama* as the place where his temple should be erected; then a bright light like that of the moon and the stars shone in the south-eastern region of Yamashiro province. More and more revering the blessing power of the god, Gyōkyō prayed to him for three days and nights. Then he fixed the place where the temple should be built, and made a temporary grass-hut to live in himself. When he reported these facts to the Emperor, his Majesty, the Empress, and the Court nobles, on account of a similar dream also began to worship Hachiman. Afterwards the images of *Amida*, *Kwannon* and *Seishi* (*Amida sanzon*) were placed in this temple, because they were said to have appeared to Gyōkyō when he prayed that he might behold the god's holy shape. The date that he built the shrine on Otoko-yama is given by Washio as A.D. 859, IX 19, and this

[1] *Sandai jitsuroku*, Ch. XXIX, p. 434 (A.D. 876, Jōgwan 18, VIII 13).

author adds that afterwards the Court on behalf of the peace of the state charged Gyōkyō with the superintendence of the copying and sacrifice of the *Issaikyō* to Usa Hachiman.[1] As we saw above, this work was ordered by the *Dajō-daijin* Fujiwara no Yoshifusa and completed in A.D. 875, when the dedicatory ceremony took place in *Mirokuji*, the Buddhist Hachiman shrine of Usa.

In A.D. 861 (Jōgwan 3, I 21) Seiwa Tennō ordered a *mushadaie* or "Great Unlimited Meeting" to be held on III 14 in *Tōdaiji*, and *kindan sesshō* (forbidding the taking of life) to be practised in all provinces from III 11 to 20. On the day of the meeting *sai-e* had to be held in all *kokubunji* and *kokubun-niji*, and all the monks and nuns of the vicinity should be invited and entertained; the expenses were to be defrayed from the regular taxes. In *Dazaifu* it had to be performed in *Kwannonji* and regulated by the *dōshi*. It was a festival in worship of *Mahāvairocana* of *Tōdaiji*, whose name was to be praised by all the monks and nuns and to whom offerings had to be made with great devotion. At the same time *Hachiman Daibosatsu* was mentioned as the chief of the gods of the empire, who was especially made to obtain salvation (*gedatsu*), whereas the other famous gods received divine power and independence (*jinriki jizai*).[2] In the same year (V 15), when Imperial messengers brought *gohei* to the seven famous Shintō shrines near the Capital in order to pray for rain, in the Emperor's proclamation *Hachiman Daibosatsu*'s name was invoked as a special giver of fertilizing rain.[3]

In A.D. 865 (Jōgwan 7, IV 17) the same Emperor sent a descendant of Wake no Kiyomaro, Tsunenori, to the "*Iwashimizu Hachiman Daibosatsu-gū*", with a shield, a spear, and an Imperial saddle (evidently to serve as *shintai* to the war-god; a curious

[1] Yoshida Tōgo, I, p. 175, s. v. *Iwashimizu Hachiman-gū;* Washio, p. 205, 2, s. v. *Gyōkyō; Genkō Shakusho*, Ch. XXIV, p. 1052 (A. D. 859, X).

[2] *Sandai jitsuroku*, Ch. V, p. 77.

[3] Ibid., Ch. V, p. 87.

mixture of Shintōism and Buddhism!) and a written document in which he prayed for the protection of the state. [1]

In A.D. 876 (Jōgwan 18, V 28), six months before his abdication, Seiwa Tennō ordered Yamashiro province henceforth to give a yearly supply of 32 *koku* of rice to the "state-protecting Buddhist temple of the *Iwashimizu Hachimangū*". [2] In the same year (VIII 13) this temple issued a memorial to the Throne, stating that on behalf of the nation, in Jōgwan 2 (A.D. 860) the late *Daihōshi* Gyōkyō had invited the Daibosatsu and removed his residence to this place. If His Majesty granted the appointment of a perpetual *kannushi* (神主) (the keeper of a Shintō shrine) to the Usa shrine, Ki Ason Mitoyo (who belonged to the same family as Gyōkyō) was proposed for this office; the petition was granted and the designation made by Imperial Ordinance. [3]

In A.D. 877 (Genkei 1, IV 9), when the construction of the *Daigokuden* of the Palace was commenced, and an official ceremony took place (it was burnt down the previous year, IV 10, the fact being announced to the Emperor Kwammu's Mausoleum in Kashiwabara, Yamashiro province, because the latter had built the Palace in A.D. 794), *gohei* were sent to the *Ise Daijingū*, the *Iwashimizu* shrine, and to five other Shintō sanctuaries (e. g. *Kamo, Matsu-no-o, Hirano* and *Inari*). [4] Thus the Iwashimizu temple had already obtained its prominent position among the great Shintō shrines of the country, being enumerated immediately after that of Ise.

In A.D. 886 (Ninna 2, V 26) the Iwashimizu temple emitted a sound like the beating of a drum, and its southern pavilion resounded like the roaring of storm and waves; this went on for several hours. The diviners of the *Jingikwan* said: "There is some wish in the Dai Bosatsu's heart". According to the

[1] Ibid., Ch. X, pp. 179 sq.
[2] Ibid., Ch. XXVIII, p. 429.
[3] Ibid., Ch. XXIX, p. 434.
[4] Ibid., Ch. XXXI, p. 459.

divination of the *Ōnyōryō* it was considered to be a foreboding of war. [1]

The next year (IV 7), four months before his death, the Emperor Kōkō honoured this Temple by a special offering of *gohei.* [2] Its *hōjō-e,* however, were not yet mentioned in this century, although the *Daijii,* without referring explicitly, says that Seiwa Tennō was the first to hold such a meeting in A.D. 863 (Jōgwan 5, VIII 15). [3] We should be inclined to doubt the correctness of this statement because the annals do not refer to this festival earlier than A.D. 939; but in that passage it is said to have been performed regularly already many years before.

§ 5, D. *The hōjō-e of Iwashimizu (VIII 15) (A.D. 863(?)—1479; 1679—1868).*

In A.D. 939 (Tenkei 2, VIII 12) the *hōjō-e* of the main shrine (*hongū*) of Iwashimizu, celebrated yearly on VIII 15, is mentioned for the first time by the *Fusō ryakki.* For years it had always been held on VIII 15, and all the people, high and low, had attended it. Now a Buddhist nun had made an image of *Iwashimizu Hachiman Daibosatsu* and placed it in a little shrine. As it proved to have much r e i g e n (supernatural power), monks and nuns, people of high and low standing, men and women, a host of worshippers, from far and near flocked to this new Hachiman shrine. Then the nun arranged a *hōjō-e* on the same day as that of the main shrine, viz. VIII 15, with beautiful music in the day-time and famous priests explaining the great Bodhisattva commandments at night, and with plenty of excellent food and drink and offerings. For this reason the monks and musicians despised the main shrine, and its festival grew to be quite deserted.

[1] Ibid., Ch. XLIX, p. 687.
[2] Ibid., Ch. L, p. 711.
[3] *Daijii,* III, p. 4124, 1, s. v. *hōjō-e; Daijiten,* p. 1388, 3. s. v. *hōjō-e.*

Thereupon the monks and laymen of the main sanctuary (the great Iwashimizu temple), after having discussed the matter, requested the nun to change the date of the meeting of the new shrine, but she refused and continued to celebrate it yearly on VIII 15. Now, in A.D. 939, three days before the festival, the monks and laymen of the main shrine, several thousands of people, went to the new temple, destroyed it, bound the nun, and brought the image to the great Iwashimizu sanctuary; then they seized the nun and led her away. [1]

If we may believe this story the *hōjō-e* of *Iwashimizu* were held many years before A.D. 939, which agrees with the statement of the *Daijii* and *Daijiten*, referred to above (A.D. 863).

In A.D. 948 (Tenryaku 2, X 14) the Emperor Murakami sent a messenger to the Iwashimizu shrine, in order to pray to the god and announce the performance of the *hōjō-e*, to be held the next day, because it had not taken place on its usual day (VIII 15) owing to a controversy between the *kengyō* and the *bettō*, the supervisor and chief commissioner. Thereupon it was held on X 15. [2]

In A.D. 974 (Tenen 2, VIII 11) the Chūnagon Minamoto no Nobumitsu (源延光) (A.D. 927—976) addressed the Emperor Enyū as follows. "The *hōjō-e* of the 15th inst. in the Iwashimizu Hachimangū should be put on a level with all the *sechi-e* (節會) (i. e. the fixed ceremonial days of the Court, on which the Emperor went out to take part of the ceremony and gave a banquet, e. g. on Newyear's day), and orders to this effect should be given to the *Gagakuryō* (雅樂寮) (Bureau of Music). The officials of music are to lead the Chinese and Korean musicians and dancers (from Kōrai). Henceforth this should always be given as an offering at that festival. The Left and Right Cavalry Corps have to send ten rows of ten horses each. After this year this must be presented (litt. offered up) in alternate years. The Left and Right Body Guards are each to be ordered to give an escort

[1] *Fusō ryakki*, Ch. XXV, Suzaku Tennō, Tenkei era, pp. 700 sq.
[2] *Nihon kiryaku, Kōhen*, Ch. III, p. 855.

of ten horsemen, also in alternate years". The next day His Majesty honoured the Minamoto House by presenting a fief of 300 houses to Minamoto no Takaaki Ason (A.D. 914—982), whom he had recalled from Tsukushi; and on the 15th he sent *gohei* to Iwashimizu by means of the General of the Left Body Guards Minamoto no Masasuke. [1] In A.D. 1046 (Eishō 1) Minamoto no Yorinobu, of the Seiwa Genji branch, wrote about the *Gongen* (*Avatara*, Manifestation), i.e. Ojin Tennō, worshipped as Iwashimizu Hachiman, terming him his ancestor and therefore the tutelary deity of his family. [2]

In A.D. 1070 (Enkyū 2, VIII 14) the Emperor Go Sanjō sent Minamoto no Takakuni, Minamoto no Tsunenobu, Fujiwara no Takakata and other officials to the *Iwashimizu-gū*, in order to hold the *hōjō-e*; at the same time he fixed this as a constant rule, and sent the general of the Right Body Guards Fujiwara no Moroyuki with many officials to act as dancers and followers. [3] According to the *Kuji kongen* these officials were sent to make offerings, and the escort of the procession of the *mikoshi* or sacred palanquins was equal to that of an Emperor's cortège. In the early morning, when the *mikoshi* descended the I-no-hana hill, the music of this Imperial procession "caused the clouds to stop", and the magnificent dresses and caps "glittered in the sun". In the evening, when the officials returned, Ōga hōshi (the abbot of the Temple), leaning on a white staff, accompanied them unto the plain. [4] Jōtō-mon-in (Fujiwara no Akiko, Ichijō Tennō's consort, who lived A.D. 988—1074) had previously presented three *mikoshi* for this festival and made this a constant rule. [5] With regard to Imperial visits to the temple, in A.D. 979 (Tengen 2, III 27) Enyū Tennō went there for the first time, but then there

[1] L. l., Ch. VI, p. 946.
[2] Yoshida Tōgo, I, p. 175, 3, s. v. *Iwashimizu Hachimangū.*
[3] *Fusō ryakki*, Ch. XXIX, p. 817.
[4] *Kuji kongen*, p. 88 (VIII 15, s. v. *Iwashimizu no hōjō-e*).
[5] Yoshida Tōgo, l. l., referring to the *Honchō seki.*

was only a feast of dancers and singers.[1] Sometimes we read about a *rinjisai*, a "special festival" of Iwashimizu, celebrated in the third month, as e. g. in A.D. 1068 (Chiryaku 4, III 22);[2] the next year, again in the third month (III 15), the Emperor visited the shrine.[3]

The date of the *hōjō-e*, VIII 15, exactly the middle of autumn, points to its being an autumnal festival, celebrated for the welfare of the state, in the same way as the *Gosaie* was performed in the beginning of the year. In the course of years its importance grew more and more. The *Honchō seki* mentions it in A.D. 1087 (Kwanji 1), 1099 (Kōwa 1), 1103 (Kōwa 5), 1142 (Kōji 1), 1143 etc., with the high officials sent as leaders; henceforth it belonged to the festivals regularly noticed by the annalists.[4] The *Azuma kagami* (from A.D. 1180, Jishō 4, to A.D. 1266, Bunei 3), which gives the events of Kamakura, from A.D. 1187 (Bunji 3) yearly mentions the *hōjō-e* of the Hachiman shrine at *Tsuru-ga-oka*,[5] where, as stated above, six years previously a "pond for liberating living beings" had been made. This *Tsuru-ga-oka hōjō-e* was, of course, held on the same day as that of *Iwashimizu* (VIII 15), because the temple was dedicated to Iwashimizu Hachiman, invited in A.D. 1063 to Yui-ga-hama, in the neighbourhood of Kamakura, by Minamoto no Yoriyoshi, and transferred in the Jishō era (A.D. 1177—1181) to Tsuru-ga-oka by Yoritomo. The festival was attended by the Shōgun and his House.

The *Zoku-Shigushō*[6] (A.D. 1259 XI, Shōgen 1—A.D. 1779 XII,

[1] *Nihon Kiryaku, Kōhen*, Ch. VII, p. 966.

[2] *Honchō seki*, Chiryaku 4, III, p. 302. Also the *rinjisai* of A. D. 1345 took place in the third month.

[3] *Fusō ryakki*, Ch. XXIX, p. 814. After A. D. 1076 (Shōhō 3) this became a fixed ceremony.

[4] *Honchō seki*, pp. 317, 348, 377, 427, 480 etc.

[5] *Azuma kagami*, 吾妻鏡 "Mirror of the Eastern provinces" written shortly after A.D. 1266; *Zoku Kokushi taikei*, Vol. IV, p. 281.

[6] *Zoku Shigushō*, 續史愚抄, *Zoku Kokushi taikei*, Vol. I—III.

Anei 8) rarely forgets to mention the *Iwashimizu hōjō-e* of VIII 15 and the leading officials who proceeded to the performance. In the dangerous days of the Mongol invasions (A.D. 1274 and 1281, Bunei 11 and Kōan 4) the Emperors Go Uda and Kameyama (the latter during a whole night, in 1281, VI 21) [1] prayed in this temple that the god might save the country and repel the barbarians. As to the *hōjō-e*, this was held yearly until the Ōnin war (A.D. 1467—1477), which was destructive for so many ancient ceremonies. Before that, e. g. in A.D. 1443, 1448—1454, 1456 etc., it was often postponed for various reasons, but used then to take place somewhat later. In A.D. 1445 the ceremony of returning from the festival was postponed to the next day on account of some complaint of the head of the temple. [2] In Bummei 11 (A.D. 1479) and following years the annalist remarks that no mention was made of the *Iwashimizu hōjō-e*, [3] and so it was omitted for a very long time. In A.D. 1679 (Empō 7, VIII 15), however, it suddenly reappears, the high officials going to the temple as in former days. [4]

In A.D. 1708 (Hōei 5, VIII 15) the famous Confucianist author Dazai Jun (太宰純, i. e. Dazai Shuntai, 春臺, A.D. 1680–1747) visited the *Hōjō-e* of Iwashimizu and wrote a description, entitled *Kwan-hōjōe-ki* (觀放生會記). There he describes how a large number of Buddhist priests performed the *segaki* (施餓鬼) ceremony (giving food to the pretas, cf. above, Ch. IV, § 5, pp. 76 sqq., but this used to be done on the principal day of the festival of the dead, VII 15). Then fishes and birds, brought from all parts, were set free in the direction of the mountains and into the river, first on behalf of the Emperor, then on behalf of the Shōgun and his House. Prayers were recited for a long and peaceful reign, and thereupon all the birds and fishes were

[1] *Zoku Shigushō*, Vol. I, Ch. V, p. 146.
[2] Ibid., Ch. XXXVII, p. 269.
[3] Ibid., Ch. XL, pp. 389, 392, 396, 400 etc.
[4] Ibid., Ch. LXII, p. 179.

liberated and allowed to live in safety in the neighbouring wood and pools, because no killing of living beings was allowed in this sacred domain. [1]

In A.D. 1868 (Meiji 1, VII 19), finally, the name of this festival (which was also designated as the "Southern festival", *Minami-matsuri*, that of *Kamo* being the "Northern festival", *Kita-matsuri*) was changed into *Chūshūsai*, 中秋祭, "Festival of the middle of autumn", and after a long history of ten centuries lost its Buddhist character. [2]

[1] *Daijii*, I, p. 238, 3, s. v. *Iwashimizu hōjō-e*.
[2] *Daijii*, l. l.

CHAPTER VII.

THE LIGHTING OF MI-AKASHI (燃燈) OR "AUGUST LIGHTS", IN LATER TIMES CALLED MANDŌ-E (萬燈會), "FESTIVALS OF TEN THOUSAND LANTERNS" OR SENTŌ-E (CHITŌ-E) (千燈會), "FESTIVALS OF A THOUSAND LANTERNS".

§ 1. *The Mi-akashi in the Palace on the last day of the year (A.D. 651 and 652).*

The terms *Mandōe* and *Sen* (or *Chi*) *tōe* were not yet used in the seventh century, but the *Mi-akashi* (燃燈, *nentō*) or "August Lights", i. e. the offering of a great number of lanterns to the Buddha on the last day of the year, are mentioned in the *Nihongi*.

In A.D. 651 (Hakuchi 2), the seventh year of the Emperor Kōtoku's reign, on the thirtieth day of the twelfth month "more than 2100 priests and nuns were invited to the Palace of Ajifu, and made to read the *Issaikyō* (the whole existing canon, cf. above, Ch. I, § 4 p. 8). That night over 2700 lights were lit in the courtyard of the Palace, and the *Antaku* and *Dosoku sūtras* (安宅土側等經) were caused to be read. Upon this, the Emperor removed his residence from Ohogohori to the new Palace. It received the name of the Palace of Naniwa no Nagara no Toyosaki". [1]

The next year (A.D. 652), again on the last day of the year (the character 皆 must be read 晦) "the priests and nuns of

[1] *Nihongi*, Ch. xxv, p. 452; Aston II, p. 240: 是夕燃二千七百餘燈於朝庭內.

the Empire were invited to the interior of the Palace (completed in the ninth month) and entertained with meagre fare. With great liberality (大捨, *upekṣā*, indifference; the *kana* reading gives *kakite*, "having spent") lights were kindled.[1]

§ 2. *Lanterns offered and repentance made in the Temple of Kawara in A.D. 686, on account of the Emperor Temmu's illness.*

In A.D. 686 (VI 19), when the Emperor Temmu was seriously ill (he died three months later, IX 9) "public functionaries were sent to the Temple of Kawara to light lanterns and offer them up (to the Buddha or the Triratna). So there was a ceremony of repentance for sin, consisting of a great vegetarian (purificatory) feast" (勅遣百官人等於川原寺。爲燃燈供養。仍大齋之悔過也。).[2]

The term *nentō kuyō* is translated by Aston as two different actions: the kindling of lights and the offering of food. *Kuyō*, however, is used to designate the five or six kinds of sacrifice, not only that of food; and lanterns belong to those offerings. Therefore I consider the four characters to form one expression.

As to the words *daisai no kekwa*, these may mean a great purificatory rite of repentance, but *daisai* is the term for a great vegetarian entertainment of monks. Again Aston translates them as two different actions, although they are connected by the character 之. The character *sai* is also used to designate *uposatha*, translated by purification, namely from sins by means of repentance and by fasting in the afternoon.

The words *nentō kuyō* are used in the same way in the *Buddhabhāshita Ajātaśatru-rāja-vyākaraṇa-sūtra* (佛說阿闍世王

[1] *Nihongi*, Ch. XXV, p. 453; Aston II, p. 242: 冬十二月晦。請天下僧尼於內裏設齋、大捨燃燈.

[2] *Nihongi*, Ch. XXIX, p. 542; Aston II, p. 377.

受(授)決經) (Nanjō No. 272, translated under the Western Tsin dynasty, A.D. 265—316, by the priest Fah-kü, 法炬, App. II 30), where the offering of lamps is mentioned as a meritorious work, and the "ten thousand lamps offered by the rich man" (the *śreṣṭhin, chōja,* 長者, a prominent layman) are compared to the single lamp sacrificed by the poor. [1]

As to Japan, we learn from the above passages that lights were offered up to the Buddha (or the Triratna) in order to consecrate a new Palace or to cause the Emperor's recovery from severe illness. In both cases evil influences had to be removed, and the darkness, produced by the demons of calamity and discase, had to be driven away by the splendour of light. Moreover, the date of the two palace festivals, the last day of the year, was evidently chosen on purpose, for at the same time the sins of the old year had to be expiated, not only by repentance and offerings of food (the vegetarian entertainment) to the priests, but also by offerings of light to the Buddha. In this way the Tathāgata's all-pervading light was sure to expel all dark influences which in the coming year might menace the Emperor and his surroundings as well as the whole country.

§ 3. *Ten thousand, 15700, twenty thousand lamps offered to the Buddha Vairocana of Tōdaiji (A.D. 744, 746, 752). Rites of Repentance.*

According to the *Bukkyō daijiten* (p. 1672, 1), the *Bukkyō daijii* (III, p. 4274, 1) and the *Kokushi daijiten* (p. 2211, 3) the *Bodhisattva-piṭaka-sūtra* (菩薩藏經, *Bosatsuzō kyō,* Nanjō No. 1103, translated A.D. 506—520 by Saṅghapāla or Saṅghavarman (App. II 102), contains the following words: "By lighting ten thousand lamps repentance is made for many sins"

[1] Cf. *Kokushi daijiten,* p. 2211, s. v. *Mandō-e*; *Daijii,* III, p. 4274, 1, s. v. *Mandō-e.* The term *nentō kuyō* is also found in the *Shoku Nihongi,* Ch. XVI, p. 268; *Nihon kiryaku, Zempen,* Ch. X, p. 285.

(燈十千燈明懺悔衆罪), which sentence should be the base of this ceremony. It is, however, a curious fact that the *sūtra* does not contain this idea in the form quoted by those dictionaries, although the meaning is the same. Probably another author, referring to the *sūtra*, has used the very words, cited by the dictionaries, thus giving the meaning instead of the real wording of the text. In the *sūtra* the Buddha, in answer to Śāriputra's question concerning the way of extinguishing evil deeds by means of repentance (*sange*, 懺悔, "asking forgiveness", *kṣamayati*, and repentance, cf. below, Ch. VIII, § 1), says: "Those who wish to learn the *samyaksambodhi*, either as followers of the *Śrāvaka-yāna*, or of the *Pratyeka-yāna* or of the *Mahāyāna*, or the other living beings, must recite the names of ten Buddhas of ten worlds of the ten quarters, and light ten thousand lamps, either with fat (litt. butter) or oil-incense and rubbed incense. Also according to the number of lamps they must make a great offering, a great distribution (*dai kuyō, dai fuse*) of all kinds of flowers, fruits and leaves".

In Tempyō 16, i. e. A.D. 744 (XII 4) the Emperor Shōmu ordered that "Repentance (in worship) of (the Buddha) Yakushi (Bhaishajyaguru)", *Yakushi kekwa*, 藥師悔過, should be practised in all provinces, and on the eighth day of the same month a hundred men were converted to religious life; that night ten thousand lamps were lighted in the Konshōji (金鐘寺) (a *Kegon* shrine belonging to *Tōdaiji* and inhabited by Ryōben, 良辨, the *Konshō gyōja*, 金鐘行者, who in A.D. 728 erected *Tōdaiji*)[1] and on the *Suzaku* Road" (此夜。於金鐘寺及朱雀路燃燈一萬坏).[2]

[1] Cf. *Daijiten*, p. 499, 2, s. v. *Konshō gyōja*; Yoshida Tōgo, I, p. 194, s. v. *Sangwatsudō*.

[2] *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. XV, p. 255; *Nihon kiryaku, Zempen*, Ch. X, K.T.K. V, p. 283. The text of the *Shoku Nihongi* gives the character 鍾, *shō*, instead of 鐘, *shō*, in the name of the temple.

This is the first time such an offering of "ten thousand lamps" is mentioned in Japan. Again it took place in the last month of the year, in connection with the rite of repentance.

Two years later (Tempyō 18, A.D. 746, X 6) the same Emperor, accompanied by the former Empress Genshō (who had abdicated in A.D. 724) and the Empress, went to the same sanctuary (*Konshōji*) and performed a *nentō kuyō* (燃燈供養) in honour of *Vairocana Buddha* (the *Daibutsu* of *Tōdaiji* was not completed before A.D. 752). Till the first watch of the night (7—9 P.M.) before and behind the Buddha more than 15700 lamps were lighted. By the Emperor's order several thousands of priests raised fat-candles on high, praised the Buddha (*sandan kuyō*) and made three circuits (to the right, *u-nyō*, 右繞, *pradakṣiṇa* circumambulations). This lasted till the third night watch (11—1 A.M.); then their Majesties returned to the Palace. [1]

In *Tempyō Shōhō* 6 (A.D. 754, I 5) the Empress Kōken went to *Tōdaiji* and had 20000 lamps lighted in worship of Vairocana. [2] It is, however, not known when the *Mandō-e* of *Tōdaiji* became a regular yearly festival. [3]

§ 4. *The Festival of Ten thousand Lamps and Flowers, offered as a thanksgiving for the "Four Favours" (Shi-on no Mandō Manke no e) in Kongōbuji on Kōya-san, celebrated by Kōbō Daishi (A.D. 832).*

In A.D. 832 (Tenchō 9), in the eleventh month, Kōbō Daishi went to *Kōya-san*, where he held a *Shion* (四恩) *no Mandō-e*.[4] The term *shion*, "four favours", means the favours received from one's parents, all living beings, the king of the country and the

[1] *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. XVI, p. 268; *Nihon kiryaku, Zempen*, Ch. X, p. 285.
[2] *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. XIX, p. 305.
[3] Cf. *Bukkyō Daijii*, III, p. 4274, s. v. *Mandō-e*.
[4] Washio, p. 230, 2, s. v. *Kūkai*.

Triratna, or those of one's parents, teachers or elders, king and donators, or those of Heaven and Earth, king and parents. The favours of the living beings are those of the parents of innumerable generations. Donators are those who gave presents of valuable things, compassion or the Law, thus giving wealth or joy or the blessings of Buddha's doctrine. The *shion* are also the favours of one's father, mother, the Buddha and the priests who expound the Law, or those of the Empire, the King, one's teachers and parents. [1]

The text of the *gwammon* (願文, "votive document", composed to explain the donator's intention in performing sacrificial ceremonies), entitled *Kōya-san Mandō-e gwammon*, informs us that it was a *mandō manke no e*, a "festival of ten thousand flowers" (sacrificed to the Buddha), celebrated by Kūkai and the *kongō-shi* (金剛子, *vajraputra*, Vajra-sons, i. e. the Shingon priests) in *Kongōbuji*, the main sanctuary of Kōya-san. The main image of the *Kondō* of *Kongōbuji* being *Yakushi Nyorai*, the offerings were apparently made especially to this Buddha. The priests made ("presented") the four kinds of wisdom-mudrās of the maṇḍalas of the two departments (*ryōbu no mandara shishu no chi-in*, 兩部曼荼羅四種智印), i. e. of the *Kongōkai* and the *Taizōkai*. These four wisdom-*mudrās*, *shichi-in*, 四智印, are that of the Great Wisdom (大智印), *Mahā-jñāna mudrā*, the *Samaya* (三昧耶) *jñāna-mudrā*, the *Dharmajñāna-mudrā* (法智印) and the *Karma-jñāna-mudrā* (羯摩智印).[2] Kōbō Daishi considered these *mudrās* to be identical with the four kinds of *maṇḍalas*, *shishu mandara*. It was established that one such festival should be held yearly as a thanksgiving for the four favours (奉答四恩). His vow should last

[1] *Daijiten*, p. 686, 1, s. v. *shion*; *Daijii*, II, p. 2051, s. v. *shion*. With regard to the piety towards parents, teachers and elders we may refer to Ch. VIII, § 8, where the second of the five kinds of repentance is connected therewith.

[2] *Daijiten*, p. 727, 2, s. v. *shichi-in*; *Himitsu jirin*, p. 497, s. v. *shichi-in*.

as long as Emptiness, the living beings and Nirvāṇa lasted (i. e. for ever). [1]

We learn from this text that it was not only a festival of light, but also of flowers; that Kūkai celebrated it as a mystic thanksgiving for the four favours, and that he intended to make it a yearly ceremony. Even nowadays a *mandō-e* is held on the 24th day of the 12th month in the Golden Hall of Kōbō's sanctuary, and "ten thousand lamps" always burn, night and day, before his shrine. [2]

§ 5. *The Mandō-e of Yakushiji and Gwangōji (A.D. 833 and 843). The old battle of light against darkness.*

In A.D. 833 (Tenchō 10) the *Hossō* priest Etatsu (慧達) (A.D. 796—878) began to celebrate a *mandō-e* in *Yakushiji*, the famous temple at Nara, and from then till his death in A.D. 878 he performed the same ceremony yearly. It is not stated in which month it took place. [3]

Ten years later, in A.D. 843 (Jōwa 10, V 26) the Emperor Nimmyō by Imperial decree presented one bushel of oil and 300 sheaves of rice from the regular taxes to the ancient *Sanron* shrine *Gwangōji* (元興寺) at Nara (the *honzon* or principal image of which was Śākyamuni), and decided that thenceforth on the 15th of the sixth month a yearly *manke-e* or "Ten thousand flowers-festival" (萬花會) should be held in that temple, and

[1] *Daijiten*, p. 1672, 1, s. v. *Mandō-e*, quoting the *Shōryōshū*, 性靈集, i.e. the 遍照發揮性靈集, *Henshō hokki shōryōshū*, a collection of Kōbō Daishi's writings by his pupil Shinsai, 眞濟 (A.D. 800—860). Ch. VIII (of the ten chapters).

[2] *Himitsu jirin*, p. 1018, s. v. *mandō-e*.

[3] *Genkō Shakusho*, Ch. IX, p. 793.

on the 15th of the tenth month a yearly *mandō-e* should take place in the same sanctuary. [1]

Thus the *mandō-e* became a regular ceremony of *Kongōbuji*, *Yakushiji* and *Gwangōji*, three main temples of the Shingon, Hossō and Sanron sects. As to the dates, fixed by the Emperor Nimmyō, he probably followed a Chinese example. To the Taoists both dates are important: the day of the full-moon of the sixth month, the middle of the year, is, as we learn from De Groot's *Fêtes Annuelles* (I, pp. 394 sqq.) devoted to the cult of the Mother goddess, who receives the spirits, purified in hell, and decides into which bodies they shall be reincarnated. And the day of the full-moon of the tenth month is the *Hia-yuen* (下元), the last of the three festivals in honour of the Lords of the Three Worlds, mentioned above (Ch. IV, Festival of the dead, § 8, F), which had probably replaced an ancient autumnal rite, originally intended to strengthen the declining sun. Kōbō Daishi's *mandō-e* being celebrated towards the end of the year, and the Emperor Nimmyō's *mandō-e* having been held in the beginning of the dark season, we are inclined to suppose a close connection between these Buddhist lantern festivals and ancient ideas with regard to the magical power of light in strengthening the sun. The original conception was lost and other reasons were given according to the different cults, but the dates remained as strong evidence of the old battle of light against the dangerous powers of darkness.

§ 6. *The Mandō-e of Tōdaiji in the Engi era (A.D. 901—922).*

In the *Engi* era (A.D. 901—922) the *Mandō-e* of *Tōdaiji*, the main sanctuary of the *Kegon* sect, was a regular winter ceremony,

[1] *Shoku Nihon kōki*, 續日本後紀 (A.D. 796—858), written A.D. 869 by Fujiwara no Yoshifusa, 藤原良房, who lived 804—872; Ch. XIII, K. T. K. III, p. 338; *Nihon kiryaku, Zempen*, Ch. XV, K. T. K. V, pp. 515 sq.

as we learn from the *Tōdaiji yōroku* (東大寺要錄)[1] and from the *Engishiki* (延喜式).[2] The former work[3] enumerates the four *sai-e* (齋會) or vegetarian festivals of the four seasons celebrated in *Tōdaiji*. The *Kegon no dai-e* (華嚴大會) in the spring (III 14), when the 80 chapters of the *Kegonkyō* were expounded; the *Daihannyakyō-e* (大般若經會) in the autumn (IX 15), when the 600 chapters of that famous *sūtra* were read; the *Manke-e* in the summer (VI 15), when ten thousand lotus flowers were sacrificed to *Vairocana of the Thousand-leaves-pedestal* (千葉臺舍那, *Senyōdai no Shana*, the lotus seat of Vairocana's *sambhoga-kāya*, 報身, *hōshin*);[4] and the *Mandō-e* in the winter (X 15), when ten thousand lamps (*tōmyō*, 燈明) were used as an offering to the Buddha of Great Universal Light (*Daihenjō no Buda*, 大遍照毋馱, i.e. *Mahā-vairocana's Dharmakāya*, 法身, *hōshin*). According to the same work the *Mandō-e* was held in the *Daibutsuden* (大佛殿) (the *Kondō*, 金堂) with religious dances and music. Ten thousand earthen lamps, forty pine-torches, *rintō* (輪燈, "circular lamps")[5] and *sharintō* (車輪燈) were there used; besides the twelve *dōshi* (導師) or leaders, there were priests with *khakkharas* (*shakujō*, 錫杖, magical staffs with metal rings), musicians, etc.

The *Engishiki* (Ch. XXVI, p. 794) mentions the *Mandō-e* of *Tōdaiji* in connection with the oil, required as taxes on behalf of this temple (four *koku* for this festival); in the same passage one bushel of oil and three hundred sheaves of rice are said to

[1] Quoted *Daijii*, III, p. 4274, s. v. *Mandō-e*.

[2] Written in A.D. 927 by Fujiwara no Tokihira and Tadahira (時平, 忠平); Ch. XXVI, 主稅上, K.T.K. XIII p. 794.

[3] About the *Tōdaiji yōroku* cf. *Daijii*, III, p. 3463, s. v. It consists of ten chapters; the author is unknown.

[4] Cf. *Daijiten*, p. 1038, s. v. *senyōdai*.

[5] About the *rintō* cf. *Daijii*, p. 4546, s. v.: oil lamps hung before the Buddha.

be furnished by Yamato province as taxes for the yearly *Manke-e* (VI 15) and *Mandō-e* (X 15) of *Gwangōji* (instituted in A.D. 843 as stated above).

§ 7. *The Mandō-e of Hōryūji, Shitennōji (9th century), Gokurakuji (10th century), Hōkō-in, Kongōbuji (on Kōya-san) (11th century), and Yakushiji (12th century).*

There were also *Mandō-e* of *Hōryūji* in Nara and *Shitennōji* (the famous shrine built in A.D. 593 by Shōtoku Taishi) in Settsu province, near the present Ōsaka, as we learn from the passage of the *Shōryōshū* (9th century, quoted above in reference to Kōbō Daishi's votive document concerning the *Mandō-e* and *Manke-e* of Kōya-san).

In A.D. 969 (XII 28) a *Mandō-e* was held in *Gokurakuji*, an Amitābha sanctuary in Yamashiro, founded by Fujiwara no Mototsuna (cf. below, Ch. VIII, § 16, B).

On the 13th day of the third month of A.D. 1004 (Kwankō 1) the Sadaijin (Michinaga) went to the temple *Hōkō-in* (法興院) in Kyōto in order to hold a *Mandō-e*. This was a *Hossō* sanctuary, made into a temple in A.D. 990 (Shōryaku 1) by the Kwampaku Fujiwara no Kane-ie (兼家), whose residence it had been; next year the dedicatory ceremony was led by the *Hossō* priest Shinki (眞喜). In A.D. 994 Kane-ie's son Michitaka, who the previous year had become Kwampaku, dedicated the *Shakuzenji*, 積善寺, in the compound of the sanctuary with a gold-coloured *Vairocana* image, sixteen feet high, and his attendant Buddhas *Shaka* and *Yakushi*.[1] Thus, just as in *Tōdaiji*, the *Mandō-e* of A.D. 1004 may have been celebrated in honour of *Mahāvairocana*, the Buddha of Universal Light.

[1] *Bukkyō daijii*, p. 4109, 3, s. v. *Hōkō-in*; *Hyakurenshō*, 百錬鈔, written after 1259, Ch. IV, *Ichijō-in*, *Kokushi taikei* Vol. XIV, p. 16.

In the eleventh century the *Shingon* priest Kishin (祈親), a man of the revival (*chūkō*, 中興) of *Kōya-san*,[1] restored the *Mandō-e* of *Kongōbuji* to its former glory, and in A.D. 1023 (Chian 3) Fujiwara no Michinaga, the mightiest of his house (966—1027), ascended the mountain and celebrated it with much pomp. In A.D. 1088 (Kwanji 2) the Emperor Shirakawa (who had abdicated two years previously, but continued to reign) went to Kōya-san and performed a *sammandō-ku* (供) or "Thirty-thousand-lamps-offering".[2]

As to the *Mandō-e* of *Yakushiji*, Taira no Yasuyori (平康頼) in his work on Buddhism, entitled *Hōmotsu shū* (寶物集), or "Collection of precious things", written in A.D. 1178 (Jishō 2), states that in his day this ceremony was still performed as Etatsu had instituted it in A.D. 833.[3] Since *Bhaiṣajyaguru* represents the sun with its healing power, and *Mahāvairocana* is the *Dainichi Nyorai* or the Tathāgata the Great Sun, it is quite clear why these festivals of light were celebrated in their sanctuaries especially. *Śākyamuni*, worshipped in the same way in *Gwangōji* and, as one of the two attendants of *Vairocana*, in *Hōkōin* (*Shakuzenji*), proves to have been considered the third Buddha of this Trinity of Light.

§ 8. *The Mandō-e, celebrated at the present day on Kōya-san.*

At the present day the *mandō* are numberless candles, placed upon an altar, consisting of thin wooden boards and built up in front of the Buddha in the form of steps; these candles are lighted as an offering to him. The *Mandō-e*, however, in which, as seen above, earthen oil lamps and torches were used, circumambulatory processions were held and religious dances and music

[1] *Himitsu jirin*, p. 158, s. v. *Kishin.*

[2] Ibid., p. 1018, s. v. *Mandō-e.*

[3] *Zoku Gunsho ruiju*, 續群書類從, No. 952, Ch. VI.

were performed, seem to have fallen into disuse in the thirteenth century, for neither in the biographies of Buddhist priests, nor in the annals of that time (as e. g. the *Zoku Shigushō*, 續史愚抄)[1] do we find them mentioned. Yet, as stated before, on the 24th day of the 12th month a *Mandō-e* is still held in the Golden Hall of Kōbō Daishi's sanctuary on *Kōya-san*. Since this is not the date of his death (he died A.D. 835, III 21), it must be the end of the year, the time of the approaching renewal of light, the time of thanksgiving and repentance, which is still chosen for this ancient festival of light.

[1] *Zoku Kokushi taikei,* Vol. I, beginning with A.D. 1259.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE RITES OF REPENTANCE (KEKWA, 悔過, SANGE, 懺悔, AND SEMBŌ, 懺法).

§ 1. *The meaning of the words kekwa, sange and sembō.*

The term *kekwa*, 悔過, litt. "repentance for trespassings", is used in the oldest translations; the term *sange*, 懺悔, litt. "*kṣamayati* (asking forgiveness) and repentance", is apparently of later date.

Of the three translations of the *Śāriputra kṣamā* (?) *sūtra* (Nanjō Nos. 1106, 1103, 1090), the first (A.D. 148—170) gives *kekwa*, the two others (A.D. 506—520, and 590) give *sange* (cf. next paragraphs).

In Nanjō No. 1091 (the *Buddhabhāshita Mañjuśrī kṣamā* (?) *sūtra, Bussetsu Monju kekwa kyō*, 佛說文殊悔過經) the term *kekwa* is still used by Dharmaraksha I (Nanjō App. II 23), who translated it between A.D. 266 and 317.

In A.D. 384—385 Dharmanandi, in his translation of the *Ekottarāgama sūtra* (Nanjō No. 543, Ch. 47, p. 223*b*, 2), uses both *kekwa* and *sange*.

In A.D. 412—413 Buddhayaśas, assisted by the Chinese priest Chuh Fuh-nien (竺佛念, Nanjō App. II 61 and 58), translated Nanjō No. 545, the *Dīrghāgama sūtra* (佛說長阿含經, *Bussetsu Chōagonkyō*, consisting of 30 *sūtras*). We read there about Ajātaśatru, King of Magadha, whose repentance (*kekwa*) for having murdered his father Bimbisāra was accepted (受) by

the Buddha.[1] Seven years earlier (A.D. 405), however, the same priests used the terms *sange* and *san* (懺) in their translation of the *Dharmagupta-vinaya* (Nanjō No. 1117, *Caturvarga-vinaya-piṭaka*, 四分律藏, *Shibunritsuzō*).[2] There a monk who has asked for a new almsbowl although his old one has less than five mended spots (五綴, *gosetsu*) and did not leak, is said to have committed the sin of *shada* (捨墮, *Naissargika prāyaścittika*, i. e. an offence requiring expiation by forfeiture.[3] The words "to receive this monk's *san*", 受此比丘懺, used in this passage, as well as the words: "after having 'thrown away', i.e. abandoned (the bowl to the monks) he must perform *sange*", 捨已當懺悔, point to his confession (*deśayati*) and "asking forgiveness" (*kṣamayati*, abbreviated into *san*, from *samma*, 懺摩).

Dharmaraksha II, a priest from Central India, who between A.D. 414 and 423 translated Buddhist works in China, wrote *sange* in the *Konkwōmyōkyō* (Nanjō No. 127, *Suvarṇa-prabhāsa sūtra*, Ch. II, 4). This being a very important text of the *T'ien-t'ai* school, the influence of its language must have been very great.[4] The founder of that school, Chi-che ta-shi, 智者大師 (A.D. 531—597), explained the word *san*, 懺, by "stating and disclosing one's former evil deeds" (陳露先惡, *chinro zen-aku*), and the word *ke*, 悔, by "correcting the past and improving the future" (改往修來, *gai-ō shūrai*).[5] Thus we see that he

[1] Nanjō No. 545, Ch. XVII; new Jap. ed., cover XIII, vol. 8, p. 87*b*.

[2] Nanjō No. 1117, Ch. IX, Great Trip. of Leiden, pp. 7 and 11; new Jap. ed., cover XVII, vol. 8, p. 45*a*.

[3] Cf. Kern, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 85, and note 12; Geschiedenis van het Buddhisme in Indië, II p. 90, No. 22 of the thirty offences of this kind; *Daijiten*, p. 806 s. v. *shada*; p. 1315 s. v. *nisatsugi haittai*; p. 1479, s. v. *hinju*.

[4] Cf. above, Ch. I, § 8; below, Ch. VIII, § 7; Ch. XI.

[5] Nanjō No. 1538, 摩訶止觀, one of the three principal works of the T'ien-t'ai school, *Tendai sandaibu*, 天台三大部 (Nos. 1534, 1536, 1538), spoken by Chi-che ta-shi in A.D. 594 and recorded by Kwan-ting;

considered the term *sange* to mean: "confession and correction of evil". As to confession, the common Chinese Buddhist term for this is 發露, *hotsuro*, "to utter and disclose", which we find connected with *sange* in the *Bodhisattva-piṭaka-sūtra* (Nanjō No. 1103, translated A.D. 506—520); both terms are used also on the same page of the *Kwan Fugengyō* (cf. below, this Chapter, § 8; Nanjō No. 394, translated A.D. 424—441), one of the principal texts on repentance (p. 5*b*). There we read: 發露黑惡一切罪事, "to confess all evil deeds", and "the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra (Fugen) on behalf of the performers of the religious rites (行者, *gyōja*) explains the *rokkon shōjō sange no hō*, 六根清淨懺悔之法, 'the Ceremony of Repentance', a purification of the six organs of sensation".

In both works *hotsuro* and *sange* are different terms, and this agrees with the original meaning of the word *san*, "asking forgiveness", because it is an abbreviation of the Sanskrit word *kṣamayati*. After having confessed their crimes (*hotsuro*) to the Buddhas, the worshippers ask forgiveness (*san*, 懺) and utter their repentance (*ke*, 悔).

In A.D. 423 Dharmaraksha II translated the *Mahāparinirvāṇa sūtra* (*Daihan Nehangyō*, 大般涅槃經 (Nanjō No. 113, the 17th chapter of which is devoted to King Ajātaśatru's illness (his

Ch. VII, 2, Great Jap. Trip. of Leiden, p. 15*a*, about the five kinds of repentance (五悔, *goke*) and the meaning of *sange*. The words *gai-ō shūrai*, "to correct the past and improve the future", are found already in Nanjō No. 1091, the *Bussetsu Monju kekwa kyō*, after the term *kekwa* (translated by Dharmaraksha A.D. 266—317) (new Jap. ed. of Trip. XVII, 2, p. 169*a* and *b*).

[1] Cf. the commentaries Nanjō Nos. 1548, 1549, 1552, 1553, two of which were orally given by the founder of the T'ien-t'ai school in China, Chi-che ta-shi, 智者大師 (A.D. 531—597), and recorded by his principal disciple Kwanting, 灌頂 (A.D. 561—632), whereas the two other works are commentaries on them, compiled about A.D. 1020 by Chi-li, 智禮, called the 四明尊者 or "Saint of Mount Szĕ-ming" in Cheh-kiang province.

body being covered with sores) and repentance. There we find the terms *hotsuro*, *sange* and *zangi* (發露, 懺悔, 慚愧) used to denote confession, (asking forgiveness and) repentance, and shame, by the great physician *Jīvaka* (*Jīva*) (耆婆, *Giba*) in answer to the king's request to explain to him the bliss of the Law and to take away his pain and illness. The same terms are used in the Southern revision of the text by Hwui-yen (慧嚴) and others (A.D. 424—453) (Ch. XVII) (Nanjō No. 114). Confession, repentance and shame are compared by Jīvaka to a brilliant pearl suddenly making pure the dirty water into which it is laid, and to the moon's clear light, which drives away the dark clouds. Thus the King's crimes shall be extinguished by repentance and shame (towards himself and others), and he shall become pure and stainless. [1]

Hüen-ying (玄應, Nanjō App. III 20), who in about A.D. 649 compiled his dictionary of Buddhist terms entitled *Issaikyō ongi*, 一切經音義, Nanjō No. 1605, the first of this kind of work, [2] says that *san*, 懺, is a wrong abbreviation of *kṣama*, 叉摩, which means patience, 忍, *nin*, and that it means (asking) "bear with patience and pardon my crimes" (容恕我罪). Then he speaks about the *Uposatha* or Sabbath, held twice a month (on the 15th and 29th or 30th day), and about the term *Pratideśayāni*, confession. [3]

I-tsing (義淨, Nanjō App. II 149, the famous Chinese pilgrim, who travelled A.D. 671—695, translated A.D. 700—712, and died in A.D. 713) in his work on the *Vinaya* (Nanjō No. 1492, *Nankai*

[1] Nanjō No. 113, Ch. XIX, new ed. VIII, 5, p. 92*b*, Nanjō No. 114 (Southern revision), Ch. XVII, Sect 4, p. 92*b*. Jīvaka's explanations pertain to so-called "material repentance" (*jisan*); whereas the Buddha himself refers to repentance regarding the Absolute Nature (*risan*) (cf. below, § 12 B).

[2] Nanjō No. 1605, Ch. XV, p. 10*b*, sub Ch. IX of the 四分律, quoted above, s. v. *sange*; the work is usually cited after the author's name as *Gen-ō ongi*.

[3] Cf. Kern, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 86.

kiki naihō den, 南海寄歸內法傳, Ch. II) states that the old term *sange* does not concern the explaining of one's sins (說罪, *setsuzai*, i. e. *āpatti-pratideśana*, the confession on the half-monthly Sabbath or on the *Pravāraṇā* day, at the end of the Retreat),[1] but that *san* is *kṣamā*, a Western word for patience, *nin*, 忍, whereas *ke*, 悔, is a Chinese word for repentance. He arrives at the conclusion that *sange* means "asking forgiveness (謝, *sha*) and repenting", whereas confessing one's crimes is indicated by the term *deśayati* (必若自己陳罪乃云提舍耶矣).[2]

Hwui-wen (慧苑, Nanjō App. III 32), who in about A.D. 700 wrote the *Kegonkyō-ongi*, 華嚴經音義 (quoted as *Eon ongi* after the author; Nanjō No. 1606, a dictionary of terms found in the *Kegonkyō*, Nanjō No. 88) says the same: "*San* is *kṣamā*, which means 'asking patience', 請忍, *shōnin*; it means begging those present to receive with patience one's repentance for sins" (懺謂懺摩。此云請忍。謂請前人忍受我悔罪也).[3]

Professor Vogel kindly informs me, that *kṣamayati* is "asking forgiveness"; *deśayati* means "to show", in Buddhist language "to preach", but also "to confess" (Dh. 105); *deśanā* is "instruction" (legal acknowledgment), confession; *āpatti* and *aparādha* mean "crime, sin", and *kṣamā* "patience".[4] This agrees with the definitions of the Chinese scholars of the seventh and eighth centuries, and we would expect *kṣamayati* in the original Sanskrit texts where the translations gave *kekwa* and *sange*. This

[1] Cf. *Daijiten*, p. 1031, 2, s. v. *setsuzai*; Nanjō No. 1118, the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-nikāya-vinaya*, translated by I-tsing in A.D. 703, Ch. XVI, No. 13, p. 1*a*, 悔 and 追悔, *tsuige*; *Daijii*, II, p. 1554, 1, s. v. *sange*.

[2] *Daijiten*, p. 615, 1, s. v. *sange*.

[3] Nanjō No. 1606, Ch. III, p. 6*a*, sub. Ch. 48 of the *Kegonkyō* (*Avatamsaka sūtra*).

[4] Cf. Monier Williams, *Sanskr.-Engl. Dict.* (1899), p. 326, 3, s.v. *kohamā*.

is, however, not the case in the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa sūtra* (Nanjō No. 127), where, as Dr. Rahder told me, the substantive *deśanā* and the verb *deśayati*, "confession" and "to confess", are found as the terms translated into *sange* by Dharmaraksha II between A.D. 414 and 423. He also gave me the original form of the famous *gāthā* of repentant confession, to be found in the last chapter of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* of 40 chapters (fasciculi), Nanjō No. 89 (the so-called *sange-mon*, dealt with below, same Chapter, § 9). There *pratideśayāni* has been translated by Prajña (A.D. 796—798) into *sange*, whereas in A.D. 420 in Nanjō No. 1336 (an earlier version of the 62 verses of No. 89) Buddhabhadra uses the older term *kekwa*. Amoghavajra, however, who between A.D. 746 and 771 rendered the same verses in Nanjō No. 1142, gives *jinsetsu*, 陳說, "to communicate, state", i. e. to confess. Prof. Leumann translates the word *pratideśayāni* by "das weise ich alles (mit Abscheu) zurück", and remarks in a note with regard to the word "zurück": "das bereue oder beichte ich alles mit dem Vorsatz es nicht mehr zu tun". [1]

Prof. de la Vallée Poussin kindly drew my attention to an interesting note of Prof. Pelliot in an article concerning the Sects of the White Lotus and the White Cloud. [2] There the term *san* is rendered into "*résolution*" with regard to the seven *san* of Ts'e-yun, which the author believes to be different from the "sept dispositions du coeur nécessaires pour amener le repentir et le ferme propos" (the *shichishu-zangeshin*, enumerated *Bukkyō daijiten*, p. 732, 1). He bases his translation on a passage of the *Bukkyō jiten*, where evidently Chi-che ta-shi's explanation, mentioned above, was erroneously given in the reverse way, i.e. *san* referring to the future and *ke* to the past. In his "*Fragment du*

[1] Cf. K. Watanabe, *Die Bhádracarī* (Leipzig 1912), text p. 30, translation of Prof. Leumann p. 42; the verse is not written in Sanskrit, but in *gāthā* dialect, as Dr. Rahder informs me. Watanabe himself calls this *sangemon* "das Bekenntnis der Sünden".

[2] *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, III (1903), p. 310, note 2.

Suvarṇaprabhāsasūtra en Iranien oriental[1] Prof. Pelliot translates "confession", which is better than "résolution"; "confession repentante"[2] may be the best way of rendering these terms.

Practically the terms *kekwa* and *sange*, being older and later translations of the same Sanskrit words, were used as synonyms; repentance was to the Chinese mind their principal factor.[3]

Evidently the Indian Buddhists laid stress upon the value of confession and asking forgiveness, whereas in China repentance, as the cause of confession, was deemed the main point. As a matter of fact the Golden Drum in the *Sūtra* of the Golden Light is easier understood as a "Drum of Repentance" than as a "Drum of Confession"; for only after having heard its penetrating voice do the sinners begin to confess their crimes.

The fact that in A.D. 384—385 Dharmanandi used *kekwa* and *sange* simultaneously, whereas in A.D. 405 Buddhayaśas and Chuh Fah-nien wrote *sange*, but *kekwa* in A.D. 412—413, shows that the beginning of the fifth century was the time when the older term *kekwa* was gradually superseded by the new word *sange*.

[1] *Etudes linguistiques sur les documents de la Mission Pelliot*, Fasc. IV, Paris 1913, pp. 8 (des stances de confession), 13 (cela je confesse), 30 (*deśañijsa*, avec *deśanā*, confession.

[2] Prof. de Groot, *Code du Mahāyāna en Chine*, p. 38, translated *ke* in this way.

[3] Cf. also Fah-yun, 法雲, in his famous dictionary (Nanjō No. 1640), written in A.D. 1151, Ch. XI, No. 48, p. 9*a*, s.v. *samma*, and Chi-li (智禮, called 四明尊者) in his commentary on Chi-che ta-shi's commentary on the *Konkwōmyōkyō* (*Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra*) (Nanjō No. 1553, written about A.D. 1020), Ch. III, and No. 1552 (Chi-che ta-shi's commentary recorded by his pupil Kwan-ting, 灌頂 (A.D. 561—632), Ch. III, p. 90 sqq. (new ed. XXXIII, 1) (five meanings of *san* and *ke* in the term *sange*). Further Tao-süen, 道宣 (A.D. 596—667) (戒疏, Ch. I) and Tsung-mih, 宗密 (A.D. 779—840), the fifth patriarch of the *Kegon* school (App. III 38) (圓覺經大疏鈔, Ch. X) (cf. Nanjō No. 1629), are quoted in the *Daijii*, II, p. 1554, 2.

Dharmaraksha's translation of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra* (between A.D. 414 and 423) may have given the decisive impetus in favour of the new term, which is a curious combination of abbreviated Sanskrit and Chinese. Yet the word *kekwa* remained in the names of the *Yakushi*, *Amida*, *Shaka*, *Miroku*, *Jizō*, *Kichijō kekwa* ceremonies.

In the Japanese annals we do not find the term *sange* before the year A.D. 838 (Shōwa 5, XII 15), when the Emperor Nimmyō instituted the *Butsumyō sange* as a regular festival, to be celebrated in the Palace towards the end of the year. [1]

The term *sembō*, 懺法, a combination of the word *san*, here pronounced *sen*, and *hō*, rite, i. e. "rites for asking forgiveness (patience)" or "penitential rites", was used in China already in A.D. 563, when the Emperor Wen Ti held a *Musha-daie* in the Palace with *Hokke-sembō* and *Konkwōmyō-sembō*, based upon the Lotus *sūtra* and the *Sūtra* of the Golden Light (Nanjō Nos. 134 and 127). In Japan Jikaku Daishi was the first to use this term in practising the *Hokke-sembō* for the first time in A.D. 829 (about the same time as the beginning of the word *sange* in Japan) in the Cryptomeria Cave on Hieizan (below, this Ch., § 18).

§ 2. *The Sharihotsu kekwa kyō* (舍利弗悔過經) *or Sūtra on Repentance (spoken by the Buddha) at Śāriputra's request (Nanjō No. 1106), translated by An Shi-kao in A.D. 148—170.*

This is the oldest translation of a *Vinaya sūtra* of the *Mahāyāna*, relating to this subject, made by An Shi-kao (安世高) (Nanjō, App. II 4), a Western prince who arrived in China in A.D. 148 after having become a monk, and translated many Bud-

[1] *Shoku Nihon kōki*, Ch. VII, p. 250. The *Kichijō-kekwa* of A.D. 767 (I) (*Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. XXVIII, p. 470) in the *Genkō Shakusho* (Ch. XXIII, p. 1029) are wrongly called *Kichijō-sen*.

dhist works until A.D. 170. It is an earlier and shorter translation of Nanjō No. 1103 (the *Bosatsu-zō kyō*, 菩薩藏經, or *Bodhisattva-piṭaka-sūtra*, translated by Saṅghapāla in A.D. 506—520) and No. 1090 (the *Daijō sanjū sange kyō*, 大乘三聚懺悔經, or *Sūtra on Repentance of the Three Collective species of beings* (*sanjū*: those of a correct, a wicked and a mixed nature) of *Mahāyāna*, translated about A.D. 590 by Jñānagupta and Dharmagupta).

When the Buddha was seated on the Vulture Peak near Rājagṛha with 1250 bhikshus and 1000 Bodhisattvas, his first disciple Śāriputra asked him how a virtuous man or woman, who wished to obtain the Buddha road, should repent for the crimes committed in former existences. The Buddha praised him for this question and said that if a virtuous man or woman wished to become an Arhat, a Pratyeka-Buddha or a Buddha and to know the things of the past and the future, early in the morning, at noon and at sunset, when people go to bed (人定, *ninjō*, i. e. ten o'clock, the hour of the hog), at midnight and when the cocks crow (i. e. six times) they should always take a bath, put their clothes in order, fold their hands, and, bowing to the ten sides, repent their sins (*kekwa*, 悔過), saying: "If from innumerable kalpas ago, when we did not know the Buddha, the Dharma and the Saṅgha, nor (the difference between) good and evil, up to the present age our body, mouth and heart have committed crimes (here follows a long enumeration of sins), we supplicate all the Buddhas of the ten quarters to have compassion for us to with regard to our repentance (*kekwa*), and to cause us not to commit those crimes again neither in the present life nor in future existences. . . . . We do not dare to lie before the Buddhas with regard to our crimes nor to hide them. Henceforth we shall not again dare to trespass".

"All those who wish to be reborn in a happy state instead of as animals or unhappy men must repent and not hide their evil deeds (皆當悔過不當覆藏)".

§ 3. *The Bosatsu-zō kyō* (菩薩藏經) *or Sūtra on the Bodhisattva-piṭaka* (*Nanjō No. 1103*), *translated by Saṅghapāla in A.D. 506—520.*

A more extensive translation of the same text (eleven double pages instead of five) was given by Saṅghapāla (or Saṅghavarman) (Nanjō App. II 102), a *śramaṇa* from *Fu-nan* (扶南), who translated 10 or 11 works in A.D. 506—520. [1]

Here the Buddha says: "Those who wish to learn the *samyak-sambodhi*, either as followers of the *Śrāvaka-yāna* or of the *Pratyeka-yāna* or of the *Mahāyāna*, or other living beings, must recite the names of ten Buddhas of ten worlds of the ten quarters and light ten thousand lamps (然十千燈), either with fat (litt. butter, 酥) or oil-incense and 'rubbed incense' (油香及摩香). Also according to the number of lamps they must make a great sacrifice, a great distribution (*dai kuyō dai fuse*, 大供養大布施) of all kinds of flowers, fruits and leaves. They must fill ten jars with water and wash and purify themselves and perfume their bodies with incense. After having put on new, clean garments they must again wash their hands and feet, and hold ten lotus flowers in each hand. They must eat vegetable food, and their servants must all be clean and place Buddha seats on the ten sides. After having arranged the seats on the ten sides according to convenience, the 'men of repentance' take their places and pay reverence to the Buddhas of the ten quarters. Their mouths confess spontaneously and utter their prayers for forgiveness and their feelings of repentance (發露懺悔, *hotsuro sange*) for their former deeds and for the many evil actions, committed in the beginningless course of their existences (無始生死, *mushi shōji*); they amend the

[1] New Jap. ed. XVII 2, pp. 231—234.

past and improve the future, and swear that they will not again commit evil (改往修來誓不復作)".

As stated above (Ch. VII, § 3), the sentence "By lighting ten thousand lamps repentance is made for many sins" (燈十千燈明懺悔衆罪), quoted by the dictionaries, must refer to this passage, although those words are not found in the *sūtra*.

Then the names of the ten worlds, one in each quarter, and those of the ten Buddhas, one in each world, are enumerated by the Buddha, who continues: "Six times in one day and one night they must perform these rites, pay reverence and bow, bare the right shoulder and place the right knee on the ground, and, joining their palms, must turn to the Buddhas and speak the following words: 'We revere all the Buddhas of the ten quarters etc. ....We now confess our sins to those Buddhas, pray for forgiveness and repent (*hotsuro sange*). ....We confess with our whole heart and we do not dare to hide our crimes (一心發露不敢覆藏), and having confessed we swear that we do not dare to commit those evil deeds again". [1]

[1] Cf. *Bukkyō daijii* II, p. 1559, 3, s. v. *sange no gohō*, the five rites of repentance of the *Hīnayānists* in the presence of a high-priest.

1. baring the right shoulder (to show that one is ready to fulfill the task imposed upon him).

2. kneeling with the right knee on the ground (to show that one is very diligent and careful).

3. joining the palms of the hands (to show that one's heart is undisturbed).

4. explaining one's sins (to show that one is willing to confess and not to conceal anything).

5. bowing down before the feet of the high-priest (omitted if it be only a young monk) (to show humbleness and the utmost respect).

These rites are explained by Tsung-mih, 宗密, the fifth patriarch of the *Avataṃsaka* school (*Kegon*) (Nanjō App. III 38, A.D. 779—840) in Nanjō No. 1629, Ch. XXIV, a commentary on Nanjō No. 427. Cf. also Nanjō No. 1621, *Numerical terms of the Tripiṭaka of the Ming dynasty*, Ch. XXIII, p. 160*a*, s. v. *sange gohō*.

§ 4. *The Daijō sanjū sange kyō,* 大乘三聚懺悔經 *(Nanjō No. 1090), translated by Jñānagupta and Dharmagupta about A.D. 590.*

Here Mañjuśrī prays the Buddha to explain to him how to ask forgiveness and repent (*sange*) and how to confess (*hotsuro*) (云何懺悔, 云何發露), both terms being used separately. The "obstacles" (障, *shō*; the *bonnō*, 煩惱, vexations, i.e. the *kleśas*, passions) on the road to *Nirvāṇa* are the objects of this repentance, and in another passage (p. 165*b*) *hotsuro sange* are combined in the same way as in the former translation; here also the term "hiding the sins" is rendered by *fukuzō*, 覆藏. The times of the rites are divided into three in the day-time and three at night (pp. 165*a* and 166*b*).[1]

§ 5. *The Miroku Bosatsu shomon hongwan kyō,* 彌勒菩薩所問本願經, *or "Sūtra on the original vow asked by the Bodhisattva Maitreya" (Nanjō No. 55), translated by Dharmarakṣa I in A.D. 266—317.*

This is an earlier translation of Nanjō No. 23 (42), a *Mahāyāna sūtra*, the *Miroku Bosatsu shomon-e* (所問會) (translated by Bodhiruci II in A.D. 693—713).

When Maitreya asks the Buddha, how many "dharma-actions" (法行, *hōgyō*) there are in order to "abjure the wicked roads and not to follow the wicked kinds of knowledge", the Tathāgata answers with a long enumeration of different ways of doing so, whereupon Maitreya praises the Buddha in a stanza.

In a further passage Ānanda asks by means of which "virtuous power" (*zengon*, 善權) Maitreya has obtained to reach the Buddha road. Then the Buddha answers: "The Bodhisattva Mai-

[1] New ed. XVII 2, pp. 165—168.

treya three times daily and three times every night put his clothes in order, restrained his body, folded his hands, bowed his knees upon the ground, and, turning towards the ten quarters, pronounced the following stanza (*gāthā*):

'I repent all my sins,
I encourage and assist all the virtues of the Road,
I take refuge in and pay reverence to the Buddhas,
That they may cause me to obtain the unsurpassable
[Wisdom'. [1]

By means of this virtuous power the Bodhisattva Maitreya obtained the most perfect Enlightenment of the Unsurpassable Road of Perfect Truth".

Here "Repentance" is expressed by the simple character 悔, *ke*, which is found shortly before in the sense of "regret" (i. e. in a bad sense, regretting deeds of self-sacrifice and compassion) in the terms 悔恨 and 悔意, *kegon* and *ke-i*, "regret", one of the *hatten*, 八纏, or "eight ties", [2] i. e. the *bonnō*, 煩惱, or "vexations" (*kleśas*, passions), which retain mankind from the path to Nirvāṇa. [3]

§ 6. *The Bussetsu Monju kekwa kyō* (佛說文殊悔過經) *or Sūtra spoken by the Buddha on Mañjuśrī's (sermon on) repentance (Nanjō No. 1091), translated by Dharmarakṣa I in A.D. 266—317.*

The same priest Dharmaraksha I (Nanjō App. II 23), having arrived in Loh-yang, the capital of China, in A.D. 266, translated a long list of *sūtras*, among which Nanjō No. 1091, another

[1] 晝夜各三正衣束體叉手下膝著地向於十方說此偈言。我悔一切過。勸助衆道德。歸命禮諸佛。令得無上慧。

[2] Cf. *Daijiten*, p. 1244, 3, s. v. *ten*.

[3] Nanjō No. 55, new Jap. ed. VI 5, p. 218*b*.

sūtra on repentance. This is like No. 1106 (here § 2), a *Vinaya sūtra* of the *Mahāyāna*; there, however, it is not the Buddha himself who explains the immense effect of repentance and the way how to perform its rite, but the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, who in a long sermon expounds it to an enormous crowd of Bodhisattvas, great disciples, devas and nāgas, demons and spirits.

It is called the *gotai kekwa*, 五體悔過, or "Repentance of the five parts of the body" (the same as *gorin*, 五輪, or *gosho*, 五處, the two knees, two arms, and head, which touch the ground when lying down in reverence). [1]

The term *jishaku*, 自責, "self-reproach", is used with regard to the impure deeds of the body, mouth and mind in former lives, which must be repented by the performers of the *kekwa* rites.

"Confession and repentance to the Buddhas of the ten quarters, correcting the past and amending the future (*jishu kekwa, gai-ō shūrai*), and not daring to conceal (*fukan zōnyoku*) (one's sins)" (從十方佛自首,悔過,改往,修來,不敢藏匿) are words by means of which this text repeatedly expresses the gist of the matter.

The blessing power of repentance gives "sinless felicity to all living beings and causes them to obtain an independent, original place, encouragement and assistance, and by means of their bases of virtue (德本, *tokuhon*, the same as *zenkon*, 善根, roots of virtue) they make offerings to all the Buddhas. Bowing down their heads on the ground they take refuge in them and offer to the Buddhas lamps and incense, flowers, canopies and necklaces, a large number of different things". [2]

Here we find lamps mentioned as the principal offerings to the Buddhas in connection with the blessing power of repentance, which reminds us of the ten thousand lamps, dealt with in the chapter on the *mandō-e* (above, Ch. VII, § 3, pp. 239—241).

[1] Nanjō No. 1091, new Jap. ed. XVII 2, p. 173*b*.
[2] Ibid., p. 171*b*.

After the *sange* rites (called *Monju kekwa*, 文殊悔過), Mañjuśrī explains those of *zuiki* (隨喜), *shōhō* (請法), *kōku* (興供), *ekō* (廻向) and *hotsugwan* (發願), i. e. consenting to and rejoicing in the virtuous roots of others, praying the Buddhas to preach the Law, making offerings to them, turning all one's virtuous roots to the benefit of the living beings and to the Buddha road, and uttering the four great vows of all Bodhisattvas. Of these six rites (*sange* included) only that of the offerings is omitted in the *Tendai goke*, 天台五悔, or Five kinds of repentance of the Tendai sect, treated below (same chapter, § 9), since the term *shōhō* or "praying for the Law" has the same meaning as *kwanjō*, 勸請, "exhorting and requesting" (the Buddhas of the ten quarters to turn the Wheel of the Law).

§ 7. *The Suvarṇa-prabhāsa sūtra, i. e. the Konkwōmyōkyō* (金光明經) *(Nanjō No. 127), translated by Dharmarakṣa II in A.D. 414—423, and the Konkwōmyō Saishōō kyō* (金光明最勝王經, *Suvarṇa-prabhāsottama-rāja sūtra*) *(Nanjō No. 126), a complete translation of the same text by I-tsing, made in A.D. 700—712.*

In the beginning of the fifth century A.D. Dharmaraksha II (Nanjō App. II 67) translated the famous *Suvarṇa-prabhāsa-sūtra*, belonging to the sixth class of the *Mahāyāna sūtras* of the Canon (Nanjō No. 127).

At the end of the opening *gāthā* of this text, in praise of this "King of the *Sūtras*", we read that those who hear this *sūtra* and repent, and lay hold of it and keep it within their hearts, shall obtain a superior root of virtue, praised by the Buddhas. [1]

The second and third sections of the text (first chapter) are

[1] Nanjō No. 127, new Jap. ed. IX 1, Ch. I, p. 45*b*; large Trip. of Leiden, Ch. I, p. 5*b*.

entitled *Juryō-bon* or "Section on the measure of (the Buddha's) life" and *Sange-bon*. In *Rājagṛha* the Bodhisattva *Shinsō* (信相) (*Ruciraketu*),[1] when meditating on the question why Śākyamuni's life lasted only eighty years notwithstanding innumerable kalpas of virtue, saw four Buddhas appear in his room, which at once became large and stately and beautiful as a Buddha's paradise. They were seated on high and precious lotus seats, one on each side: *Akṣobhya* (East), *Ratnaketu*[2] (South), *Amitāyus* (West) and *Varaśvara* ("Delicate and Wonderful Voice", *Mimyōshō*, 微妙聲)[3] (North), and emitted a great light, caused a rain of heavenly flowers to descend, and produced heavenly music. By means of their divine Buddha power they caused numberless beings of all kinds, demons and spirits, devas, nāgas, gandharvas, asuras, garuḍas etc., as well as Bodhisattvas, to assemble in the Bodhisattva *Shinsō*'s room, and then pronounced a *gāthā* (32 lines of four characters each), saying that the years of Śākyamuni's life were innumerable as the drops of all waters, immeasurable as the weight of all Sumeru mountains, incalculable as the atoms of dust of all the great lands, illimitable as the regions of the air and the milliards of kalpas.[4]

That night the Bodhisattva *Shinsō* saw in a dream a golden drum (金鼓), beautiful and large, and emitting a brilliant light like that of the sun.[5] In the midst of that light innumerable Buddhas of the ten quarters, seated on *vaiḍūrya* seats under precious trees and surrounded by numberless followers, were

[1] Cf. Rosenberg, *Vocabulary*, p. 35, 3, s. v. *Shinsō*.

[2] 寶相, *Hōsō*, instead of *Ratnasambhava*, 寶生, *Hōshō*, the Buddha "Precious Shape", of the South.

[3] Instead of *Amoghasiddhi*, *Fukūjōju*, 不空成就, the Buddha of the North.

[4] Ch. I, Sect. 2, p. 45.

[5] In a modern Chinese *Life of Buddha* (*Shaka Nyorai ōge jiseki*, Vol. II, 5, 6) the golden drum is represented floating through the air in a broad beam of light emitted by Shinsō's head.

preaching the Law. A man, resembling a Brahman, struck the drum with a stick, and a great sound was produced, preaching a Hymn of Repentance (*sange geju*, 懺悔偈頌). The next morning the Bodhisattva went from *Rājagṛha* to the Vulture Peak, whither an enormous crowd of Bodhisattvas and other living beings were also going. On reaching the Buddha's place, he paid reverence to him and in a long *gāthā* [1] related his dream, speaking about the golden drum and the Hymn of Repentance. The delicate and wondrous (*mimyō*, 微妙) sound of this drum is able to remove all sorrows and fears of living beings, to save them from birth and death and cause them to reach the strand of great wisdom. It causes them to fathom the depth and far-reaching meaning of Indian sounds, the unsurpassable glory of the Buddhas, the excelling fruit of *bodhi*; it causes them to turn the unsurpassed Wheel, and, living innumerable kalpas in exquisite and wonderful purity, to preach the *Saddharma* for the benefit of all living beings. If the latter, being tortured in hell, hear the golden drum, they shall instantly pay reverence to the Buddhas. Its sound also causes living beings to obtain knowledge of innumerable former lives, and gives them right thoughts in their hearts. It makes them meet the Buddhas and keeps them far from all evil deeds, causing them to practice innumerable virtuous and pure actions.

"On behalf of these living beings, I make a place of refuge. All these Buddhas may now testify to the heart of great compassion, born in me long ago.... Buddhas of the ten quarters, I now ask forgiveness and repent (*sange*) of my original evil deeds.... I confess them all (*hotsuro*) with a sincere heart; those which I have not yet committed, I shall not in future venture to commit nor shall I dare to conceal (*fukuzō*, 覆藏) my sins of the past. I now repent all evil deeds of body, mouth

[1] Ch. I, Sect. 3, pp. 46—48 (648 lines of four characters each); cf. *Saishōōkyō*, Ch. II, sect. 4, pp. 7*b*—9*b* (228 lines of seven characters and 168 of five characters each) (new Jap. ed. with movable types).

and mind.[1] ....If virtuous men and women, kings, kshatriyas and brahmans, respectfully joining their palms and turning towards the Buddha(s), praise him (them) and read this *gāthā*, in whatever place they may be born they shall always know their former lives, their "roots" (*panca indriyāni*, faith, energy, memory, ecstatic meditation, and wisdom) shall be pure, upright and serious, all kinds of blessing virtues shall be completed (within them), and wheresoever they be they shall always become kings of the countries, revered by their ministers. If they plant the blessing virtues in (the lands of) one, five or ten Buddhas, they shall not hear this Repentance (*sange*); but if they plant the roots of virtue in the (lands of) numberless Buddhas, they shall afterwards obtain to hear this Repentance".[2]

The next section of the first chapter of the *Konkwōmyōkyō*, entitled *Sandanbon* (讚歎品) or "Section (*varga*) of the Praise" (of the Buddhas) (sect. 4) consists of a *gāthā* of 250 lines of 4 characters each. It is a hymn spoken in praise of all the Buddhas of the past, present and future. The Buddha relates to the Earth goddess *Dṛḍhā* (地神堅牢善女天, *Jishin Kenrō Zennyoten*), that King *Suvarṇa Bhujendra* (金龍尊, *Kinryūson*) uttered this *gāthā* in former days.

The first part of the hymn contains praise of the Buddhas. Then follows the vow that, if during innumerable kalpas, wheresoever he may be born, in his dreams he shall always see the wonderful Golden Drum and hear its deep Voice of Repentance, he will always truly expound it in the day-time, in order to save all living beings and to cause them to cross the sea of bitterness. For since he had seen and heard this drum in a dream he then pronounced this vow.

In the second part of the hymn he expressed his hope of be-

[1] L.l., pp. 46*b*, 47*a*.

[2] L.l., p. 48*a*; cf. *Saishōōkyō*, Ch. II, sect. 4, p. 9*b*.

coming a Buddha and (as a reward for his praise of the Buddhas) of meeting the future Buddha Śākyamuni and of receiving from him the prediction (*kibetsu*, 記莂) of his future Buddhaship, together with his two sons *Konryū* (金龍) and *Konkwō* (金光), "Golden Nāga" and "Golden Light", who might always be his sons again. Thus on account of this "Repentance of the Golden Light" (*Konkwō sange*) he hoped that, by its power, the great sea of his crimes and trouble might dry up, and that he might obtain a great sea of blessing virtue and wisdom, perfect and pure, emitting himself a brilliant Buddha light.

After having recited this *gāthā*, spoken by King *Suvarṇa Bhujendra*, Śākyamuni addresses the Bodhisattva *Shinsō* (信相, *Ruciraketu*) (who pronounced the first Hymn of Repentance, mentioned above) and informs him that in former days he and his sons were that king and his two sons. Thus this king, in his later shape of the Bodhisattva *Shinsō*, became the originator (*hokkishu*, 發起衆) of the *Konkwōmyōkyō*, i. e. the disciple who by his questions gave rise to this sermon of the Buddha. [1]

The *Konkwōmyō Saishōōkyō* (Nanjō No. 126, 金光明最勝王經), the complete translation of the same text by the famous pilgrim I-tsing, 義淨, who translated many texts from A.D. 700 to 712, is much more extensive. It contains 10 chapters and 31 sections, whereas the *Konkwōmyōkyō*, Dharmaraksha's translation, only has 4 chapters and 18 sections.

Here the name of the Bodhisattva who was in doubt as to the reason why the Buddha's life was so short is *Myōdō* (妙幢, "Wonderful Banner", *Ruciraketu* [2] instead of *Shinsō* (信相, also *Ruciraketu*); evidently both parts of the name are taken by the two translators in a different sense. It is also this *Myōdō* who saw and heard the Golden Drum of Repentance in his dream.

[1] L.l., pp. 48 sq. As to *hokkishu* cf. *Daijiten*, p. 1588, 2 s. v., and p. 709, 1 s. v. *shishu*.

[2] Cf. Eitel, *Sanskr.-Chin. Dict.* s. v.; Rosenberg, *Vocabulary*, p. 129, 2, s. v. *Myōdō*.

The names of the four Buddhas who manifested themselves in his room are *Acala* (*Fudō*, 不動, the "Immovable", i. e. *Akṣobhya* (East), *Ratnaketu* (*Hōsō*, 寶相) (South), *Amitāyus* (*Muryōju*, 無量壽) (West), and *Dundubhīśvara* (*Tenku-on*, "Sound of the Celestial Drum", 天鼓音) (North), whose name is *Mimyōshō*, 微妙聲, "Delicate and Wonderful Voice", in Dharmaraksha's translation. [1]

King *Suvarṇa-Bhujendra* (here called *Kinryūshu*, 金龍主) and his hymn are not mentioned there until the fifth chapter, seventh section; [2] whereas the *Konkwōmyōkyō* deals with them in the first chapter, fourth section, immediately after the Bodhisattva *Shinsō*'s hymn of repentance.

The Golden Drum of Repentance is called *Konkwōmyō-ku* (金光明鼓) in the *Saishōōkyō*, where we read, in the beginning of the Hymn, sung by its mighty voice:

> "The Drum of Golden Light gives a wonderful sound,
> Everywhere it reaches the numberless thousands of worlds,
> It is able to extinguish the direst sins of the three evil roads [3]
> And all torment and danger of mankind. [4]

The rites of repentance (*sangehō*), practiced in accordance with the doctrine of the *Konkwōmyōkyō*, were first called *Kichijō kekwa* (§ 15), afterwards *Konkwōmyō-sen* (金光明懺) or *Konkwōmyō-sammai-sen* (三昧懺); *samādhi* (*sammai*) was added because they were practiced intensely, with the whole heart. The *T'ien-t'ai* priests Chi-li (知禮, Nanjō App. III 51), the author of the commentaries Nos. 1549 and 1553, and of No. 1516, *Konkwōmyō Saishō sengi* (compiled about A.D. 1020), and Tsun-shih (遵式, Nanjō App. III 47), who composed No. 1512, the *Konkwōmyō sembō hojo gi* (金光明懺法補助儀) and

[1] *Saishōōkyō*, Ch. I, sect. 2, p. 2*a*.

[2] *Saishōōkyō*, Ch. IV, sect. 7, pp. 16*b* sq.

[3] *Sanzu*, 三塗, those of fire, blood and swords (hell, animals, pretas).

[4] *Saishōōkyō*, Ch. II, sect. 4, p. 7*b*.

No. 1513 (the *Ōjō jōdo sengwan gi*, 往生淨土懺願儀) (written in A.D. 998—1022) used to perform these rites, extensively explained by them in their works. They were called *Gokoku-konkwōmyō-sammai-sen*, since they served to protect the country (*gokoku*, 護國).[1]

During the Ming dynasty a well-known *T'ien-t'ai* priest wrote a work about these rites (quoted as *Konkwōmyō sen*), namely Chi-hiuh (Chi-gyoku, 智旭, called *Ling-fung*, 靈峯, after the mountain where he dwelt), who lived A.D. 1599—1654.[2] This priest also wrote the "*Bommōkyō sange gyōhō*" (abbreviated into *Bommō-sembō*) on the penitential rites based upon the *Bommōkyō*, 梵網經 (Nanjō No. 1087), the "*Code du Mahāyāna*" (De Groot).[3]

§ 8. *The Bussetsu Kwan Fugen Bosatsu gyōhō kyō* (佛說觀普賢菩薩行法經) *or "Sūtra spoken by the Buddha on the rites of meditation on the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra, quoted as Kwan-Fugengyō or Fugen-kwangyō (Nanjō No. 394), and translated by Dharmamitra, A.D. 424—441.*

This *Mahāyāna sūtra* is also called *Shutsujin kudoku kyō* (出深功德經) or "*Sūtra* on the manifesting and deepening of meritorious virtue". Dharmamitra, 曇摩蜜多, whose name is translated into 法秀, was a *śramaṇa* from Cabul, who lived A.D. 356—442, arrived in China A.D. 424, and translated Buddhist works A.D. 424—441 (Nanjō, App. II 75). Two other translations, one by Gītamitra of the Eastern Tsin dynasty (A.D. 302—376, Nanjō No. 46) and one by Kumārajīva, who translated A.D. 402–412, were lost very early. It explains the rites of repentance of the

[1] Cf. *Daijiten*, p. 498, 1, s. v. *Konkwōmyō sammai sen.*

[2] *Daijiten*, p. 498, 2, s. v. *Konkwōmyōsen*; p. 1192, s. v. *Chigyoku.*

[3] *Daijiten*, p. 1641, 2, s. v. *Bommō sembō.* Cf. the fifth of the 48 secondary commandments given in that *sūtra*, translated in A.D. 406 by Kumārajīva.

sins of the six "roots" (*rokkon*, 六根, eyes, ears, nose, tongue, body, and mind) by means of the meditation on the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra. Thus it is the counterpart of the 28th chapter of the *Hokkekyō* (*Saddharma puṇḍarīka sūtra*), entitled *Fugen Bosatsu kwanhotsu-bon*, 普賢菩薩勸發品, or "Chapter on the exhortation (of the worshippers of the final period of the Law, *masse no gyōja*, 末世行者) by the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra (who came from the East to admonish all living beings to worship the *Saddharma puṇḍarīka*). For this reason the *Tendai* school made the *Kwan-Fugengyō* the *kekkyō* (結經, "closing *sūtra*") of the Lotus *sūtra*, expounded after the main text, the *Muryōgikyō* (無量義經, *Amitārtha sūtra*, No. 133) being its *kaikyō* (開經, "opening *sūtra*"). Together they are called the *Hokke sambu* (法華三部) or "Three Books of the Lotus". Moreover, the *Kwan-Fugengyō* forms the base of the *Hokke sembō* (法華懺法) or "Rites of Repentance of the Lotus", performed by the priests of the *Tendai* sect. [1]

After having explained the *Saddharma puṇḍarīka sūtra*, the Buddha replies to Ānanda's question and says that after his Parinirvāṇa all living beings must practise the *Kwan-Fugengyō* in order to be able to understand the *Hokke sammai* (法華三昧, *Samādhi* or deepest meditation on the Lotus).

In order to see by meditation the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra appear in full majesty, seated upon a white elephant and multiplied in 500 shapes, and to hear him explain the Law and the way of purifying the six organs of sensation (*rokkon shōjō*) by the rites of repentance, those who read the *Mahāyāna sūtras* and practice the Mahāyāna doctrine and who wish to behold Samantabhadra, Prabhūtaratna Buddha's pagoda (*Tahōtō*), Śākyamuni and all the other Buddhas who divide them-

[1] *Daijiten*, p. 350, 2, s. v. *Kwan-Fugengyō*; p. 398, 1, s. v. *kekkyō*, and p. 160, 3, s. v. *kaikyō*; *Daijii*, III, p. 3963, 2, s. v. *Fugen-kwangyō*. As to the *Hokke sanjūkō*, the meeting devoted to these three *sūtras*, cf. below, Ch. VIII, § 16, B; Ch. XVI, § 10.

selves into numberless bodies, and to obtain purity of their six organs, must worship the Buddhas of the ten quarters and practice the rites of repentance six times, thrice in the day-time and thrice at night. By means of this repentance of the evil deeds of the six organs and this meditation on the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra, the six organs (and senses) shall be purified.

In a *gāthā*, pronounced by the Buddha on the purifying power of repentance, the last lines refer to the meditation upon the "Real Nature" (*jissō*, 實相) (of all *dharmas*), because the whole sea of obstacles, consisting in deeds (*gōshō*), arises from erroneous thoughts. If one ponders on the "Real Nature" (i. e. on Emptiness), all sins disappear like hoar-frost and dew, absorbed by the rays of the Sun of Wisdom. [1]

At the end of the *sūtra* the Buddha explains to Ānanda the five kinds of repentance (*go sange*).

The first is that of the warriors and landlords (*kṣatriya* and *kulapati*, 刹利居士, *setsuri koji*), who with a sincere heart must take care not to slander the Triratna or hinder the monks or cause evil difficulties for the sake of Brahmans, and who must "bind their thoughts" and practice the six methods of thought, as well as make offerings to those who keep the (prescriptions of) Mahāyāna. It is not necessary that they pay worship, but they ought to ponder on the "Emptiness of the first meaning" (*daiichigi-kū*), i. e. the 6th of the 18 kinds of Emptiness.

The second rite of repentance is that of those who love and support their parents and revere their teachers and elders. [2]

The third is that of those who rule their countries well, in accordance with the *Saddharma*, and who do not maltreat their peoples.

[1] P. 135*a*. This is the *risan*, dealt with below, same chapter, § 12, B.

[2] Cf. above Ch. VII, § 4, pp. 241 sqq. Kōbō Daishi's *Mandō-e* and *Manke-e* as a thanksgiving for the "Four Favours". Here we have a connection between thanksgiving, repentance and lights.

The fourth *sange* is performed by those who on the six fast-days (of the month, namely the 8th, 14th, 15th, 23th, 29th and 30th days, on which the Four Deva Kings carefully examine the good and evil actions of mankind and evil demons lie in wait for them; on these *rokusainichi*, 六齋日, they must be cautious in all matters and not take any food after noon) by ordinance forbid the killing of living beings within the territories under their sway.

The fifth *sange* consists in an intense belief in the law of cause and effect and in the only true Road, and in the knowledge that the Buddhas never expire.

"Ānanda", concluded the Buddha, "if in future times there are persons who practice these rites of repentance, it shall be known that these persons 'wear the dress of shame' (著慚愧服, *zangi-fuku*, i. e. shame on account of their sins, one of the eleven virtues), that the Buddhas protect and assist them, and that they shall soon obtain perfect enlightenment (*anuttara-samyaksambodhi*)". [1]

§ 9. *The Daihōkwō Butsu Kegonkyō Fugen Bosatsu gyōgwan-bon* (大方廣佛華嚴經普賢菩薩行願品) *or "Chapter on the actions and vows of the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra, in the Mahāvaipulya-Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra" (Nanjō No. 89), i. e. the Avataṃsaka-sūtra of 40 chapters, translated by Prajñā, A.D. 796—798.*

The 40th or last chapter of this *Mahāyāna* text is entitled *Nyū fushigi gedatsu kyōgai Fugen gyōgwan-bon*, or "Chapter on the actions and vows of Samantabhadra, having entered the wonderful world of salvation". Here the ten great actions and vows of this Bodhisattva are explained (*jūshu gyōgwan*, 十種行願). They are as follows.

[1] Nanjō No. 394, New Jap. ed. XI 4, pp. 132—135.

1. *Venerating the Buddhas* (禮敬諸佛, *raikyō shobutsu*).

2. *Praising the Buddhas* (稱讚如來, *shōsan Nyorai*).

3. *Extensively practicing offerings* (廣修供養, *kwōshū kuyō*).

4. *Repenting the obstacles (consisting) of (evil) deeds* (懺悔業障, *sange gōshō*).

5. *Consenting to and rejoicing in the blessing virtues (of others)* (隨喜功德, *zuiki kudoku*).

6. *Praying (the Buddhas) to turn the Wheel of the Law* (請轉法輪, *shōtembōrin*).

7. *Praying the Buddhas to stay in this world* (請佛住世, *shōbutsujūse*).

8. *Always following the Buddha's teachings* (常隨佛學, *jōzui Butsugaku*).

9. *Constantly benefitting all living beings* (恒順衆生, *gōjun shujō*).

10. *Universally turning all* (his virtuous roots) *towards* (all living beings for their benefit, and to the Buddha road (普皆廻向, *fukai ekō*).

The *Shingon* sect has combined these ten vows into five kinds of repentance (*Shingon goke*, 眞言五悔), in the following way.

1. *Taking refuge* (in the Buddha and his doctrine) (歸命, *kimyō*). This refers to the first three vows.

2. *Repentance* (懺悔, *sange*). This agrees with the fourth vow.

3. *Consenting to and rejoicing in (the virtues of others)* (隨喜, *zuiki*). [1] This is the fifth vow.

[1] In the Lotus *sūtra*, Ch. XVIII (Kern Ch. XVII) *zuiki* means joyful acceptance of the words of the *sūtra*; but here it is explained in this sense. The former meaning, also called acceptance of the *jiri*, i. e. the opposition between the material and the real world, is the sense of *zuiki* as the first of the five stages of the *Tendai* disciples (*gohon deshi-i*, 五品弟子位, *Daijii*, I, p. 1414, 2.

4. *Exhorting and requesting* (*i. e. praying to*) (*the Buddhas*) (勸請, *kwanjō*). This regards the sixth, seventh and eighth vows.

5. *Turning towards* (i. e. turning one's virtuous roots towards all living beings, in other words using the good effects of one's virtues for the benefit of others) (回向, *ekō*, generally used for masses for the dead). This applies to the two last vows. [1]

Repentance (*sange*) is also the second of the nine *upāyas* (九方便, *ku-hōben*), i. e. of the nine means of obtaining salvation (*upāya* being the seventh of the ten *pāramitās*, *jūdo*, 十度, "means of passing" to the other shore, *Nirvāṇa*), practised by the mystic school before their secret ceremonies, namely:

1. *Sincere respect* (虔誠恭敬, *genjō kugyō*) towards the Buddhas of the ten quarters (bowing before them and reciting magic formulae, *shingon*).

2. *Repentance* (*sange*) for the sins of the past and present.

3. *Taking refuge* (歸作, *kisa*), in all the Buddhas of the ten quarters and of the three worlds (of the past, present and future).

4. *Self-sacrifice* (自供養, *ji-kuyō*), meditation on one's willingness to sacrifice one's self to all the Buddhas.

5. *Setting forth a bodhi-heart* (發菩提心, *hotsu bodaishin*), meditation upon one's own heart and the bad influence of its errors upon it, and upon the necessity of purifying it.

6. *Consenting to and rejoicing in the blessing virtues* (of others, especially of the Bodhisattvas) (隨喜功德, *zuiki kudoku*).

7. *Exhorting and requesting the clouds of blessing power* (勸請德雲, *kwanjō toku-un*), i. e. praying the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas that they may cause the rain of mercy and salvation to descend everywhere upon the suffering world.

8. *Requesting the Buddhas to stay in this world* (請佛住世, *shōbutsu jūse*), in order to save all living beings.

9. *Turning towards Bodhisattvaship* (回向菩薩, *ekō Bo-*

[1] *Daijiten*, p. 521 sq.

satsu), namely causing one's blessing virtues to promote the felicity of all living beings and at the same time "turning them to the Great *Bodhi*" (i. e. producing Enlightenment). [1]

Thus we see that these nine *upāyas* of the *Shingon* sect (and of the mystic branch of the *Tendai* school) nearly agree with Samantabhadra's ten great vows, and that repentance was considered to be so important among them, that the *Shingon* sect even spoke of the "five kinds of repentance".

According to Chi-che ta-shi's explanations in the *Maka-shikwan* (摩訶止觀) or "Great Quietude and Contemplation" [2] (Nanjō No. 1538, A.D. 594) the *Tendai* sect differentiates the following "Five kinds of Repentance", to be performed six times in the space of 24 hours and called *Rokuji goke*, 六時五悔, or *Tendai goke*.

1. *Sange*, 懺悔, Repentance, explained as confessing (*hotsuro ṣuru*, 發露) one's sins of the past and correcting one's future actions. As stated above (Ch. VIII, § 1), Chi-che ta-shi explained *ṣan* as confession instead of as "asking forgiveness" (litt. patience).

2. *Kwanjō*, 勸請, "Exhorting and requesting", i. e. praying to the Buddhas of the ten quarters and exhorting them to turn the Wheel of the Law.

3. *Zuiki*, 隨喜, "Consenting to and Rejoicing in" all the virtuous roots of others, and praising them.

4. *Ekō*, 廻向, "Turning towards", i. e. turning all one's own virtuous roots to the benefit of all living beings and to the Buddha road.

5. *Hotsugwan*, 發願, "Uttering Vows", i. e. the "Four Great Oaths" (*shiguzei*, 四弘誓) of all Bodhisattvas, namely:

[1] *Daijiten*, pp. 305 sq.

[2] *Śamatha vipaśyanā*. "Stopping" is used here in the sense of Quietude, Meditation, and "Observing" in the sense of Contemplation and true insight connected with it. Cf. Kern, *Manual* p. 60, where the Arhats are said to have these two attributes. Nanjō No. 1538, Ch. VII*b* (XIV), large ed. p. 15 sqq.

a) Converting the innumerable living beings.

b) Cutting off the inexhaustible sufferings (*bonnō*) (i. e. the *kleśas*, passions).

c) Teaching the immeasurable doctrines (gates of the Law, *hōmon*).

d) Completing the unsurpassable Buddha road. [1]

By virtue of these vows the four preceding virtuous actions are guided and directed. These four being intended to repent bad deeds and extinguish evil, they are all called methods or rites of repentance (*kehō*, 悔法). [2]

Towards the end of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* of 40 chapters (Nanjō No. 89, Ch. XL, p. 164*b*) rebirth in *Amitābha*'s paradise is mentioned, whereupon Samantabhadra pronounces a long *gāthā*, four lines of which form the so-called *sange-mon*, 懺悔文, or "Text of Repentance", universally used in performing these rites. They run as follows:

"All my evil deeds of the past
Were based upon beginningless greed, anger and stupidity.
The evil, born of my body, speech and thought,
I now repent (repentantly confess, *pratideśayāni*) it all.

我昔所造諸惡業
皆由無始貪瞋癡。
從身語意之所生
一切我今皆懺悔。[3]

A similar *sangemon* is used by the *Hongwanji* branch of the *Jōdo Shinshū* in its rites of repentance in honour of the twelve

[1] Cf. *Daijiten*, p. 360, 1, s.v. *guzei*. As to the *goke* cf. above this chapter, § 6.

[2] *Daijiten*, p. 521, 3; *Shūsan yōshi*, 修懺要旨, Nanjō No. 1580, by Chi-li (知禮) of the T'ien-t'ai school (about A.D. 1020), New Jap. ed. XXXIII, 7, p. 49*b*; large Jap. ed. of Leiden, pp. 33*b* sq.

[3] Nanjō No. 89, Ch. XL, p. 164*b*; large ed. p. 10*b*; the 29th—32nd lines of the *gāthā*. Cf. above, Ch. VIII, § 1, p. 254, concerning this passage in Nanjō No. 1336 and 1142.

luminous manifestations of *Amitābha* (*jūni-kwō-rai sahō*, 十二光禮作法), namely: "I repent with my whole heart, I humbly adore (*namaḥ*), ask forgiveness and utter repentance to the Buddhas of the ten quarters, I wish to eradicate all roots of evil" (至心懺悔, 南無懺悔十方佛, 願滅一切諸罪根, *shishin sange, namu sange jūhō-butsu, gwan metsu issai shozaikon*), based upon the *Rokuji raisan* (六時禮讃) or "Adoration and Praise (of *Amitābha*) (repeated) six times (a day)", a hymn in praise of this Buddha, written by the famous propagator of his cult, Shen-tao (善導, Zendō), who died A.D. 681.[1] The same sect uses similar formulae of repentance in the *Nyohō nembutsu sahō* (如法念佛作法), or "Rites of praying (to Amitābha) according to the Law".[2]

§ 10. *The Bussetsu gōhō shabetsu kyō* (佛說業報差別經) *or "Sūtra spoken by the Buddha on the difference of the retributions of deeds" (Nanjō No. 739), translated by Gautama Dharmaprajñā, A.D. 582.*

This is a *Hīnayāna sūtra* (the other sexts belonged to *Mahāyāna*), which deals with the divers kinds of good and evil deeds and their retributions, each being enumerated in a group of ten. Thereupon the Buddha points out the great value of shame (*zangi*, 慙愧, *hrī-apatrāpya*, explained as being ashamed of evil deeds with regard to one's self (*zan*) and to others (*ki*), but the difference between the two kinds of shame is also explained in other ways, e.g. towards heaven and men)[3] and repentance (*sange*) for those who have committed "deeds of hell". If they do not know fear, shame, dislike, and repentance, and thus,

[1] Cf. *Daijiten*, p. 1834, 2, s. v. *rokuji raisan*; p. 1063, 2, s. v. *Zendō*. See below, Ch. VIII, § 16, C.

[2] *Daijii*, II, p. 1560, 1, s. v. *sangemon*.

[3] *Daijii*, II, p. 1527, 3 sq., s. v. *zangi*.

like Devadatta, repeat and increase their evil actions, they must remain in hell their full time and after being reborn they find an early death and on account of fresh sins fall into hell again. But if they know fear, shame, dislike and repentance, and thus reject wicked deeds, on account of their remorse (追悔, *tsuige*) they have to stay in hell only half the time, and if afterwards in consequence of some deeds they enter it again, they leave it soon. If after their "deeds of hell" they are afraid, if a higher belief rises and increases in their hearts, if shame is born in their souls, if they dislike and hate and reject their sins, if they deeply repent them and do not commit them again, like King Ajātaśatru (who had murdered his father) after a short period of punishment in hell they obtain salvation (*gedatsu*).

Then the Tathāgata pronounced the following *gāthā*:

"If man commits serious crimes,
But after those deeds severely reproaches himself,
If he repents (*sange*) and does not commit them again,
He can extirpate his original actions".

(若人造重罪, 作已深自責, 懺悔更不造, 能拔根本業).[1]

Here we see the idea, preached by the Buddha in a *sūtra* belonging to the Hīnayāna doctrine, that shame and remorse, if felt intensely, are excellent means for obtaining forgiveness of sins and final salvation. No rites of repentance are, however, mentioned, which points to the fact that these were elaborated by the *Mahāyāna* schools, which used to give a wide expansion to ideas expressed in *Hīnayāna* in a simple and general way.

As to King *Ajātaśatru*'s repentance and salvation, we found this dealt with in another *Hīnayānistic sūtra* (the *Dīrghāgama sūtra*, Nanjō No. 545, Ch. XVII),[2] where Buddhayaśas, the trans-

[1] Nanjō No. 739, Large Jap. ed. p. 21.

[2] Cf. above, Ch. VIII, § 1, Buddhayaśas' translation of Nanjō No. 545, Ch. XVII, No. 9, Cover XIII, 8, p. 87*b* (new ed.).

lator, together with Chuh Fuh-nien still used the ancient term *kekwa* instead of *sange* (A.D. 412—413), and in the Mahāyānistic *Mahāparinirvāṇa sūtra* (Nanjō No. 114, Southern revision) [1] (A.D. 424—453). In the latter text (No. 113, Northern translation by Dharmaraksha II, Ch. XVII, *Bongyō-bon* VIII 4, p. 15*b*, large ed.) the five "commandments of purity" (淨戒, *jōkai*) of the Bodhisattvas are enumerated, to wit: Belief (信), shame towards one's self (慚), shame towards others (愧), virtuous knowledge (善知識) and reverence for the commandments (宗敬戒). There also the term *mukegon-shin* (無悔恨心) or "a heart without regret" is used with regard to the Bodhisattvas, who by keeping the commandments of purity spontaneously, without longing for it, obtain such a heart.

§ 11. *The Daijō honshō shinji kwangyō* (大乘本生心地觀經) *or Mahāyāna-jātaka-cittabhūmi-parīkṣā-sūtra, "Mahāyāna Sūtra on the contemplation of the processes of consciousness of the original lives (of the Buddha)"* [2] *(Nanjō No. 955), translated by Prajñā and others, A.D. 785—810.*

In the third chapter of this *sūtra* the Buddha pronounces a very long *gāthā*, which contains the following passage on the power of repentance.

"If one is capable of repentance (*sange*) according to
[the Law,
All his defiling passions (*kleśas, bonnō*, litt. sufferings)
[are taken away.

[1] Cf. above; Ch. VIII, § 1; Nanjō No. 113, the Northern Book, and No. 114, the Southern revision.

[2] Cf. Dr. J. Rahder, *Daśabhūmika-sūtra*, p. XXVIII, where, in accordance with Prof. de la Vallée Poussin, the title of this *sūtra* is given in this way instead of in that of Nanjō. Dr. Rahder kindly explained to me the meaning of *shinji, cittabhūmi* (processes of consciousness).

Like a kalpa-fire (*kōkwa*, 劫火) destroys the world,
Burning Mount Sumeru and the vast seas,
Repentance can burn the firewood of defiling passions
[(*kleśas*),
Repentance can give rebirth (*ōjō*) on the Deva Roads,
Repentance can obtain the joy of the Four *Dhyāna* Heavens,
Repentance causes the precious *Maṇi* pearls to rain down,
Repentance can prolong a *Vajra*-life (*kongō-ju*) (strong
[as adamant), [1]
Repentance can give entrance into the Palace of Eternal
[Joy (of *Nirvāṇa*).
Repentance can give escape from the prisons of the three
[worlds (of desire, lust and greed).
Repentance can open the flower of *Bodhi*.
Repentance looks at the great round mirror (of wisdom)
[of the Buddhas,
Repentance can reach the precious place (*Nirvāṇa*).
If one can repent according to the Law,
He shall rely upon the practice of the two gates of
[meditation,
The first one is the gate that destroys crime by meditating
[on Matter,
The second is the gate that destroys crime by meditation
[on the Absolute Nature. [2]
There are three kinds of destroying crime by meditating
[on Matter,
The upper, middle and lower roots form those three
[classes".

[1] Cf. Nanjō No. 1391, the Tantric *Vajrāyurdhārany-adhyāya-kalpa, Kongō jumyō darani nenju hō* (金剛壽命陀羅尼念誦法), a magic rite for lengthening life, translated by Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra A.D 723—730.

[2] 一者觀事滅罪門, 二者觀理滅罪門. Nanjō No. 955, Ch. III, p. 12*b* (large ed.).

Then the Buddha explains those three classes of repentance, the so-called *sambon sange*, 三品懺悔, treated in the next paragraph among the different kinds of repentance.

§ 12. *The different kinds of repentance.*

A. *Uposatha* (布薩, *fusatsu*) *and Pravāraṇā* (自恣, *jishi*).

The *Vinaya* knows two kinds of repentance. The first is confession, based upon repentance and uttered on the occasion of the *Uposatha* (*fusatsu* is an abbreviation of 布薩陀婆, a transcription of *Poṣadha*, the would-be Sanskrit form of the word,[1] the translations being 淨住, *jōju*, "pure staying", 善宿, *zenshuku*, "virtuous staying", 長養, *jōyō*, "increasing and nourishing" (virtuous roots), and 齋, *sai*, "purification")[2] or Sabbath, held twice a month (on the 15th and 29th or 30th, in an assembly of at least four monks, when the *Pratimokṣa*,[3] the fundamental code of discipline common to all Buddhists monks, is recited and transgressions are confessed. "It is usual that the monks confess their sins to each other before the ceremony. At the end of each section the reciter asks whether any of the brethren present has transgressed one of the articles. If so, the transgression must be openly confessed; if not, the recital proceeds".[4]

The second kind of confession, based upon repentance, is that of the *Pravāraṇa* festival (自恣, *jishi*, "self-indulgence", later

[1] Cf. Kern, *Manual*, p. 74.

[2] Cf. *Daijiten*, p. 1521, 1, s. v. *fusatsu*.

[3] *Haradaimokusha* or *mokusha* (木叉), *kaihon* (戒本) or *kairitsu* (戒律), or *betsu gedatsu* (別解脫), "special salvation", or *shosho gedatsu* (處處解脫), "salvation obtained in all places".

[4] Kern, *Manual*, p. 75; De la Vallée Poussin, *La Morale bouddhique*, pp. 205 sq. (*la confession*); p. 243.

隨意, *zui-i*, "following one's will"), celebrated at the end of the summer-retreat (*ke-ango*, 夏安居), on the 15th of the seventh month (in China and Japan). We dealt with this assembly in connection with the festival of the dead (see above, Ch. IV, § 3, pp. 68—75), and stated that the faults of others were pointed out freely, whereupon confession followed and expiation of sins.

B. *Repentance with respect to phenomena (jisan,* 事懺*), and to the real, absolute nature of all the dharmas (risan,* 理懺*), and the three classes of the former category (sambon,* 三品*).*

As we learnt from the *Cittabhūmi-parīkṣā-sūtra* (*Shinji kwan-kyō*) (Nanjō No. 955) (see § 11, p. 280), the Buddha distinguished the "Gate that destroys crime by meditating on Matter" (觀事滅罪門, *kwanji metsuzai mon*) from the "Gate that destroys crime by meditating on the Absolute Nature" (觀理滅罪門, *kwanri metsuzai mon*). Matter (事, *ji*) are the *saṁskṛta-dharmas, u-i-hō,* 有爲法, "existent things", born of the twelve *nidānas* (*in*(*n*)*en*, 因緣); to Absolute Nature belong the *asaṁskṛta-dharmas, mu-i-hō,* 無爲法, "things without existence", which are neither born nor extinguished.

Jisan, 事懺, "Material repentance", consists in ceremonies with regard to phenomena, such as worshipping the Buddhas and reciting the *sūtras*. All the *Vinaya* rites belong to it. The *Cittabhūmi-parīkṣā-sūtra* divides it into three classes (*sambon* (*no*) *sange*, 三品懺悔), all called "the first commandment of purity" (*daiichi shōjō-kai*, 第一清淨戒). They are explained in the lines of the Buddha's hymn, following those quoted above (§ 11, p. 280). [1]

1. *Jōkon*, 上根, "Upper Roots", i. e. the highest use of the

[1] Nanjō No. 955, Ch. III, p. 12*b*, sq. (large ed.).

five sensations (*gokon*, 五根, *panca indriyāni*: faith, energy, memory, ecstatic meditation and wisdom), when constantly a great energy must be displayed in searching for the (fulfillment of) the commandments of purity (*jōkai*, 淨戒). Sorrow must be so intense, that blood is not only wept, but also emitted by the whole body. The thoughts must be fixed upon the places of the Triratnas of the ten quarters and upon all other living beings of the six *gati*. Lying on both knees (*chōki*, 長跪) and joining the palms of the hands (in prayer) with an undisturbed mind one must wash his heart by confession (*hotsuro*, 發露) and strive for forgiveness and repentance (*sange*).[1] This is the strongest and highest form of material repentance.

2. *Chūkon*, 中根, "Middle Roots". In this case one unconsciously weeps blood and tears, intermingled and violent; sweat streams from his whole body, and he sorrowfully supplicates the Buddhas to forgive him, confessing all the deeds of his beginningless lives.

3. *Gekon*, 下根, "Lowest Roots". With a heart striving for the unsurpassable *Bodhi*, a stream of tears and the hair of the body standing erect, one repents deeply all his evil deeds of body, mouth and mind and confesses them to the *Triratna*'s of the ten quarters and to the living beings of the six *gati*, with a heart full of compassion and without sparing one's life.

In his *Ojō raisan*, 往生禮讚, or "Adoration and praise (of Amitābha) in order to be reborn (in his paradise) Shen-tao (善導) († 681), the propagator of the Amitābha doctrine in China, mentioned above (§ 9, p. 277), adopted these three classes of repentance, stating that in that of the highest degree blood streams out of the pores of the body and from the eyes; in the middle class the body is covered with hot sweat

[1] Cf. *Daijii* II, p. 1559, 3, s. v. *sange no gohō*, the five rites of repentance of the Hīnayānists in the presence of a high-priest; see above, § 3, p 259, note.

and blood is wept; and in the third the whole body is hot and tears flow from the eyes. But at the same time Shen-tao lays stress upon the fact that the same effect (salvation) is reached by those, who, believing in Amitābha's original vows, have a sincere heart, penetrated by this belief (眞心徹到). Therefore Shinran, 親鸞, the founder of the *Jōdo Shinshū* (1174—1268), in his *Kōsō wasan* (高僧和讃) refers to Shen-tao's statement, saying: "The Master of the School has said: 'If those who believe with a sincere heart have a 'diamond heart' (*kongō-shin*, a heart strong and unbreakable as a diamond), this is the same (i. e. they have the same result) as those who perform the repentance of the three classes'". On account of these statements the *Jōdo Shinshū* priest Sōyō (僧鎔) (1723—1783) distinguished two kinds of repentance: the *shōdōmon* (聖道門) *no sange* or "Repentance of the Gate of the Road of the Āryas" (i. e. of the doctrines of the *Hossō*, *Tendai* and other sects), and that of the "Principal Gate" (*Yōmon*, 要門), i. e. of the Amitābha doctrine.[1]

Risan, 理懺, "Repentance with regard to the Absolute Nature of all the dharmas", is explained by the Buddha in the same *gāthā* in Ch. III of the *Cittabhūmi-parīkṣā-sūtra* (Nanjō No. 955), after the lines (of seven characters each) devoted to the three classes of the *jisan* or material repentance. If one meditates, dressed in new, pure garments and sitting cross-legged, with correct thoughts free from the *nidānas*, and entirely concentrating his mind upon the *Dharmakāya* (妙法身, *myōhōshin*) of the Buddhas, he begins to understand that the real nature of all *dharma's* is *Emptiness* (*śūnyatā*, 空, *kū*), which cannot be grasped, and that all sins are originally empty too. If one meditates day and night upon this Wonderful Absolute Emptiness, all his sins, obstacles on the road to salvation, are taken away. This is called the "highest keeping of the commandment of purity" (最上持淨戒, *saijō jijōkai*). If one sees and knows the emptiness

[1] Cf. *Daijii*, II, p. 1556, s. v. *sange*.

of reality, he can destroy all his serious sins, like as a severe storm by spreading a fierce fire can burn down innumerable plants and trees. Meditation upon Reality is called the "Secret and Principal Gate of the Buddhas" (諸佛祕要門, *shobutsu hiyō-mon*). [1]

Chi-che ta-shi (智者大師) (A.D. 531—597) calls *jisan* repentance of the road of sufferings (苦道, *kudō*) and of that of deeds (業道, *gōdō*), whereas *risan* is repentance of the road of the *kleśas* (煩惱道, *bonnōdō*). [2] In another work [3] the same patriarch of the *T'ien-t'ai* sect refers to the words of the *Fugen kwangyō* (Nanjō No. 394, cf. above, § 8, p. 271) and says that *risan* is meant by the last lines of the Buddha's hymn: [4] "If you wish to repent, you must sit in a correct attitude and think upon the Real Nature; then all your sins can be absorbed and removed by the Sun of Wisdom as hoar-frost and dew. Therefore you ought intensely to repent of the six sensations". As to *jisan,* this is purifying one's self from the sins of body, mouth and mind by confessing them to the images of the saints, six times within the space of day and night, without hiding anything and without again committing sins. Thus the ceremonies of repentance, mentioned in the *sūtras*, dealt with in the preceding paragraphs, as well as those mentioned in the *Sūtra* on the meditation on the Bodhisattva *Ākāśagarbha* (Nanjō No. 70, 觀虛空藏菩薩經, *Kwan Kokūzō Bosatsu kyō*, 3 leaves, translated A.D. 424—441 by Dharmamitra, App. II 75) (worship of the Buddhas of the ten quarters and invocation of the names of 35 Buddhas for one to seven days, and special invocation of the name of "Ākāśagarbha of Great Compassion" during three times

[1] Nanjō No. 955, Ch. III, large ed. p. 14.

[2] Nanjō No. 1538, *Maka shikwan*, Ch. II 2, quoted *Daijii*, II, p. 1555, 1, s. v. *sange.*

[3] Nanjō No. 1569, 四教義, *Shikyōgi*, quoted ibid.

[4] Nanjō No. 394, p. 135*a*, (new ed.).

seven days, in order to take away all sins for ever), all those ceremonies pertain to "material repentance".

Jisan is the so-called *sahō-sen*, 作法懺, or "ceremonial repentance", and the *shusō-sen*, 取相懺, or "repentance consisting in the (erroneous) apprehension of "appearances", "visions" (of the *saṁskṛta-dharmas*, things which are born and die).

Risan is the *mushō-sen*, 無生懺, or "repentance concerning the unchangeable Absolute Nature of the *asaṁskṛta-dharmas*, which neither are born nor die.

C. *The three kinds of rites of repentance* (*sanshu sembō*, 三種懺法).

These are expounded by Chi-che ta-shi (A.D. 531—597, the founder of the *T'ien-t'ai* sect), and recorded by his principal disciple, Kwan-ting (A.D. 561—632), in Nanjō No. 1552, the famous commentary on the *Konkwōmyōkyō* (No. 127), entitled *Konkwōmyōkyō mongu*, 金光明經文句, or "(Explanation of) words and sentences in the *Suvarṇa-prabhāsa sūtra*" (Ch. III). These three kinds, already mentioned in the preceding paragraph, belong to *Hīnayāna* as well as to *Mahāyāna*, and are called as follows.

1. *Sahō-sen*, or "Ceremonial repentance" (cf. above).

2. *Shusō-sen*, or "Repentance consisting in grasping the 相, *sō*, i. e. the "appearances", "visions", namely of the *saṁskṛta-dharmas* (cf. above).

3. *Mushō-sen*, or "Repentance concerning the *mushō*, things which have neither birth nor death, the *asaṁskṛta-dharmas*, belonging to the unchangeable Absolute Nature.

The two former are, as stated above, *jisan*, the latter is *risan*.

1. The *sahō-sen* of Hīnayāna are the rites of confession and repentance of the monks according to the *Vinaya*, by which they are purified from their sins (*Uposatha* and *Pravāraṇa*).

2. The *shusō-sen* of Hīnayāna are the so-called *sasō-sen*,

作相懺, or "Repentance practised by forming visions", in the *Āgama sūtras* (Nanjō Nos. 543 and 545), where e.g. a man who has committed the sin of lewdness is purified by forming a vision of the mouth of a poisonous snake and entirely concentrating his thoughts upon this subject.

3. The *mushō-sen* of Hīnayāna is the so-called *kwankū-sen*, 觀空懺, or "Repentance by means of meditation on Emptiness" (i. e. on the *shinkū*, 眞空, or "Real Emptiness", the Absolute Nature).

1. The *sahō-sen* of Mahāyāna are the ceremonies of repentance practiced by the adherents of this creed.

a) The ceremonies of 800 days in honour of *Ākāśagarbha* (*Kokūzō zuṣhi*, 虛空藏塗厠)[1] (or of 21 days, cf. Nanjō No. 70, the short *Sūtra* on the meditation on the Bodhisattva Ākāśagarbha).

b) The *Hanju-zammai* (般舟三昧) (*Pratyutpanna-samādhi*; *hanju* is translated into 佛立, because the Buddhas appear when this *samādhi* is practised), also called *jōgyōdō*, 常行道, "Perpetual ceremony", because it is performed without interruption for (seven or) ninety days. The *Tendai* sect calls it *jōgyō-sammai*, 常行三昧, or "Perpetually moving *samādhi*", the character 行 being used here in the sense of *gyōsen*, 行旋, "going round", to indicate that it is not a "sitting *samādhi*" or *za-sammai* (座三昧). It is one of the four kinds of *samādhi*, *shishu-sammai* (四種三昧) of the *Tendai* sect, namely *jōza*, *jōgyō*, *hangyō-hanza* and *higyō-hiza-sammai* (常坐, 常行, 半行半坐, 非行非坐三昧) or "Perpetually sitting, perpetually moving, half-moving half-sitting, and neither moving nor sitting *samādhi*" (the last having neither a fixed method nor a fixed period). The *jōgyō* or *hanju-zammai* is divided into three kinds, with regard to body, mouth and mind; in the first the

[1] This act of repentance consists of doing the unclean work of plastering and cleansing privies (*zushi*), cf. No. 70, p. 5, *b*, 2.

pradakṣiṇa circumambulation of the altar is made in silence, in the second with continual invocation of Amitābha (to whom they are all devoted), and in the third with meditation on him and his 32 *lakṣanas* or bodily marks; to invoke Amitābha in this way has the same beneficial effect as the invocation of all the Buddhas of the ten quarters. [1]

c) The *Daihi-sen*, 大悲懺, or "Repentance in worship of the Great Compassionate One", also called *Daihi-sengi* (儀). This is an abbreviation of *Shutsuzō Daihi sembō*, 出像大悲懺法, and another term for *Senju Sengen Daihishin-ju gyōhō* (千手千眼大悲心呪行法) or "Rite by means of the magic formula (*dhāraṇī*) of the Thousand-armed Thousand-eyed Great Compassionate One's Heart", i. e. of the Thousand-armed *Avalokiteśvara*, *Senju Kwannon*. This rite, based upon the *Senju-kyō*, 千手經 (Nanjō No. 320) (translated by Bhagavaddharma(?) of the T'ang dynasty, A.D. 618—907, the exact date being unknown), is explained by the *T'ien-t'ai* priest Chi-li (智禮, called 四明大師) about A.D. 1020 (Nanjō No. 1517, 千手眼大悲心呪行法). [2] This magic formula, called *Daihi-ju*, 大悲呪, or "*Dhāraṇī* of the Great Compassionate One", when recited during seven times seven (49) days, causes the Buddhas of the ten quarters to appear and obliterate all sins. [3]

d) The *Hokke sembō* (法華懺法), i. e. the *Hokke sammai gyōbō* (法華三昧行法), or "Rite of *Samādhi* of the *Saddharma puṇḍarīka*", explained by Chi-che ta-shi (A.D. 531—597) in his *Hokke sammai sengi* (懺儀) (Nanjō No. 1510), and practised by the *Tendai* sect during 21 (three times seven) days (cf. also Nanjō No. 135). [4]

[1] *Daijii*, II, p. 2171, 2 sq., s. v. *shishu-zammai*; *Daijiten*, p. 1435, 2, s. v. *hanju-zammai*. Cf. below, Ch. VIII, § 16, C, *Amida sembō*.

[2] *Daijiten*, p. 1160, 1, s. v. *daihisen*.

[3] *Daijii*, III, p. 3211, 1, s. v. *daihi-ju*.

[4] *Daijii*, III, p. 4101, 1, s. v. *hokke sembō*; *Daijiten*, p. 1597, s. v. *hokke sammai (sengi)*.

e) *Hōdō sange* (方等懺悔) or *Hōdō-sen* (方等懺) or *Hōdō sammai* (方等三昧), i. e. Repentance by means of *Samādhi*, based upon the *Daihōdō-darani-kyō* (大方等陀羅尼經) (Nanjō No. 421, *Mahāvaipulya-dhāraṇī-sūtra*, translated A.D. 402—412 by Fah-chung, 法衆, Nanjō App. II 65) of the Northern Liang dynasty. In this *sūtra* at the request of Mañjuśrī the Buddha explains all kinds of magic formulae (*dhāraṇī*) and the rites of repentance to extinguish sins and lengthen life.

Hwui-szĕ (Eshi zenji, 慧思禪師) of the "Southern Peak" (*Nan-yoh, Nangaku*, 南嶽, i. e. *Heng-shan*, 衡山, the Southern of the "Five Peaks", on the West side of the river Siang in Hunan province), called Nan-yoh ta-shi or "Great Master of the Southern Peak", the third patriarch of the *T'ien-t'ai* school, who lived A.D. 514—577 (Nanjō App. III 10),[1] practised these rites for seven years and thus obtained purity of his six senses (*rokkon shōjō*). His pupil Chi-i, 智顗, i. e. Chi-che ta-shi, the founder of the *T'ien-t'ai* school in China (A.D. 531—597), wrote a work entitled *Hōdō sammai gyōbō*, 方等三昧行法, or "Rules for the practice of *Vaipulya-samādhi*" (Nanjō No. 1573), i. e. his pupil Kwan-ting, 灌頂 (A.D. 561—632) published it, recording the oral explanations of his teacher. These rites used to be continued for seven days.[2]

2. The *shusō-sen* of Mahāyāna destroys crimes in the following ways:

a) In the *Vaipulyas* (方等, *hōdō*), by striving for the "Twelve Dream-kings", 十二夢王, *jūni mu-ō*. These kings are explained and their names given in the second chapter of the *Mahāvaipulya-dhāraṇī-sūtra* (Nanjō No. 421, mentioned above, sub 1 *e*); they

[1] Cf. *Daijii*, I, p. 354, 3, s. v. *Eshi*, where he is said to be the *second* patriarch of the *Tendai* school.

[2] Nanjō No. 1552, new ed. XXXIII 1, Ch. III, p. 91*b*; cf. *Daijii*, II, p. 1555, 2, s.v. *sange*; III, p. 3218, 2, s.v. *Daihōdō-darani-kyō*; *Daijiten*, p. 1390, I, s.v. *hōdō-sen*.

are the protectors of that *sūtra* and only by means of these kings may the magic formulae be obtained; thus in dreams magic power is acquired which enables one to fly through the air and dive into deep waters. [1]

b) In the *Bodhisattva rules* (*Bosatsu-kai*, 菩薩戒), by seeing the *Kekwō-machō*, 華光摩頂, "Stroking the top of the head (i. e. the Buddha's giving the prediction of Buddhahood (授記, *juki*) to his disciples) of 'Flower-luster'", i. e. of Śāriputra (his future Buddha name being *Kekwō*) (as described in the Lotus *sūtra*, Fasc. II, Ch. III, 譬諭品). [2]

c) In the *Ākāśagarbha* rites by the appearance of the "vision of the arm of the mudrā of the singing voice" (唱聲印臂相, *shōshō-impi-sō*).

Although the rites are not explained directly, it is again a material way of obtaining freedom from sin by repentance.

3. The *mushō-sen* of Mahāyāna is the meditation on Emptiness and the Absolute Nature, spoken of at the end of the Buddha's hymn in the *Fugen kwangyō* (Nanjō No. 394, see above, § 8, p. 271): by sitting in a correct attitude and meditating upon this subject all sins are removed by the sun of Wisdom, as hoarfrost and dew disappears by the rays of the sun. This is the *risan*, dealt with above. It takes away the *e-zai*, 慧罪, or "sins against Wisdom", destroys the obstacles of retribution (*hōshō*, 報障) and the obstacles of deeds (caused by bad deeds) (*gōshō*, 業障), and extinguishes the *mumyō* (無明, *avidyā*, lack of insight in the material and the absolute Nature (*jiri*, 事理) of the *dharmas*). If the *mumyō* is taken away, all the other *bonnō* (*kleśas*) are also exhausted, and the second station of perfect instruction (the stage of purity) is reached. Therefore *Mushō-sen* is also called *dai sange* or "Great Repentance", *shōgon-sange*, 莊嚴懺悔, or "Sublime (*vyūha*) Repentance", or

[1] *Daijii*, III, p. 4322, 2, s.v. *mu* (dream).
[2] *Daijiten*, p. 382, s.v. *Kekwō Nyorai.*

muzaisō sange (無罪相), "Repentance of the Crimeless Vision". It is the "correct repentance" (正懺, *shōsan*), whereas the other two are only "auxiliary repentances" (助懺, *josan*). Of the latter the *sahō-sen* extinguishes the *imusa-zai* (違無作罪), or *musa-zai*, i. e. the slighter sins which are "avoided and not committed" (i. e. latent, potential vices), [1] but not the *shōzai* (性罪), "sins of the original nature" (transgressions of the four most important commandments against slaying, theft, lust and falsehood). The *shusō-sen*, however, obliterates the sins of the original nature, and at the same time also the *imusa-zai*, lighter sins, disappear; this is compared to cutting a tree, by which action also the branches and leaves wither and die. The root of the tree, however, remains, and is only removed by the highest kind of repentance, the *mushō-sen*. [2]

§ 13. *Penitential services held in China during the Liang and Ch'en dynasties (A. D. 502—581), according to Tao-süen's Kwang-hung-ming-tsih (Nanjō No. 1428, written A.D. 650—667).*

Tao-süen, 道宣, the founder of the *Vinaya* school in China (Nanjō App. III 21, A.D. 596—667) in his "Enlarged collection of (miscellaneous writings on) the propagation and illustration (of the Buddha's doctrine)" (廣弘明集, *Kwang-hung-ming-tsih, Kwōkōmyōshū*, Nanjō No. 1481, written A.D. 650—667, Ch. XXVIII, sect. 9, pp. 291*b*—296*a*) gives the ceremonial texts of the penitential services held in China at the time of the Liang and Ch'en dynasties (A.D. 502—557 and 557—581). Here we find the terms *kezai* (悔罪), *kekwa* (悔過) and *sange* (懺悔);

[1] *Avijñapti*, cf. De la Vallée Poussin, *Abhidharmakośa*, Ch. I, p. 20, Ch. IV, pp. 3—31, to which passages Dr. Rahder kindly drew my attention with regard to the term *musa-zai*.

[2] Nanjō No. 394 (*Fugen kwangyō*, see above, § 8, p. 271); Nanjō No. 1552 (*Konkwōmyōkyō mongu*), Ch. III, pp. 91 sqq.

the ceremonial texts are called *sammon* (懺文) or *kekwa-mon.* First we read of a *Nehan-san* or "Nirvāna repentance" service held by order of a Liang Emperor on behalf of his subjects in the Shui-ying hall of the *T'ung-t'ai* monastery, for which he is officially thanked by his ministers. Then follows a *rokkon sammon* or "Text of repentance (to purify) the six senses", also an official document of the Liang dynasty, and a "Text of repentance for pride" of the same period. Another "*sangemon*" is followed by a "*sammon*" by means of which the statesmen requested the Emperor Wu Ti of the Ch'en dynasty (A.D. 557—559) to give a great offering to the *sanzon* (three Saints, i. e. the *Triratna*) and clothes to the monks, all the expenses of which would be redeemed to the Emperor and the feudal lords. Evidently this refers to a *Musha-daie* (a "Great Limitless Meeting" or "Great Festival of Deliverance, *mokṣa*"), similar to the meeting held by the Emperor Wu Ti of the Liang dynasty in A.D. 527 in the *T'ung-t'ai* monastery (cf. above, Ch. VI, § 3). Then follow a *Maka-hannya* (*Mahāprajñā*) *sammon* of the Liang Emperor Kao-tsu (the Exalted Founder of the Dynasty, i. e. Wu Ti) and a *Kongō-hannya sammon* of the same monarch (here called Wu Ti) (A.D. 502—549); a *Shō-Tennō hannya sammon* (勝天王, the "Conquering Deva King", cf. Nanjō No. 9, a translation, made in A.D. 565, of the sixth *sūtra* of Nanjō No. 1, the *Mahāprajñā-pāramitā sūtra*, on which this penitential rite was based; the *Ninnō Tennō*, 仁王天王, are mentioned in the preceding *sammon*, and the *Ninnō* in this text) of the Ch'en Emperor Süen Ti (A.D. 569—582); a *Myōhō-renge-kyō sammon* of the Ch'en Emperor Wän Ti (A.D. 560—566), based upon the Lotus *sūtra*; a *Konkwōmyō sammon* of the same Emperor, based upon the *Suvarṇa-prabhāsa sūtra*; a *Daitsū hōkwō sammon* (大通方廣, Great Universal *Vaipulya*), and a *Hōdō darani sai-sammon* (方等陀羅尼齋, *Vaipulya dhāraṇī purification*) of the same Emperor, evidently based upon *vaipulya sūtras* like Nanjō No. 89 (see above, § 9, p. 272); a *Yakushi sai-sammon* or "Purifying peni-

tential text in worship of Bhaishajyaguru" of the same Emperor, based upon the *Yakushikyō* (Nanjō No. 171); a *Shara sai-sammon* (娑羅, *sāla* trees; the Lord died in the Sāla grove at Kuśinagara) of a *muge dai-e* (無礙大會, a "Great Limitless Meeting", or *Musha dai-e*, 無遮大會, attended by priests and laymen; originally a *gonen-daie* or "Great Five years-meeting", said to have been held for the first time by King Aśoka a hundred years after the Buddha's death, cf. above, Ch. VI, § 3, p. 194), celebrated by the same Emperor in the *Ta-kih-tien* (*Daigokuden*) of his Palace; and, finally, a *Muge-e shashin sammon* (捨身, *shashin*, is "throwing away one's body"), a great sacrificial ceremony celebrated by the same Emperor in the "Front-building" of his Palace on behalf of the soul of the Empress-Dowager. [1]

Thus we see the great importance attached to those penitential services by the Chinese Emperors of the sixth century A.D. In the same age Wang Säng-jü (王僧孺) of the Liang dynasty wrote a *Sange raibutsu-mon* (禮佛文), or "Text of Repentance in worship of the Buddhas", given in Ch. XV of the same Chinese work. [2]

§ 14. *Yakushi-kekwa* (藥師悔過) *or Rites of Repentance in worship of the Buddha Bhaiṣajyaguru, performed in Japan A.D. 686 or 744—842.*

In China important rites of repentance were based upon the "*Sūtra* on the contemplation of the two Bodhisattvas *Bhaiṣajyarāja* and *Bhaiṣajya-samudgata*", *Yaku-ō* (藥王) and *Yaku-jō* (藥上), "Medicine-king" and "Medicine-Supreme One", two brothers (also belonging to Amitābha's retinue) [3] who, like *Yakushi*

[1] Nanjō No. 1481, Ch. XXVIII, sect. 9, pp. 291*b*—296*a*.

[2] Nanjō No. 1481, Ch. XV, sect. 3*a*, pp. 185*b* sq. Cf. the *Raibutsu sange* of A.D. 854 and 855 (XII 18) in Japan (*Nihon kiryaku, zempen*, Ch. XVI, pp. 551, 553).

[3] Cf. the present writer's treatise on *The Bodhisattva Ti-tsang* (*Jizō*) *in China and Japan*, p. 122; *Butsuzō-zuï* II, p. 9*a*.

Nyorai, represented the healing and purifying power of the Sun. Their magic formulae and the names of 53 Buddhas of the past were recited by the monks who performed these ceremonies, which are described by Prof. de Groot in his *Code du Mahāyāna en Chine* (pp. 185 sqq.). The *sūtra* was translated in A.D. 424 by Kālayaśas; it is Nanjō No. 305 (1 fasc.) (*Bussetsu kwan Yaku-ō Yaku-jō ni-Bosatsukyō*).

In Japan the *Yakushi-kekwa* rites were performed at the Nara Court and in the first part of the Heian period (in the eighth and the first half of the ninth century). In A.D. 686 (VI 19), when the Emperor Temmu was very ill (he died three months later, IX 9), officials were sent to the Temple of Kawara in order to offer up lanterns and to arrange a great feast of repentance (*daisai no kekwa*, 大齋之悔過). This was in accordance with the passage of the *Bodhisattva-piṭaka-sūtra* (Nanjō No. 1103), quoted above (Ch. VII, § 3, p. 239; VIII, § 3, p. 258), where the Buddha prescribed the offering of ten thousand lamps, flowers, fruits and leaves to ten Buddhas of ten worlds of the ten quarters, as an act of repentance and a way to obtain forgiveness of sins. And on the second day of the seventh month of the same year "the *Sōjō* and *Sōzu* (the Bishops) came into the Palace, and performed a penitential service" (*kekwa*). [1] Although it is not stated, the author of the article on *kekwa* in the *Bukkyō daijii* [2] says that this must have been a *Yakushi kekwa*, i. e. a rite of repentance in worship of the Buddha *Bhaiṣajyaguru*. This "Medicine-Master", the Sun in her healing power, was indeed the proper Buddha to be invoked in order to cure the Emperor by obliterating his sins, and to receive an offering of many lamps for this purpose. In A.D. 653 (Hakuchi 4) (sixth month) the Emperor *Kōtoku* had ordered a large number of Buddha and Bodhisattva images to be placed in the Kawara sanctuary; [3] we may be sure that also *Yakushi*

[1] *Nihongi*, Ch. XXIX, p. 542; Aston, II, pp. 377 sq.
[2] *Daijii*, I, p. 1002, 1, s.v. *kekwa*.
[3] *Nihongi*, Ch. XXV, p. 454; Aston, II, p. 244.

Nyorai and his attendants were among them, so that he could be worshipped in this temple.

In A.D. 720 (*Yōrō* 4, VIII 2) the Empress Genshō had the *Yakushikyō* (Nanjō No. 171, Hüen-tsang's translation, made in A.D. 650) (cf. above, Ch. I, § 10, p. 18, and below, Ch. XIV) read for one day and one night in 48 Buddhist temples in and near the capital, in order to save the life of the Right Minister Fujiwara no Fubito, but he died the next day. In accordance with the *sūtra* (cf. below, Ch. XIV, § 1) two days before a great amnesty had been proclaimed throughout the Empire on his behalf, but we do not read about *Yakushi kekwa*. [1]

In A.D. 721 (V 6) the *Dajō Tennō* (the Empress Gemmei, who had abdicated in 715) was ill. Her daughter, the Empress Genshō, ordered that a hundred pure men and women should become monks and nuns and perform rites on behalf of her mother, and refuge was taken in the Triratna. One day before her death (XII 6) great amnesty was proclaimed and *tendoku* of *sūtras* ordered in all the Buddhist temples of the capital and its surroundings, but it was all in vain. On the first anniversary of her death (A.D. 722, XII 7) on behalf of her soul the *Kegon*, *Daishū*, *Nehon*, *Daibosatsu* and *Kwanzeon sūtras* were copied, a great number of banners and utensils made, and 2638 monks and nuns invited to a vegetarian meal, arranged in all the Buddhist sanctuaries of the capital and the surrounding provinces. [2] No mention is made, however, of *Yakushi kekwa*; the devout Empress Genshō evidently did not know this rite.

Her successor, Shōmu Tennō (A.D. 724 II 4—749 VII 2), although a fervent Buddhist and a great propagator and protector of the Buddhist doctrine, did not make use of the rites of repentance before A.D. 739 (VII 14), and then it was apparently *Kichijō-kekwa*, intended to promote the felicity of the Empire by causing good weather and good crops. This rite being based upon the *Saishōōkyō*

[1] *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. VIII, p. 123.
[2] Ibid., Ch. VIII, pp. 130, 135.

(Nanjō No. 126, *Suvarṇa-prabhāsa-sūtra*), it is easily understood that this Emperor, who attached such a special importance to this *sūtra*, of all rites of repentance chose first the *Kichijō kekwa*. In A.D. 726 (VI 15), when the *Dajō Tennō*, his aunt, the Empress Genshō, who had abdicated A.D. 724 (II 4) and lived till 748 (IV 21), was ill, he ordered *hōjō*, 放生, "release of living beings" (i. e. of animals, e. g. cormorants and falcons, and other animals caught and sold) as well as great amnesty, to be practised in all provinces. Fifteen men and seven women were made monks and nuns, messengers were sent with *gohei* to famous Shintō shrines, a Shaka image made, the *Hokkekyō* (*Saddharma puṇḍarīka sūtra*) copied, and a vegetarian entertainment given to the monks in *Yakushiji*, in short everything was (successfully) done to cause her recovery, but no mention is made of *Yakushi kekwa*. [1]

In A.D. 728 (Shinki 5, VIII 2) 177 *Kwannon* images were made and 177 chapters of *sūtras* (probably the *Kwannongyō*) read during one day by means of *tendoku* in worship of the Buddha, in order to restore the health of the Prince Imperial, but neither on this occasion nor in A.D. 735 (Tempyō 7, VIII 12), when a severe pestilence prevailed in the *Dazaifu* (Tsukushi, i. e. Kyūshū) and the *Kongō-hannyakyō* (*Vajracchedikā-pāramitā-sūtra*, Nanjō No. 10) was read in all the Buddhist temples of that part of the country, was *Yakushi-kekwa* performed.

In A.D. 744 (Tempyō 16, XII 4), shortly after the erection of the frame pillar of *Vairocana*'s great image, the *Daibutsu* of *Kōgaji* (甲賀寺) in Kōga district, Ōmi province, where the Emperor Shōmu had his detached palace, and where he went in person and assisted in pulling a rope (a very meritorious deed) (A.D. 744 XI 13), because the year before (A.D. 743, X 15) he had uttered a great Bodhisattva vow to make a bronze image of this Buddha, he ordered *Yakushi-kekwa* to be performed during seven days throughout the Empire. And in the night of XII 8 ten thousand

[1] Ibid., Ch. IX, p. 157, A.D. 726, VI 15, VII 18, VIII 15.
[2] Ibid., Ch. X, p. 167; Ch. XII, p. 199.

lamps were lighted in *Konshōji* (金鐘寺), a *Kegon* shrine belonging to *Tōdaiji*, and on the *Suzaku* Road.[1] As stated above (Ch. VII, § 3), this was the first time such an offering of "ten thousand lamps" took place in Japan, and it was also the first *Yakushi-kekwa*, officially indicated by this name. There was a close connection between the two Sun-buddhas Vairocana and Bhaishajyaguru, the offering of many lights to them in the last month of the year (originally to strengthen the sun), and repentance for sins (committed during the year which was approaching its end); it was all intended to drive away the demons of darkness, calamity and disease.

In A.D. 745 (Tempyō 17, IX 19), when the Emperor Shōmu was indisposed, at his command all the Buddhist shrines of the Capital and the Home provinces, and all the "pure places of the celebrated mountains" (諸名山淨處) performed *Yakushi-kekwa*; the inhabitants of all provinces had to release their falcons and cormorants (used in hunting and fishing), and 3800 men had to be taken up into the Buddhist order. At the same time he sent *gohei* and prayers to the famous *Shintō* shrines *Kamo* and *Matsunoo jinja*. The next day *gohei* were sent to *Hachiman jinja* (in Usa); a hundred sets of the *Daihannyakyō* (*Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra*, Nanjō No. 1, six hundred chapters each) had to be copied, and seven images of *Yakushi Nyorai*, 6 *shaku* 3 *sun* high, as well as seven copies of the *Yakushikyō* (each of one chapter) had to be made in the capital and in all the provinces. Moreover, three days later 600 monks were invited to the "Middle Palace" (of the Empress) in order to read the *Daihannyakyō*.[2]

In A.D. 749 (Tempyō Shōhō 1, I 1) the Emperor Shōmu promulgated a New-year's ordinance to the effect that during seven days (I 1—6) the *Konkwōmyōkyō* should be partially read (*tendoku*) and *kekwa* (probably *Kichijō-kekwa* on account of the *sūtra*

[1] Ibid., Ch. VIII, pp. 130, 135.
[2] Ibid., Ch. XVI, p. 261.

accompanying it) practised in all the Buddhist temples of the Empire; during that time the killing of living beings was forbidden throughout the realm. [1]

In the same year (Interc. V 23) the Emperor abdicated, became a monk by the name of *Shōman*, and retired to *Yakushiji*, evidence of his having gradually become a devout believer in the blessing power of Bhaishajyaguru Buddha. [2]

The Empress Kōken (A.D. 749 VII 2—758 VIII 1) was Shōmu's daughter. She was a devout Buddhist, and became a nun by the name of Takano Tennō when she abdicated in favour of Junnin Tennō (A.D. 758 VIII 1), but six years later the ambitious *Hossō* priest Dōkyō caused Junnin's banishment to Awaji (A.D. 764 X 9) and Takano Tennō's reaccession to the throne by the name of Shōtoku Tennō (A.D. 765 I 1—770 VIII 4). The Buddhas specially worshipped by the Empress Kōken were *Vairocana* and *Bhaiṣajyaguru*. The *Shintō* war-god *Hachiman* of *Usa* (Buzen) (after A.D. 781 called a "Great Bodhisattva"), [3] whose oracle she consulted and obeyed in A.D. 769 with regard to her remaining on the throne instead of abdicating in favour of Dōkyō, was welcomed into the capital in the first year of her reign (A.D. 749, Tempyō Shōhō 1, XII 18), and a new temple hall was made for him in the Nashiwara palace, South of the Palace. Forty monks were invited there to perform *kekwa* for seven days. Nine days afterwards (XII 27) a nun, priestess of Usa Hachiman, went to *Tōdaiji*, to pay reverence to *Vairocana*. The Empress, the Dajō Tennō (Shōmu Tennō, her father) and the Empress Dowager went there also as well as all officials and people with family names (the gentry). Five thousand monks were invited to pay reverence to the Buddha Vairocana and to read *sūtras*, whereas Chinese music and dances were performed in his honour and the Great God Hachiman (considered to be an *avatāra* or mani-

[1] Ibid., Ch. XVII, p. 277.
[2] Ibid., Ch. XVII, p. 286.
[3] *Shoku Nihon kōki*, Ch. I, *Kokushi taikei* Vol. III, p. 176; Ch. II, p. 183.

festation of the third Sun-Buddha Amitābha, the setting sun), was venerated at the same time. [1]

It is uncertain whether the *kekwa* rites, performed for seven days, as in the beginning of the year, were *Kichijō kekwa*, but we are inclined to suppose them to be *Yakushi kekwa* on account of the connection evident between the *Vairocana* and *Hachiman* cults on the one hand, and the *Vairocana* and *Bhaiṣajyaguru* cults on the other. Moreover, the Emperor Shōmu had become a monk of *Yakushiji*, and shortly afterwards (A.D. 750, IV 4) the Empress Kōken issued a proclamation, stating that she took refuge in the *Yakushikyō* and performed *gyōdō kekwa* (行道悔過), i. e. circumambulation of the Healing Buddha's image to worship him, and practice of *Yakushi kekwa*. She desired to purify the people from their sins and ordered a great amnesty throughout the Empire. [2]

The next year (A.D. 751, X 23) she again addressed her subjects, this time on behalf of her father, the Dajō Tennō Shōmu (who died five years later), because the latter was indisposed. For this reason she respectfully invited seven times seven wise monks to the New Yakushi temple (*Shin-Yakushiji*) in order that they should perform the rites for lengthening life (*Zokumyōhō*, 續命法, celebrated with five-coloured flags in worship of *Yakushi Nyorai*) during seven times seven days, and offered them vegetarian entertainments. She prayed that her father might be cured and his precious life lengthened. She further quoted the *Yakushikyō* and bestowed amnesty upon the people according to Buddha's Law. [3]

In A.D. 752 (Tempyō Shōhō 4, IV 9) the Daibutsu of Nara, *Vairocana*'s gigantic image, was completed, and the ceremony of the opening of its eyes took place with great splendour. The Empress personally went to *Tōdaiji* and led the civil officials in

[1] Cf. above, Ch. VI, B, § 5, pp. 214 sq.; *Shoku Nihongu*, Ch. XVII, p. 291.
[2] Ibid., Ch. XVIII, p. 294.
[3] Ibid., Ch. XVIII, p. 298.

paying reverence to the great Buddha of All-pervading Light. Ten thousand monks were invited and a great vegetarian entertainment was given. All kinds of music, songs and dances accompanied this very important festival. [1] A year later (A.D. 753, III 29) the *Ninnōkyō* was expounded in *Tōdaiji*, but the ceremony was interrupted by a heavy storm and delayed until IV 9, when again a tempest burst forth. [2] In A. D. 756 (XII 5) a hundred priests performed *tendoku* of the *Ninnōkyō* in the same temple. [3]

In A.D. 754 (Tempyō Shōhō 6, XI 8) the Empress Kōken again issued a proclamation to request 49 (7×7) Buddhist priests to take refuge in *Yakushi Rūrikwō Butsu* (*Bhaiṣajyaguru Vaiḍūrya-prabhāsa Buddha*) (the number seven being specially holy in the cult of this Buddha, who manifests himself in seven resplendent shapes, cf. Nanjō No. 172) and respectfully to make offerings to him in order to give rest and peace to "the two venerable persons" (her parents, Shōmu Tennō and his Consort Kwōmyō Kwōgō (701—760), who in A.D. 749 after Shōmu's abdication and retirement to *Yakushiji* had become a nun by the name of *Mampuku*), and to lengthen their precious lives. Again she quoted the *Yakushi sūtra*, which prescribes to celebrate such a ceremony by hanging "life-continuing flags" (續命幡, *zokumyōban*, i. e. the *zokumyō-shimban*, 神幡, the five-coloured flags used in worship of *Bhaiṣajyaguru* to lengthen the life of sick persons) and to light 49 (7×7) lamps (the *sūtra* says "seven rows of lamps", 七層之燈). [4] At the same time she proclaimed partial amnesty throughout the empire. [5]

In A.D. 757 (Tempyō Hōji 1, V 2—8) there were vegetarian entertainments of 1500 priests in *Tōdaiji*, and rites of repentance (設齋悔過), celebrated by order of the Empress Kōken

[1] Ibid., Ch. XVIII, p. 299.
[2] Ibid., Ch. XIX, p. 303.
[3] Ibid., Ch. XIX, p. 317.
[4] Cf. *Daijiten*, p. 1096, 1, s. v. *zokumyō shimban* and *zokumyō-hō*.
[5] *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. XIX, p. 311.

for seven days on the occasion of the first anniversary of her father's death (he died A.D. 756, V 2). It was the custom to pay special attention to these anniversaries, called *shūki*, 周忌.[1] It is not stated in the Imperial Ordinance promulgated the same year (VIII 18), which rites of repentance were used for this purpose, but in view of the fact that the ceremony took place in *Tōdaiji*, and that in A.D. 744 *Yakushi-kekwa* (for seven days) and *mandō-e* were held by order of the Emperor Shōmu in connection with Vairocana and *Tōdaiji*, we may suppose that also this time the cults of the two Sun-Buddhas were joint. As stated above (Ch. VIII, § 7), in later times Shaka and Yakushi were the attendant Buddhas of Vairocana of *Shakuzenji*, a shrine in the compound of the *Hossō* sanctuary *Hōkō-in* in Kyōto (A.D. 994).

Many years elapsed during which very little mention was made of *Yakushi* and his cult. In A.D. 758 (VII 4), when the Empress Kōken's mother was ill, she forbade the killing of living beings until the end of the year, but no *Yakushi* rites seem to have been used to cure her.[2] Neither under the reign of her successor, Junnin Tennō (A.D. 758—764), nor under her second reign as Shōtoku Tennō (A.D. 765—770) were *Yakushi-kekwa* performed, but *Kichijō-Ten-kekwa* were practised throughout the country in 767, I 8 and VIII 16, during 7 and 27 days, and the *Saishōōkyō* as well as the *Daihannyakyō* were greatly venerated.

The Emperor Kōnin (A.D. 770—781), who in his proclamation of A.D. 773 (Hōki 4, XII 25) referred to the *Yakushikyō* and in accordance with this *sūtra* invited wise Buddhist priests to a vegetarian entertainment, also requested them to perform *gyōdō*, 行道, the circumambulations which in A.D. 750 (IV 4), in the ordinance of the Empress Kōken, were combined with *Yakushi-kekwa*; on both occasions great amnesty was bestowed upon the whole people. Kōken intended to purify her subjects from sin, Kōnin stated that the increase of "fields of felicity" and the glory

[1] Ibid., Ch. xx, p. 322; p. 336.
[2] Ibid., Ch. xx, p. 347.

of the dynasty depended on the divine power of great compassion. As the ceremony of A.D. 773 took place towards the end of the year, we are inclined to believe that rites of repentance, in this case *Yakushi-kekwa*, were performed by the priests. Otherwise this Emperor's devotion was directed more to the *Daihannyakyō* and the deity *Mahāprajñā-pāramitā*, powerful protectress against war and pestilence (A.D. 774, IV 11; 775, X 19; 776, V 30; 777, III 21).[1] When in A.D. 796 (Enryaku 15, VII 22) drought and pestilence were predicted by the diviners on account of the fact that the water of the Pond of the Divine Spirit (神靈池) in Aso district, Higo province (probably a volcanic lake in the neighbourhood of Aso-san, the well-known volcano), which previously, even in years of inundation or drought, had never increased or decreased, was then more than 20 *jō* (200 feet) lower than before, the Emperor Kwammu (A.D. 781—806) issued an ordinance commanding charity towards widowers, widows, orphans and those who could not depend on themselves, and fasting, *sūtra* reading and *kekwa* for three days in all Buddhist temples. Three months later (X 21—27) *Yakushi-kekwa* was practised in the Palace by forty monks, invited by the Emperor for this purpose.[2]

In A.D. 797 (Enryaku 16, V 20) the Emperor Kwammu sent two monks to Awaji province, in order to perform *tendoku* of *sūtras* and *kekwa* (it is not said which *sūtras* and repentance were chosen), because the angry spirit of *Sudō Tennō* (崇道天皇), his younger brother Sawara Shinnō (his former heir apparent), whom in A.D. 785 (IX 27) he had banished to Awaji, had to be appeased and his forgiveness asked.[3]

At the end of A.D. 804 (Enryaku 19, XII 25) the Emperor Kwammu was indisposed. He sent messengers to the Seven Great Temples of Nara, offered 560 pounds of silk, had *sūtras* read,

[1] Ibid., Ch. XXXII, p. 572; Ch. XXXIII, pp. 578, 589, 596, 603.
[2] *Nihon kōki*, Ch. V, p. 2.
[3] *Nihon kiryaku, Kokushi taikei* V, zempen Ch. XIII, p. 378.

and gave alms to the starving beggars, priests and laymen of the ancient capital (Nara). One of the seven temples was *Yakushiji*, and we may be sure that the *Yakushikyō* was among the *sūtras* read for his recovery, but this time no *Yakushi kekwa* were mentioned.

In the beginning of the next year (A.D. 805, I 7) he had falcons and dogs (used in hunting) released and a Buddhist shrine built in Awaji, which he dedicated to Sudō Tennō's spirit. All pagodas had to be repaired throughout the Empire. Until his death (A.D. 806, III 17) we see him trying to soothe the angry spirit of his brother (who on the way to Awaji had refused all drink and food and had died before reaching his place of exile; he had been buried in Awaji). Below we shall deal with these measures, which he took in order to restore his health; it may suffice to point out here his ever increasing fear and repentance, stimulated by the words of a female diviner, possessed by a god (A.D. 805, II 10). As to *Bhaiṣajyaguru*, in A.D. 805 (Enryaku 24, II 19) he invoked this mighty Buddha's protection by means of *Yakushi-kekwa* in all the *Kokubunji* (official provincial Buddhist temples) of the country; shortly before his death (A.D. 806, II 23) a copy of Yakushi's image and of the Lotus *sūtra* were made on his behalf. [1] In A.D. 805 (VIII 9) he invited Saichō (最澄) (Dengyō Daishi) to the Palace, the great founder of the *Tendai* sect in Japan, who had just returned from China. It is no wonder that immediately *sūtras* were read and *kekwa* rites performed, the *Tendai* sect being, as seen above, the main propagator of these ceremonies. At the same time Saichō presented a Chinese Buddha image to the Emperor, and the next month (IX 17) he performed the *Vairocana* rites in the Palace, for he was the first to introduce into Japan the mystic doctrine (as a branch of the *Tendai* school). [2]

In A.D. 833 (Tenchō 10, VI 8) the Emperor Nimmyō ordered *tendoku* of the *Kongō-hannya-kyō* in the day-time and *Yakushi-*

[1] *Nihon kōki*, Ch. XII, pp. 43 sqq.; Ch. XIII, p. 61.
[2] *Nihon kōki*, Ch. XIII, pp. 52 sq.

kekwa at night, to be performed during three days in all provinces by 20, 17, 14 or 10 skilled priests according to the dimensions of each province, in order to expel the pestilence everywhere prevailing. [1]

The next year (Shōwa 1, A.D. 834, IV 6) in all the *kokubun sōji* the same ceremonies had to take place, again for three days, and it was forbidden to kill living beings during that time, in order to avert the pestilence still prevailing. [2]

In A.D. 837 (Shōwa 4, IV 25) the high-priests adviced the Emperor Ninnyō to protect the country against calamities of heaven and earth by having the *Daihannyakyō* read for three days in each decade of every month in all Buddhist temples; this *sūtra* had to be read in the day-time, whereas *Yakushi*'s sacred name had to be invoked at night. The Emperor followed this advice and ordered special services to be held in twenty great temples, from the first decade of the fifth month to the first decade of the eighth month. [3] Two months later (VI 21) he issued an ordinance to the same effect as in 833 and 834, because the plague had again broken out: from 10 to 20 priests had to read the *Kongō-hannyakyō* in the day-time and perform *Yakushi-kekwa* at night, during three days in all *kokubunji*, and it was forbidden to kill living beings during that time. [4] The same division between *sūtra* reading in the day-time and nightly rites of repentance (but without giving the names of the texts and rites) was made the next month (VII 3), when 15 monks performed these ceremonies in one of the buildings of the Palace, because strange apparitions had haunted the Emperor's abode. [5]

In A.D. 840 (Shōwa 7, VI 13) the Emperor Nimmyō ordered that the *Daihannyakyō* during seven days in the Home provinces

[1] *Shoku Nihon kōki*, Ch. II, p. 180.
[2] *Shoku Nihon kōki*, Ch. III, p. 193.
[3] *Shoku Nihon kōki*, Ch. VI, p. 235.
[4] *Nihon kiryaku, zempen*, Ch. XV, *Kokushi taikei* Vol. V, p. 492.
[5] *Shoku Nihon kōki*, Ch. VI, p. 237.

should be read in the day-time (by means of *tendoku*) and *Yakushi-kekwa* should be practised at night; in the mean-time no killing was allowed. This was done because all provinces suffered from famine on account of the bad harvest of the previous year; moreover pestilence had broken out and drought prevailed, so that the power of the *Hannya* (*Prajñā*, Wisdom, i. e. *Prajñā-pāramitā*) had to be obtained to protect the country and give tranquillity to the people. The next day the same ceremonies took place in the 15 Great Buddhist Temples of Nara and Kyōto, and in all Buddhist shrines of miraculous power, not situated in the two capitals; those which had no copy of the *Daihannyakyō* could use the *Kongō hannyakyō*. In order also to obtain the protection of the *Shintō* gods, the next day *gohei* were sent to the Great Shrine of Ise and to the temples of Kamo and Matsunoo, and all provinces had to make offerings of *gohei* to the gods of heaven and earth; these Shintō deities were supplicated to give "sweet rain" to the suffering country. [2]

In A.D. 841 (Shōwa 8, I 4) 58 Buddhist priests assembled in the *Seiryōden*, one of the main buildings of the Palace, usually inhabited by the Emperor, and, reading the *Yakushikyō* in the day-time, they performed *kekkai kekwa* at night. The term *kekkai* (結界), litt. "binding (closing) the territory") means fixing by special rites the ground destined for a temple or an altar, thus making them sacred places of worship. [3] As the *Yakushi sūtra* was read, probably also the *kekwa* rites were devoted to the Healing Buddha, and the aim may have been to avert the evil omen of the drying up of the "Pond of the Divine Spirit" in Aso district, Higo province (mentioned above, A.D. 796), which had fallen more than 400 feet the year before (cf. A.D. 840, XII 7, when messengers were sent to the Great Shrine of Ise on account of that evil omen of drought and pestilence). [4]

[1] Cf. *Daijii*, II, p. 1852, 3, s. v. *jūgo daiji*.
[2] *Shoku Nihon kōki*, Ch. IX, p. 279.
[3] Cf. *Daijiten*, p. 396, 3, s. v. *kekkai*.
[4] *Shoku Nihon kōki*, Ch. X, p. 303; Ch. IX, p. 288.

In A.D. 842 (Shōwa 9, III 15) the Emperor Nimmyō, in order to rid the country of the prevailing drought and to obtain a good harvest, ordered the *Kongō hannyakyō* to be read in the day-time and *Yakushi-kekwa* to be performed at night by 20 priests in all the *kokubunji* throughout the empire; no killing was allowed during the three days of the ceremonies, and the Buddhist priests received presents and freedom from regular taxes. If there were places where the ceremonies were omitted, the governors of the provinces had to order worship of the *eki-gami* (*yakushin*, Shintō gods of pestilence, who originally warded it off, hence their old name of *Sae no kami*, "preventive deities"), [1] fasting and praying for an abundant harvest. Moreover, messengers were sent with offerings to the Shintō shrines of Sumiyoshi, Tarumi (in Harima province), and Nibu kawakami (well-known protectors against drought), in order there to pray for "sweet rain". [2]

In order to suppress the evil influence of strange apparitions in the Palace and a strange yellowish-red colour of the sun, in A.D. 843 (V 8) a hundred Buddhist priests had to read the *Yakushikyō* for three days in the *Seiryōden*, to practise the *Yakushi-hō* (ceremony) in the *Jōneiden*, and to perform *tendoku* of the *Daihannyakyō* in the *Daigokuden* (three main buildings of the Palace). The leading officials had to eat acid food, and the killing of living beings was forbidden. [3] Here the mystic *Yakushi-hō* [4] appears to have been preferred to the *Yakushi-kekwa*. As a matter of fact we never again read of *Yakushi-kekwa*; A.D. 842 III 15 appears to have been the last time this rite was performed. In the meantime the *Butsumyō sange* (佛名懺悔) (A.D. 830, Interc. XII 8; 838, XII 15; 846, X 27) or "Rite of repentance by invoking the (13000) Buddha names" had arisen, and at the same

[1] Cf. Aston, *Shintō*, p. 187.
[2] *Shoku Nihon kōki*, Ch. XI, p. 309.
[3] *Shoku Nihon kōki*, Ch. XIII, p. 337.
[4] Cf. *Himitsu jirin*, p. 1063.

time the term *sange* had appeared on the scene instead of the older term *kekwa*. In A.D. 847 (Shōwa 14, XI 21), when a comet had been seen on the previous day, this evil omen was averted by inviting 50 monks to the *Seiryōden*, where they performed *tendoku* of the *Kongō-hannya-kyō* in the day-time, and at night practised the *Jūichinenbō* (十一面法)[1] (a mystic ceremony in worship of the Eleven-faced Kwannon). Moreover, 40 monks celebrated the *sokusai-hō* (息災法) or "Rite for stopping calamity"[2] in the *Shingon-in* or "Tantric chapel" in the Palace; all these ceremonies lasted three days. Thus the Tantric rites had gained ground and replaced the nocturnal *Yakushi-kekwa*.

We learn from the passages, quoted above, that the penitential services in worship of the Buddha Bhaishajyaguru were celebrated to cure the Emperor, or the Prince Imperial, to purify the people from sin (A.D. 750), to pray on behalf of the soul of a deceased Emperor (A.D. 757), and to expel the demons of drought, pestilence and famine. In their last period (A.D. 833—842), under the reign of Nimmyō Tennō, we see them used as nocturnal rites, combined with the reading of the *Kongō-hannya-kyō* which was performed in the day-time. Finally the Tantric ceremonies and the *Butsumyō sange* took their place, but the latter became a regular service of the end of the year.

As to the *Yakushi* cult itself, in A.D. 849 (X 10) the monks of *Yakushiji* had made 40 copies of the *Yakushikyō* (Nanjō No. 171, a *sūtra* of one chapter), which they presented to the Emperor Nimmyō (who died A.D. 850, III 21),[3] and two days before the latter's death in the *Seiryōden* of the Palace the *Shichibutsu Yakushi-hō* or "Rite of the Seven Bhaishajyaguru Buddhas" (based upon Nanjō No. 172) was practised and pictures of these Seven Buddhas were hung before the Imperial bamboo-blind (*sudare*). Moreover, seven double rows of round lanterns (*rintō*, as used

[1] Cf. *Bukkyō daijiten*, p. 904, 1, s. v. *Jūichimen-Kwanjizai-hō*.
[2] Ibid., p. 1081, 3, s. v. *sokusai-hō*.
[3] *Shoku Nihon kōki*, Ch. XIX, p. 420.

at the nocturnal *Yakushi* rites) were lighted in the court-yard and in the Southern court-yard of the *Shishinden*, and 10 men became monks, 500 having done so already when it was before (A.D. 850, III 19) requested, in order to save His Majesty's life. [1]

In A.D. 875 (Jōkwan 17, XII 13) by order of the Emperor Seiwa *gohei* were sent to the famous Shintō gods of all provinces, and in the *kokubun niji* (monasteries and nunneries) and the other official temples during three days seven priests had to perform *tendoku* of the *Kongō hannyakyō* in the day-time and to invoke the holy names of *Yakushi* and *Kwannon* at night, in order to avert drought, pestilence, war and fire. [2]

Subsequently, for a very long time *Yakushi Nyorai*'s name is not mentioned in the annals (or only very rarely), but in A.D. 1015 (V 1) the "Rite of the Seven Bhaishajyaguru Buddhas" was performed to cure the Emperor Sanjō; shortly afterwards the *Ninnō-e* and *Rinji-Ninnō-e* were used against the prevailing plague. [3]

It was the *Tendai* sect which at that time especially worshipped this Buddha, as we learn from the fact that the images of the Seven Yakushi's and Six Kwannons were dedicated in a new chapel, called after Yakushi's name *Jōruri-in*, "Pure Vaiḍūrya Temple", in the compound of *Hōjōji*, under the leadership of the *Tendai zasu* Ingen (A.D. 1024, Manju 1, VI 26). [4] And in A.D. 1028 (Chōgen 1, III 7) the *Kwampaku Udaijin* (Fujiwara no Yorimichi) ascended Hieizan and performed the *Yakushi-hō*, entertaining a thousand monks. [5] The *Yakushi-kekwa* rites, however, seem never to have been celebrated after A.D. 842 (III 15).

[1] Ibid., Ch. XX, p. 431.

[2] *Nihon kiryaku, zempen,* Ch. XVIII, p. 662.

[3] *Nihon kiryaku, kōhen,* Ch. XII, p. 1098; cf. *Fusō ryakki,* Ch. XXVII, p. 748 (A.D. 983, III 21, the Seven Yakushi's).

[4] *Nihon kiryaku, kōhen,* Ch. XIII, p. 1134.

[5] *Nihon kiryaku, kōhen,* Ch. XIV, p. 1147.

§ 15. *Kichijō-kekwa* (吉祥悔過) *or sembō* (懺法), *Rites of Repentance in worship of the Devī Śrī (Lakṣmī), performed in Japan A.D. 739—about 1068.*

This ceremony, the full name of which was *Kichijō-Ten kekwa-hō*, 吉祥天悔過法, or "Rite of Repentance in worship of the *Devī Śrī*" ("Goddess of Felicity"), was based upon the *Konkwō-myō Saishōōkyō* (Nanjō No. 126, I-tsing's translation of the *Suvarṇa-prabhāsa sūtra*, A.D. 700—712). In Ch. VIII, Sect. 16 and 17 of this *sūtra* the *Devī Śrī* worships the Buddha and promises to bestow all kinds of wealth and felicity upon the faithful readers of the *sūtra*.[1] At the end of Sect. 22 (Ch. IX, p. 36*b*) she is mentioned at the head of the devas who on hearing the Buddha's explanations were greatly pleased and promised to devote their whole heart to the protection of this King of *Sūtras* and of those who received and kept it, and to cause them to be free from sorrow and to obtain perpetual felicity. As to repentance, in the beginning of the *sūtra* the Buddha pronounces a *gāthā*, the thirteenth and following lines of which contain these words: "Again I preach the entire superiority of the *Kichijō-sen* (吉祥懺) of the Wonderful Law, which is able to obliterate all sins, purify and take away all evil deeds, and efface all sufferings and sorrow. It always gives immeasurable joy, all roots of wisdom, and all ornaments of beneficent virtue".[2] These words, in connection with the two other passages, appear to have been the origin of the *Kichijō-kekwa*. In the *Konkwōmyōkyō* (Nanjō No. 127, Dharmaraksha's older translation of the same text, A.D. 414—423) *Kichijō Ten*, i. e. the ancient Indian goddess of Felicity, *Śrī* or *Lakṣmī*, is called *Kudoku Ten*, 功德天, or "Devī of Blessing Virtue",[3] and in both translations she is mentioned after *Dai Bentenjin* or *Dai Benzaiten* (大辯天神), "Goddess of Great

[1] Nanjō No. 126, Ch. VIII, Sect. 16 and 17, pp. 30*b* sq.
[2] Nanjō No. 126, Ch. I, Sect. 1, p. 1*b*.
[3] Nanjō No. 127, Ch. II, sect. 8, p. 53*a*.

Eloquence", i. e. *Sarasvatī*, the Goddess of Language, Poetry and Music, well-known in Japan as Goddess of Wealth and one of the Seven Deities of Felicity.[1] Although the term *sange* was used in both translations, yet the ceremony was called *Kichijō-kekwa*, apparently because the older term *kekwa* was still in vogue. In the same way we read of *Yakushi, Amida, Shaka, Miroku, Jizō kekwa*, rites of repentance in worship of Bhaishajyaguru, Amitābha, Śākyamuni, Maitreya and Kshitigarbha. In later times, however, the *Kichijō-kekwa* were called *Kichijō* or *Konkwōmyō sembō* (懺法) or *Konkwōmyō sammai sen* and were especially practised by the *Tendai* sect, as stated above (§ 7, p. 268, in connection with the *Suvarṇa-prabhāsa sūtra*; about A.D. 1020). At the same time the *Kwannon, Hokke* and *Amida sembō* were performed, and also the *Hōdō* (方等) or *Hōkwō* (方廣) *sembō*, based upon the *Mahāvaipulya* (*Daihōkwō*) *Buddhāvataṃsaka sūtra* (Nanjō No. 89, § 9, p. 272 sqq.). The *Kichijō sembō* served to protect the State (鎭護國家, *chingo kokka*), to stop calamity (息災, *sokusai*) and to lengthen life (延命, *emmei*), whereas the *Kwannon, Hokke* and *Amida sembō* were used to obliterate crimes and produce virtues, and to obtain birth in paradise and *bodhi* (滅罪生善, 後生菩提, *metsuzai shōzen, kōshō bodai*).[2]

In A.D. 739 (Tempyō 11, VII 14) the Emperor Shōmu issued the following ordinance: "Now it is the first month of autumn; the shoots are flourishing. As we wish to cause wind and rain to be harmonious (i. e. to come in due time and be moderate) and the crops to ripen, we order *Tendoku* of the '*Sūtra* for the ripening of the Five Cereals' (五穀成熟經, *Gokoku jōjuku kyō*) to be performed in all the Buddhist temples of the Empire, and *kekwa* to be practised for seven days and seven nights".[3]

[1] Nanjō No. 126, Ch. VIII, sect. 15, 2, p. 29*b* sq.; Nanjō No. 127, Ch. II, sect. 7, p. 53*a*.

[2] *Daijiten*, p. 1049, 2 sq. s. v. *sembō*.

[3] *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. XIII, p. 221.

As far as we know, no *sūtra* of this name is found in the canon; evidently it was an extensive text, since it had to be read partially, i. e. by means of the *tendoku* system. Perhaps it was a general designation of those *sūtras* which were famous for their blessing power with regard to the ripening of crops. In the *Saishōō-kyō Kichijō Ten* promises to the faithful readers of the *sūtra* not only all kinds of superior joy, but she also states that they shall always have abundant harvests and never suffer from famine.[1] Thus the *Saishōōkyō* was one of the holy texts, to be used for this purpose, and the *Kichijō-kekwa* were the penitential services most probably intended by the Emperor.

In A.D. 749 (Tempyō Shōhō 1, I 1—6) the Emperor Shōmu ordered *kekwa* and *tendoku* of the *Konkwōmyōkyō* (probably the *Konkwōmyō-daishōōkyō*) to be performed in all the Buddhist temples of the Empire, and forbade the killing of living beings anywhere in the country, during seven days, beginning with the first day of the year. Evidently he intended to promote the felicity of the country during the whole year. The *sūtra*, connected with these *kekwa* rites, is evidence of their having been devoted to *Kichijō Tennyo.*[2]

At the end of the same year (A.D. 749, XII 18) the Empress Kōken's welcome to the Shintō wargod *Hachiman* (dealt with above, § 14, p. 298), when 40 Buddhist priests were invited to the Palace to perform *kekwa* for seven days, may also have been intended to obtain the Goddess of Felicity's protection, but, as suggested above, the connection between the cults of Vairocana and Hachiman and between Vairocana and Bhaishajyaguru may indicate their character of *Yakushi kekwa.*[3]

In A.D. 759 (Tempyō Hōji 3, VI 22) the *Mabito* Chinu (智努), Councillor of state (*sangi*) of the Emperor Junnin, and the *Shōsōzu* Jikun (慈訓) (a *Hossō* priest of *Kōfukuji*) reported to

[1] Nanjō No. 126, Ch. VIII, sect. 16, p. 30*b*.
[2] *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. XVII, p. 277.
[3] Ibid., Ch. XVII, p. 291.

the Throne, that the yearly kekwa of the first month, performed in all the Buddhist temples of the Empire, had gradually become contrary to the Imperial wish and had finally lost their blessing power on account of the behaviour of the monks and nuns in the provinces. Some of them did not enter their monasteries beforehand and yet estimated the official offerings to be given to them as for seven days; others were so covetous that they wrote false names in two places, in order to obtain a double amount of offerings. For this reason the Triratna was slandered and there was no blessing for the donators. Therefore they (Chinu and Jikun) humbly requested the Emperor henceforth to stop the official gifts (to the monks and nuns) and to cause those covetous monks to give up their desires. [1] This is evidence of the fact that the "*kekwa* of the first month" had become a regular, annual ceremony, and that the Empress Kōken had followed her father Shōmu's example in ordering the celebration of *kekwa* rites throughout the country during the first seven days of the year. The *Kichijō kekwa* being a ceremony intended to "deprecate calamities and invite felicity" (禳災招福, *nōsai shōfuku*), and the New-year's penitential services of A.D. 749 having been connected with the reading of the *Konkwōmyō* (*Saishōō*) *kyō*, we may be sure that between A.D. 749 and 759 the *Kichijō kekwa* had become an annual New-year's ceremony, celebrated not in the Palace but in the temples of all provinces. This agrees with the statement of the *Ruiju kokushi* (類聚國史), a work based upon the *Rikkokushi* [2] and composed by Sugawara no Michizane (A.D. 845—903) and others, who presented it to Uda Tennō in A.D. 892. There we read that it was the first annual *Kichijō-kekwa* ceremony; although it was not the first, the name of the rite was correct. [3]

[1] Ibid., Ch. XXII, p. 370.

[2] The „Six National Histories", namely the *Nihongi, Shoku Nihongi, Nihon kōki, Shoku Nihon kōki, Montoku jitsuroku* and *Sandai jitsuroku.*

[3] Quoted in the *Daijii*, I, p. 653, 1, s. v. *Kichijō kekwa.*

In A.D. 767 (Tempyō Jingo 3, I 8) Takano Tennō (i. e. the Empress Kōken, who, after having abdicated in A.D. 758, returned to the throne in A.D. 764 and whose second reign is known in history as that of Shōtoku Tennō or Takano Tennō) issued an ordinance to the effect that during seven days in all *Kokubun-Konkwōmyōji* (the provincial monasteries established in A.D. 741 (III 8) by the Emperor Shōmu together with the nunneries called *Hokke metsuzaiji,* the former being devoted to the *Konkwōmyō Saishōōkyō* and the latter to the Lotus *sūtra,* their twenty monks and ten nuns having to read those *sūtras* on the eighth day of each month)[1] the *Kichijō-kekwa* rites should be performed; by virtue of this meritorious and blissful action Great Peace of the Realm, wind and rain in due season, ripening of the five cereals, and joy of the people might be caused, and all sentient beings of the ten quarters might equally be favoured with this felicity (天下太平, 風雨順時, 五穀成熟, 兆民快樂, 十方有情同霑此福).[2]

This was the first time the *Kichijō-kekwa* rites were limited to the *Kokubunji.* The fact that these monasteries were dedicated to the *Saishōōkyō* made them the proper places for the performance of these services, based upon the same *sūtra*; the date of this ordinance, the eighth, was the day fixed in A.D. 741 for the monthly reading of this text.

In the same year (A.D. 767, VIII 16) the Empress, changing the name of the era into *Jingo keiun,* in a long proclamation stated that during two times (a mistake for one time) seven days of the first month of this year the high-priests of all great Buddhist temples had been requested to expound the *Saishōōkyō* and to perform *Kichijō-Ten kekwa.* On account of the great zeal of the high-priests, and of the ministers with regard to the

[1] *Shoku Nihongi,* Ch. XIV, pp. 233 sq.
[2] Ibid., Ch. XXVIII, p. 470.

government of the empire, the Triratna, together with the Devas and the gods of Heaven and Earth, had given a great lucky omen in the form of a seven-coloured cloud. Therefore the name of the era was changed into "Bright Cloud of Divine Protection".

In A.D. 771 (Hōki 2, I 13) the Emperor Kōnin (770 X 1—781 IV 1) stopped the *Kichijō kekwa* in all provinces of the country, but the next year (A.D. 772, XI 10) the bad weather and constant famine in consequence thereof made him look for a means to save the country from this calamity. Therefore he reestablished the annual *Kichijō-kekwa*, to be performed during seven days of the first month in the *kokubunji* of all the provinces, and made this a regular ceremony. [1]

It is not said which kind of *kekwa* was chosen by the Emperor Kwammu in A.D. 796 (Enryaku 15, VII 22), when the water of the Pond of the Divine Spirit in Aso district, Higo province (mentioned above, § 14, p. 302) had fallen more than 200 feet, which was an omen of drought and pestilence (three months later *Yakushi-kekwa* rites took place in the Palace), nor do we know which *sūtras* and penitential services were used the following year (V 20) to appease Sudō Tennō's angry spirit, but in both cases the *Kichijō-kekwa* as well as the *Yakushi kekwa* were liable to be put into practice in order to avert calamity. [2] In A.D. 802 (Enryaku 21, I 8) the Emperor Kwammu issued an ordinance with regard to the fact that Mount Fuji continually emitted fire and a hail of white sand and pebbles, which the diviners declared to be an omen of pestilence. The Emperor ordered the provinces which had reported this matter (Suruga and Sagami) to dispel this calamity by apologizing and reading *sūtras*, but he did not speak about *Kichijō kekwa*. Five days later he mentioned the rivalry between the *Sanron* and *Hossō* sects, each of which was only concerned with its special doctrine. If one of them was partially suppressed, decline of the doctrine

[1] Ibid., Ch. XXXII, p. 565.

[2] *Nihon kōki*, Ch. V, p. 2; *Nihon kiryaku, zempen*, Ch. XIII, p. 378.

was imminent. Therefore henceforth in the first month the *Saishōōkyō-e* and in the tenth month the *Yuimakyō-e* had to purify the Six Sects in order to broaden their work of instruction. [1] The *Yuima-e* was a festival of the *Hossō* sanctuary *Kōfukuji* in Nara, celebrated X 10—16, the *Saishōōkyō-e* was performed I 8—14 in the Imperial Palace. The *Saishō-e* of *Yakushiji*, however, was not established before A.D. 830 (Tenchō 7, IX 2), when the Emperor Junna instituted it as a regular festival, to be held in the *Hossō* temple *Yakushiji*, yearly III 7—13. As to the *Kichijō-kekwa*, the Emperor Kwammu did not think of it, neither in this connection, nor during his illness in A.D. 805, when he ordered *Yakushi-kekwa* to be performed in all *kokubunji* (II 19).

In A.D. 813 (Kōnin 4), under the reign of the Emperor Saga (A.D. 810—823), Kwammu's second son, who had succeeded his elder brother Heijō Tennō, the *Saishōōkyō-kō* (講) was ended on the 14th of the first month, and 11 priests of great learning were invited to the Palace for a discussion (*rongi*) and to receive Imperial robes. [2] And in 824 (Tenchō 1), when Kwammu's third son, Junna Tennō, had ascended the throne (A.D. 823—833), on I 14 "the priests of the *Saishō-e* held a discussion in the Palace; this was the custom." [3] In 832 (Tenchō 9), again I 14, "the *Saishō-e* was ended; the Emperor went to the *Shishinden* (the throne hall of the Palace), requested the Sōjō to protect his life etc., ordered them to hold a discussion, and presented them with Imperial robes." The next year the same meeting took place at the same date. [4] In A.D. 834 (Shōwa 1, I 8) the Emperor Nimmyō went to the *Daigokuden* (where the Emperors used to celebrate their accession to the throne and to receive the New-year's congratulations) and, attended by the Prince Imperial, listened to the expounding of the *Saishōōkyō*. [5] Thus we see that the

[1] *Nihon kiryaku, zempen*, Ch. XIII, p. 386.
[2] *Nihon kiryaku, zempen*, Ch. XIV, p. 424.
[3] Ibid., p. 447.
[4] Ibid., pp. 467, 469.
[5] Ibid., Ch. XV, p. 477.

Saishō-e or *Saishōōkyō-kō* were held yearly during seven days (I 8—14), in the *Daigokuden.* As to the *Kichijō-kekwa,* these were not mentioned, but they took place at the same dates in the *kokubunji* of all the provinces. We also read of them in A.D. 822 (Kōnin 13, VIII 1), when *kekwa* (certainly *Kichijō-kekwa*) were ordered to be performed during seven days and seven nights in all the *kokubunji,* monasteries and nunneries, to expel the drought and save the crops. [1] The *Saishō-e* of the Palace were again held in A.D. 836 (I 8—14), [2] and thenceforth they are mentioned yearly at the same dates.

In A.D. 839 (Shōwa 6, IX 21) the Emperor Nimmyō (A.D. 833—850), who paid much attention to the Buddhist ceremonies, issued the following ordinance. "We have heard that in the second year of the Jingō keiun era (A.D. 766, but this must be A.D. 767) the Empress (Shōtoku, called Takano Tennō) ordered that yearly, from the 8th to the 14th of the first month, in the *kokubunji* of all provinces the *Saishōōkyō* should be read and *Kichijō-kekwa* should be performed, in order to remove evil and give protection and peace to the State .... Henceforth these ceremonies must be practised (not in the *kokubunji,* but) in the government offices". [3] In Yamashiro province, however, where they took place in the government office from A.D. 822, the ancient custom of celebrating them in the *kokubunji* was restored in A.D. 843 (Shōwa 10). [4]

In A.D. 876 (Jōkwan 18, VI 19) a *Saishōkō* (ceremony of expounding the *Saishōōkyō*) was held in the *Chinjufu,* the military prefecture in Mutsu province with the castle of Taga as centre; at the same time a *Kichijō-kekwa* ceremony took place, as we learn from the *Nichūreki,* 二中歴 (A.D. 1350—1400). [5] And

[1] Ibid., Ch. XIV, p. 439.
[2] Ibid., Ch. XV, p. 485.
[3] Ibid., Ch. XV, p. 501.
[4] *Daijii,* I, p. 653, 1, s. v. *Kichijō-kekwa.*
[5] *Nichūreki,* Ch. IV, *Shiseki shūran,* Vol. XXIII, p. 98, sub Shōtai 1, XII 9.

in A.D. 899 (the second year of Daigō Tennō's reign, XII 9) all provinces were ordered to practise *Kichijō-kekwa.* [1]

In the Engi era (A.D. 901—923) (I 8—14) the *Saishōe* were held in the *Daigokuden*, and the *Kichijō-kekwa* in the government offices by the Buddhist priests of all the temples (monasteries) within the territories (of those offices), but the monks of the *kokubunji* alone read the *Saishōōkyō*, whereas the other monks were in charge of the *Kichijō-kekwa* rites. In *Dazaifu* (in Chikuzen province), however, the monks of *Kwanzeonji* performed this ceremony in their own monastery. Seven priestly robes and other gifts were presented to the monks from the regular taxes. [2] The seven robes were destined for the seven leading priests of the ceremony.

From that time to the ages of the Emperors Go Suzaku and Go Reizei (A.D. 1037—1068) the same custom prevailed, as we learn from the *Nenjū gyōji* (年中行事) or "Rites of the whole year"; [3] but afterwards the *Kichijō-kekwa* (*sembō*) are not mentioned. We do not know when they fell into disuse, but if these rites had been of any importance in the twelfth century and later, the authors would not have been so silent with regard to them. Yet, as we saw above (§ 7, p. 269), as late as the 17th century the Chinese *T'ien-t'ai* priest Chi-hiuh (A.D. 1599–1654) wrote a work on the *Konkwōmyō-sen.*

[1] *Ranjōshō,* 濫觴抄, 下, *Gunsho ruiju,* Vol. XVI, No. 465, p. 987; *Genkō Shakusho,* Ch. XXIV, p. 1061.

[2] *Engishiki* Ch. XXI, *Kokushi taikei* XIII, p. 659, 661 sq. Cf. Ch. XXVII, p. 812 (*tendoku* of the *Kongō-hannya-kyō*); Ch. XXVI, p. 793: 18—14, presents of cloth and silk to seven priests; offerings of rice in *Kwanzeonji.*

[3] Quoted in the *Daijii,* l. l.

§ 16. *Amida-kekwa* (阿彌陀悔過) *or sembō* (懺法), *Rites of Repentance performed in Japan in worship of the Buddha Amitābha from A.D. 782 to the present day. His cult in China and Japan.*

A. *Amitābha's cult in China.*

In Tao-süen's work, referred to above (§ 13, p. 291) among the penitential rites of the sixth century no ceremonies in worship of Amitābha were mentioned, nor do we read there about such a rite in honour of Maitreya, although *Miroku-kekwa* are also enumerated among those services in Japan. [1] There was a close connection between the *Maitreya* and *Amitābha* doctrines, since both of them were "easy ways" (易行道, *igyōdō*) towards Nirvāṇa instead of the "difficult way" (難行道, *nangyōdō*) of the Āryas; they were based on "the power of another" (他力, *tariki*) instead of on one's own power (自力, *jiriki*); they were "Gates of the Pure Land" (Maitreya's Heaven, i. e. the Tushita Heaven, and Sukhāvatī, Amitābha's Paradise) (淨土門, *jōdo-mon*) instead of the "Road of the Āryas" (聖道, *shōdō*). They preached belief in Maitreya's and Amitābha's allmighty blessing power as the way to be reborn in the inner palace of the Tushita heaven or in Sukhāvatī, in order to advance and never to retreat on the road to Nirvāṇa. [2] In China Tao-ngan (道安) (A.D. 314—385) was the first to worship Maitreya and pray to be reborn in the Tushita heaven; and when he died in A.D. 385, a strange priest appeared and pointed to the Northwest, where the clouds opened and a beautiful heaven became visible to his dying eyes. This was the beginning of Maitreya's cult in China; in the fourth and fifth centuries it flourished in all parts of India and Ceylon.

[1] *Daijii*, I, p. 1002, 2, s. v. *kekwa*.
[2] Cf. Prof. L. de la Vallée Poussin's *Bouddhisme*, pp. 267 sqq.

In A.D. 402 Kumārajīva translated the Short *Sukhāvatī vyūha* text as well as the two principal texts of Maitreya's doctrine (Nanjō Nos. 200, 205, 209); in A.D. 424 appeared Kālayaśas' translation of the *Sūtra* on the meditation on Amitāyus (the *Kwangyō*, Nanjō No. 198). In A.D. 453 Gunabhadra gave a translation of a magic formula (*dhāraṇī*) to be used to obtain rebirth in Sukhāvatī (Nanjō No. 201), and two years later the prince of An-yang translated the *Sūtra* on Maitreya's birth in the Tushita heaven (Nanjō No. 204). Although the Large *Sukhāvatī vyūha* text had been translated as early as the second century A.D. by An Shi-kao and also by another foreign priest, and in the third century by two other foreigners (the first is lost, the three other texts are Nanjō Nos. 25, 26 and 27) as well as by a Chinese, the latter translation and five others (of the 4th and 5th centuries), which are all lost, evidently had no more influence than the former works. Maitreya's cult prevailed in China during the fifth and sixth centuries, but was superseded by the Amitābha doctrine in the course of the seventh century A.D.

Between A.D. 508 and 535 Bodhiruci I, the fourth of the eight patriarchs of the *Jōdo* sect (Aśvaghosha, Nāgārjuna and Vasubandhu being his predecessors), translated Vasubandhu's work on the Larga *Sukhāvatī vyūha* (Nanjō No. 1204), and caused T'an-lwan (曇鸞大師, Donran Daishi, A.D. 476—542), the fifth patriarch of the *Jōdo* sect and founder of the *Yen-măn* (雁門) sect, to become a devout adherent and propagator of Amitābha's doctrine by giving him Kālayaśas' translation of the *Kwangyō* (Nanjō No. 198). But neither Hwui-yuen (慧遠, A.D. 334—416), who in A.D. 390 (VII 28) with 123 followers worshipped Amitāyus in a temple on *Lu-shan* (廬山), and who is considered to be the founder of the White Lotus School which lasted until about A.D. 1042, nor Bodhiruci I, nor Chi-che ta-shi (智者大師, the founder of the T'ien-t'ai sect, A.D. 531—597, who wrote two works on this doctrine, Nanjō No. 1574, on ten doubts about Sukhāvatī, and No. 1559, an oral commentary on the *Kwangyō*), nor Para-

mārtha (who in A.D. 553 translated Aśvaghosha's *Mahāyāna-śraddhotpāda-śāstra, Kishinron*, No. 1250, towards the end of which Amitābha and his Paradise are mentioned) succeeded in propagating this doctrine among the Chinese people, because Maitreya's cult was still predominant as the "Easy Way". [1]

The seventh century of our era saw Amitābha's gradual victory in China, caused by the works and restless propaganda of the priests Tao-ch'oh (道綽, Dōshaku, about A.D. 561—645, the sixth patriarch of the *Jōdo* sect, author of the *Ngan-loh-tsih* (*Anrakushū*, 安樂集), Kia-ts'ai (迦才, author of the *Tsing-t'u-lun, Jōdoron*, 淨土論), who compared the Maitreya doctrine with that of Amitābha and pointed out the latter's pre-eminence, and, the greatest of all, Shen-tao (善導, Zendō), who died in A.D. 681, after a life full of activity in writing, painting and preaching in favour of his doctrine of the *Niga byakudō*, 二河白道, or the Narrow "White Path between the two rivers" (of fire and water, anger and greed, *dveṣa* and *kāma*), leading to Amitābha's Paradise. [2]

In the eighth century of era we see Bodhiruci II, who between A.D. 693 and 713 gave the eleventh translation of the Large *Sukhāvatī vyūha*, Nanjō No. 23 (5), and Amoghavajra, the founder of the mystic school in China, who between A.D. 746 and 771 translated a "Kalpa on the practice of meditation on the Buddha Amitāyus and on the offerings to be made to him" (Nanjō No. 1412) playing their part in the spreading of this mighty cult. Afterwards,

[1] Cf. Matsumoto Bunsaburō (松本文三郎)'s excellent work entitled *Miroku-jōdo-ron*, 彌勒淨土論, or "Discussions on Maitreya's Pure Land", pp. 6 sqq.

[2] Cf. *Kokkwa*, No. 264, Pl. I and II, an allegorical picture of the *Niga byakudō*, conceived by Shen-tao. He wrote the "Commentary on the *Kwangyō*, 觀經疏, and the *Ōjō raisange*, 往生禮讚偈, "Hymn in worship and praise (of Amitābha) with regard to rebirth in his Paradise", and several other works.

following the example of their great Masters, the T'ien-t'ai and Tantric priests wrote works on this doctrine. Of the *T'ien-t'ai* school workers in this field were the Korean priest Yuen-hiao (No. 1603) (T'ang dynasty), and the Chinese priest Tsun-shih (about A.D. 1000), Chi-li (知禮, Nanjō No. 1560, a commentary on Chi-ché ta-shi's work, No. 1559; written about A.D. 1020) and Hwai-tsih (No. 1587, about A.D. 1350). Towards the end of the tenth century (Fah-t'ien (法天, afterwards Fah-hien, 法賢, known by the posthumous title of Hüen-kioh Shenshi, 玄覺禪師, an Indian priest, who died A.D. 1001) translated two *dhāraṇī-sūtras* on Amitāyus (Nanjō Nos. 786 and 913).

About A.D. 1000 the *T'ien-t'ai* priest Tsun-shih (遵式) (A.D. 963—1032), called *Ts'zĕ-yun ch'an-chu*, Ji-un senshu (慈雲懺主) or "Cloud of Mercy, Master of Repentance", wrote the *Ōjō jōdo sengwan-gi* (往生淨土懺願儀) or "Ceremonial rules (*kalpa*) of repentance and vows for rebirth in Amida's Pure Land" (Nanjō No. 1513). The same priest wrote the *Ōjō jōdo ketsugi gyōgwan nimon* (往生淨土決疑行願二門) or "Two gates leading to rebirth in Amida's Paradise: removing doubts and practising vows" (Nanjō No. 1514). He owes his title of *senshu*, "Master of Repentance", also to a third work, the *Konkwōmyō sembō hojo-gi*, 金光明懺法補助儀, or "Additional rules for the rites of repentance based upon the *Suvarṇa-prabhāsa sūtra*" (No. 127) (Nanjō No. 1512). Tsun-shih was a priest of the *T'ien-chuh Ling-shan-szĕ* (*Tenjiku Ryō-sanji*, 天竺靈山寺) in Hang-cheu-fu, Cheh-kiang province.[1] He was famous for the miraculous effect of his prayers, and the *Jōdo Shinshū* in Japan has honoured him with the title of "Cloud of Mercy." Before the image of *Fugen* (Samantabhadra) of *Kwoh-ts'ing-szĕ* (國淸寺) on *T'ien-t'ai-shan* he burned one of his fingers, swearing that he would transmit the *T'ien-t'ai* doctrine.[2]

[1] Cf. *Daijii*, III, p. 3392, 2, s. v. *Tenjikuji.*

[2] *Daijiten*, p. 888, 1, s. v. *Jiun.*

In the *Ling-shan-szĕ* he erected a *Konkwōmyō sendō*, 金光明懺堂, or "Chapel of Repentance based upon the *Suvarṇa-prabhāsa-sūtra*", where he used to perform the rites, explained by him in his work (Nanjō No. 1512).[1]

Thus the most important sects adopted this cult as the "Easy Way" to Paradise and Nirvāṇa, besides their own tenets, belonging to the public or mystic creed; and the other sects followed their example. With regard to Amitābha's worship in China at the present day we may refer the reader to Prof. Hackmann's interesting work on "*Laien-Buddhismus in China*".[2]

B. *Amitābha's cult in Japan.*

The same process may be observed in Japan, as well as in Korea. In A.D. 584 Soga no Umako received a stone image of Maitreya from Kudara and erected a chapel for it near his house in Ishikawa.[3] Eleven years later (A.D. 595) the Korean priest Eji (惠慈), sent as tribute from Koma, became the teacher of Shōtoku Taishi,[4] and after the latter's death (A.D. 621) this priest, who had returned to Korea, declared that he would die a year later, at the same date, and that he would meet the Prince in Paradise (*Jōdo*, the "Pure Land"), in order with him to convert living beings.[5] The next year this Paradise was represented in a beautiful embroidery, the famous *Tenjukoku mandara* (天壽國) (*Kokkwa* No. 83, III, IV), at the request of Shōtoku's widow to the Empress Suiko. Some Japanese scholars believe this paradise to be that of Amitābha,[6] and in my opinion they are

[1] *Daijiten*, p. 1040, 3, s. v. *senshu.*

[2] Hackmann, *Laien-Buddhismus in China* (1924), pp. 9, 16, 58 etc.

[3] *Nihongi*, Ch. XX, p. 358; Aston II, p. 101.

[4] *Nihongi*, Ch. XXII, p. 373; Aston II, p. 123.

[5] *Nihongi*, Ch. XXII, p. 390; Aston II, p. 149.

[6] Cf. *Daijii*, III, p. 3393, 2, s. v. *Tenjukoku shūchō*; *Daijiten*, p. 1251, 1, s. v. *Tenjukoku mandara*, where it is evidently considered to be Sukhāvatī, the *Jōdo* of the *Kwangyō* (Nanjō No. 198).

right. Matsumoto, however, declares it to be that of Maitreya, the Tushita heaven, because at that time the latter's cult was predominant in Korea, together with the *Sanron* and *Jōjitsu* sects (devoted to Nāgārjuna's works Nanjō Nos. 1179 and 1186, *Chūron* and *Jūnimonron*, and Deva and Vasubandhu's work No. 1188, *Hyakuron*, all three translated by Kumārajīva in A.D. 409, 408, and 404, and to Harivarman's *Satyasiddhi-śāstra*, Nanjō No. 1274, *Jōjitsuron*, also translated by Kumārajīva). Not until a hundred years later did the idea of Amitābha's Paradise gain a hold in Japan. Yet the name of the *mandara*: "Land of Heavenly Long Life" points more to Sukhāvatī than to the Tushita heaven, and its representation reminds much more of the former than of Maitreya's Inner Palace. Moreover, Shōtoku Taishi is said to have known the Amida doctrine. [1] For these reasons I believe that the *Tenjukoku mandara* represents Amitābha's Paradise.

In A.D. 652 (Hakuchi 3, the third year of Kōtoku Tennō's reign, IV 15) the Japanese priest Eon (慧隱), who in A.D. 639 had returned from China, expounded the *Muryōjukyō* (Nanjō No. 27, Saṅghavarman's translation of the Large *Sukhāvatī vyūha*, made in A.D. 252; the five later translations were lost) in the Imperial Palace. The Japanese *Sanron* priest Eshi (惠資) was made *rongisha* (discusser), and 1000 priests were constituted the audience. This lasted five days, for on the twentieth the expounding was discontinued. [2] Tao-ch'oh had probably been Eon's teacher with regard to this doctrine, but it was not yet accepted at the Japanese Court, where Maitreya's cult was still in vogue. Thus in A.D. 669 (the eighth year of Tenchi Tennō's reign) some days before Fujiwara no Kamatari's death (X 16), the Emperor went to his house and bestowed on him a golden

[1] Cf. below, Ch. VIII, § 18 D, *Higan*.

[2] *Nihongi*, Ch. XXV, p. 453; Aston II, pp. 241 sq.; *Genkō Shakusho*, 元亨釋書, written A.D. 1331—1334 by the Buddhist priest Shiren, 師錬, Ch. XX, *Kokushi taikei*, Vol. XIV, p. 988.

incense-burner, saying: "I have heard that you have become a monk; thus you must hold in your hands a utensil of the Law. Take this incense-burner and follow the devas and *ṛṣis*; on having ascended to the *Tuṣita* heaven and arrived before *Maitreya*, you must testify to the Law of the Absolute Nature (*shinnyo-hō*)." [1]

In A.D. 689 (the third year of Jitō Tennō's reign) (IV 20), the King of Shinra (Silla, one of the three kingdoms of Korea) sent a mission of condolence on the decease of the Emperor Temmu (who died A.D. 686, IX 3), and a present of gold-copper images of *Amida*, *Kwannon* and *Seishi*; and in A.D. 692 (Intercalary V, 15) the Empress Jitō ordered Prince Kawachi, Viceroy of Tsukushi, to send up to the capital the image of Amida, made by the Chinese Chief Envoy "for the Emperor who lived in the Palace of Ohotsu in Afumi", i. e. Prince Ohotomo, Tenchi Tennō's son and successor, afterwards called Kōbun Tennō, whose short reign during the first months of A.D. 672 as far as possible is ignored by the author of the *Nihongi*. [2]

In A.D. 698, XI 5, the *Hossō* priest Dōshō (道昭), the founder of the *Hossō* sect, is said to have "opened the eyes" and led the dedicatory ceremony of a large embroidery, 30 *shaku* high and 21 *shaku*, 8 *sun* broad, representing *Amida*, *Kwannon* and *Seishi* and angels, in all more than 100 figures, in the expounding hall of *Yakushiji* at Nara. He did so by order of the Emperor Mommu, who the same day appointed him *Daisōzu*. This was the *honzon* of the *Saishōe* of *Yakushiji*, instituted in A.D. 830. [3] The annals, however, do not mention this dedication.

In A.D. 760 (the third year of Junnin Tennō's reign, VII 26), on the 7×7^{th} day after the death of the Empress Dowager

[1] *Genkō Shakusho*, Ch. XVII, p. 913; according to the *Nihongi*, Ch. XXVII, p. 483, the Emperor went to the house three days after Kamatari's death and gave the incense-burner to Soga no Akae no Omi.

[2] *Nihongi*, Ch. XXX, p. 551, 562; Aston II, pp. 391, 408; *Genkō Shakusho*, Ch. XXI, *Kokushi taikei* Vol. XIV, p. 1002.

[3] *Daijii*, II, p. 1476, 3, s.v. *Saishōe*; cf. below, Ch. XII, § 5, B.

(K(w)ōmyō K(w)ōgō), the Emperor ordered a vegetarian feast to be held on behalf of her soul. This took place in *Tōdaiji* and in all the small temples of the capital; in every province of the Empire a painting of Amida's Pure Land had to be made, and prominent monks and nuns of the province had to copy the "*Sūtra* in praise of the Pure Land" (稱讃淨土經, *Shōsan-Jōdo-kyō*, Nanjō No. 199, translated in A.D. 650 by the famous pilgrim Hüen-tsang). In every *Kokubun Konkwōmyōji* reverence had to be paid and offerings to be made (to the Buddha Amitābha).[1] This was the beginning of the official Amitābha cult in Japan.

The next year (A.D. 761, VI 7), exactly a year after the Empress-Dowager's death, a *shūki-sai* (周忌齋) or vegetarian entertainment to celebrate the anniversary of her death was given in the *Amida-jōdo-in* or "Temple of Amitābha's Pure Land", erected for this purpose in the southwestern corner of the compound of *Hokkeji*, the *Sōkokubunniji* or "Main Provincial Nunnery" at Nara, situated west of *Tōdaiji* (which was the *Sōkokubunji* or "Main Provincial Monastery"). At the same time in all the *Kokubun niji* (provincial nunneries) of the country an image of Amitābha, sixteen feet high, had to be made, as also two other images, namely those of his attendant Bodhisattvas Avalokiteśvara and Mahāsthānaprāpta (*Kwannon* and *Seishi*). The next day the Emperor Junnin ordered that yearly on the anniversary of the Empress-Dowager's death the *Bommōkyō* (梵網經), (Nanjō No. 1087, the *Brahmajāla-sūtra*, translated in A.D. 406 by Kumārajīva; afterwards, in the Ming dynasty, a *Bommōkyō sange gyōhō* or *Bommō sembō*, i. e. a penitential ceremony, was based on this text) should be expounded in *Yamashina-dera*, the ancestral temple of the Fujiwaras, i. e. the *Hossō* sanctuary *Kōfukuji* at Nara. For this purpose he gave 30 chō of rice-fields in the West of the capital to this temple, and 10 chō

[1] *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. XXIII, p. 384.

of other rice-fields. In *Hokkeji* a yearly service had to be celebrated by ten monks in worship of the Buddha Amitābha, during seven days, beginning with the anniversary of the Empress-Dowager's death. [1]

This *Amida-jōdo-in* was evidently the first temple, specially devoted to Amitābha's cult, and the service in *Hokkeji* was the first annual ceremony, performed in worship of this Buddha. We also read of a *Kwannon* image placed in a chapel in the compound of *Kōfukuji*, repaired for this purpose and decorated with two beautiful embroideries: on the Western wall Mount Potalaka (Kwannon's heaven), on the Eastern wall Amitābha's Paradise. This was done in the second month of the same year (A.D. 761). [2]

In A.D. 763 (Tempyō-hōji 7, VI 15) the famous *Taema-mandara* (當麻曼荼羅) was made. It was based upon the *Kwangyō* (Nanjō No. 198), evidently in imitation of the pictures of Shen-tao, as the *Kwangyō-mandara* of *Chion-in* in Kyōto, said to have been brought from China at Hōnin Shōnin's request by his pupil, the Japanese *Jōdo* priest Jūgen (重源, in China A.D. 1167—1168, died 1195). [3]

Tradition attributes the Taema painting (also called *Tōman*, 當曼) to Princess Chūjō (中將姫, Chujō Hime, A.D. 753–781), the daughter of Fujiwara no Toyonari, who had made a thousand copies of the *Shōsan-Jōdo-kyō* (Nanjō No. 199) and presented them to *Zenrinji* (禪林寺, "Temple of the Wood of Meditation") in Yamato province, popularly named *Taema-dera*. This was a Maitreya sanctuary; the affinity between the two "Easy Ways" may have caused her to choose this temple for her Amitābha cult. She became a nun (called Zenshin-ni, 禪新尼) and took up her residence in *Zenrinji*, where she prayed for seven days to see a manifestation of Amida. After six days

[1] *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. XXIII, p. 391.

[2] *Genkō Shakusho*, Ch. XXII, p. 1026.

[3] *Daijiten*, p. 342, 1, s. v. *Kwangyō mandara*; Washio, p. 562, 2, does not mention this fact.

this Buddha appeared to her in the shape of a lady, who ordered her to have a hundred lotus stems collected. This was done within two days, whereupon the Buddha made a pure well and by washing the stems changed them into five-coloured threads. Then, on the twenty-third day of the month, Kwannon appeared, also in female shape, and, having received the threads from Amida, in one night made the image of the Pure Land, known as the *Taema-mandara.* [1] At the present time only fragments of this painting (it is painted on silk) are preserved in the treasury of the temple, but in the so-called *Mandara-dō* or Maṇḍala chapel of the same sanctuary a replica, made in the Bunki era (A.D. 1501—1503), is visible to all worshippers.

There are three such paintings of Amida's Paradise in Japan: the *Chikwō, Seikai* (*Shōkai*), and *Taema mandara.* [2]

Chikwō (智光) was a *Sanron* priest of *Gwangōji,* who lived in the seventh and eighth centuries of our era. To him is attributed the *Chikwō no Jōdo mandara* of *Gokuraku-in* in Nara. He is said to have painted it after a dream, and to have dedicated it to *Gokurakuji,* a temple founded by him. [3]

Shōkai (清海) was a *Hossō* priest of *Kōfukuji* in Nara, who died in the Eishō era (A.D. 1046—1053), and whose name, erroneously called *Seikai,* is connected with the Amida cult and the picture of Amida's paradise, known as the *Seikai mandara* of *Gokurakuji,* Yamato. [4] Cf. below, this paragraph, C.

These three *mandara*'s are indicated by this term on account

[1] *Kokon chomonshū,* 古今著聞集, written A.D. 1254, Ch. II (釋教), *Kokushi taikei* Vol. XV, pp. 179 sqq.; *Genkō Shakusho,* Ch. XXVIII, p. 1137.

[2] With regard to Amitābha's Paradise represented in Central-Asian paintings cf. Sir Aurel Stein (*Serindia*), Prof. Pelliot (*Mission Pelliot*), Mr. Hackin (*Collections Bouddhiques* pp. 88 sq.).

[3] Washio, p. 794, 2; *Genkō Shakusho,* Ch. II, *Kokushi taikei* Vol. XIV, p. 662.

[4] Washio, p. 626 (who does not mention the *mandara*); *Kokkwa* No. 271, Pl. I, II.

of their analogy with the *maṇḍalaṣ* of the mystic doctrine, but their proper name was *Jōdo hensō*, 淨土變相, or "Phases of (Amitābha's) Pure Land". In China they were always called thus, but in Japan the term was changed into *mandara* after the introduction of the *Shingon* sect (A.D. 806). These paintings, probably similar to those of "Amitābha and the Fifty Bodhisattvas", painted in China in the Northern Ts'i dynasty (A.D. 550—577) after Indian and Central-Asian models, and the *Jōdo-hen* of the Sui dynasty (A.D. 581—618), in the T'ang dynasty (A.D. 618—906), especially in the seventh century, obtained a great popularity by the extraordinary zeal of the eminent propagandist of the Amitābha doctrine, the famous priest Shen-tao (善導) († 681), mentioned above, who not only wrote a large commentary on the *Kwangyō*, but also based his paintings upon this text. From that time his type of *Jōdo-hen* became general in China (where however, they are all lost, and where even in the Yuen and Ming dynasties no perfect copies seem to have existed), and in Japan, where they are highly esteemed and preserved as great treasures even to the present day. Introduced during the T'ang dynasty, this subject was treated in Shen-tao's style by many Japanese painters. It is a so-called *sangoku-denrai* (三國傳來), a composition which came from India (and Central-Asia) via China to Japan. [1]

The following sixteen meditations on Amitābha, explained in the *Kwangyō*, are represented on the right and bottom borders of the *Taema-mandara.*

1. 日想觀, *Nissō-kwan*, meditation on the setting (not the rising, as Taki Seiichi says) sun, called in the picture Amitābha's *Dharma-kāya, hōshin*, 法身, i. e. his invisible Dharma-body or Absolute Nature (*Bhūtatathāta*).

[1] Cf. Taki Seiichi, *Kokkwa* No. 247, pp. 159 sqq., "On the Taima-mandara painting, Part I; *Kokkwa* No. 249, idem, Part II (the 24 border scenes); *Kokkwa* No. 251, idem, Part III (the 9 bottom scenes and the middle part, i. e. the Paradise itself with the Buddha and Bodhisattvas).

2. 水想觀, *Suisō-kwan*, meditation on water (and ice), in its purity also representing Amitābha's *Dharma-kāya.*

3. 寶地觀, *Hōji-kwan*, meditation on the Precious Ground (of Paradise), representing the *Bodaishin* or *Bodhi* heart.

4. 寶樹觀, *Hōju-kwan*, meditation on the Precious Trees (of Paradise), representing the expanding of the Law, 暢法, *chōhō*, because they preach the Law, being moved by the soft breeze. [1]

5. 寶池觀, *Hōchi-kwan*, meditation on the Precious Pond (of eight virtues), representing the Sounds of the Law (法音, *hō-on*), because the water preaches the Law, being moved by the breeze.

6. 寶樓觀, *Hōrō-kwan*, meditation on the Precious Towers, representing the temples and altars (道場, *dōjō*) in Paradise.

7. 寶座觀, *Hōza-kwan*, meditation on the Precious Seat, representing Amitābha's Lotus throne (心蓮, *shinren*).

8. 形像觀, *Gyōzō-kwan*, meditation on the Shapes (of Amida, Kwannon and Seishi, seated on lotus flowers and represented as the "rulers of religious practice" (修習, *shūshū*).

9. 報身觀, *Hōshin-kwan*, meditation on Amitābha's *Sambhoga-kāya*, his "body of enjoyment", as he manifests himself in celestial splendour, seated in Paradise, and represented as the "Ruler and Saviour" (攝取, *sesshu*).

10. 大悲觀, *Daihi-kwan*, meditation on the Great Compassionate One, i. e. *Kwannon*, represented as the Leader (攝引, *setsu-in*) to Paradise. *Avalokiteśvara*, as the first of the two principal attendant Bodhisattvas of Amitābha, represents his great compassion.

11. 大智觀, *Daichi-kwan*, meditation on the Great Wise One, i. e. *Daiseishi*, represented as the "Universal Enlightener"

[1] Cf. the short *Sukhāvatī vyūha*, Nanjō No. 200.

(普照, *fushō*). *Mahāsthānaprāpta*, as the second of the two principal attendant Bodhisattvas of Amitābha, represents his great wisdom.

12. 自身觀, *Jishin-kwan*, meditation on "one's self, represented as "reborn" (往生, *ōjō*) in Paradise. Taki Seiichi (Kokkwa No. 249) considers this figure to be *Fugen Bosatsu* (*Samantabhadra*), but the *sūtra* does not give this explanation. *Fugen* is the fifth of Amida's 25 Bodhisattvas;[1] there is no reason why his image should be represented here. *Jishin* is used here to designate the worshipper's own person, reborn in Paradise, as we learn from the *sūtra* itself, which states that he thus may see Amida's whole Paradise and hear the sounds of the Law.

13. 應身觀, *Ōjin-kwan*, meditation on Amitābha's higher *Nirmāṇa-kāya*, his "body of transformation" in a higher sense than the *keshin* (化身),[2] represented as "blessing the beings" (利物, *rimotsu*). Amida (in a preaching attitude), Kwannon and Seishi, standing on lotus flowers in a pond, are represented as they manifest themselves to devout believers.

14. 上品, *Jōbon*, i. e. the "Welcome" (Raigō, 來迎) of Amida with his Bodhisattvas, descending from Heaven, to the dying saints of the first degree, divided into three kinds of "rebirth", *jōshō*, *chūshō* and *geshō*, 上生, 中生, 下生, "Upper, Middle and Lower Birth".

15. 中品, *Chūbon*, i. e. the "Welcome" to the three "births" of the second degree.

16. 下品, *Gebon*, i. e. the "Welcome" to the three "births" of the third degree.

These nine scenes are represented in the bottom border of the

[1] *Butsuzō zuï*, 佛像圖彙 (A.D. 1690), II, p. 9*b*.

[2] Cf. Mc. Govern, *An Introduction to Mahāyāna Buddhism* (1922), p. 90. About the *trikāya* cf. also Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, II pp. 32 sqq.; about *Amitābha*, II pp. 28 sqq.

picture, from right to left, and there are two different ways of representing them in the different copies of the Taema mandara, as described by Taki Seiichi in his third article on this subject (*Kokkwa* No. 251). We see the Buddha and the Bodhisattvas (many in the *jōbon*, two in the *chūbon* and *gebon* scenes; no Buddha or Bodhisattvas, but only a shining lotus flower inside the house of the lowest "birth" of the *gebon*) descending from and ascending to his paradise. The "births" of the *jōbon* are saints, those of the *chūbon* are virtuous men, and those of the *gebon* are sinners, who have caught fish, stolen a canopy from a temple, and criminals (lowest birth of the lowest degree), punished by means of the cangue or put to death on account of murder or other serious crimes. The *gebon* is, of course, the principal part of the subject in so far as the rites of repentance are concerned.

The left border gives the ten scenes of the history of Prince *Ajātaśātru* of Magadha, dealt with in the *Kwangyō*, and, as the eleventh, the opening scene of the *sūtra*, where Śākyamuni with 1250 followers are said to have assembled on the Vulture Peak. The Prince, incited by the wicked Devadatta (1), confines his father, King *Bimbisāra*, in the palace and tries to kill him by starvation (2), but his mother, Queen *Vaidehī*, brings him food (3). The Buddha, from the Vulture Peak seeing the drama, sends his disciples Maudgalyāyana and Pūrṇa to King Bimbisāra, who in prison hears them preaching the Law (4). Then his son arrives at the palace and asks whether his father has died (5), and on hearing the truth he is about to kill his mother; his ministers, however, persuade him not to commit this second crime (6). The Queen, imprisoned by her son, hears Maudgalyāyana and Ānanda, sent by the Buddha, preaching the Law (7). She sees her prison change into a paradise and worships the Buddha, enthroned before her eyes (8). At her question, how after his Nirvāṇa living beings, surrounded by the evils of the world, shall be able to behold *Amitābha's Paradise*, the Buddha answers

that she and the other living beings must concentrate their thoughts upon the West, looking at the setting sun as the first contemplation; then they must meditate upon water, ice etc. (the sixteen meditations). Thus in a ray of light, shining from the Buddha's head, Amitābha's Paradise is visible to the eyes of the Queen (and her 500 female attendants). Also the King is blessed by a ray from the Buddha's head (9). Finally the Buddha says to Ānanda, that the name of the *Sūtra* must be "*Sūtra* on the contemplation of Paradise, the Buddha Amitābha and the Bodhisattvas Avalokiteśvara and Mahāsthānaprāpta", and that it shall "purify and take away the obstacles of deeds (i. e. consisting in deeds) and cause rebirth before the Buddhas". "Even if virtuous men and women only hear the names of Amida, Kwannon and Seishi, this may take away their sins of innumerable kalpas. How much more if they meditate on them!" (10). Here again we have the link between this doctrine and the penitential services, since the removal of sins is the great aim of both. As to King *Ajātaśātru*, we saw above how important his repentance for having killed his father (which according to other versions of the tale he actually did) and the forgiveness obtained were considered to be with regard to the doctrine and rites of repentance.

Repentance was, as stated before (§ 5, p. 261) sharply distinguished from regret (悔恨, *kegon*, and 悔意, *ke-i*), which is one of the eight ties which keep mankind from salvation. This regret (of one's good deeds of self-sacrifice and compassion) is combined with doubt (with regard to the good results and the blessing power of those deeds) into the term *gike*, 疑悔, "doubt and regret", in the fifth of the 49 *sūtras*, arranged and translated by Bodhiruci II in A.D. 713, and called by the collective name of *Mahāratnakūṭa-sūtra*, 大寶積經, *Daihō shōkyō*. This is the eleventh translation of the large *Sukhāvatī vyūha*, entitled *Muryōju-Nyorai-e* (*kyō*), 無量壽如來會(經), ("*Sūtra* spoken by the Buddha on) an assembly on the

Tathāgata Amitāyus" (Nanjō No. 23(5)). In this text Śākyamuni shows Maitreya Amitābha's beautiful Paradise with its rivers and trees and lotus flowers and happy inhabitants, and explains to him why some of them are not born by transformation (化生, *keshō*) from the lotus flower upon which they are sitting cross-legged, but born from the womb (*taishō*, 胎生) of the lotus. The former are the devout believers, who immediately after death are born from the lotus and walk about freely and make offerings to all the Buddhas and think upon them day and night and hear the sounds of the Law. The latter, however, are those who through doubt and regret could not develop belief in their own roots of virtue, although they earnestly endeavoured to obtain the highest wisdom. By hearing Amitābha's name faith in him has arisen in their hearts and they have been reborn in his Pure Land, but for 500 years they have to remain within the lotus. It is pure and good there, but they cannot hear the sounds of the Law nor see the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas and śrāvakas, nor make offerings to the Buddhas and put questions concerning the Law to the Bodhisattvas. If they remain without doubt and regret for 500 years, their sins are obliterated and they are born from the lotus, wherafter they are free and happy like the other inhabitants of Paradise. "Thus, Ajita (Maitreya)", concludes the Buddha, "you must know that doubt and errors greatly injure the Bodhisattvas". Innumerable Bodhisattvas are reborn in Sukhāvatī, where nobody draws back on the road to Buddhaship and Nirvāṇa (*futai*, 不退, *avaivartya*, *futaiten*, 不退轉). Many of them have planted the roots of virtue, without receding, in numberless other Buddha lands, before being born in this heaven; how much more are those, whose roots of virtue are still few![1]

Gyōgi Bosatsu (行基菩薩) (A.D. 670—749), a *Hossō* priest of Yakushiji, the founder of *Ryōbu-Shintō*, was also a worshipper of Amitābha and propagated his doctrine, but at the same time

[1] Nanjō No. 23(5), large ed. p. 12 sqq.

he explained the *Maitreya* cult and rebirth in the *Tuṣita* heaven.[1]

Kūya Shōnin (空也上人), the *Tendai* priest *Kwōshō* (光勝) (A.D. 893—972), like Gyōgi Bosatsu, combined Amitābha's worship with that of the Eleven-faced Kwannon, whose image he led through the streets of the capital to drive away the prevailing plague (A.D. 951). In A.D. 944 (Tenkei 7) he made 33 images of Kwannon, and a *mandara* of Amida's paradise, and during the three last years of his life night after night he repeated the invocation of Amida's holy name.[2]

Eshin Sōzu (惠心僧都), the *Tendai* priest Genshin (源信) (A.D. 942—1017), whose teacher, the *Tendai* priest Ryōgen, (良源), i. e. Jie Daisōjō (慈惠大僧正) (912—985), wrote on the *Kubon ōjō* (九品往生) or "Rebirth of the nine classes of believers in Amida's Paradise",[3] was a great scholar and painter. He was the first great propagandist of Amidism, and by his many writings, especially by his *Ōjō yōshū*, 往生要集, or "Collection of principal details on rebirth (in Amida's heaven)", as well as by his famous paintings, promoted its extension in a very efficient fashion.[4] Taki Seiichi points out that the beauty of nature is highly appreciated by the Amida doctrine, and that Eshin Sōzu and Hōnen Shōnin (Genkū, A.D. 1133—1212) felt this beauty deeply. Tradition says that Eshin Sōzu had a vision at Yogawa on Hieizan, near his monastery, and beheld Amida, Kwannon and Seishi rising over the mountains; this formed the subject of the famous paintings of *Yamagoshi Amida*, 山越阿彌陀, attributed to him. His *Raigō* or "Welcome" picture, a triptych (three kakemono's) (on *Kōya san*, *Kokkwa* No. 232, Pl. III) is a splendid specimen of his supreme art. Preceded by Kwannon (holding the lotus sent for the soul to be reborn in Paradise) and Seishi

[1] Washio, pp. 204 sq., s. v. *Gyōgi.*
[2] Washio, pp. 350 sqq., s. v. *K(w)ōshō.*
[3] Washio, pp. 1175 sq., s. v. *Ryōgen.*
[4] Washio, p. 326, s. v. *Genshin.*

(joining his palms in adoration) and followed by the Bodhisattvas Jizō (Kshitigarbha) (a priest with blazing pearl and *abhaya-mudrā*), Aśvaghosha(?) and Nāgārjuna (two adoring priests, the two first patriarchs of the latter *Jōdo* sect) and a great number of other Bodhisattvas, making heavenly music, Amida, according to the 19th of his 48 original vows, descends from heaven to welcome the holiest of the nine classes of believers.[1] The fact that Jōtō Mon-in, i. e. Fujiwara no Aki-ko, Ichijō Tennō's Consort, who in A.D. 1026 become a nun and assumed the name of Jōtō Mon-in, in A.D. 1030 erected a chapel in which she dedicated gold-coloured images of Amida, Kwannon and Seishi, Jizō and Nāgārjuna, proves that she considered Nāgārjuna, not Aśvaghosha, to be the first teacher of the Amitābha doctrine.[2] Thus it may be that the two priests in Eshin Sōzu's picture are not Aśvaghosha and Nāgārjuna, but Nāgārjuna and Vasubandhu (the third patriarch of the *Jōdo* sect). The so-called *Amida gobutsu*, 五佛, are, in fact, *Amida sanzon* (三尊), i. e. Amida, Kwannon and Seishi, accompanied by Jizō and Nāgārjuna.[3] They are represented in this way in a picture of the second half of the Kamakura period (13th or 14th century) (*Kokkwa* No. 320, Pl. V), where Amida, clad in a red robe, is seated in a meditative attitude on a high lotus throne (evidently a picture of the *Shingon* sect). Jizō holds the precious pearl in his left hand, the right palm being held up in front, in *abhaya-mudrā*, and Nāgārjuna joins his hands in adoration, just like in Eshin Sōzu's painting.

The *Raigō* as well as the *Yamagoshi Amida* were borrowed from China and Central-Asia, where so many paintings were made

[1] Cf. the present writer's treatise on "*The Bodhisattva Ti-tsang* (*Jizō*) *in China and Japan* (Berlin 1915), Ch. III, § 3, *Indō Jizō*, the leader to Paradise, pp. 121 sqq.

[2] *Fusō ryakki*, 扶桑略紀, "Abbreviated history of Japan", written about A.D. 1150 by the priest Kwō-en, 皇圓; Ch. 28, *Kokushi taikei* Vol. VI, p. 782.

[3] *Bukkyō daijiten*, p. 38, 2, s. v. *Amida gobutsu*.

of Amitābha and his paradise, well-known from the works of Sir Aurel Stein and Prof. Pelliot. As before stated, Shen-tao [1] was the man who by his different paintings propagated the Amitābha doctrine in China; Eshin Sōzu was the Shen-tao of Japan. His landscapes, however, were painted in the *Yamato-e* style, and also his figures were treated in a typically Japanese manner. With regard to this subject and Eshin Sōzu's great importance as the eminent reformer of Buddhist painting in Japan the reader may be referred to Prof. Hamada Kōsaku's highly interesting article in the *Kokkwa* (No. 224, pp. 189 sqq.). Many later paintings of Amida's "Welcome" and his "Coming over the mountains" were attributed to Eshin Sōzu, although they belong to the latter part of the Fujiwara time and the Kamakura period. [2] As to famous sculptures representing Amida or the *Amida sanzon* (Amida, Kwannon and Seishi) we may refer to *Kokkwa* No. 308, Pl. VI and VII (the caves of Shantung (A.D. 562 and 658); *Kokkwa* No. 350, Pl. VI (a votive offering, bronze image, A.D. 593); *Kokkwa* No. 110, Pl. VII (A.D. 662—671, bronze, *Kondō* of *Hōryūji*); *Kokkwa* No. 148, Pl. VII (*Seiryōji*, i. e. the Jōdo shrine Shōryōji at Saga village, near Kyōto; wood, probably end of 9th cent.); *Kokkwa* No. 207, Pl. VI (*Kwōryūji*, wood, 9th century); *Kokkwa* No. 172, Pl. VII (*Hōōdō*, *Byōdō-in*, Uji in Yamashiro, wood, *raigō*, attrib. to Jōchō († 1057); *Kokkwa* No. 305, Pl. III (*Jizō-in* on *Kōya-san*, wood, attrib. to Unkyō (Unkei), end 12th, beginning 13th century); *Kokkwa* No. 189 (bronze, the *Daibutsu* of *Kamakura*, A.D. 1252); *Kokkwa* No. 360, Pl. VII, VIII (private

[1] Shen-tao (Zendō) is the third of the Five Ancestral Saints of the Jōdo sect. Cf. *Kokkwa* No. 225 Pl. II; his portrait *Kokkwa* No. 343, Pl. III, IV (in *Chion-in*, the central temple of the Jōdo sect in Kyōto).

[2] Cf. *Kokkwa* No. 233, Pl. II (*Chion-in*, 13th cent.); No. 338, Pl. II, III (*Jōfukuji*, Kyōto, 13th cent.); No. 306 (*Kōfuku-in*, 13th cent.); No. 156, Pl. II (*Zenrinji*, Fujiwara period); No. 302, Pl. I—III (Mr. Ueno Ritchi, Ōsaka, 12th cent.). As to Amida in Paradise (*dharmacakra mudrā*) cf. *Kokkwa* No. 316, Pl. I, II (*Kōya-san*), (11th or 12th cent.), and *Kokkwa* No. 303, Pl. II (*Chion-in*, end 12th cent., the Red Amida, *Shingon* sect).

possession of Baron Morimura Kaisaku, Tōkyō; three wooden (seated) images of Amida, *Senju Kwannon* and *Miroku*; *honji* of *Hachiman*; *Shingon* sect; early Ashikaga period, 14th century. Very interesting on account of the connection between Amitābha and Maitreya!); and *Kokkwa* No. 263, Pl. VIII (*Shinnō-in* on *Kōya-san*, wood, *Amida sanzon* (standing); end of Kamakura period, middle 14th century).

Ryōnin Shōnin (良忍上人), who after his death was called Shō-ō Daishi (聖應大師) (A.D. 1072—1132), was a *Tendai* priest of *Hieizan*, who at the age of 23 retired to Ōhara (大原) in Yamashiro, where he built the *Raikō-in* (來迎院 or "Temple of Amida's Welcome") and the *Jōrenge-in* (淨蓮華院, or "Temple of the Pure Lotus Flower"). There he recited the prayer (*nembutsu*) "*Namu Amida Butsu*" innumerable times a day, and was favoured by the Emperor Shirakawa, who in A.D. 1096 requested him to shave his (the Emperor's) head and became a monk, a *Hō-ō*, 法皇. In A.D. 1117 (Eikyū 5) he founded the first Amida sect, the *Yūzū nembutsu shū* (融通念佛宗) or "Sect of the Thoroughly Penetrating Prayer to Amitābha". He was also famous for his beautiful and powerful voice and his chants, especially for his "Secret Tune of the Rite of Repentance" (懺法秘曲, *sembō no hikyoku*), which was speadily studied by a large number of monks of the great temples of Nara.[1] In A.D. 1124 he was called to the Palace and in the presence of the Emperor Toba and his Consort Taiken Mon-in (Fujiwara no Tama-ko, who in that year became a nun) led a meeting (a *Yūzū nembutsu-e*), attended by all the officials. The Emperor presented him with a mirror which he himself had used for many years, and with a *yūzū nembutsu kwanjinchō* (勸進帳), a subscription book for contributions for pious

[1] Cf. below, this paragraph, C, as to Jikaku Daishi's *Shōmyō bombai*, mystic chants, which he introduced from China (A.D. 847) and transferred to his pupils; these were the hymns sung by Ryōnin Shōnin 250 years later.

purposes (litt. a book of exhortation and promotion, namely of virtuous deeds), made by himself. Like Kūya Shōnin and Eshin Sōzu Ryōnin Shōnin travelled through the country and preached in the streets (as Shen-tao had done in China) and finally he settled in Hirano (Settsu province), where he founded the central seat of the sect, *Dai-nembutsu-ji.* [1]

Hōnen Shōnin (法然上人), the *Tendai* priest Genkū (源空) (A.D. 1133—1212), one of whose posthume names is Enkwō Daishi (圓光大師), after reading Genshin (Eshin Sōzu)'s *Ōjō yōshū* became a fervent adherent of the Amida doctrine and preached the power of the *nembutsu*, repeating the formula *Namu Amida Butsu* thousands of times a day. The monks of Hieizan caused him to be banished to Sanuki in A.D. 1207, but four years later he returned to Kyōto and founded the famous centre of the *Jōdo* sect, *Chion-in* (智恩院). He was the founder of this sect (A.D. 1175) (afterwards divided into five branches), but Kūya, Eshin and Ryōnin had paved the way. After his death many Emperors successively bestowed upon him posthumous titles, to show their great attachment to his doctrine and their devout belief in Amitābha. [2]

Shinran Shōnin (親鸞上人) (A.D. 1173—1262), who after the Restauration received the posthumous title of Kenshin Daishi (見眞大師, the "Great Master who saw the Truth") studied the *Tendai* and *Jōdo* doctrines as a pupil of Jichin and Genkū (A.D. 1203), [3] but in A.D. 1224 wrote a work which became the base of the *Jōdo shinṣhū*, "The True Sect of the Pure Land", also called *Monto-shū* (門徒宗), the "Sect of Followers of the Doctrine" and *Ikkō-shū* (一向宗), the "Sect which turns to one side", i. e. which devotes itself exclusively to the prayer

[1] Washio, pp. 1191 sq. s. v. *Ryōnin*; Papinot, p. 607.

[2] Washio, pp. 322 sqq. s. v. *Genkū*; Papinot, p. 132.

[3] In A.D. 1207, when *Genkū* was banished to Sanuki, Shinran went in exile to Echigo; he was allowed to return in A.D. 1211, the same year as his teacher.

to Amitābha. In consequence of a revelation by *Kwannon*, who appeared to him in the *Rokkaku-dō*, [1] he explained the *Jōdo* in an abstract way, rejected the celibacy of the monks and abstinence from animal food, and considered his doctrine to be the only true one. Thus being the Protestant of Buddhism, he wrote a large number of books about his doctrine. Ten years after his death, in A.D. 1272, the main temple of his sect was built and called *Hongwanji* (Kyōto), afterwards *Nishi Hongwanji*, "Western Temple of the Original Vows", since in A.D. 1602 a *Higaṣhi Hongwanji* was erected. These original vows (*praṇidhāna*) of Amitābha, twenty-one in number in the older texts, have been extended to forty-eight in the *Kwangyō* (Ch. I), Nos. 18 and 19, the *nembutsu ōjō* and *raigō injō* (引接), "Rebirth in Paradise by virtue of the prayer to Amitābha" and "Amitābha's descent and welcome of souls to Paradise", being those of the highest importance. The *Jōdo Shinshū* was afterwards divided into 10 branches. [2]

Ippen Shōnin (一遍上人) (A.D. 1239—1289), also originally a *Tendai* priest, Chishin (智眞) by name, travelled so much through the country to save the people, that they called him *Yūgyō Shōnin* (遊行上人) or "The Travelling Reverend". He distributed so-called *nembutsu* charms (*fuda*), and numberless names were written in his subscription lists (*kwanjinchō*). He preached the saving power of the *Namu Amida Butsu* formula, and in A.D. 1275, after having stayed for a hundred days in the temple of Kumano Gongen and having obtained a divine revelation, he founded the so-called *Ji-shū* (時宗) or "Sect of the Times". This name is an abbreviation of *Rokuji-ōjō-shū* (六時往生宗) or "Sect of the Rebirth in Amida's Paradise by (the prayer repeated) six times". This means that Shen-tao's *Ōjō raisan*

[1] A Nyoirin Kwannon chapel in the Tendai shrine Chōhōji (Unrinji), Kyōto, cf. *Daijii* III, p. 3346.

[2] Washio, pp. 473 sqq.; Papinot, p. 674. Concerning the 48 vows cf. *Daijiten*, p. 717, 3.

(往生禮讚) should be practised, the *rokuji raisan*, a hymn to be recited in worship of Amitābha six times a day (i. e. thrice in the day-time and thrice at night), being part of this work. These six times were, of course, borrowed from the rites of repentance of the *Tendai* sect, performed in accordance with the *Bodhisattva-piṭaka* (see above, § 3, p. 258) and other texts, mentioned in the preceding paragraphs.

Eshin Sōzu had already written a *Gokuraku rokujisan*, 極樂六時讚, or "Praise of Sukhāvatī, to be performed six times" (thrice in the day-time and thrice at night).

In A.D. 1886 the posthume title of Enshō Daishi (圓照大師) or "Great Master of Universal Enlightenment" was bestowed upon Ippen Shōnin. The *Ji-shū* is the last of the Amida sects; afterwards it was divided into 13 branches. [1]

Before the eleventh century the annals do not pay much attention to Amitābha's doctrine. As we saw above, in A.D. 652 (IV 15) Eon expounded the *Muryōjukyō*, and in A.D. 760 and 761 the Emperor Junnin ordered that on behalf of the Empress Dowager's soul in every province a painting of Amida's Paradise should be made, the *Shōsan-Jōdo-kyō* copied and Amida worshipped, the *Amida-jōdo-in* erected in the compound of *Hokkeji* and in all the *kokubunji* images of the *Amida sanzon* should be dedicated, whereas a yearly service of seven days had to be held for her in *Hokkeji* by ten monks in worship of Amitābha. [2] The *Taema mandara* (A.D. 763) is not mentioned in the official annals; there Amida's cult does not reappear on the scene until A.D. 886 (VII 22). Then we read that the *Risshi* Ryūkai (隆海) (a *Hossō* priest of *Gwangōji*) [3] died, making the *Muryōju-Nyorai-in* or "*Mudrā* of the Buddha Amitāyus" with his right hand; when his body was burnt, only the *mudrā* remained intact. [4]

[1] Washio, p. 796; Papinot, p. 239.
[2] *Nihongi*, Ch. XXV, p. 453; *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. XXIII, p. 384, p. 391.
[3] Washio, p. 1151, 1, s. v. *Ryūkai*.
[4] *Nihon kiryaku, Zempen*, Ch. XX, p. 737.

The *Gokurakuji* (極樂寺) or "Temple of (Amida's) Paradise" at the Fukakusa cemetery in Kii district, Yamashiro province, built by Fujiwara no Mototsune (A.D. 836—891), is mentioned in A.D. 919 (XII 28), when a service with recital of texts was held there in honour of the 40th birthday of his son Tadahira (A.D. 880—949), who at that time had the rank of Udaijin. [1]

In A.D. 964 (Kōhō 1, VII 5), when the Shōsōzu Saigen (濟源), died, a *Hossō* priest of *Yakushiji* in Yamato, "there was a lucky omen of his rebirth in Amida's Paradise, *Ōjō gokuraku no zui.*" [2] This bishop had studied the *Sanron* and practised the *Nembutsu sammai* (念佛三昧, *samādhi* with prayers to Amitābha, based upon the *Kwangyō*). [3]

In A.D. 966 (Kōhō 3, IV 7), one year after the death of the Udaijin Fujiwara no Akitada, a service was held on behalf of his soul in *Gokurakuji*, the temple mentioned above (A.D. 919). [4] And in A.D. 969 (XII, 28), a *Mandō-e* or "Festival of Ten thousand Lamps" (see above, Chapter VII, § 7) was held in the same sanctuary. [5]

In A.D. 1008 (Kwankō 5, VIII 14) *Kawa Shōnin*, 皮聖人, "the Saint with the skin (the furs)", i. e. the foreign *Tendai* priest Gyō-en (行圓) († 1047), who was a devout performer of the Amida rites, [6] began so-called *Shijūhakkō* (四十八講), "Forty-eight Expoundings", i. e. a meeting for expounding the 48 vows of Amida, which lasted from VIII 14 to X 3 (this must be 48 days, so that it may have begun a day later: 16 days in VIII, 30 in IX, 2 in X), in order to examine and judge Amitābha's 48 vows. This was, says the annalist, a *gyakushu* (逆修), i. e.

[1] Ibid., *Kōhen*, Ch. I, p. 803.
[2] Ibid., Ch. IV, p. 902.
[3] Washio, p. 393, 2, s. v. *Saigen.*
[4] *Nihon kiryaku, Kōhen*, Ch. IV, p. 909.
[5] Ibid., Ch. VI, p. 931.
[6] Washio, p. 202, 1, s. v. *Gyō-en.*

a *yoshu* (豫修), a rite "practised beforehand", to obtain felicity after death.[1]

In A.D. 1016 (Chōwa 5) the *Shingon* priest Jinkaku (深覺, A.D. 955—1043, a son of Fujiwara no Morosuke, afterwards head of *Tōji*) founded the *Amitāyus* temple *Muryōju-in* (無量壽院) on *Kōya-san*. Evidently the *Shingon* sect as well as the *Tendai* sect began to pay special attention to the Amida cult.[2]

In A.D. 1022 (VII 14) the greatest of the Fujiwaras, Michinaga, dedicated the Golden Hall of *Hōjōji* (法成寺). The ceremony was attended by the Emperor Go Ichijō and his Court, and led by the *Tendai-zasu* Ingen (院源).[3] The year before (A.D. 1021, XII 2) Michinaga had enlarged the *Muryōju-in*, 無量壽院, or "Temple of Amitāyus", founded by him in A.D. 1020 (III 22) in the compound of this *Tendai* sanctuary, and *nembutsu* (prayers to Amida) were performed incessantly for three nights. In A.D. 1026 (Manju 3, III 20) the *Hōjōji Amida-dō* (堂) or *Amida* chapel of *Hōjōji* was dedicated, and in the same year (IX 9) the *Muryōju-in-misanjūkō* (御卅講) or "Meeting for expounding the thirty chapters" (in thirty days) was held there for the first time. Each day one chapter was dealt with, for on the 14th of the same month the fifth chapter was explained.[4] This was a *Tendai* ceremony, also called the *Hokke sanjū-kō*, in which the 28 chapters of the *Lotus sūtra*, preceded by the *Muryōgi-kyō* (Nanjō No. 133) and followed by the *Fugen kwangyō* (Nanjō No. 394), in all 30 chapters, were expounded (cf. above, § 8, p. 270). In consequence of a vow the *Midō Kwampaku* (御堂關白), i. e. Michinaga, had begun to perform this ceremony in his villa, and the Emperor Go Ichijō transferred it to *Hōjōji* and celebrated it with great pomp, in the presence of all the court nobles.[5] In A.D. 1027 (V 5)

[1] Cf. *Daijiten*, p. 272, 3, s. v. *gyakushu*, and p. 1771, 1, s. v. *yoshu*. *Nihon kiryaku, Kōhen*, Ch. XI, p. 1073.

[2] Washio, p. 480, 2, s. v. *Jinkaku*; *Daijii* III, p. 4355, 2, s. v. *Muryōju-in*.

[3] *Nihon kiryaku, Kōhen*, Ch. XIII, p. 1130.

[4] Ibid., pp. 1139 sq.

[5] *Daijii*, III, p. 4098, 1, s. v. *Hokke sanjū-kō*.

a *Shaka* image, sixteen feet high, was dedicated in this *Muryōju-in*, and in the same year Michinaga died there (XII 4); some days before the Prince Imperial on account of Michinaga's illness had gone to the *Amida-dō* of *Hōjōji.*[1] The next year (A.D. 1028, IX 9) a service was held in the same chapel on behalf of the soul of the former Empress Dowager (Michinaga's daughter), the anniversary of whose death was thus celebrated in worship of Amitābha.[2] In A.D. 1030, as stated above, Jōtō Mon-in, Go Ichijō Tennō's mother Fujiwara no Aki-ko (also a daughter of Michinaga, and the first Empress who, after having become a nun, took the title of *Mon-in*), erected a chapel in honour of Amida, Kwannon and Seishi, Jizō and Nāgārjuna. Five years later (A.D. 1035, III 25), two days after Fujiwara no Tadanobu's death, Jōtō Mon-in held a *Hokke hakkō* (法華八講) and dedicated a silver image of Amida Butsu.

Thus we see how the mightiest of the Fujiwaras and the whole Imperial Court were devout adherents of the Amitābha cult in connection with the *Tendai* doctrine, and that the beginning of the eleventh century, the very time of Eshin Sōzu's propaganda, opened a new era of the history of Amidism in Japan. First the *Hossō* priests, then (after Kūya Shōnin) the *Tendai* men connected their doctrines with that of Amida's "Easy Way".

C. *Amida-kekwa and ṣembō in Japan (from A.D. 782 to the present day).*

About A.D. 782 the *Hossō* priest Shōkai (昌海) of *Kōfukuji* in Nara was the first to celebrate a penitential service in worship of Amitābha and to write a work entitled *Amida-kekwa.* As he also wrote a "Collection of prayers to the Buddha of the West", *Saihō nembutsu shū*, he appears to have been a devout propagator

[1] *Nihon kiryaku, Kōhen*, Ch. XIII, pp. 1143, 1145.
[2] Ibid., p. 1149.

of Amitābha's cult.[1] This agrees with the fact, stated above, that the *Hossō* priests were the first who paid attention to this doctrine.

The ancient annals, however, are silent with regard to the *Amida-kekwa.* The connection was easily found between the repentance necessary to the sinners of the *gebon* or lowest category of the *Kwangyō* and the bottom border of the *Taema mandara,* and to Prince Ajātaśātru of Magadha (whose crimes are treated there as well as in the texts of repentance), and the penitential rites of the *Tendai* and other sects. In China Shen-tao appears to have perceived this, for the *rokuji raisan* hymn is evidence of his having borrowed from the *T'ien-t'ai* sect the idea of the penitential rites, repeated six times a day (thrice in the day-time and thrice at night). A century later the Japanese *Hossō* priest Shōkai saw the same connection, and wrote about the *Amida-kekwa,* which rite may have sprung up in China after Shen-tao.

The *Tendai* priest Ennin (圓仁) (A.D. 794—864), *zasu* (座主, head-abbot) of *Enryakuji* on Hieizan, i. e. the famous Jikaku Daishi (慈覺大師), from A.D. 838 to 847 studied and travelled in China, meeting many eminent priests and learning from them the details of the public and mystic branches of the Tendai doctrine. On his return to Japan in A.D. 847, he was soon appointed *Daihōshi* (848) and *Tendai zasu* (851), and wrote a large number of important works. He copied a book entitled *Saihō sembō* (西方懺法) or "Rite of Repentance of the West", which rite is identical with the *Amida sembō,* and which he may have practised on *Hieizan.*

In A.D. 818 (VII 27) Dengyō Daishi, the founder of the *Tendai* sect in Japan, enjoined upon his disciples the task of practising the four kinds of *samādhi,* and ordered Jikaku Daishi to build a *Jōza-sammai-dō* (常坐三昧堂) or "Chapel for constantly

[1] Washio, p. 629, 1, s. v. *Shōkai*; *Daijiten,* p. 382, 3, s. v. *Amida-kekwa,* quoting the *Jōdo hōmon Genrushō,* 淨土法門源流章, written A.D. 1311 by the *Kegon* priest Gyōnen (凝然) (A.D. 1240—1321).

sitting *samādhi*". Two months later the building was finished and Jikaku Daishi entered *samādhi*, whereupon he practised religious austerities for six years. After having been in China from A.D. 838 to 847, in A.D. 848 (Shōwa 15) he erected a new *Jōgyō-sammai-dō* or "Chapel for the constant practice of *samādhi*", and in A.D. 851 (Ninju 1) he transmitted the rites of the *Nembutsu sammai* to all his disciples, and began to perform the *Mida nembutṣu* or "Prayers to *Amitābha*". [1]

These *Mida nembutsu*, also called *Nembutsu sammai* or *Jōgyō sammai*, performed from A.D. 851 by Jikaku Daishi in the *Jōgyōdō* on *Hieizan* and chanted with a drawling voice (*inshō nembutsu*, 引聲念佛, *inshō gyōdō*, 行道, *inshō Amida kyō*), [2] were the origin of the so-called *reiji* (例時), "fixed times" or *reiji sahō* (作法), "rites of fixed times", consisting of the daily reading of the *Amitābha sūtras* and the recital or singing of the *inṣhō nembutsu* at the *yū-reiji* or "fixed evening-times", in order to obliterate sin and create felicity. These rites, although specially observed by the adherents of the *Jōdo* sect, are also performed daily by all the *Tendai* priests, who in the morning practise the the *asa-sembō* (i. e. the *Hokke sembō*, to be treated below) and in the evening the *yū-reiji* (together called *asa-sembō yū-reiji*, "morning rites of repentance and fixed evening rites"), thus combining the penitential rites of the Lotus *sūtra*, the main basis of their doctrine, with the Amitābha cult. [3]

[1] *Daijii*, I, p. 75, 1, s. v. *Amida sembō*, quoting the *Chōsairoku*, 長西錄 (Vol. II), possibly written by Chōsai, a *Jōdo* priest of *Kuhonji*, who lived in the beginning of the 13th century; it was printed in A.D. 1662 and is devoted to the Amitābha doctrine in India, China and Japan (*Kokusho kaidai*, p. 1382, 2). Also the *Jukkwaishō* (述懷抄), written by the *Jōdo* priest Shunshō (舜昌) (who lived A.D. 1255—1335) is quoted (l.l.) with regard to Jikaku Daishi's *Saihō sembō*.

[2] *Daijiten*, p. 94, 3, s. v. *inshō*. As to the *jōgyō-sammai* cf. above, § 12, C, 1, *b*, p. 287, *hanju-sammai*.

[3] *Daijiten*, p. 1810, 1, s. v. *reiji*; p. 16, 1, s. v. *asa-sembō yū-reiji*.

As to the *Jōgyō* chapel, this was originally situated in the rear of the Ākāśagarbha chapel on *Hieizan*, but his pupil, the *Tendai* priest Sō-ō Oshō, who in 864 had received his teacher's last will, in 866 transplaced the chapel to the North side of the *Kōdō* (講堂) or "Expounding Hall" on *Hieizan*.[1] As we shall see below (Ch. VIII, § 18) Jikaku Daishi also performed the *Hokke sembō* in the *Hokkedō* (built together with the *Jōgyō-sammaidō* in A.D. 848) on *Hieizan*.

His disciple Sō-ō Oshō (相應和尙, the Reverend Sō-ō, A.D. 831—918) was a faithful and famous pupil of his great master. By means of the mystic rites, learned from him (especially the *Fudō-Myōō-hō* or "Rite of *Acala Vidyā-rāja*") he cured the Emperors Seiwa, Uda and Daigo and their consorts; he worshipped *Fudō Myō-ō*, *Dai-Nichi Nyorai* (*Vairocana*), *Fugen Bosatsu* (*Samantabhadra*), *Miroku* (*Maitreya*, in whose Inner Palace of the Tushita Heaven he hoped to be reborn), but finally took his refuge in *Amida*, as his teacher had done, and died in devout prayer to him, with his face to the West.[2]

Jikaku Daishi introduced the *Shōmyō bombai* (聲明梵唄),[3] chants of the mystic branch of the *Tendai* sect (*Taimitsu*, 台密) and transferred them to his disciples, and Ryōnin (良忍) (A.D. 1072—1132), the founder of the *Yuzū nembutsu* sect, mentioned above (same paragraph, B) sang these secret hymns with great zeal and a magnificent voice in the *Raikō-in*, the celebrated Amida sanctuary at *Ohara* in Yamashiro, founded by him.[4] One of them was the "Tune of the Rite of Repen-

[1] *Daijiten*, p. 963, 1, s. v. *Jōgyōdō*; *Daijii* II, p. 2553, 3, s. v. *Jōgyōdō*; *Ranjōshō*, II, *Gunsho ruiju* No. 465, Vol. XVI, p. 985, where Sō-ō is said to have stated in A.D. 866, that Jikaku Daishi had extended his original vow of performing continual (*fudan*) *nembutsu* for 3×7 days and nights into *sanze jōgyō sammai* (*sanze* is past, present and future).

[2] Washio, pp. 742 sqq., s. v. *Sō-ō*.

[3] *Daijiten*, p. 791, 2, s. v. *shōmyō* and *shōmyōke*.

[4] *Daijii*, l.l.; *Genkō Shakusho*, Ch. XXIX (音藝志), p. 1153.

tance", *sembō no kyoku* (曲), which, as stated above, became very popular among the priests of the large temples of Nara.[1] Two hundred and fifty years earlier Jikaku Daishi had sung this "beautiful chant of the Rite of Repentance with a voice, intimately familiar with these penitential songs", as Fujiwara no Arifusa states in his *Nomori no kagami* (A.D. 1293—1298).[2] Among those who transmitted these secret songs were Ryōgen (良源) (Jie Daisōjō, 慈恵大僧正) (A.D. 912—985), who, as stated above, wrote about the rebirth of the nine classes of believers in Amida's Paradise, and Eshin Sōzu (A.D. 942—1017), the famous propagandist of Amida's worship.[3] Thus it is clear that these musical rites, although belonging to the mystic branch of the *Tendai* sect, were closely connected with the penitential ceremonies of the Amida doctrine, the *Amida sembō*, which Jikaku Daishi is said to have transmitted at the same time and to have often practised in the Imperial Palace.[4]

The priests of the *Jōdo* sect used to perform the *Amida sembō* and in the Tokugawa time they made it a regular rite of *Zōjōji*, 増上寺, the famous ancestral shrine of the Tokugawa family in the Shiba district of Yedo. Also the *Jōdo Shinshū* used it as a regular ceremony from olden times. In the third month of A.D. 1711 (Shōtoku 1), at the celebration of the 450th anniversary of Shinran Shōnin's death, nocturnal *Amida sembō* were performed.[5] The *Bukkyō daijii* describes the rites of the *Amida sembō*, practised by the *Hongwanji* branch of the *Jōdo Shinshū*.

The *dōshi* (導師), the "Leading Master" of the ceremony,

[1] Washio, p. 1191, s.v. *Ryōnin*; *Daijii*, III, p. 4534, 1.

[2] *Nomori no kagami*, 野守鏡, written A.D. 1293—98 by Fujiwara no Arifusa (有房), *Gunsho ruiju* No. 484, Vol. XVII, *zatsubu* No. 39, 下, p. 507.

[3] *Genkō Shakusho*, l.l.

[4] *Daijii*, I, p. 75, 1, s.v. *Amida sembō*.

[5] *Hongwanji tsūki*, Ch. III, quoted in the *Daijii*, l.l.

and the monks having taken their places, the *dōshi* ascends the *raiban* (禮盤). This is a high seat for worshipping the Buddhas, placed in front of the *shumi-dan* (須彌壇) or "altar of Mount Sumeru", also called *shumi-za* (座), "seat of Mount Sumeru", a high pedestal, slender in the middle in imitation of the shape of the mythical mountain, with the *honzon* or principal image placed upon it. A *kyōki* (經机) or "*sūtra* desk" is placed before the *raiban* or "worshipping basin", i. e. the pulpit; on the right hand side a gong, on the left is placed a stand with an *e-gōro* (柄香爐) or "handle-incense-burner", also called *shuro* (手爐) or "hand-incense-burner". On having ascended the pulpit, the leading priest strikes the gong (*chōkei*, 打磬), squats down (*songo*, *sonkyo*, 蹲踞), beats the gong again, bows in worship of the Triratna (*sōrai sambō*, 總禮三寶), strikes the gong, kneels down (*koki*, 胡跪, "Mongol kneeling", with the right knee on the ground, as the *sūtras* prescribe), and recites a "sacrificial text" (*kuyō-mon*, 供養文) of 16 lines. Then he beats the gong, squats down, and reads the *kyōrai-mon* (敬禮文) or "Text of reverence and worship", and all the monks, with the *shōmyō-hon* (聲明本) or "book of chants" in their left hand and a folding fan in their right, stand and full of devotion read the same text.

After this recital the monks sit down (*heiza*, 平坐), whereupon the leading priest, in a kneeling attitude (the right knee upon the ground), recites the *sange-mon* or "Text of Repentance" (cf. above, § 9, p. 276).

Then he descends from the pulpit, puts his folding fan in his breast, takes the incense-burner and a flower-basket, and recites standing the names of the Buddha (*Amida*) and the Bodhisattvas (*Kwannon* and *Seishi*). All the monks recite them together, standing before their seats, and, after having made one bow with their hands joined upon their breasts (*ichi-yū*, 一揖), they make the *pradakṣiṇa* circumambulation around the image, with the right sides turned to it (*gyōdō*, 行道). Flowers are scattered each

time when (repeating Amida's invocation) they reach the word *namu*, eleven times in all.

Thereupon the leading priest squats on the right side of the Buddha, puts down the flower-basket, takes a book (the *Kwangyō*) and the incense-burner, stands up and reads the text (the passage on the contemplation of Amitābha's *Dharmakāya*). All the monks squat down, recite the *sūtra* in chorus and make the circumambulation.

Then the leading priest squats down, takes the flower-basket, stands up and recites the *nembutsu* (prayer to Amida). All the monks take flower-baskets, recite the *nembutsu* in chorus, make one bow with their hands upon their breasts, and perform the circumambulation, scattering flowers at each line of the prayer.

Then the leading priest descends from the pulpit, stops repeating the *nembutsu* and recites a hymn of praise (*bai*, 唄), joined in chorus by the monks. After having finished this the leading priest again ascends the pulpit and the monks remain standing before their seats.

Thereupon the leading priest beats the gong, squats down, bows thrice, rises, bows again and recites the vows, joined in chorus by the monks who after having taken their seats squat down after the recital.

Then the leading priest beats the gong, sits down and recites the sixteen lines of the Buddha's hymn (*gāthā*); the monks also sit down.

Finally the leading priest beats the gong twice, descends from the pulpit, returns to his original seat and withdraws, followed by the monks. [1]

We learn from this description that besides the "sacrificial text", the "text of reverence and worship", the "chanting book", the "text of repentance", the *nembutsu* and the hymns of praise, the *Kwangyō* (Nanjō No. 198) is the principal text of this ceremony.

[1] *Daijii*, I, p. 75, 2, s.v. *Amida sembō*.

Another text, used (by the *Jōdo* sect) in performing these rites, is the *Mida Butsu sembō* or "Rite of Repentance in worship of the Buddha Amitābha", the printing blocks of which were preserved in *Sanenzan* (三緣山), i. e. the *Jōdo* sanctuary *Zōjōji* in Tōkyō. The author of this work is unknown. The ceremony itself is also called *Muryōju sembō.*[1] Also Hōnen Shōnin (Genkū) (A.D. 1133—1212) is said to have written a work of one chapter, entitled *Amida-kyō sembō* or "Rite of Repentance based upon the Amitābha *sūtra*".[2]

§ 17. *Hōkwō* (*Daitsū hōkwō*), *Shaka, Jizō and Miroku-kekwa. Suisembō* (水懺法) *or "Penitential Rites by means of* (*samādhi*) *water"* (*Nanjō No. 1523*). *Eisen* (永懺) (*Nanjō No. 1004*). *Sensatsu-sen* (占察懺) (*Nanjō No. 464*). *Jihi-sembō* (慈悲懺法) *or "Rites of Repentance in worship of the Merciful and Compassionate* (*Buddha*)" (*Nanjō No. 1509*). *Kwannon sembō* (*Nanjō No. 137*).

The *Hōkwō kekwa* (方廣悔過) or "*Vaipulya* Repentance" was a rite performed by the Emperor Kōnin during three days in A.D. 774 (Hōki 5, XII 15—17) in the Imperial Palace. Evidently it was intended to purify the Court and the country from sin towards the end of the year. Therefore it is considered to be the forerunner or origin of the *Butsumyō sange*, treated below (§ 19). It was based on the *Daitsū hōkwō sange metsuzai shōgon jōbutsu kyō* (大通方廣懺悔滅罪莊嚴成佛經), a spurious *sūtra* used from olden times in the *Butsumyō sange* rites of Japan.[3] In A.D. 823 (Kōnin 14, XII 23) Junna Tennō invited the *Daisōzu* Chōe (長惠), the *Shōsōzu* Gonsō (勤操) (a *Sanron* priest) and the *Daihōshi* Kūkai (空海) (the great

[1] *Daijiten*, p. 1050, 1, s.v. *Amida sembō*, quoting the *Ninniku zakki*, I.

[2] *Daijii*, I, p. 72, 1, s.v. *Amida-kyō sembō*, quoting the *Chōsairoku*, referred to above, same paragraph, C, p. 345, note 1.

[3] *Daijii*, III, p. 3192, 3, s.v. *Daitsū-hōkwōkyō*; III, p. 4030, 2, s.v. *Butsumyō-e.*

Shingon priest Kōbō Daishi) to the Palace, where they passed the night in performing the *Daitsū hōkwō no hō* (大通方廣之法) in the *Seiryōden.*[1] This was the second instance of such penitential services at the end of the year.

In the *Ranjōshō* (濫觴抄), written by an unknown author (the last date mentioned in this work is A.D. 1252) the *Shaka kekwa*, a penitential service in worship of Śākyamuni, celebrated in *Daianji*, one of the seven great Buddhist temples of Nara, is mentioned in A.D. 832 (Tenchō 9) in connection with the *Yuima-e* (X 10—16) and *Saishō-e* (III 7—13) of *Kōfukuji* and *Yakushiji* (yearly in the eighth month expounding of the *Yuima-kyō* and the *Saishōō-kyō*).[2]

The author of the article on *kekwa* in the *Bukkyō daijii* (I, p. 1002, 2) refers to the *Engishiki* ("Ceremonies of the *Engi* era", A.D. 901—923) (without indicating the chapter) with relation to the *Jizō-kekwa* of the Shingon shrine *Kajōji* (嘉祥寺) in Kii district, Yamashiro (erected in A.D. 850, the last year of the Kajō era, by Nimmyō Tennō and dedicated by Kōbō Daishi's brother and disciple Shinga), and among the different kinds of *kekwa* he mentions the *Miroku-kekwa*, penitential services in worship of Maitreya, without indicating the passage where this ceremony is dealt with.

The *suisembō* (水懺法) or "Rite of Repentance by means of water" was practised by the *T'ien-t'ai* priest Chi-hüen (知玄) (A.D. 809—881) (Nanjō App. III 40), the author of the work entitled *Jihi-suisembō*, 慈悲水懺法 (Nanjō No. 1523) or "Rite of Repentance by means of the Water of Mercy and Compassion". Under the reign of the T'ang Emperor I-tsung (A.D. 860—873) he met with *Kanaka Bharadvāja*, the third of the Sixteen Arhats,[3] who advised him to cure an ulcer on his knee

[1] *Nihon kiryaku, Zempen*, Ch. XIV, p. 446 (*Nihon kōki*, Ch. XXXI).

[2] *Ranjōshō*, II, *Gunsho ruiju*, Nr. 465, Vol. XVI, p. 982, 1.

[3] Cf. the present writer's treatise entitled "*The Arhats in China and Japan*" (Berlin 1923), Ch. III, § 1, p. 59.

by washing it with *samādhi* water. As he was cured immediately, he wrote the afore-said work and thus combined the purifying power of *samādhi* with that of penitence. This account is given in the preface by the Emperor Ch'eng-tsu in A.D. 1416.[1]

The practice of *eisen* (永懺) or "eternal repentance", based upon Nanjō No. 1034 (the *Rishu-kyō*, 理趣經, translated between A.D. 746 and 771 by Amoghavajra), i.e. the *rishu raisan* (理趣禮懺) or *rishu sammai* (*samādhi*), was the daily task of the *Shingon* priest Myōsen (明遲) (A.D. 1076—1169), as we learn from his biography.[2]

The *sensatsu-sen* (占察懺) or "repentance of the divinatory investigation (of the retribution of virtuous and evil actions)", based upon Nanjō No. 464 (the *Sensatsu-zenaku-gyōhō-kyō*, 占察善惡業報經, translated in the Sui dynasty (A.D. 589–618) by Bodhidīpa, 菩提燈) and described by the Chinese priest Süh-chi (旭智) of the Ming dynasty, was performed in A.D. 1697 by the *Tendai* priest Kwōsen (光謙) (A.D. 1652—1739).[3]

The *jihi-sembō*, 慈悲懺法, or "Rite of Repentance in worship of the Merciful and Compassionate One", was based upon Nanjō No. 1509 (*Jihi dōjō*, 道場, *sembō* or "Rite of Repentance practised at the altar of the Merciful and Compassionate One (the Buddha)". The preface of this work, which consists of 10 fasciculi and 40 chapters (the name of the author being unknown), states that it was first compiled in the Yung-ping era (A.D. 483—493) by a prince named Siao Tszĕ-liang, and that afterwards (in the T'ien-kien era, A.D. 502—520) it was revised by an eminent priest of the Liang dynasty. Tao-süen (道宣 A.D. 596—667), however, in his famous "Continuation of the Biographies of Eminent Priests" (*Zoku kōsōden*, 續高僧傳

[1] Nanjō No. 1523; *Daijiten*, p. 1049, 3, s.v. *sembō*; Suppl. of the *Tripiṭak* (*Dai Nihon zokuzōkyō*), 乙 II 2, 3.

[2] Washio, p. 1083, 1.

[3] Washio, p. 343, 1, s.v. *Kōsen*.

Nanjō No. 1493) which deals with Buddhist priests who lived between A.D. 519 and 645, states that the present work was originally written by Wu Ti (武帝), the first Emperor of the Liang dynasty, who reigned A.D. 502—549, and that it was enlarged by a priest, named Chang-kwan or Hwui-shih. [1] According to tradition Wu Ti wrote this work, then entitled *Jihi-sembō,* and invited Buddhist priests to lead a penitential service, because the ghost of his very jealous concubine had appeared to him in a dream in the shape of a huge snake. After this meritorious deed of the Emperor she became an angel and was reborn in heaven; flying in the air she thanked the Emperor for this great favour. He never appointed another lady his Consort. [2]

The *Kwannon-sembō* is based upon the *Kwannongyō*, i. e. the *Kwanzeon Bosatsu Fumonbon* (普門品), the 25th Section of the Lotus *Sūtra* (*Hokkekyō*), dealt with above (Ch. I, § 11) (Nanjō No. 137). In the Hien-p'ing era of the Sung dynasty (A.D. 998—1000) the *T'ien-t'ai* priest Tsun-shih (遵式) (A.D. 963—1032), mentioned above (§ 16, A, p. 321) in connection with the rites of repentance in worship of Amitābha and with those based on the *Konkwōmyōkyō,* began to practise the penitential rites with invocation of Avalokiteśvara and the Triratna, in order to purify himself and others from the three kinds of sins (of body, mouth and mind). In Japan these rites, described by him in a work devoted to them, [3] were performed by the famous founder of the *Rinzai* branch of the *Zen* sect, Eisai (榮西) (A.D. 1141—1215), often called by his posthume title Senkwō Kokushi (千光國師), in *Kenninji* (建仁寺),

[1] Nanjō No. 1509; *Daijiten*, p. 1049, 3, s.v. *jihi sembō.*

[2] *Daijiten*, l.l.

[3] Cf. Nanjō No. 1515, ceremonial rules with invocation of *Kwanzeon.* Nanjō No. 1485 (the *K'ai-yuen-luh*, A.D. 730), Ch. VI, p. 185*a*: a "*Sūtra* on the magic formulae, used in order to take away sin by means of the *Kwanzeon sange*", translated A.D. 490 (Ying-ming 8); the same work is mentioned in Nanjō No. 1483 (the *Nei-tien-luh*, about A.D. 664), Ch. IV, p. 33*a*.

founded by him in A.D. 1202 at Kyōto. Thenceforth the *Kwannon-sembō* were used by the *Zen* sect, whereas the *Hokke-sembō*, treated in the next paragraph, were rites of the *Tendai* sect. The hymns of the former are pronounced in *Tō-in* or "Sounds of T'ang", those of the latter in *Go-on* or "Sounds of Wu" (the oldest dialect used in Japan, especially in Buddhism). The former begin with the *isshin chōrai* (一心頂禮) or "Act of worship by bowing down the head (before the Buddha) with a heart full of devotion", the latter (the *Hokke-sembō*) commence with the *isshin kyōrai* (一心敬禮) or "Act of reverence and worship (of the Triratna) with a heart full of devotion", like the *Amida-sembō* of the *Hongwanji* branch of the *Jōdo Shinshū*, described above (§ 16, C, p. 347). As to the opening act of the *Kichijō-sembō*, this is the *isshin bushō* (一心奉請) or "Invocation with a heart full of devotion". [1]

The *Rinzai* priest Ben-en (辨圓), whose posthume name is Shōichi Kokushi (聖一國師) (A.D. 1202—1280), also practised the *Kwannon-sembō* in *Tōfukuji* (東福寺), the beautiful *Rinzai* sanctuary dedicated in A.D. 1255, of which temple he was the first abbot. [2]

Entsū Daiji (圓通大士) or "Great Master of Perfect Penetration (Wisdom)" being a special name of Avalokiteśvara, based upon the *Śūrāṅgama sūtra* (首楞嚴經, *Shuryōgonkyō*, Nanjō No. 446), the *Kwannon-sembō* are also called *Entsū-sembō* or *Entsū-semma-hō* (圓通懺摩法). [3]

In A.D. 1471 (Bummei 3, XII 26) we read of the *Kwannon-sembō*, practised by the *Rinzai* priests of *Shōkokuji*. [4]

[1] *Daijiten*, p. 1049, 3, s.v. *sembō*, where a mistake is made with regard to the opening rites, cf. the same work, p. 70, 2, s.v. *isshin chōrai* and *isshin kyōrai*. (*Kwannon and Hokke sembō*).

[2] *Daijiten*, l.l.; Washio, p. 1037 sqq. s.v. *Ben-en*.

[3] *Daijiten*, l.l. and p. 1870, 3, sq.

[4] *Zoku Shigushō*, Ch. XXXIX, *Zoku Kokushitaikei*, Vol. II, p. 362.

§ 18. *Hokke-sembō* (法華懺法) *or "Rites of Repentance of the Lotus", also called Hokke-sammai-gyōbō* (法華三昧行法) *or "Rites (performed by means of) samādhi on the Lotus", or Sembōkō* (懺法講), *"Meetings for expounding the Rites of Repentance" (A.D. 848—1868).*

A. *The Hokke-sembō in China.*

In China these penitential rites, practised by means of reading the Lotus *sūtra*, date from the second half of the sixth century. The *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka sūtra* itself had been translated by Dharmaraksha I into Chinese between A.D. 266 and 316 (Nanjō No. 138) and between A.D. 402 and 412 by Kumārajīva (Nanjō No. 134, the *Myōhō-renge kyō*, used in Japan). The *Hokke-sammai kyō* or *Saddharma-samādhi-sūtra* (Nanjō No. 135) was translated in A.D. 427 or somewhat later by the Chinese priest Chi-yen (智嚴) (Nanjō, Appendix II, No. 76), who had accompanied Fah-hien on his pilgrimage to India, and had obtained some Sanskrit texts in Cabul.

In A.D. 563 (T'ien-kia 4) the Emperor Wen Ti of the Ch'en dynasty held a *Musha-daie* or "Great Unlimited Meeting" (cf. above, Ch. VI, § 3) in the *Ta-kih-tien* (大極殿, *Daigokuden*) of his Palace, with three kinds of penitential rites: the *Hōdō-darani-hō* (方等陀羅尼法), based upon the *Mahāvaipulya-dhāraṇī-sūtra* (see § 12, p. 289), the *Hokke-sembō*, and the *Konkwōmyō-sembō* (see § 7, p. 268). [1]

Between A.D. 589 (the beginning of the Sui dynasty) and A.D. 597 (the author's death) the founder of the *T'ien-t'ai* school, Chi-ché ta-shi (Chisha daishi) (A.D. 531—597) wrote a work on these *Hokke sembō*, entitled *Hokke sammai sengi* (法華三昧懺儀) or "Ceremonial rules (*kalpa*) for repentance by means

[1] *Fuh-tsu t'ung-ki* (Nanjō No. 1661), Ch. XXXVII.

of *samādhi* on the Lotus" (Nanjō No. 1510) (1 fasc., 5 chapters). This is the work which caused the spread of this ceremony in China and Japan, the *Tendai* sect being its most powerful propagandist. We have repeatedly seen above, that Chi-ché ta-shi and his school were the principal authors and performers of the rites of repentance. Before him his teacher Hwui-szĕ (Eshi zenji, 慧思禪師) of the "Southern Peak" (*Nan-yoh*, Nangaku, 南嶽, i. e. *Heng-shan* in Hunan province), called Nan-yoh ta-shi or "Great Master of the Southern Peak", the third patriarch of the *Tendai* school (A.D. 514—577), had written Nanjō Nos. 1542, 1543 and 1547, on meditation and on the Lotus *sūtra* (Ch. XIV) (the principal *sūtra* of the *Tendai* sect) and had obtained *rokkon shōjō* or "purity of the six senses" by means of the *Hōdō sange* or "*Vaipulya*-repentance", also called *Hōdō sammai*, "*Vaipulya-samādhi*" (based upon Nanjō No. 421), which rites he practised for seven years. As stated above (§ 12, C, 1, *e*, p. 289), Kwan-ting (灌頂) (A.D. 561—632) wrote the "Rules for the practice of *Vaipulya-samādhi*" (Nanjō No. 1573), orally explained by his teacher Chi-ché ta-shi. Therefore it is no wonder that the *Hokke-sembō* have also been attributed by some writers to Hwui-szĕ, who is supposed to have transmitted them to his pupil Chi-i (智顗), i. e. Chi-ché ta-shi. The latter, whose work on the *Hokke sammai* is also called *Hokke sammai gyōbō* (法華三昧行法), thus established the rules for celebrating the ceremonies of the *rokkon sange*, which he based upon the Lotus *sūtra*, the *Fugen kwangyō* (Nanjō No. 394, see above, § 8, p. 269) and on other Mahāyāna *sūtras*.

Chan-jan (湛然) (Tannen, A.D. 711—782, Nanjō App. III 36, the ninth patriarch of the *T'ien-t'ai* school), called *Yuen-t'ung Tsun-ché* (圓通尊者) (*Enzū sonja*) or "The Venerable One of Perfect Penetration", and also known as King-k'i ta-shi (荊溪大師, Keikei Daishi) or "The Great Master of King-k'i" (because he lived in K'ing-k'i, Tsin-ling (Shang-cheu-fu), Kiang-su province), wrote "Additional ceremonial rules (*kalpa*) for directing

one's thoughts towards the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-samādhi* rites" (*Hokke-sammai-gyōji-unsō-fujo-gi*, 法華三昧行事運想補助儀) (Nanjō No. 1511).

§ 18, B. *Hokke-sembō practised in the Hokkedō or "Lotus chapels" of Japan on behalf of the dead (9th—12th cent.).*

In Japan Jikaku Daishi (慈覺大師), i. e. the *Tendai* priest Ennin (圓仁) (A.D. 794—864), the second of the so-called *Nittō hakke* (入唐八家) or "Eight Men who went to China" (of the *Shingon* sect and the mystic branch of the *Tendai* school), began to sing and recite the hymns of repentance in A.D. 847, after having returned from China. They were pronounced in *Go-on* (the "Sounds of Wu") and he sang them in a plaintive voice, as well as the *Shōmyō bombai* or "Indian chants", mentioned above in connection with the *Amida sembō* (§ 16, C, p. 346). It is said that he practised the *Hokke sembō* even before his journey to China, and that Tenchō 6 (A.D. 829) was the year when he first performed these rites in the Cryptomeria Cave (杉洞) on Hieizan. Afterwards they were celebrated with great pomp in the Imperial Palace at Kyōto.

The first *Hokkedō* (法華堂) or "*Saddharma puṇḍarīka chapel*", also called *Hokke-sammai-dō* or *Sammai-dō*, was that of the Eastern pagoda of Hieizan, built together with the *Jōgyō-sammai-dō* (常行三昧堂) or "Chapel for constantly practising *samādhi*", mentioned above (§ 16, C, p. 345) in connection with Jikaku Daishi's *Amida* cult. This took place in A.D. 848, and as the two chapels were connected by means of a corridor, the people called them the *Ninai-dō* (擔堂), comparing them to the burdens carried on the shoulders by means of a pole. The principal image (*honzon*) of the *Hokkedō* was that of *Fugen*

[1] *Daijii*, III, p. 3571, 3.

Bosatsu (*Samantabhadra*), but there was also a *Tahō-tō* (多寶塔) or "*Prabhūtaratna* pagoda", an image of *Tahō Butsu*, the Buddha *Prabhūtaratna*, one of the Seven Buddhas, patron of the Lotus *sūtra*, and a copy of this *sūtra* itself. The *Hokke-sembō* of *Hieizan* took place at night (from midnight to three o'clock) and in the morning (*asa-sembō*). [1]

In A.D. 949 (Tenryaku 3, III 30) a *Hokke-sammaidō* was built from the timber of the *Seiryōden* in the compound of the *Shingon* sanctuary *Daigoji* (South-East of Kyōto, founded in A.D. 902 by the famous *Shingon* priest Shōbō, i. e. Rigen Daishi, 聖寶, 理源大師, A.D. 832—909), which is evidence of the fact that the *Shingon* sect also practised the *samādhi* of the Lotus. [2]

In A.D. 976 (Tenen 4, VI 18), when a severe earthquake destroyed the walls of the Palace and many temples, killing a large number of people, the *Hokkedō* of the Maitreya shrine *Sufukuji* (崇福寺, *Shiga-dera* in Shiga district, Ōmi province, erected by Tenchi Tennō in A.D. 668) and its guardian fell down into the valley, and also the bell-tower and the *Mirokudō* collapsed. [3]

In A.D. 983 (Tengen 6, III 22) the Court dedicated *Enyūji* (圓融寺) with the images of the *Shichibutsu Yakushi* (the Seven Healing Buddhas) and, East of the pond, a *Hokkedō*. [4]

In A.D. 985 (Eikwan 3, II 22) the *Kwōtaigō* (the Empress Dowager) Masako (昌子) Naishinnō erected *Kwannon-in* at the foot of *Hieizan* (*Tendaizan*). This sanctuary contained six chapels: 1. the *kōdō* (the "Expounding Hall", with gold-coloured

[1] Cf. *Genji monogatari* (about A.D. 1000), Ch. v (若紫); *Eigwa monogatari* (about A.D. 1100); *Nomori no Kagami*, II p. 507, quoted *Daijiten*, p. 1050, s.v. *sembō*. As to the *asa-sembō yū-reiji* cf. above, § 16, C, p. 345 (*Amida-sembō*).

[2] *Nihon kiryaku, Kōhen*, Ch. III, p. 859. According to the *Genkō Shakusho* (Ch. XXV, p. 1070) the chapel was built in A.D. 952 by Suzaku Tennō, who had abdicated six years earlier and then, shortly before his death, became a monk.

[3] *Fusō ryakki*, Ch. XXVII, p. 743.

[4] L.l., p. 748.

images of the Six Kwannons, to lead all living beings of the six *gāti*, and of the Six Devas, to protect Buddha's Law); 2. the *Godaidō* (五大堂 or "Hall of the Five Great Ones", with the images of the *Godaison*); 3. the *Kwanjōdō* or "Baptismal Hall"; 4. the *Hokkedō*, with a new image of *Fugen Bosatsu*, also called *Ichijōdō* (一乘堂, "Hall of the Only Vehicle", *Ekayāna*, preached in the Lotus *sūtra*) for reading the *Hokkekyō* in extenso and continually performing the *Sammaikō*, 三昧講; 5. the *Amidadō* with the *Mida sanzon*; 6. the *Shingondō*, with the *Ryōbu-mandaras*. More than a hundred priests were invited, and a great many offerings made. [1]

In A.D. 988 (Eien 2, III 26), after his consort's death, the *Udaijin* Fujiwara no Tamemitsu dedicated the *Gokendō* (五間堂) of *Hōjūji* (法住寺) in Kyōto, with a gold-coloured image of *Shaka*, sixteen feet high, sitting cross-legged in the centre, and gold-coloured statues of *Yakushi*, *Kwannon*, *Emmei* (*Fugen*) and *Nyoirin* (*Kwannon*), seated in a row on both sides of the central figure; further a *Hokke-sammai-dō*, with *Fugen* Bosatsu riding on a six-toothed elephant; and on the West side a *Jōgyō-sammai-dō*, with *Amida* and his four attendants (*shishōshu*, 四攝衆, i. e. the *Shishō Bosatsu*, 四攝菩薩, the four *Kongō* (*Vajra*) *bosatsu* of the 37 *son* of the *Kongō-kai*, namely *Kongō-kō* (金剛鉤, *Vajrāṅkuśa*, "Vajra-hook"), *Kongō-saku* (索, *Vajrapāśa*, "Vajra-cord"), *Kongō-sa* (鏁, *Vajrasphoṭa*, "Vajra-chain") and *Kongō-rei* (鈴, *Vajraghaṇṭā*, "Vajra-bell"). [2] He invited more than a hundred monks and performed a splendid ceremony, thus fulfilling the numerous vows he had made in the course of six years. [3]

In A.D. 1058 (Tenki 6, II 23) the two *Hokkedō* of *Hōjōji* (法成寺, a Tendai shrine, erected in A.D. 1022 by Fujiwara no Michinaga), together with the *kondō*, *kōdō*, *Amidadō*, *Shakadō*,

[1] L.l., p. 752.

[2] Cf. *Daijiten*, p. 720, 3, s.v. *Shishō Bosatsu*; pp. 480 sqq.

[3] *Fusō ryakki*, Ch. XXVII, p. 755.

Yakushidō, *Godaidō*, *Jūsaidō*, *Hakkakudō* (Octagonal Chapel) and several other buildings of the same Kyōto temple were destroyed by a big fire. In A.D. 1079 (Jōryaku 3, X 5) the dedicatory ceremony took place of the Eastern and Western pagodas, the *kōdō*, *Jūsaidō* and *Hokkedō*, which had been rebuilt.[1]

Other *Hokke-sammai-dō* were that of *Hōshōji* (法性寺, a *Tendai* temple erected by Teishinkō, 貞信公, the Dajō-daijin Fujiwara no Tadahira (A.D. 880—949), before A.D. 929; in A.D. 1007 (Kwankō 4, XII 10) the Naidaijin Fujiwara no Kinsue (公季) added a *Sammai-dō* to this sanctuary);[2] and those of another *Hōshōji* (法勝寺), *Sonshōji*, *Enshūji* and *Jōmyōji*. The second *Hōshōji* and *Sonshōji* (尊勝寺) were *Tendai* shrines in Kyōto, erected by the Emperor Shirakawa (A.D. 1073—1085) in A.D. 1077 (Shōryaku 4) and in A.D. 1102 (Kōwa 4, VII 21). In A.D. 1077 (XII 18) he visited *Hōshōji* and dedicated its *kōdō* or "Expounding Hall", an *Amida-dō*, a *Godaidō* (of the *Godaison*) and a *Hokkedō* with a *saptaratna Prabhūtaratna* pagoda (*shippō Tahōtō*).[3]

In A.D. 1102 his third son, the *Shingon* priest Kakugyō Hōshinnō (覺行法親王) (A.D. 1075—1104), of the famous Shingon temple *Ninnaji*, led the dedicatory ceremony of *Sonshōji*. In A.D. 1105 (XII 19, the very date of the *Butsumyō sange* in the Palace) the Emperor added three chapels to the sanctuary (*Sonshōji*), namely the *Amida-dō*, the *Jundei-dō* (dedicated to *Jundei Kwannon*, i.e. *Cuṇḍī Avalokiteśvara*), and the *Hokkedō*. In this way Shirakawa Tennō connected the *Amida* cult with the *Shingon* and *Tendai* doctrines.

With regard to the *Hokkedō* of *Enshūji*, erected in A.D. 1070

[1] Ibid., Ch. XXIX, p. 800; Ch. XXX, p. 830.

[2] *Hyakurenshō*, Ch. IV, *Kokushi taikei* Vol. XIV, p. 18; *Nihon kiryaku*, *Kōhen*, Ch. XI, p. 1071.

[3] *Hyakurenshō*, Ch. V, p. 47 (*Hōshōji*); Ch. V, p. 60 (*Sonshōji*); *Fusō ryakki*, Ch. XXX, p. 827 (*Hōshōji*).

(XII 26) by the Emperor Go Sanjō, we may refer the reader to Ch. XI, § 8, C.

Jōmyōji (淨妙寺) was a *Hokke-sammai-dō*, erected in A.D. 1005 (Kwankō 2, X 19) by the Sadaijin Fujiwara no Michinaga (the celebrated and powerful statesman whose name we found also connected with the Amida cult) in his family graveyard at *Kobata* in Yamashiro, and in imitation of the *Hokke sammai-dō* of Yogawa on Hieizan he made *Fugen Bosatsu* (Samantabhadra) its *honzon* or principal saint. Before this image the *Hokke sammai* rites were performed on behalf of the souls of his ancestors.[1] In this way these rites of repentance became masses for the dead, and Hokkedō were erected at the mausolea of Emperors and Empresses and in the cemeteries of the principal families. In A.D. 1176 (Angen 2), for instance, Takakura Tennō had a *Hokke-sammai-dō* built near *Renge-ō-in* (蓮華王院, called *Sanjūsangendō*, 三十三間堂, a chapel of the Thousand-armed Kwannon, built in A.D. 1164 by Taira no Kiyomori by order of the Emperor Go Shirakawa, and belonging to the *Tendai* shrine *Myōhō-in*, 妙法院). Takakura Tennō erected this *Hokkedō* because his mother had died, Kenshun Mon-in (建春門院), i.e. Taira no Shige-ko (平滋子) (A.D. 1142—1176), Go Shirakawa Tennō's Consort. She was buried in this *Hokke-sammai-dō*, and Takakura Tennō himself copied the *Hokkekyō* and performed the rites on behalf of her soul.[2]

Thus we see that the *Hokke sembō* were practised as masses for the dead, and that the mortuary chapels of the highest were called *Hokkedō*.[3]

[1] *Hyakurenshō*, Ch. IV, p. 17, Cf. *Fusō ryakki*, Ch. XXVIII, p. 766 (A.D. 1007, XII 1; further a *Tahōtō* (*Prabhūtaratna* pagoda) with images of *Tahō*, *Shaka*, *Fugen*, *Monju*, *Kwannon* and *Seishi*.

[2] *Hyakurenshō*, Ch. VIII, *Kokushi taikei* XIV, p. 121; *Daijii*, III, p. 4101, 3, s.v. *Hokkedō*.

[3] *Daijiten*, p. 1598, s.v. *Hokkedō*. According to Washio, p. 746, 1, s.v. *Sōji* (總持), in A.D. 1286 the *Kairitsu* priest of this name practised the *Hokke sembō* on behalf of his father's soul.

§ 18, C. *Hokke-sembō performed at the Japanese Court from the twelfth century to the Meiji Restoration (1868), and connected with the Higan festival in the 13th and 14th centuries.*

In A.D. 1157 (Hōgen 2) Go Shirakawa Tennō held a *Sembō-kō* (懺法講) or "Meeting for expounding the *Hokkekyō* and performing the *Hokke-sammai-sembō*" in the *Jijuden* (仁壽殿) of the Palace. [1]

In the Kagen era (A.D. 1303—1306) Go Nijō Tennō did the same in the *Sentō gosho* (仙洞御所) or "Palace of the Cave of the Genii" (the retired Emperor being compared to the abode of immortal genii) in Kyōto. [2]

In the Kemmu era (A.D. 1334—1336) Go Daigo Tennō celebrated the *Hokke sembō* as a Court ceremony at the *Higan-e* (彼岸會), the "Festival of the Other Shore" (*Nirvāṇa*) of Spring and Autumn.

As to the connection of the *Higan* with the *Hokke sembō* (with regard to the Palace called *Gosembō*), we found this obtained already in A.D. 1289 (Shōō 2, IX 1), when the *In* (院) (Kameyama Hōō, who had abdicated A.D. 1274) is said to have begun to celebrate the *Sembō* in the *Shirakawa-dono* (i.e. the *Zenrinji Sentō*) "on account of the *Higan*". [3] And in A.D. 1291 (Shōō 4, II 16) the *Gosembō* were performed in the *Fugendō* "during the *Higan*". [4] In A.D. 1294 (Einin 2, II 20—26) the *Gosembō* and the *Shinyō-kōdan* (心要講談) took place in the *Kameyama-dono* "on account of the *Higan*"; they lasted seven days. [5] In the same

[1] *Daijiten*, p. 1050, 2, s.v. *Sembōkō*; cf. *Hyakurenshō*, Ch. VII, p. 94: *Gosembō* on V 14 in the Palace, and dedication of a *Sapta-ratna* pagoda in the *Naiden*; *Zoku-Shigushō*, Ch. XII, p. 353 (*gosembō*, A.D. 1302, III 15); p. 358 (A.D. 1302, X 5).

[2] *Kokushi daijiten*, p. 1569, s.v. *Sentō gosho*. *Daijiten*, l.l.

[3] *Zoku Shigushō*, Ch. VIII (Fushimi Tennō), p. 248.

[4] Ibid., Ch. IX, p. 261.

[5] Ibid., Ch. X, p. 289.

month (II 12—18) *Gosembō* had been celebrated in the *Arisugawa-dono* by the *Hō-ō, Higashi-Nijō-In* and *Yūgi-Monin* (i.e. Go Fukakusa Hōō, and the Consorts of Go-Fukakusa and Go-Uda Tennō). [1] The following year (A.D. 1295, Einin 3, II 11) the same Emperor (*Ichi-in*) held during five days the *Gosembō* in the *Arisugawa-dono* in the presence of the Court nobles and with Chūgen Sōjō (probably a *Tendai* priest) as *go-dōshi* (leading priest), and at the same time another *Hōō* (*In*, Kameyama Tennō) began to celebrate the *Nyohō-gokyō* (如法御經) for three days in the *Kameyama-dono*. On the third day (the thirteenth) the same high-priest led the ceremony of the *Nyohōkyō jūshu-kuyō* (如法經十種供養) or "Ten kinds of offerings of the '*Sūtra* (the *Hokke-kyō*) according to the Law'", and the *Shin-in* (Go-Uda Tennō) went there to listen; thereafter the *In* proceeded to the *Hokkedō* (of the *Go-Saga-in*) and offered the August *Sūtra* (the *Hokkekyō*). The next month (the intercalary second month, II 1) the *Ichi-in* drove to the *kōdō* (expounding hall) of the *Rokujō-dono*, and began to perform the *Higan-gosembō*, and three days later the *In* drove to the *Zenrinji-dono* for the same purpose. The former ceremony lasted seven days (*kechigwan* on the 8th), the latter, called *Kameyama-dono Gosembō*, lasted only three days. [2]

In A.D. 1368 (Ōan 1, III 10) the Emperor Go Kwōgon of the Northern Court held a *Sembō-kōe* in the Palace on behalf of the soul of his father, the Emperor Go Fushimi, who died in A.D. 1336. From that time the *Hokke sembō* or *Sembō-kōe* were celebrated with great pomp at the Imperial Court, either in the *Shi-shinden* or the *Seiryōden*, or in the *Sentō gosho* (仙洞御所, private palaces of the retired Emperors) or the *monzeki jiin* (門跡寺院, i.e. the Buddhist temples attached to the Court, in so far as Imperial Princes were their heads). They lasted three days, and were performed on the anniversaries of the death of

[1] Ibid., p. 288.
[2] L.l., Ch. X, p. 298.

former Emperors or of the mother of the reigning monarch. The images of *Shaka, Monju* and *Fugen* (*Śākyamuni, Mañjuśrī* and *Samantabhadra*) were placed in the centre, an altar was erected, and incense and flowers were offered to them. Musical instruments (bells, drums, etc.) were set up in rows, the place of worship was adorned in a stately style, and priests and laymen were invited. Then the Emperor himself with the leading priest (*dōshi*, 導師), the Ministers and the *Nagon* (the highest Court officials) made the *pradakṣiṇa* ceremony of circumambulating the images (*gyōdō shūsō*, 行道周匝), read the *sūtra* (*dokkyō*, 讀經), and sung hymns in praise (of the Buddha and Bodhisattvas) (*sambai*, 讚唄). The leading priest was a *Sanzenin monzeki* (三千院門跡) (i.e. an Imperial Prince or a member of one of the five principal noble houses of Kyōto or of the other gentry, abbot of the *Tendai* sanctuary *Sanzen-in* near *Ōhara* village in Atago district, Yamashiro province, one of the eleven *monzeki* of the *Tendai* sect;[1] Dengyō Daishi and Jikaku Daishi were the two first abbots of this sanctuary, originally erected by Dengyō Daishi in the valley south of the Eastern Pagoda of Hieizan). *Ōhara* was a famous centre of Amidism since the days of Eshin Sōzu, who in A.D. 985 founded the *Ojō-Gokuraku-in* at Kwazan Tennō's request, whereas in later times Ryōnin Shōnin (A.D. 1072—1132) erected the *Raikō-in.*[2] The fact that the leading priest of the *Hokke sembō* ceremonies of the Court was necessarily an abbot of an important temple belonging to this complex points again to the close connection between the *Hokke sembō* and *Amitābha*'s cult. If for the moment there was no abbot of the *Sanzen-in,* the *Tendai zasu* (the general head of the *Tendai* sect residing in *Enryakuji* on *Hieizan*) was appointed to lead the Palace rites, or a priest of the *Sanzenin* fulfilled this task. The other officiating priests were only monks of the Three

[1] Cf. *Daijii,* III, p. 4397, s.v. *monzeki*; II, p. 1682, 3, s.v. *Sanzen-in.*
[2] Cf. above, § 16, C, p. 346.

Pagodas of *Hieizan* (*Sammon Santō*, 山門三塔) and of the two monasteries of *Ōhara*, but most of them were *Ōhara* priests. To be appointed leader of these *Hokke sembō* by special Imperial Ordinance was the highest honour, since those who obtained it were sure to become *Daisōzu* immediately. [1]

From olden times the Lotus *sūtra* was used to "extinguish sins" (*metsuzai*, 滅罪), as we learn from the fact that Shōmu Tennō in A.D. 741 (Tempyō 13) established the *Hokke metsuzai no tera*, i.e. the *Kokubun-niji* or Provincial Nunneries, where on the eighth day of every month ten nuns expounded the *Hokke-kyō*; the *Hokkeji* or Lotus Temple at Nara was made the *Sō-kokubun-niji* or "General State nunnery" (總國分尼寺). [2]

The second great aim of the readers of the Lotus *sūtra*, derived from the former, was the *meifuku* (冥福) or "Happiness in the Dark World" of their deceased ancestors, in the first place, of course, of the former Emperors, if the ceremonies were performed by Imperial command. Thus we read that in the seventh month (the special month of the Festival of the Dead) A.D. 748 (Tempyō 20) the same Emperor (Shōmu Tennō) held a *Hokke-sembu-e* (法華千部會) or "Meeting for reading a thousand copies of the Lotus *sūtra*" on behalf of the soul of the *Daigyō Jōō* (大行上皇), i.e. of his aunt, the Empress Genshō, who died three months previously (IV 21). A thousand monks assembled and read the thousand copies of the holy text, made by (order of) the Emperor. [3] This was the first instance of such a congregation. As we saw above, to blot out crimes and cause the felicity of the dead were the chief aims of the *Hokke sembō*.

In A.D. 848 the *Shingon* priest Dōshō (道昌) (A.D. 798—875), together with the *Sanron* priest Jitsubin (實敏) (A.D. 785—853)

[1] *Daijii*, III, p. 4101, 1, s.v. *Hokke sembō*; *Kokushi daijiten*, p. 1572, 1, s.v. *sembō*.

[2] *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. XIV, pp. 233 sq.

[3] *Genkō Shakusho*, Ch. XXII, p. 1021; *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. XVII, p. 276.

and the *Tendai* priest Kwōjō (光定) (A.D. 779—858) proceeded to the Palace, where they expounded the Lotus *sūtra* and prayed for the felicity of the soul of the late Emperor Junna, who died in A.D. 840 (V 8). This ceremony took place on the 15th of the seventh month, the principal day of the Festival of the Dead (*Urabon*). [1]

More than eight centuries later, in A.D. 1664, the *Tendai* priest Senson (宣存) (A.D. 1639—1708) assisted the Imperial Prince 盛胤 in performing the *Hokke sembō* in the Palace. The Prince had been requested to lead this ceremony by the Emperor Go Mi-no-o, who had abdicated in A.D. 1629. [2]

Thus the seventeenth century still witnessed the celebration of these ceremonies at the Imperial Court, and even in the eighteenth century they continued their ancient tradition; but the Meiji Restoration of 1868 put an end to them.

§ 18, D. *The vernal and autumnal Higan-e* (彼岸會) *or "Festivals of the Other Shore" (Nirvāṇa) (from A.D. 806 to the present day).*

In the 13th and 14th centuries the *Higan-e*, connected (as stated above) with the *Hokke sembō*, were held during seven days in the spring and autumn. They are not mentioned in the *sūtras* and *abhidharmas*, in India and China, but in Japan they are said to have originated from Shōtoku Taishi's autographic inscription on the tablet above the Western gate of *Shitennōji* in Settsu province, erected A.D. 593: "Place of Śākyamuni Tathāgata's turning of the Wheel of the Law; this is the Centre of the Eastern Gate of Paradise". [3]

[1] Washio, p. 878, 2, s.v. *Dōshō*; cf. *Nihon kiryaku, Zempen*, Ch. XVI, p. 529.
[2] Washio, p. 696, 2, s.v. *Senson*.
[3] 釋迦如來轉法輪處, 當極樂土東門中心.

Shen-tao († 681), the famous Chinese propagandist of Amitābha's worship (repeatedly mentioned above), in his Commentary on the *Kwangyō* (Nanjō No. 198) with regard to the Contemplation of the Setting Sun (to behold Amitābha's Dharmakāya) points out that it is only in the spring and autumn that the sun is seen to rise exactly in the East and to set exactly in the West, and that Amitābha's Paradise lies where the sun sets, exactly to the West, beyond a hundred thousand *koṭi* of worlds (*kṣetras*). For these reasons from olden times many believers used to assemble in the spring and autumn at the Western gate of *Shitennōji* and to worship the setting sun, praying for rebirth in Amida's Paradise. This is said to be the origin of the *Higan-e* or "Nirvāṇa-meetings".[1] As to Shōtoku Taishi's cult of Amida, we remarked above (§ 16, B, p. 322) that according to Matsumoto the *Tenjukoku Mandara* must represent Maitreya's, not Amitābha's heaven, since the period was too early for the worship of the latter Buddha in Korea and Japan. If this were right, the inscription above the gate of *Tennōji* would date from later times, when Amida's cult had spread in Japan. The term *Goku-raku* (極樂, "Extreme Felicity") is only used to designate *Sukhāvatī*, Amitābha's Heaven, so that the inscription cannot refer to another paradise.

Shen-tao's words are evidence of the fact, that the vernal and autumnal equinoxes were especially the proper times for the contemplation of the setting sun in order to see (with the mental eye) the invisible *Dharmakāya* or Dharma-body of Amitābha. From ancient times down to the present these days are, in fact, the central (the fourth) days of the two *Higan* festivals. They last seven days, and the equinoxes are called the *chūjitsu* (中日) or "central days", and also *haru* and *aki no higan* "vernal and autumnal *higan*". Seven and three are the ordinary numbers of the days fixed for ceremonies, both being

[1] *Daijiten*, p. 1459, 1, s.v. *higan*.

very important sacred numbers. The *Higan* festival, evidently originated by the worshippers of Amida (the *nembutsu-mon no hito*), was afterwards adopted by all the other sects. Although it is a peculiarly Japanese festival, one passage of the *sūtras* is referred to with regard to it, namely the words of Gautamī, i.e. Mahāprajāpatī, Śākyamuni's aunt, in the *Hōonkyō*, i.e. the *Daihōben-Butsu-hōonkyō*, 大方便佛報恩經, or "*Sūtra* on the Buddha's rewarding the favours (of his parents) by means of great good means (*mahopāya*)" (Nanjō No. 431, Ch. V) (translated by an unknown author of the Eastern Han dynasty, A.D. 25—220). There she says to all the nuns and virtuous women that they must take refuge in Ānanda. "If they wish to obtain peace and felicity, they must always observe the eight fasting regulations on the 8th of the second and the eighth months, clad in pure garments and praying with great ardour (displaying great energy, *daishōjin*, 大精進, *vīrya*) six times, thrice in the day-time and thrice at night. Then Ananda by means of his great divine power shall hear their prayers, protect and assist them and fulfill their wishes".[1] This is, however, the only passage of the sacred scripts, where these religious rites of the second and eighth months are mentioned, and the days (the eighth) do not agree with the *chūjitsu* of the *higan*. Therefore the Amidists of Japan must have originated this festival in connection with Shen-tao's words. Nichiren (日蓮) (A.D. 1222—1282), the famous founder of the Lotus sect (*Hokke-shū*),[2] and Kakunyo (覺如), i.e. the *Jōdo Shinshū* priest Shūshō (宗昭) (1270—1351),[3] refer to three texts, the *Tenshō kenki* (天正驗記), the *Higan-kudoku-jōju-kyō* (彼岸功德成就經), "*Sūtra* on the fulfillment of the virtuous action of the

[1] *Daijiten*, l.l.

[2] In his *Higanshō*, 彼岸鈔 (*Rokugwai gosho*, XV), quoted *Daijii*, III, p. 3901, 1, s.v. *Higan-e*.

[3] In his *Gaijashō*, 改邪鈔, quoted ibid.

Other Shore" and the *Sokushutsu-shōji-tōhigan-kyō* (速出生死到彼岸經), "*Sūtra* on speedily escaping birth and death and reaching the Other Shore (Nirvāṇa)", but these three writings, attributed to Nāgārjuna, are counterfeits, written to prove the ancient Indian origin of the *Higan* rites. As a matter of fact, neither India nor China have known them, and a Chinese author of the Sung dynasty states, that "it is a Japanese custom to celebrate the *Higan* festival in the second and eighth months".[1]

It is curious to read how the origin of the *Higan* festival is explained in those spurious books. Between the worlds of Desire and Form (the eleven *Kāmalokas*, 欲界, *yokkai*, and the eighteen *Brahmalokas*, 色界, *shikikai*, of ancient Indian cosmology) there is a heaven called "Palace of the Central Light" (*Chūyō-in*, 中陽院). It is situated next to the *Tuṣita* Heaven (the fourth of the Devalokas, beginning from the lowest worlds). In its centre is a terrace, called *Ryōjodai* (靈所臺) or "Terrace of the Place of Manifestation of Divine Power". On that terrace is a tree, the flowers of which open in the second month and fall after seven days and seven nights, whereas its fruits ripen within seven days of the eighth month. At the time of the *Higan* festival Maheśvara (Śiva), Brahma and Indra assemble there and during those seven days write down the names of the virtuous and wicked men and women; eight times they compare their registers, thrice they revise them, and finally they put their seals on them, judging the virtuous and evil deeds of all living beings. Therefore especially in those days virtuous actions are necessary for all those who wish to leave "this shore" (the world of birth and death) and to reach "the other shore" (*Nirvāṇa*, or, as a nearer aim, Paradise).[2]

The term *Higan* or "The Other Shore" has been borrowed from ancient Indian texts, where Nirvāṇa is compared to the other shore of the sea or stream of the *kleśas* or passions (translated

[1] *Daikyū-Zenji-roku*, 大休禪師錄, quoted l.l.

[2] *Daijiten*, p. 1209, 2, s.v. *Chūyō-in*; *Daijii*, III, p. 3901, 1, s.v. *Higan-e*.

by "vexations", 煩惱, *bonnō*), to be crossed by all living beings. The Bodhisattvas, having reached the highest wisdom, the *musō no chie* (無相智慧), the highest of the six *Pāramitās* (六度, *rokudo*), by means of this wisdom (*Prajñā*) reach the other shore, borne thither by the ship of abstract contemplation (*zenjō*, 禪定, *dhyāna*).[1] The "*Sūtra* on the cause and effect of the past and present" (*Kwako-genzai-ingwa-kyō*, 過去現在因果經)[2] and the *Ekottarāgama-sūtra* (*Zōichi-agon-kyō*, 增壹阿含經)[3] call *Nirvāṇa* "the other shore", to be reached by all who study, i.e. who strive for the highest wisdom. The term *Pāramitā* is translated by *tōhigan*, 到彼岸, "reaching the other shore" (of the great sea of the passions), as we learn from Kumārajīva's translation of Nāgārjuna's *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra* (*Daichidoron*, 大智度論), where *pāra* is said to be "the other shore", and *mita* "to reach"; "if one can go straight on, without receding, and accomplish the Buddha road, this is called 'reaching the other shore'".[4]

For these reasons from olden times the *Vajra-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* (*Kongō-hannya-harami-kyō*, 金剛般若波羅密經, translated by Kumārajīva A.D. 402—412) (Nanjō No. 10), i. e. the *Kongō-hannyakyō*, often mentioned above in the preceding chapters, was read by means of the *tendoku* system in the Buddhist temples of Japan during the seven days of the *Shunshū niki* (春秋二季) or "Vernal and Autumnal seasons", i.e. of the *Higan* festival. It is mentioned in the *Genji monogatari* (written before A.D. 992, when Murasaki Shikibu died), the *Kagerō nikki*

[1] Fah-yun, 法雲, in his dictionary of Sanskrit names translated into Chinese, the *Fan-yih ming-i-tsih*, 翻譯名義集 (Nanjō No. 1640) (A.D. 1151), Ch. XII, No. 49, p. 5*b*.

[2] Nanjō No. 666, translated by Guṇabhadra, A.D. 435—453; Ch. III.

[3] Nanjō No. 543, translated by Dharmanandi, A.D. 384—385; Ch. XLVII, p. 204*b*, 1.

[4] Nanjō No. 1169, translated by Kumārajīva, A.D. 402—405, Ch. XII, p. 69*a*, 1.

(蜻蛉日記) (a diary of A.D. 954—974) and the *Shui-Ōjō-den* (拾遺往生傳) (35 biographies, written by Miyoshi Tameyasu (三善爲康), who lived A.D. 1049—1139). According to the *Genji monogatari* the festival began on the 15th of the month, and the *Kagerō nikki* speaks of the 19th as the day of entering the *Higan*. The *Nihon kōki* (A.D. 841) is the first work where this vernal and autumnal festival is mentioned, although it is not yet called by its later name. When the Emperor Kwammu was ill (from A.D. 804 XII 25 to 806 III 17, when he died), he tried "to soothe the angry spirit of Sudō Tennō, 崇道天皇", i.e. his younger brother Sawara Shinnō, his former heir apparent, who had died in A.D. 785 on the way to Awaji, his place of exile, because he had refused all drink and food. In A.D. 702 (VI 10) the posthumous title of Sudō Tennō was conferred upon him, and messengers were sent to his tomb to ask forgiveness for his banishment (which had taken place in A.D. 785 because he had ordered the murder of the Chūnagon Fujiwara no Tanetsugu). The Emperor took these measures, because he was afraid that the illness of the new Crownprince, Sawara's successor, might have been caused by this angry spirit. The *Yakushi-kekwa*, practised during seven days in Kwammu Tennō's Palace in A.D. 796 (X 27), also point to the Emperor's repentance, as well as the fact that the following year (V 19) strange events, considered to be evil omens, caused him to send two monks to Awaji in order to perform *tendoku* (probably of the *Kongō-hannya-kyō*, which was read on the previous day by means of the *tendoku* system in the Palace and in that of the Heir Apparent) and *kekwa* at Sudō Tennō's grave.

How much greater was the Emperor's fear, when in A.D. 804 (XII 25) he himself fell ill and his disease proved to be of a fatal nature! We shall see below, when dealing with that period, how many measures he took to appease the angry spirits of *Inoue no Naishinnō* (A.D. 717—775; Shōmu Tennō's daughter

and Consort of Prince Shirakabe (Kōnin Tennō) and her son, worshipped in *Reianji*) and of Sudō Tennō. In A.D. 806 (III 17), on the last day of his life, the monks of the *kokubunji* of all provinces were ordered to read the *Kongō hannya-kyō* (Nanjō No. 10) twice a year, in the middle of spring and autumn (in the second and eighth months), during seven special days, on behalf of Sudō Tennō's soul.[1] This was the origin of the *Higan* festival.

In the tenth century 21 *dangisho* (談義所) or "preaching places" used to be erected in *Sakamoto* (坂本) on *Hieizan* on the occasion of the *Higan* festival, and eloquent priests were invited to preach the Law to a great multitude of monks and laymen, who flocked together from far and near. Finally, these congregations at the request of the Hieizan priests were mentioned in the calendars, for the sake of convenience, and because they had become regular yearly ceremonies of the clergy and the laity; the peasants knew the exact time of sowing by these dates.[2]

In the thirteenth century *Hōjō-e* (放生會) or "Festivals (meetings) for letting loose living beings" were combined with the *Higan* festivals, and it was forbidden to kill animals during those days.[3]

In later times it was the custom on the *Higan* days to visit Buddhist temples and the graves of ancestors and in Yedo the "Six Amidas" (*Roku Amida*) were visited. Moreover, in the *Tendai, Shingon* and *Zen* sanctuaries *segaki kuyō* (施餓鬼

[1] *Nihon kōki,* Ch. XIII, p. 62. The term *higan* is used in the expression "making good fields of the other shore" (彼岸之良田), with regard to the *Tendai* sect, *Shoku Nihon kōki,* Ch. IV, p. 210.

[2] *Genji monogatari, Kagerō nikki,* and *Shui-ōjō-den,* mentioned above and quoted in the *Daijii,* III, p. 3900, 3, s.v. *Higan-e.*

[3] *Azuma kagami,* 東鑑, or "Mirror of the Eastern Provinces", written shortly after A.D. 1266 (annals of A.D. 1180—1266), Ch. VIII.

供養) or "offerings to the hungry ghosts (*pretas*)" were made on behalf of believers. And in the *Jōdo* sect the middle day of *Higan* is, as stated above, devoted to the "meditation on the (setting) sun". [1]

§ 18, E. *The Nyohō-kyō* (如法經) *ceremony for copying and offering the Lotus Sūtra* (*12th and 13th centuries*).

The *Nyohō-kyō* was an important *Tendai* ceremony, closely connected with the *Hokke-sembō*. In A.D. 833 (Tenchō 10) Ennin (Jikaku Daishi), often mentioned with regard to the penitential rites of the Lotus and of Amitābha, then forty years old, felt very ill. Thinking his death was near, he built a grass-hut at Yogawa on the sacred *Tendai* mountain Hieizan, where he began to practise the *Rokkon sange* or "rites of repentance for purification of the six senses". In a dream an angel brought him a sweet fruit from the *Tōriten* or *Trāyastriṃśat* heaven, which cured his disease. Then he made ink from stones and pencils from plants and during the pauses of his meditation (the *shishu-sammai* or four kinds of *samādhi,* mentioned above) he copied the Lotus *sūtra* (*Myōhō-renge-kyō*, translated by Kumārajīva A.D. 402—412, Nanjō No. 134). In this way he worked for three years, and after having finished it he put it in a small pagoda, which he placed in a so-called *Nyohōdō* or "Chapel according to the Law". [2] This term *nyohō*, "according to the Law", is used in the *sūtras* with regard to the virtuous action of copying *sūtras*. From that time the term *Nyohōkyō* designated "copying the Lotus *sūtra* according to the Law", and later it became a great ceremony of the *Tendai* sect, practised with fixed rules in a special place of worship by many persons. The great Shintō gods of thirty famous sanctuaries (Ise, Iwashimizu, Kamo, Matsuno-o,

[1] Daijii, l.l.

[2] *Genkō Shakusho*, Ch. III, Biography of Ennin, p. 680.

Hirano, Inari, Ōharano, Ishigami, Hirose, Tatsuta, Sumiyoshi, Itsukushima, Akayama, Mikami, Kibitsu, Atsuta, Suwa, Hirota, etc.) were made the tutelary deities of thirty days of copying the Lotus *sūtra*; they are the *Nyohōkyō-shugo no sanjū banjin* (如法經守護三十番神) or "Thirty tutelary gods of the *Nyohōkyō*".[1]

With regard to the celebration of the *Nyohōkyō* ceremony at the Imperial Court, the *Masu-kagami* (增鏡, written A.D. 1340—1350) states that in A.D. 1263 (Kōchō 3, V 1) the *Hon-in* (Go-Saga Tennō, who abdicated in A.D. 1246 and lived until A.D. 1272) performed the *Nyohōkyō* in the *Kameyama-dono*, which was a very auspicious ceremony. The Emperor Go Shirakawa (A.D. 1156—1158; died A.D. 1192) had already practised such a rite, after having shaven his head (i. e. after having become a monk in A.D. 1158; in reality he continued reigning until his death). He thought it very important, probably because he had made a solemn vow with regard to this ceremony. Kwazan-in Chūnagon (Fujiwara no Morotsugu) (Naidaijin) was his only attendant, but he had invited many learned priests of both the public and secret cults. In former times Jōtō-Monin (Fujiwara no Aki-ko, Michinaga's daughter, A.D. 988—1074, consort of Ichijō Tennō (986—1011), mother of Go-Ichijō and Go-Shujaku Tennō) seems also to have performed such a ceremony, according to the author of the *Masukagami*, who adds that he has heard, that Ōmiya-in (Fujiwara no Yoshi-ko, A.D. 1225—1292, consort of Go-Saga Tennō, mother of Go-Fukakusa and Kameyama Tennō) had practised it in the same way. Before offering the *sūtra* the "ten kinds of offerings" (*jūshu-kuyō*, 十種供養) were made. These were based upon the *Hōshi-bon*, 法師品, tenth chapter of the Lotus *sūtra* (Sect. IV), and consist of the following ten offerings. 1. Flowers (*ke*, 華). 2. Incense (*kō*, 香). 3. Ornamental necklaces and bracelets for the idols (*yōraku*, 瓔珞). 4—6. Three

[1] *Daijiten*, p. 1354, 3, s.v. *Nyohōkyō*. *Daijii*, III, p. 3732, 3, s.v. *Nyohōkyō*. *Eigaku yōki*, 叡岳要記, "An essential history of *Hieizan*", Ch. 下.

special kinds of incense (*makkō, zukō, shōkō,* 抹香, 塗香, 燒香, "rubbed, smeared and burned incense"). 7. Silken canopies and flags (*zōgai dōban,* 繒蓋幢幡). 8. Garments (*efuku,* 衣服). 9. Musical instruments (*gigaku,* 伎樂). 10. The act of joining the palms in prayer (*gasshō,* 合掌). In olden times Kumārajīva, the celebrated translator of the Lotus *sūtra* (Nanjō No. 137) (A.D. 402—412), offered its text (to the Buddha) by means of these ten kinds of offering, and afterwards those who had copied it and celebrated the *Nyohōkyō* ceremony, which was also an offering of the *sūtra,* made the same *jūṣhu-kuyō* and called it the *jūshu-kuyō no go kyō.* [1]

In A.D. 1263 (V 1), after having finished these ten offerings, the *Hon-in* (Go Saga Tennō) went in person to the *Jōkongō-in* (淨金剛院) (the chapel of the *Kameyama-dono,* built by Go Saga Tennō), accompanied by the *Kwampaku* (Fujiwara no Yoshizane) and the ministers, forming a remarkable procession (evidently in order to offer the *sūtra* to the Buddha). [2] The *Zoku-Shigushō* calls it the *Nyohōkyō-kwōsange,* the "Extensive Rite of Repentance of the *Sūtra* (offered) according to the Law" (V 1), and states that on the eighth of the same month the same Emperor began to perform the "Correct Ceremony of Repentance" (*Shōsange,* 正懺悔) in the *Kameyama-dono,* whereas the offering of flowers etc. of the *Nyohōkyō* was commenced by him in the *Saga-dono* (i.e. the same palace) on the 22nd of that month; on that occasion three Japanese songs (*waka*) were recited.

The procession to the *Jōkongō-in,* described by the *Masu-kagami,* took place on the third of the sixth month; whereupon the "August *Sūtra*" was offered in that chapel. Four days later the same Emperor proceeded to the new *Shintō* shrines of *Hiyoshi* and *Kumano* and to the *Iwashimizu* shrine, in order to make

[1] *Daijii,* III, p. 3733, 1, s.v. *nyohō-kyō. Masu-kagami,* Ch. IX, *Kitano no yuki,* p. 1093.

[2] *Masu-kagami,* Ch. VIII, *Yama no momiji-ba,* pp. 1083 sq.

the same offering of the *sūtra*. Thus these rites lasted from the first day of the fifth month to the seventh day of the sixth.[1] In A.D. 1280 (V 17) the *Saga-dono no Nyohō-gokyō-sange*, led by the *Kwampaku* by order of the *Hon-in*, are again mentioned; on the 10th of the next month the ceremony of "erecting the august pencil" (御筆立, *Mi-fude-tate*) took place, and on the 20th that of the "ten kinds of offerings"; two days later a copy of the Lotus *sūtra* was offered to the Shintō god of *Iwashimizu* and another to the shrine of *Yogawa*.[2]

As to the *Kameyama* or *Saga-dono*, the *Hokkedō* of that palace, situated north of *Tenryūji* at Saga village, Katono district, Yamashiro province, is the mausoleum of the Emperors Go-Saga and Kameyama, who died in A.D. 1272 and 1305.[3]

In A.D. 1188 (Bunji 4, VIII) Genkū (源空, A.D. 1133—1212), i.e. Hōnen Shōnin, the celebrated founder of the *Jōdo* sect (1175), in Go-Shirakawa Hō-ō's palace (*sentō*, 仙洞) of *Kawa-higashi no Oshikōji*, for the first time led a *Nyohōkyō* ceremony, the rules of which he had fixed in imitation of that of the Lotus *sūtra*, and which was devoted to the copying and offering of the *Jōdo sambukyō*, i.e. the three main *sūtras* of the Amitābha cult (*Mida sambu*), Nanjō Nos. 27, 198 and 200 (the long and short *Sukhāvatī-vyūha* and the *Kwangyō*). He performed it with the Hōō, Myō-on-in Nyūdō (Fujiwara no Moronaga), his own priests and 14 Miidera priests of great virtue. In A.D. 1204 (Genkyū 1, III), on the thirteenth anniversary of Go-Shirakawa's death, Genkū celebrated this rite for seven days in *Renge-ō-in* (the *Sanjūsangendō*) in Kyōto.[4] A special kind of precious paper was used and during a thousand days *nembutsu raisan* or reading of the three *sūtras* took place before the ceremony. Then they adorned the place of worship and took preparative measures for

[1] *Zoku Shigushō*, Ch. I, *Kameyama*, p. 25.
[2] L.I., Ch. V, Go-Uda, p. 141.
[3] *Kokushi daijiten*, p. 676, 3.
[4] *Daijii*, III, p. 3732, 3, s.v. *Nyohōkyō*; *Daijiten*, p. 1354, 3, s.v. *Nyohōkyō*.

seven days, whereafter the copying, "erecting the pencil", and offering were done. The *sūtras* were copied either in several days (*sensha*, 漸寫, "gradual copying") or by many persons in one day and one night (*tonsha*, 頓寫, or "sudden copying"). From olden times a *biwa-hōshi* used to be invited, whose task it was to sing the *Heike monogatari*, because once a blind man, who wished to take part of the ceremony on Hieizan but could not on account of his blindness, during the pauses of copying had diverted the tired men by singing the *Heike monogatari*, and playing on a *biwa*. [1]

Thus we see *Amitābha*'s worshippers again adopting the *Tendai* ceremonies to their cult; at the same time the *Nyohōkyō* is fresh evidence of the close connection between the Lotus *sūtra* and the rites of repentance, especially of the *Tendai* sect. It is interesting to notice how the great *Shintō* gods were used as tutelary deities of the different days of the ceremony, and how some of them were even honoured by the offering of the holy text itself.

§ 19. *Butsumyō-e* (佛名會), "*Congregations for invoking the names of the Buddhas*", *also called Butsumyō sange* (佛名懺悔), "*Repentance by means of the Buddha names*", *based upon two different Butsumyō-kyō, Mahāyānistic "Sūtras on the Buddha names" (A.D. 830—1467).*

A. *The Butsumyōkyō or "Sūtras on the Buddha names". (Nanjō Nos. 404 and 405—407).*

In the first half of the sixth century of our era (A.D. 508—535) Bodhiruci I translated Nanjō No. 404, entitled *Buddhabhāṣita-buddhanāma-sūtra* (*Bussetsu Butsumyōkyō*, 佛說佛名經), a work of 12 chapters, in which the names of 11093 Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and Pratyekabuddhas are invoked by means of the

[1] *Daijii*, l.l., p. 3733, 1.

preceding term *namaḥ* (南無, *namu*). The Buddha explains to a big crowd of beings how virtuous men and women, who wish to obliterate all their sins, must ask to obtain this end. He gives them the names of the Buddhas of the past, present and future, and says: "If virtuous men and women receive and keep and read the names of the Buddhas, in the present life they shall have rest and be far from all difficulties, and they shall blot out all their sins. They shall obtain *anuttara samyaksambodhi* (perfect wisdom) in the future. If virtuous men and women wish to "extinguish" their sins, they must purify themselves by bathing, put on new and clean garments, kneel down (*chōki*, 長跪), join their palms and say: "*Namu Tōhō Ashuku Butsu*" ("I adore Akshobhya Buddha of the Eastern quarter") (followed by the invocation of eleven other Buddhas of the East); I take refuge (*kimyō*, 歸命) in all these numberless Buddhas of the Eastern quarter". Then follow the names of 12 Buddhas of the South, 12 of the West, 10 of the North, 10 of the South-East, 10 of the South-west, 12 of the North-west, 10 of the North-east, 12 of the nadir and 8 of the zenith, in all 108 names (the original number of the *kleśas* (*bonnō*) and therefore the number of the prayers to Amitābha (*nembutsu*), of *dhāraṇīs*, *mudrās*, rosary beads, etc. [1]

Then follow the names of future Buddhas, namely the Bodhisattvas Samantabhadra, Maitreya, Avalokiteśvara, Mahāsthānaprāpta, Ākāśagarbha, Vimalakirtti, Akshayamati, etc., ten in number. After ten other names of Buddhas a long list of further invocations is given. In chapter 6 (p. 293*b*) twenty Bodhisattvas are mentioned: Samantabhadra, Mañjuśrī, Vimalakirtti, Kshitigarbha, Akāśagarbha, Avalokiteśvara, Mahāsthānaprāpta, Gandhahastī, Mahāgandhahasti, Bheshajyarāja and Bheshajyamudgata, Vajragarbha, Maitreya, Dhāraṇīśvara-rāja, Akshayamati, Sūryagarbha, etc., and numberless Bodhisattvas of the ten quarters are invoked, followed by more than a

[1] Cf. *Daijiten*, p. 82.

hundred Pratyekabuddhas and innumerable Buddhas, and Bodhisattvas of the four quarters (Ch. 7, p. 300*a*, Ch. 12, p. 327).

This text was the base of the *Butsumyō-e*, practised from olden times in China, Korea and Japan. There is, however, another text, consisting of 30 chapters; at the end of each chapter titles of *sūtras* and names of Pratyekabuddhas, Bodhisattvas and Arhats (with many mistakes) have been added. Moreover, reverence is paid to the Triratna, and the *sangemon* or "text of repentance" (cf. above, § 9, p. 276) as well as a part of a spurious *sūtra* (the *Hōtatsu-Bosatsu-mon-hōō-shamon-kyō*, 寶達菩薩問報應沙門經, abbreviated into *Hōtatsukyō*) have been inserted. In the "Catalogue of Buddhist works of the K'ai-yen era" (A.D. 713—742) (開元釋教錄, Nanjō No. 1485, Ch. XVIII), which appeared in A.D. 730, this *Butsumyōkyō* is mentioned for the first time as consisting of 16 chapters. It was widely spread in this form, although it was full of mistakes; in A.D. 799 it was even attached to the Catalogue of the Tripiṭaka. Evidently made in China in the middle of the T'ang dynasty (eighth century) for the *Butsumyō sange*), this *Butsumyōkyō* of 16 chapters was also used in Japan at the *Butsumyō-e* from A.D. 846 (Shōwa 13) to A.D. 918 (Engi 18). There is also a text of 18 chapters, not very different from the other text, but without the *Hōtatsukyō*.[1]

Another *Butsumyōkyō*, called also *Sankō sanzen butsumyō kyō* (三劫三千佛名經) or "*Sūtra* of the three thousand Buddha names of the three kalpas (past, present and future)", in A.D. 918 was made the text of the *Butsumyō-e* by the *Tendai* priest Genkan (玄鑒) (A.D. 861—926). But the leaders of the ceremony did not change the rites and considered the recital of the "13000 Buddhas" of the *Butsumyōkyō* of 16 chapters to be the

[1] *Daijii* III, p. 4031, 1, s.v. *Butsumyōkyō*. Cf. Fujii in his *Bukkyō jirin* (p. 744), who states that to the *sūtra* of 30 chapters Nanjō No. 706, the 罪業報應教化地獄經, has been added, that the *sūtra* of 16 chapters is a different work of the same kind, and that both were used at the *Butsumyō-e*.

right, ancient way of celebrating this festival.[1] The title of the text introduced by Genkan for constant use is the collective name of the three *sūtras* Nanjō No. 405—407, translated in the Liang dynasty (A.D. 502—557) by an unknown author. Each of them contains the names of a thousand Buddhas, belonging to the past (No. 405), the present (No. 406) and the future kalpas (No. 407). The first *sūtra* is preceded by a short text, entitled *Sankō sanzen Butsu engi* (三劫三千佛緣起) and translated between A.D. 424 and 442 by Kālayaśas of the earlier Sung dynasty. Each of the three *sūtras* consists of one chapter.

In the beginning of the first text virtuous men and women who hear the names of all these Buddhas of the three worlds, read, copy and explain them, paint their images, offer to them incense, flowers and music, praise their blessing power and with a heart full of devotion worship them, are said to be reborn in Buddha lands and in the end become Buddhas. If they prostrate themselves and pray to all the Buddhas of the three worlds and ten quarters to stop the three evil roads (of fire, blood and swords, hell, animals and pretas), to give wealth to the country and rest to the people, and to turn all living beings from heterodox views to the correct road, and if they pray that all living beings of the six roads may be reborn in the land of *Amitāyus*, they shall cause them actually to be reborn there and to obtain the same beauty, wisdom, discrimination, fruits, stateliness and immeasurableness of life as *Amitābha* himself.

Here, as at the end of the last *sūtra*, *Amitābha*'s name and heaven are specially mentioned. After 400 Buddha names, all invoked by means of the word *namaḥ* (*namu*), repentance (*sange*) for all sins is preached by the Buddha to his followers. Then 500 Buddhas are invoked, reverence is paid to the Triratna,

[1] *Ainōshō*, 嗹囊鈔, an encyclopaedia written in A.D. 1446 by the Buddhist priest Gyōyo, 行譽; Ch. IX, No. 43, p. 44*a*, s.v. *Butsumyō sange.*

and a special text of repentance is given with regard to the beings in hell, animals, pretas and asuras. Finally a hundred other Buddhas are invoked, the last of the thousand Buddhas of the former kalpa.

In the second *sūtra* repentance is preached ten times, each time after the invocation of a hundred Buddhas. As to the last *sūtra*, this gives, after a short introduction, an uninterrupted list of a thousand invocations, concluding with the same promise of the highest rewards expressed in the opening words of the first *sūtra*.

With regard to *Amitābha*, mentioned in the beginning and at the end of the collective text, we may refer to the fact that from olden times in some Buddhist temples in Japan the *Butsumyō-e* was celebrated by hanging up three pictures, each representing a thousand Buddhas, and bowing before them three thousand times, repeating only Amitābha's invocation: "*Namu Amida Butsu*". [1]

§ 19, B. *The festival of the Buddha names in Japan (A.D. 830—1467).*

In A.D. 774 (Hōki 5, XII 15—17) the Emperor Kōnin performed the *Hōkwō kekwa* (方廣悔過) or "Vaipulya Repentance" during three days in the Imperial Palace. As stated above (§ 17, p. 350), this rite is said to be the origin of the *Butsumyō sange*, since it was a penitential service, held towards the end of the year to purify the Court and the country from sins, committed in the course of the year. The *sūtra*, on which it was based, was from olden times used in the *Butsumyō sange* rites of Japan. This is the *Daitsū-hōkwō-kyō* (大通方廣經), mentioned in the ancient Chinese catalogues of Buddhist works (and by Tao-süen in Nanjō No. 1483) among the dubious or spurious *sūtras* of the Sui dynasty (A.D. 581—618), so that it was not included

[1] *Daijiten*, p. 1565, 3, s.v. *Butsumyō-e*.

in the great Canon. Its full title is *Daitsū hōkwō sange metsuzai shōgon jōbutsu kyō* (大通方廣懺悔滅罪莊嚴成佛經) or "*Mahāvaipulya sūtra* on obtaining *vyūha* ('ornament') and Buddhaship by obliterating crimes by means of repentance". [1]

In A.D. 823 (Kōnin 14, XII 23) the same ceremony, called *Daitsū hōkwō no hō* (大通方廣之法), was celebrated during one night in the *Seiryōden* of the Palace by three great priests, invited by the Emperor Junna. They were the *Daisōzu* Chōe (長惠), whose name is not given by Washio, the *Shōsōzu* Gonsō (勤操), a *Sanron* priest (A.D. 758—827, Washio p. 387, 2), and, last not least, the *Daihōshi* Kūkai, the *Shingon* priest Kōbō Daishi! [2]

In A.D. 830 (Tenchō 7, XII 8) the Emperor Junna (A.D. 823 IV 16—833) was the first to invite ten famous Buddhist priests and to cause them to perform the *Butsumyō-sanrai* or "Rite of Repentance by means of the (*Sūtra* on the) Buddha names" in the Palace during three days and nights. [3] On this occasion the *Shingon* priest Dōshō (道昌) (A.D. 798—875), the founder of *Hōrinji* (法輪寺) in Yamashiro, was appointed leader of the ceremony (*dōshi*). [4] It was he who in A.D. 848, together with the *Sanron* priest Jitsubin and the *Tendai* priest Kwōjō, expounded the Lotus *sūtra* in the Palace for the felicity of the deceased Junna Tennō's soul (see above, § 18, C, p. 365).

In A.D. 835 (Shōwa 2, XII 20) the Emperor Nimmyō (A.D. 833—850) "began to pay reverence to the *Butsumyōkyō* (禮拜

[1] *Daijii*, III, p. 3192, 3, s.v. *Daitsū-hōkwō-kyō*; III, p. 4030, 2, s.v. *Butsumyō-e*. Cf. *Kuji kongen*, 公事根源 (A.D. 1422), s.v. 神佛名, *Nihon bungaku zensho*, Vol. XXII, p. 109.

[2] *Nihon kiryaku, Zempen*, Ch. XIV, p. 464 (*Nihon kōki*, Ch. XXXI).

[3] *Nihon kiryaku, Zempen*, Ch. XIV, p. 464; *Genkō Shakusho*, Ch. XXIII, p. 1047.

[4] Washio, p. 878, 1, s.v. *Dōshō*.

佛名經) in the *Seiryōden* of the Palace for three nights".[1]

In A.D. 838 (Shōwa 5, XII 15) the same Emperor performed the *Butsumyō sange* in the *Seiryōden*, for three days and three nights. The *risshi* Jōan (靜安), a *Hossō* priest, at whose request the ceremony took place,[2] the *daihōshi* Gwan-an (願安), also a *Hoṣsō* priest, the *Sanron* priest Jitsubin (實敏) (mentioned above), Gwanjō (願定) (whose sect we do not know) and the *Shingon* priest Dōshō (mentioned above) alternately lead the service. "This was the beginning of the *Butsumyō sange*, performed in the Palace". On the 18th, when the ceremony had come to an end, the five leading priests received presents and each of them obtained one follower who embraced religious life.[3] Washio states that this festival was called *Mi-Butsumyō-e* (御佛名會) and that it became a regular ceremony celebrated yearly with great pomp.[4]

In the *Genkō Shakusho* the remark is made, that the *Butsumyō-sanrai* of A.D. 830 was a performance (*shū*, 修), whereas the *Butsumyō-sen* (called *sange* in the *Shoku Nihon kōki*) of A.D. 838 was a rite (*shiki*, 式), i.e. a regular ceremony.[5] Yet we do not read of it in the following years, from A.D. 839 to 845.

In A.D. 846 (X 27) the Emperor Nimmyō issued an ordinance, commanding all provinces to practise the *Butsumyō sange* for three days. Seven bushels (斛, *koku*) of cereals were to be offered to the *Triratna*, six to the priests; the offerings were to be made according to custom, and the regular taxes used to defray the expenses. Moreover, it was made a constant ceremony (恒式, *kōshiki*).[6] For this reason the *Ainōshō* (referred to above)

[1] *Shoku Nihon kōki*, Ch. IV, p. 212; *Nihon kiryaku, Zempen*, Ch. XV, p. 485.
[2] *Genkō Shakusho*, Ch. XXIII, p. 1048.
[3] *Shoku Nihon kōki*, Ch. VII, p. 250.
[4] Washio, p. 656, 1, s.v. *Jōan*.
[5] *Genkō Shakusho*, Ch. XXIII, p. 1047 sq.
[6] *Shoku Nihon kōki*, Ch. XVI, p. 374.

calls this the beginning of the *Butsumyō* festival; at the same time it states that in the Palace as well as in the provinces the *Butsumyōkyō* of 16 chapters was used at these rites.[1]

Although the Emperor Nimmyō established this rule, no *Butsumyō sange* is mentioned in the following years (A.D. 847—849). After his death (A.D. 850, III 21) his successor, Montoku Tennō (A.D. 850—858), held a *Raibutsu sange* (禮佛懺悔) in the first year of his reign (A.D. 850, XII 15); the priests were "respectfully invited" (屈) (to the Palace) to perform this ceremony.[2] In the two following years it is not mentioned, but in A.D. 854 (Seikō 1, XII 18) and in 855 (XII 18) it was again celebrated.[3]

We do not read of it in 856, and in 857 (XII 18) instead of performing this rite the Emperor invited 50 priests to the Palace, where they read the *Daihannyakyō* for seven days.[4]

After Montoku Tennō's death (A.D. 858, VIII 27) his successor, Seiwa Tennō (A.D. 858—876), instituted the annual *Butsumyō sange* ceremony, to be practised yearly from XII 19 to XII 21 in the *Naiden* of the Palace by three or four famous priests. This took place in the first year of his reign (A.D. 858, Ten-an 2, XII 19).[5] The next year (XII 18) 60 priests were invited to the Palace of the Prince Imperial, to perform *tendoku* of the *Daihannyakyō* for three days and to practise the *Butsumyō sange.*[6] In A.D. 860 and 861 no mention is made of this festival, but in 862 (XII 20) it is stated that it was celebrated in the *Naiden*, "as always";[7] in 864 the same fact is reported, but that year it began on the 23rd.[8] At the same time we always read of the sending of Imperial messengers to the mausolea, where apparently

[1] *Ainōshō*, Ch. XXXIV.
[2] *Nihon Montoku Tennō jitsuroku*, Ch. II, p. 470.
[3] Ibid., Ch. VI, p. 519; Ch. VII, p. 529.
[4] Ibid., Ch. IX, p. 564.
[5] *Nihon sandai jitsuroku*, Ch. II, p. 16 (*Kokushi taikei*, Vol. IV).
[6] Ibid., Ch. III, p. 49.
[7] Ibid., Ch. VI, p. 114.
[8] Ibid., Ch. IX, p. 167.

for the same purpose *gohei* were offered to the Imperial ancestors towards the end of the year, thus causing felicity during the next year by entering it free from sins and favoured by the divine powers. For the same reason in the beginning of the year the *Go-saie* or *Mi-saie* (御齋會), "August Purification-Festival", was held in the Palace (I 8—14 in the *Daigokuden*, with a vegetarian entertainment of the monks and expounding of the *Saishōō-kyō* (*Suvarṇa-prabhāsottamarāja-sūtra*, Nanjō No. 126, cf. above, Chapter I, § 8, p. 15), on behalf of the welfare of the Court and the Nation, an annual festival since A.D. 802 (Enryaku 21),[1] celebrated from I 8—14 since A.D. 813 (Kōnin 4).[2] As we saw above (§ 15, p. 317), from the Engi era (A.D. 901—923) until about A.D. 1068 *Kichijō kekwa* were practised in all provinces during the same seven days (I 8—14), in order to purify the country from sin and cause its peace and felicity for the whole year.

In the *Bukkyō daijii*[3] the year A.D. 853 (Ninju 3) is given as the time when the dates of the *Butsumyō sange* of the Palace and of the provinces were changed from XII 15—17 into XII 19—21. We did not find this fact mentioned in the annals, but in A.D. 850 the opening date was still XII 15, and in 854 it had become XII 18; in 858 it became XII 10, but the following year it was XII 18, in 862 XII 20, and in 864 as late as XII 23. Then follow 865 XII 19, 866 XII 20, 867 XII 19. On this day (in 867) a disciple of the late *Risshi* Jōan (the *Hossō* priest at whose request in Shōwa 5 (A.D. 838) the *Butsumyō sange* were celebrated in the *Seiryōden* by him and four other priests), namely the *Dentō hōshi* (傳燈法師) Kengo (賢護),[4] a *Hossō* priest of *Tōdaiji*, addressed a written petition to the Emperor Seiwa with regard

[1] *Nihon kiryaku, Zempen*, Ch. XIII, p. 386.

[2] Ibid., Ch. XIV, p. 416.

[3] *Daijii* III, p. 4030, 3, s.v. *Butsumyō-e*.

[4] Washio, p. 283, 2, s.v. *Kengo*, states that in A.D. 868 this *Hossō* priest requested the Emperor to divide the images, made by him, between the Palace and the provinces.

to this festival. He stated that in the Shōwa period the performance of the *Butsumyō sange no hō* had been commenced at Jōan's request, and that it was practised throughout the empire. He (Kengo) had thrown away his priestly robe and almsbowl and changed them for vermilion (i.e. painting). He had painted eight groups of 13000 Buddhist figures (Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, Pratyekabuddhas and Arhats), 18 feet (尺) high and 14 feet broad. He requested one group to be presented to the shrine of *Hachiman Bosatsu* (of *Usa*) in Buzen province, and the seven others to the provinces of the Hokurikudō. The *Dajōkwan* disposed of them according to request. [1]

This is clear evidence of the fact, that the "13000 Buddhas" of the *Butsumyōkyō* of 16 (or 30) chapters were invoked, not the 3000 of Nanjō No. 405—407. In the provinces the government offices were the places of worship, and seven priests of famous virtue were requested to perform the rites. As to the *Butsumyō-e* of the Palace, its principal image (*honzon*) was that of *Shō Kwannon* (聖觀音), i.e. *Ārya Avalokiteśvara*, the august *honzon* of the *Jijuden* (仁壽殿), the tutelary deity of the Emperor. This picture was hung between two groups of 13000 figures, and in a side room screens representing hell (*Jigoku-hen*, 變, *no byōbu*) were set up. There were three leading priests (*dōshi*) of the highest ranks, and three followers (*shidai*). [2] Thence the *honzon* of the *Jijuden* was brought to the place of worship and hung (the *Kuji kongen* says *kakete*) within the august curtain, between the southern tablets (額). Further along the southern and northern walls low tables (机) were arranged, upon which stood the images and pagoda-shaped ornaments. The offerings made to the Buddhas were incense and flowers. The screens representing infernal scenes were placed in an adjoining room, and in front of the magnificent reception room braziers stood with *matsu*

[1] *Nihon sandai jitsuroku*, Ch. XIV, p. 263.
[2] *Daijii*, III, p. 4031, 1, s.v. *Butsumyō-e.*

twigs. This was accomplished by the ladies, the court nobles not entering the adjoining room. The three leading priests were on service alternately: the first during the beginning of the night, the second during the middle part and the third during the last period (the night lasting from 9 P.M. to 3 A.M.).[1] They recited the Buddha names, but from the Engi era this recital was accompanied by officials playing on Japanese harps (*koto*). The author of the *Kuji kongen* (A.D. 1422), Ichijō no Kaneyoshi (一條兼良), who gives this description, adds that this ceremony was performed for the first time in the twelfth month of Hōki 5 (A.D. 774), and that in the Shōwa era (A.D. 834—848) during the three days of this yearly festival in all provinces it was forbidden to kill living beings. It lasted from XII 19—21, but there were also precedents of its having been celebrated only for one night (e.g. in A.D. 823, as seen above).[2]

In A.D. 868—875 (XII 19) the beginning of the *Butsumyō sange* is regularly stated in the *Nihon sandai jitsuroku*. As in 859, in 872 60 priests performed *tendoku* of the *Daihannyakyō* during the same three days, but this time the ceremony took place in the *Daigokuden*; the *Butsumyō sange* were practised, as usual, in the *Naiden*.[3] In A.D. 876 (Jōkwan 18), however, it was omitted, because XI 29 of that year the Emperor Seiwa had abdicated in favour of his son (Yōzei Tennō) and a religious ceremony had been observed; afterwards such rites caused the *Butsumyō sange* to be limited to one night.[4]

The *Sandai jitsuroku*, which runs to A.D. 887 VIII, gives us

[1] According to the *Daijii*, l.l., the first of the three nights was divided into two sessions (*za*), that of the *shoya* and *goya* (first and last part of the night, from the hour of the hog (9—11) to that of the ox (1—3), whereas the second and third night were divided into three parts (*shoya*, *hanya* and *goya no za*), from the hour of the hog (9—11) to that of the tiger (3—5).

[2] *Kuji hongen*, twelfth month, 19th day, *Nihon bungaku zensho*, Vol. XXII, pp. 108 sq.

[3] *Sandai jitsuroku*, Ch. XXII, p. 367.

[4] Ibid., Ch. XXIX, p. 439; *Daijii*, III, p. 4030, 3, s.v. *Butsumyō-e*.

the dates and places of the *Butsumyō sange* as follows. In A.D. 877—880 the ceremony began XII 21 (not XII 19) and lasted three days; it took place in the *Naiden* (877), the *Kokiden* (弘徽殿) (878), the *Seiryōden* (879) and the *Jōneiden* (常寧殿) (880).[1]

In 881 it commenced XII 19, in the *Seiryōden*, and in 882 it began XII 20, in the *Ryōkiden* (綾綺殿); in 883 its first day was XII 22, and it took place in the *Naiden.*[2] The three following years, after Yōzei Tennō's abdication, his successor Kōkō Tennō was more careful in observing the correct dates (XII 19—21) and in choosing a fixed place of worship (the *Jijuden*);[3] but he died in A.D. 887, and as his successor, Uda Tennō, ascended the throne in the same year (XI 17), no *Butsumyō sange* is recorded for that year in the *Nihon kiryaku.*

In A.D. 910 (Engi 10) the *Tendai* priest Sō-ō (相應) (A.D. 831—918), who in A.D. 856 had performed the *Butsumyō sange* during three nights (XII 1—3), in order to obliterate his own sins and those of others, repeated this rite and thenceforward performed it annually until his death (A.D. 918). The same year (A.D. 910) he made images of *Amida Butsu* and the *Six Kwannons* in order to lead to salvation the living beings of the six *gati*; and he had protected the country by making images of the *Go-daison* (五大尊) (the five *Vidyārājas*, cf. above, Ch. V, *Ninnō-e*, § 2, L, p. 144) and of *Hannya Bosatsu* (*Prajñā Bodhisattva*) and by copying the *Sūtras* of the three thousand Buddhas (Nanjō Nos. 405—407). This is evidence of the fact that he used those *sūtras* instead of that of the 16 chapters (with the so-called 13000 Buddhas). It is also remarkable that for this private rite of repentance he preferred the dates XII 1—3.[4]

[1] *Sandai jitsuroku*, Ch. XXXII, p. 474; Ch. XXXIV, p. 504; Ch. XXXVI, p. 532; Ch. XXXVIII, p. 555.

[2] Ibid., Ch. XL, p. 574; Ch. XLII, p. 596; Ch. XLIV, p. 613.

[3] Ibid., Ch. XLVI, p. 650; Ch. XLVIII, p. 675; Ch. XLIX, p. 701.

[4] Washio, p. 742 sqq., s.v. *Sōō.*

The *Engishiki* enumerates the „ornaments of the *Mi-Butsumyō*, among which we find "the shrine of the tutelary Buddha of the Emperor", and a *maki-e* lacquer table, both placed in the *Naiden*, the offerings being paper flowers, incense, two bronze flower vases and one incense-brazier; further two groups (鋪) of the 13000 Buddha images and one copy of the *Sūtra* of the Buddha names of 16 chapters, tables for the offerings and the text, seats for the priests, 16 flags, a pulpit, a big drum, a desk, four *khakkharas* and a *nyo-i* (sceptre). The author adds that this ceremony was celebrated during three nights, in the 12th month, beginning with the 19th), and that it took place in the Imperial Palace. [1]

In A.D. 918 (Engi 18) the *Tendai* priest Genkan (玄鑑) proposed to the Emperor Daigo (A.D. 897—930) to abbreviate the list of the 13000 names of the *Sūtra* of 16 chapters, used in the *Butsumyō sange*, to that of the 3000 Buddhas of Nanjō Nos. 405–407. This proposal was accepted, but, as stated above, the leading priests of the ceremony did not change the rites and considered the recital of the 13000 names to be the correct ancient way of observing them. [2]

The *Honchō seki* (本朝世紀) (A.D. 935—1153) mentions the *Butsumyō sange* in A.D. 938 (Tenkei 1, XII 19—21); 941 (Tenkei 4, XII 20; only one night); 993 (Shōryaku 4, XII 19); 1087 (Kwanji 1, XII 22, all the court nobles went to the Palace on account of the *Mi-Butsumyō*); 1103 (Kōwa 5, XII 21; on that night the *Mi-Butsumyō* (also called *O-Butsumyō*) began; XII 23, *Mi-Butsumyō*, end of the *Hokke-e*); 1144 (Tenyō 1, XII 21). [3] In A.D. 1147 (Kyūan 3, XII 19) a description of the festival is given. It began with *mono-imi* (abstinence from certain articles of food and from anything unclean) of the Emperor, and *sanrō* (參籠, passing the night or a certain number of days in a

[1] *Engishiki*, Ch. XIII, *Kokushi taikei* Vol. XIII, pp. 491 sq.

[2] *Ainōshō*, Ch. IX, No. 43, p. 44*a*, s.v. *Butsumyō sange.*

[3] *Honchō seki* (*Kokushi taikei* Vol. VIII), pp. 38, 91, 204, 330, 388, 500.

shrine for a special prayer) of the Court nobles and the attendants of the Emperor. The *kurōdo* Taira no Tokitada (only 17 years old, for he was born in 1130), *shō-i* (second lieutenant) of the *Sahyō-e* (Left Guards Proper), performed the ceremony of receiving the monks, who arrived in the evening at the Palace gate. He wore the formal court dress and addressed the priests as usual. At the hour of the hog (nine o'clock) the *toshoryō* (librarian) struck the bell, and the high officials entered the reception room and took their seats. All the court nobles prayed in due order. Then the priests ascended the platform and performed the four rites (*hōyō*) and the *sūtra* reading as customary. Thereupon the *kuge* (the Court nobles) withdrew into the Palace, and the *sake* cups went round (*ikkon, nikon*, one and two cups).[1] The second part of the night was like the first. The court nobles of the 5th rank sat near the braziers (mentioned above in the passage of the *Kuji kongen*). In the last part of the night the recital took place of the *khakkhara* hymn of praise, the *shakujō no shōmon*, 錫杖頌文, called *shakujō* or *kujō* (九條) *shakujō*, which the performers sing, shaking their magic staffs with metal rings each time they have finished one of the nine strophes of the hymn. The four first lines are found in the 14th chapter of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* (*Kegonkyō*, Nanjō No. 87), the other strophes are the work of some ancient priest. The *kujō shakujō* is the last of the four essential parts of Buddhist ceremonies, the *shika hōyō*, 四箇法要, to wit: 1. *bombai*, 梵唄, the "Indian song", an opening hymn in honour of the Buddha; 2. *sange*, 散華, scattering flowers as an offering to the Buddha while singing the hymn beginning with the words: "I wish to be in the place of worship", 願我在道場; 3. *bon-on*, 梵音, "Indian sounds", an offering of pure sounds to the Buddha while

[1] Cf. the passage of the *Kuji kongen* on this festival: the *Kayanashi no kwampai*, 栢梨勸盃, drinking wine from a place of that name in Settsu province.

singing the *gāthā* beginning with the words: "Most beautiful flowers whatever there are on all sides", 十方所有勝妙華; 4. *shakujō*, 錫杖, shaking the staffs with metal rings while singing the hymn beginning with the words: "With my hands I grasp the *khakkhara*". As these four rites are the most important parts of the ceremonies they are called "the four essentials of the rites" (*hōyō*, 法要) or "the four ways of using the rites" (*hōyō*, 法用). As to the *bombai* and *bon-on*, these songs were made in China in the Wei dynasty (A.D. 220—265) by Ch'en Tszĕ-wang (陳子王) and Ts'ao Tszĕ-kien (曹子建), while walking in the Lu mountains, in imitation of the sound of the rivulets of the valleys. The famous Japanese *Tendai* priest Ennin (Jikaku Daishi) (A.D. 794—864), mentioned above in connection with the *shōmyō bombai* and the *Amida kekwa*, § 16, C, pp. 344 sqq., as well as the *Hokke sembō*, § 18, B, p. 357, introduced these chants into Japan, where they became very popular among the priests of the mystic branch of the *Tendai* sect. Although the terms *bombai* and *bon-on* are practically identical, the former has the meaning of opening hymn of ceremonies, sung after the burning of incense, whereas the *bon-on* are sung after the scattering of flowers. [1]

During the singing of this *khakkhara* hymn a *kurōdo* of the fifth rank and another of the sixth took forth and as usual presented the silk (mentioned also in the *Kuji kongen*). Then the *gyōkō* (行香), i.e. the handing of incense to the priests (as an offering to the Buddha), took place, and the *kurōdo* Taira no Tokitada (the leading) official presented *kwasha* (火舍), a kind of incense-burners, to the priests. Thereupon the court nobles and lower officials performed the *myō-etsu* (名謁) (the same as *myō-taimen*, 名對面, a ceremony of mutual introduction). That night, however, the officials of the *kurōdo-dokoro* (which had charge of secret reports and other state matters) were drunk

[1] *Daijiten*, p. 687, 3, s.v. *shika hōyō*; p. 802, 2, s.v. *kuyō shakujō*; p. 615, 1, s.v. *sange*; p. 1640, 1, s.v. *bombai*, and p. 1634, 1, s.v. *bon-on*. Cf. the present writer's treatise on the *Arhats in China and Japan*, Ch. V.

and did not come to the *myō-etsu*, which the annalist says was very queer. [1]

In A.D. 1149 (Kyūan 5, XII 16, an uncommon date) in the evening two regular festivals began: the offering ceremony to Kwannon of the thirty altars, and the *Mi-Butsumyō* of the *Nyo-in* (女院, the Empress-Dowager). The *Ichi-in*, i.e. Toba Tennō, ordered the former performance to be commenced and, personally beginning the practice of the *gosembō* (*Hokke sembō*), invited six priests to lead the *Butsumyō* ceremony, which was attended by all the court nobles. The six priests were the *Gon-Daisōzu* Ninsō, the *Hōgen* Kenjin and Shun-en (a *Tendai* priest, *zasu* of *Enryakuji*), the *Ajari* Jūgu (also a *Tendai* priest, who in A.D. 1162 became *zasu* of *Enryakuji*), and the priests Monjitsu and Jitsu-e, all probably belonging to the *Tendai* sect. The annalist states that this invitation of six priests to lead the ceremony was a constant rule. [2]

In the first part of the *Zoku-Shigushō* (續史愚抄) (A.D. 1259—1382) from time to time the *Mi-*(or *O-*) *Butsumyō* are mentioned, e.g. in A.D. 1282 (Kōan 5, XII 23) when a *Haru no miya* (春宮) *no Mi-Butsumyō* was also performed in the palace of the Prince Imperial (*Tōgu*), [3] and in 1283 (XII 21). [4] In A.D. 1352 (XII 19) it is stated that there was no *sata* or Government order with regard to the *Butsumyō*, because in that year Go Kōgon Tennō, of the Northern Court, had ascended the throne and the "August Ceremony of the three Altars" (*Sandan no Mi-shuhō*, 三壇御修法) (usually pronounced *Mi-shiho*, a term for a great number of *Shingon* ceremonies) [5] had taken place. [6] From Horikawa Tennō's time (A.D. 1086—1107) it had been the

[1] *Honchō seki*, sub dato A.D. 1147 (*Kyūan* 3), 12th month, 19th day, p. 645.
[2] *Honchō seki*, p. 782.
[3] *Zoku-Shigushō*, Vol. I, Ch. VI, *Zoku Kokushi taikei*, I, p. 157.
[4] Ibid., Ch. VI, p. 170.
[5] *Daijiten*, p. 1675, 1, s.v. *Mishiho*.
[6] *Zoku-Shigushō*, Vol. I, Ch. XXIV, p. 681.

custom to limit the duration of the service to one night in the first year of the reign of a new Emperor; in this case, as in A.D. 876, when Yōzei Tennō ascended the throne, these rites were considered superfluous because another important ceremony had already been celebrated.

We do not read about the *Mi-Butsumyō* in the second part of the *Zoku-Shigushō* (A.D. 1382—1629), but sometimes (as in A.D. 1408, Ōei 15, XII 14—20) the *Sembōkō* (懺法講) or *Go-sembō* (*Hokke-sembō*) or (as in A.D. 1471, Bummei 3, XII 26) the *Kwannon-sembō* are mentioned towards the end of the year. Yet the Festival of the Buddha names, which was limited to one night instead of three since the Kemmu era (A.D. 1334—1336), when under the Emperor Go Daigo the short *chūkō* (中興) or Restoration of the Imperial Power took place, was continued until the civil war of the Ōnin era (A.D. 1467—1468), which lasted from 1467 to 1477. In that disastrous period, like most ancient ceremonies, it was permanently abolished. [1]

§ 20. *Recapitulation regarding the Rites of Repentance.*

If we recapitulate the principal matters dealt with in the preceding paragraphs, the following facts may be briefly stated.

A. *The terms kekwa and sange* (§ 1).

The term *kekwa* is anterior to *sange* and *sembō*. In China the word *sange*, a combination of transcription and translation, began to prevail in the beginning of the fifth century A.D. Like *kekwa* it means repentance, not confession, which is designated by the word *hotsuro*. The proper meaning of *san* (*kṣama*) is "patience", an abbreviation of the term *kṣamayati*, "asking patience, i.e. forgiveness"; it was combined with *ke* (Chin. *hwui*), the

[1] *Daijii*, III, p. 4030, 3, s.v. *Butsumyō-e*.

Sinico-Japanese word for repentance. In the Japanese annals the term *sange* is not found earlier than A.D. 838 (*Butsumyō sange*).

§ 20, B. *The sūtras.* (§§ 2—11).

Among the principal *sūtras* quoted with regard to the power of repentance, preached by the Buddha to those who wish to "extinguish" their sins (compared to fire), only Nanjō No. 739 (on the saving power of shame and remorse) (§ 10) and the *Dirghāgama sūtra* (Nanjō No. 545, King Ajātaśatru's repentance and salvation (§ 1), as well as the *Ekottarāgama sūtra* (Nanjō No. 543 (§ 1) belonged to the *Hīnayāna*; all the other *sūtras* were texts of the *Mahāyāna*. As to the rites of repentance, these were only mentioned in the Mahāyānistic texts, which expanded the simple and general ideas of *Hīnayāna*. The *Upo-satha* and *Pravāranā* rites, based upon the *Vinaya* of the *Hīna-yāna*, may alone be called penitential services of Hīnayānistic origin, but even they are rather rites of confession then real ceremonies of repentance.

Even in the oldest of the translations of *Mahāyāna* texts on this subject, spoken by the Buddha at Śāriputra's request (Nanjō No. 1106, transl. 148—170, § 2), the rites are fixed as at three times in the night and three times in the day-time, when worship is to be offered to all the Buddhas of the ten quarters. The offering of ten thousand lamps (the night being the principal time of most penitential ceremonies, and ten thousands lights being a typical offering connected with the idea of repentance and driving away the demons of darkness, originally a magical act; cf. the *Mi-akashi* and *Mandō-e*, Ch. VII) is mentioned in the later translation of the same text (Nanjō No. 1103, the *Bodhisattva-piṭaka-sūtra*, transl. A.D. 506—520, § 3). A vegetable diet, new, pure garments, a correct attitude, and offerings of flowers, fruits and leaves are the usual rules of the rites of repentance.

In the third translation of the same text (Nanjō No. 1090, transl. about A.D. 590, § 4) Mañjuśrī is connected with the rites; he asks the Buddha to explain to him the way of performing *sange* and *hotsuro* (penitence and confession). In another text this Bodhisattva himself expounds the so-called *Monju kekwa* and five other ceremonies, all found in the *Tendai goke*, except that of making offerings to the Buddhas (Nanjō No. 1091, transl. A.D. 266—317 by Dharmaraksha I, who also translated the Maitreya *sūtra*, Nanjō No. 55). It is the *gotai kekwa* or "Repentance of the five parts of the body", the two knees, two arms and head, which touch the ground when lying down in worship of the Buddhas of the ten quarters. Maitreya is said by the Buddha to have reached perfect Enlightenment by means of the virtuous power obtained by performing these rites six times, i. e. three times daily and three times every night (Nanjō No. 55, § 5). Lamps are also the principal offering in the Mañjuśrī rites (§ 6).

The fifth century saw the appearance on the scene of the two main texts of repentance of the *T'ien-t'ai* sect, the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa sūtra* (*Konkwōmyōkyō*, Nanjō No. 127, translated in A.D. 414—423 by Dharmaraksha II, § 7) and the *Kwan-Fugengyō* or *Fugen-kwangyō*, the *Sūtra* on the rites of meditation on the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra, Nanjō No. 394, transl. in A.D. 424—441 by Dharmamitra, § 8. In the *Konkwōmyōkyō* we read of the Golden Drum, sounding the Hymn of Repentance in the dream of the Bodhisattva *Shinsō* (*Ruciraketu*). The sound of this drum is able to remove all the sorrows and fears of living beings, to save them from birth and death and to "cause them to reach the shore of great wisdom." Even those tortured in hell, when hearing the Golden Drum, shall forthwith pay reverence to the Buddhas and be blessed by their power.

A much later translation of the same *sūtra* (the *Konkwōmyō-Saishōōkyō*, Nanjō No. 126, transl. in A.D. 700—712 by the famous pilgrim I-tsing, § 7) is still more celebrated than the *Konkwō-*

myōkyō. Here the Golden Drum is called "Suvarṇa-prabhāsa-drum" (*Konkwōmyō-ku* or "Drum of the Golden Light"), the sound of which reaches all the numberless worlds and "extinguishes" even the most heinous sins of the three evil roads (hell, animals and pretas). The *Konkwōmyō-sammai-sen* or "Rites of Repentance by means of *Samādhi* of the Golden Light", which served to protect the country, were based upon the *Suvarṇa-prabhāsa-sūtra* and explained and practised by the *T'ien-t'ai* priests of China and Japan (*Konkwōmyō sembō, Kichijō kekwa*, § 15).

As to the *Kwan-Fugengyō* (§ 8) (the counterpart of the 28th chapter [1] of the *Hokkekyō* or Lotus *sūtra*), here the meditation on the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra is explained as the way of repenting the "sins of the six roots" (eyes, ears, nose, tongue, body and mind) and purifying these roots (*rokkon shōjō*) by "extinguishing" the sins. When practising this meditation, worshipping the Buddhas of the ten quarters and performing the rites of repentance six times, thrice in the day-time and thrice at night, devout penitents shall behold the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra, seated in full majesty upon a white elephant, and they shall hear him preach the Law and the *rokkon shōjō* doctrine. Then they shall understand the *Hokke sammai* or "*Samādhi* on the Lotus". Therefore this *sūtra* is the last of the *Hokke sambu* or "Three Books on the Lotus" of the *Tendai* school: the *Amitārtha sūtra*, the *Lotus sūtra*, and this text, the first and third being the opening and closing *sūtras* of the *Saddharma puṇḍarīka* or *Lotus sūtra*. At the same time it is the base of the *Hokke sembō* (§ 18). The meditation on the "Real Nature" (Emptiness) ranks, however, above all ceremonies. According to the last lines of a hymn on the purifying power of repentance, pronounced by the Buddha, this meditation "causes all sins to disappear like hoar-frost and

[1] In Prof. Kern's translation of the Sanskrit text of the Lotus *sūtra* (Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXI) the "Encouragement of Samantabhadra" is the 26th chapter, and the "All-sides One" (Avalokiteśvara) the 24th, whereas these are the 28th and 25th chapters of the Chinese text.

dew, absorbed by the rays of the Sun of Wisdom". At the end of the *sūtra* the Buddha explains the *go sange* or five kinds of penitence (different from the *Tendai goke*).

According to the *Sūtra on the Meditation on the Bodhisattva Ākāśagarbha* (*Kwan Kokūzō Bosatsu kyō*, Nanjō No. 70, 3 leaves, translated A.D. 424—441 by Dharmamitra, § 12, B), in order to take away all sins, Ākāśagarbha, the Bodhisattva of Great Compassion, must be meditated upon and invoked for 3×7 days, and the Buddhas of the ten quarters must be worshipped with invocation of 35 of their names for one to seven days.

The eighth century brought Prajñā's translations of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* (*Kegonkyō*) of 40 chapters (Nanjō No. 89, transl. A.D. 796—798, § 9) and of the "*Mahāyāna sūtra on the contemplation of the processes of consciousness* (*cittabhūmi-dhyāna*) *of the original lives* (*of the Buddha*)" (*Shinji-kwangyō*) (Nanjō No. 955, transl. A.D. 785—810). The 40th or last chapter of the former text is devoted to Samantabhadra's ten actions and vows. Even the title of the whole *sūtra* points to this subject. The fourth of these ten actions and vows is repentance for sins, but the *Shingon* sect (the Tantric School) has combined them into "five kinds of repentance" (*Shingon goke*): taking refuge (in the Buddha and his doctrine), penitence, consenting to and rejoicing in the blessing virtues (of others), "exhorting and requesting", i.e. praying to (the Buddhas), and turning (one's own virtuous roots) to (the benefit of others). At the same time the *Shingon* sect calls repentance the second of its nine *upāyas* (*hōben*) or means of obtaining salvation. The *rokuji goke* or *Tendai goke*, the "Five kinds of Repentance practised six times" (in the space of 24 hours), of the *Tendai* sect, based upon its founder's oral explanations (Chi-che ta-shi's work on "*Great Quietude and Contemplation*", Nanjō No. 1538, recorded by his pupil Kwan-ting in A.D. 594), are nearly the same as the *Shingon goke*, namely: 1. *sange* (repentance); 2. *kwanjō* ("exhorting and requesting", i. e. praying to the Buddhas of the ten quarters and

exhorting them to turn the Wheel of the Law); 3. *zuiki* ("consenting to and rejoicing in" the virtuous roots of others); 4. *ekō* ("turning towards", i. e. turning all one's own virtuous roots to the benefit of living beings and to the Buddha road); 5. *hotsugwan*, "uttering vows", i.e. the four great oaths of all Bodhisattvas, to wit: *a.* converting the limitless living beings; *b.* cutting off the inexhaustible *kleśas* (passions, *bonnō*); *c.* teaching the immeasurable doctrines (gates of the Law, *hōmon*); *d.* completing the unsurpassable Buddha road.

Four lines of a long hymn, pronounced by Samantabhadra in the 40th chapter of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* of 40 chapters, form the so-called *sange-mon* or "Text of Repentance", generally used in these ceremonies. A similar *sange-mon* is recited by the priests of the *Hongwanji* branch of the *Jōdo Shinshū*, based upon Shentao's *Rokuji raisan*, or "Adoration and Praise (of *Amitābha*), (repeated) six times (in 24 hours)". A link between the penitential rites of the *Tendai* school and those of the Amidists (*Jōdo* and *Jōdo Shinshū*) is found in a passage towards the end of this *sūtra*, where rebirth in Amitābha's paradise is mentioned as a reward of the devout penitents (§ 10). As to Nanjō No. 955, there we hear the Buddha pronouncing a long *gāthā* on the mighty power of repentance, on the two gates of meditation (on Matter and on the Absolute Nature), and on the *sambon sange* or three kinds of destroying crime by means of repentance, based upon meditation on the material world.

§ 20, C. *The different kinds of repentance* (§ 12).

Mahāyāna divides the kinds of repentance into two main categories: that with respect to the phenomena (*jisan*), and that with respect to the real, absolute nature of all dharmas (*risan*).

Jisan, material repentance, consists in ceremonies with regard to phenomena, like worshipping the Buddhas and reciting the *sūtras*. All the *Vinaya* rites belong to it. According to Nanjō

No. 955, mentioned above, there are three classes of *jisan*, the *sambon sange* or the "Upper, Middle and Lower Roots" (*jōkon, chūkon, gekon*), differing in intensity of sensation (blood wept and emitted by the whole body; blood and tears wept, and great perspiration, not of blood but of sweat; tears wept and the hair of the body standing erect). Chi-che ta-shi, the great founder of the *T'ien-t'ai* sect in China (A.D. 531—597), deals with them in Nanjō Nos. 1538 and 1569, and Shen-tao († 681), the celebrated propagator of the *Amitābha* doctrine in China, in his work on the "Adoration and praise (of Amitābha) in order to be reborn (in his paradise)" (*Ōjō raisan*), took them up as a means of salvation second to a devout belief in Amitābha's original vow. He was followed in this doctrine of repentance in worship of Amitābha by Shinran (A.D. 1174—1268), the great founder of the *Jōdo Shinshū* in Japan, and by Sōyō (A.D. 1723—1783), a priest of the same sect.

Risan, repentance with regard to the Absolute Nature of all the dharmas (Emptiness), entire concentration of the mind upon the *Dharmakāya* of the Buddhas, gives insight into the truth that all sins are empty too. This is the "Secret and Principal Gate of the Buddhas"; it is the highest form of repentance which destroys even the most heinous sins, like as a hurricane by spreading a fierce fire may destroy innumerable plants and trees.

The three kinds of penitential rites, explained by Chi-che ta-shi in his famous commentary on the *Konkwōmyōkyō* (Nanjō No. 1552), called *sanshu sembō*, are as follows:

1. *Sahō-sen*, "ceremonial repentance" (belonging to the *jisan*).

2. *Shusō-sen*, "repentance with respect to 'appearances'", the things which are born and die (*saṁskṛta-dharmas*) (also belonging to the *jisan*).

3. *Mushō-sen*, "repentance with respect to the *asaṁskṛta-dharmas*", things which have neither birth nor death, because they belong to the unchangeable Absolute Nature (*risan*).

In *Hīnayāna* these three classes are represented by the *Uposatha* and *Pravāraṇa* rites (*sahō-sen*), the *sasō-sen* or "repentance practised by forming visions" (dealt with in the *Āgama sūtras*, Nanjō Nos. 543 and 545) (*shusō-sen*), and the *kwankū-sen* or "repentance by means of meditation on Emptiness" (*mushō-sen*).

In *Mahāyāna* the *sahō-sen* are the ceremonies of repentance performed by the Mahāyānists by means of worship, invocation, *samādhi* and magic formulae (*dhāraṇī*).

The *shusō-sen* consists in the visions of the "Twelve Dream-kings" (*jūni mu-ō*), of the prediction of Buddha-ship (*juki*) to Śāriputra, and of the *mudrā* of Ākāśagarbha. The *mushō-sen* is the meditation on Emptiness, mentioned by the Buddha at the end of the *Fugen kwangyō*.

§ 20, D. *The Mahāyānistic ceremonies of repentance performed in Japan* (§§ 13—19).

After having stated the great importance, attached by the Chinese Emperors of the Liang and Ch'en dynasties (A.D. 502—581) to the different penitential rites of Mahāyāna (§ 13), we dealt with the *kekwa* and *sembō* of Japan in worship of the Buddha *Bhaiṣajyaguru* (*Yakushi kekwa*, § 14), the Devī *Śrī* (*Lakṣmī*) (*Kichijō kewa*, § 15), the Buddha *Amitābha* (*Amida kekwa* or *sembō*, § 16), the "*Vaipulya* Repentance" (*Hōkwō kekwa*, *Daitsū hōkwō* (*sange*) *no hō*), those in honour of *Śākyamuni*, *Kṣitigarbha*, *Maitreya* and *Avalokiteśvara*, and other minor penitential rites like those by means of *samādhi* water (*suisembō*), the "eternal repentance" (*eisen*), and repentance by means of divination (*sensatsu-sen*) (§ 17). Then the *Hokke sembō*, very important rites, based upon the Lotus *sūtra* and the *Sūtra* on the Meditation on Samantabhadra (*Kwan-Fugengyō* or *Fugen-kwangyō*), were treated (§ 18), and finally the *Butsumyō-e* or *Butsumyō-sange*, ceremonies of repentance by means of the invocation of Buddha names (§ 19).

§ 20, D 1. *Yakushi-kekwa* (*A.D. 686 or 744—842*) (§ 14).

Although not mentioned in Japan before A.D. 744 (Tempyō 16, XII 4), the *Yakushi-kekwa* may have been practised as early as A.D. 686 (VI 19), when the Emperor Temmu was very ill. In A.D. 744 it was evidently connected with the nightly offering of ten thousand lamps to *Vairocana* of *Tōdaiji*, worshipped with great devotion by the Emperor Shōmu, which took place at the same time. The number seven being a holy number, much used in fixing the duration of ceremonies and especially connected with the *Yakushi* cult, the *Yakushi-kekwa* of A.D. 744 (XII 4) lasted seven days and were performed throughout the Empire. There was a close connection between the two Sun-buddhas Vairocana and Bhaishajyaguru, the offering of many lights to them towards the end of the year (originally to strengthen the sun), and repentance for sin; it was all intended to drive away the demons of darkness, calamity and disease. In the same way the *kekwa* rites of A.D. 749 (Tempyō Shōhō 1, XII 18—24), combined with the cult of Hachiman (the Shintō war god, considered to be a manifestation of *Amitābha*, the Buddha of the setting Sun) and (XII 27) of Vairocana, must have been *Yakushi-kekwa*. In A.D. 750 (IV 4) the Empress Kōken took refuge in the *Yakushi sūtra* and performed *gyōdō-kekwa*, i.e. circumambulation of the Healing Buddha's image and penitential rites in worship of him; and probably the circumambulatory rites of A.D. 773 (XII 25) were also *Yakushi-kekwa*. In A.D. 796 (X 21—27) these rites were practised by forty monks, invited to the Palace by the Emperor Kwammu, in order to avert the bad omen of drought and pestilence, indicated by the diviners in view of the fact that the water of the Pond of the Divine Spirit in Aso district had decreased more than 200 feet. In 805 (II 19), when the same Emperor was very ill, he ordered *Yakushi-kekwa* to be performed in all the *kokubunji* of the empire.

Thus the *Yakushi-kekwa* were used to cure the Emperor or

the Prince Imperial, to purify the people from sin, to pray on behalf of the soul of a deceased Emperor (A.D. 757), and to expel drought, pestilence and famine. In their last period (A.D. 833—842), under the reign of Nimmyō Tennō, they were performed at night, while the *Kongō-hannya-kyō* was read in the day-time. Finally their place was taken by the Tantric ceremonies (the *Yakushi-hō* and other rites) and the *Butsumyō sange.* The *Tendai* priests were the principal worshippers of this Buddha, at least in later times (11th cent).

§ 20, D 2. *Kichijō-kekwa or Konkwōmyō-sen (A.D. 739—about 1068)* (§ 15).

The *Kichijō-kekwa,* practised in worship of the Devī *Śrī,* the Goddess of Felicity, was a ceremony based upon the *Konkwō-myō-Saishōōkyō* (Nanjō No. 126, I-tsing's translation of the *Suvarṇa-prabhāsa-sūtra*), since in that text she worships the Buddha and promises to bestow all kinds of wealth and felicity upon the faithful readers of the *sūtra.* In A.D. 739 (Tempyō 11, VII 14) the Emperor Shōmu ordered *kekwa* to be celebrated in all Buddhist temples for seven days and nights in order to cause good weather and good crops. As the Devī Śrī in the *Saishōōkyō* promises abundant harvests to the devout readers of the text, probably these penitential rites were *Kichijō-kekwa.* In A.D. 749 (Tempyō Shōhō 1, I 1—6) the same Emperor had *kekwa* and *tendoku* of the *Konkwōmyōkyō* performed in all Buddhist temples of the Empire, evidently to promote the felicity of the country during the whole year; at the same time it was forbidden to kill living beings during those seven days. We may be sure that these *kekwa,* connected with the *Konkwōmyōkyō,* were devoted to *Kichijō Ten.* Evidently it became a regular New-year's ceremony, celebrated not in the Palace, but in the temples of all provinces, as we may deduce from a report, made to the Throne in A.D. 759 (VI 22). In 767 (Tempyō Jingo 3, I 8) these rites

took place for seven days in all *Kokubun-Konkwōmyōji* of the country, in order to cause Great Peace of the Realm, wind and rain in good season, ripening of the five cereals, joy of the people, and felicity of all sentient beings of the ten quarters. Stopped in A.D. 771 by the Emperor Kōnin, the annual *Kichijō-kekwa* of the first month, performed during 7 days, were reestablished and made a regular ceremony the following year, on account of bad weather and constant famine.

From the beginning of the 9th century the *Saishō-e* or *Saishōōkyō-kō* were held in the Palace from the 8th to the 14th of the first month; the *Kichijō-kekwa* were never performed in the Palace, but always in the temples of the provinces (in the *kokubunji* till A.D. 839; thenceforward in the provincial government offices, except in Yamashiro, where the ancient custom of celebrating them in the *kokubunji* was restored in A.D. 843). In the 10th and 11th centuries both ceremonies took place on the same dates (I 8—14) and in the same places (the *Saishō-e* in the *Daigokuden* of the Palace, the *Kichijō-kekwa* in the government offices of all provinces), but afterwards the penitential rites of the *Konkwō-myōkyō* were not again mentioned. Yet in China as late as the 17th century the T'ien-t'ai priest Chi-hiuh wrote a work on the *Konkwōmyō-sen.*

§ 20, D 3. *Amida-kekwa or sembō (A.D. 782 to the present day)* (§ 16).

Amitābha's cult having spread in China in the seventh century and in Japan in the eighth (although the Japanese annals do not pay much attention to it before the eleventh century), in A.D. 782 the *Hossō* priest Shōkai of *Kōfukuji* in Nara was the first to celebrate the *Amida-kekwa* and to devote a work to these rites. In A.D. 848 the famous *Tendai* priest Ennin (Jikaku Daishi), who had studied and travelled in China from A.D. 838 to 847,

introduced the chants of the mystic branch of the *T'ien-t'ai* School (*Shōmyō bombai*) and the *Mida nembutsu* or "prayers to Amitābha", also called *Nembutsu sammai* or *Jōgyō sammai*, which were the origin of the *reiji sahō* or "rites of fixed times", daily evening rites of the *Jōdo* and *Tendai* sects. The *Tendai* priests, who from olden times practised the penitential rites of the Lotus (*Hokke sembō*) in the morning (*asa-sembō*), combined these with the prayers to Amitābha, the *yū-reiji* (*sahō*) or "fixed evening rites", which also served to extinguish sin and create felicity. Jikaku Daishi's mystic songs (*shōmyō bombai*), one of which was called the "Tune of the Rite of Repentance", were also transmitted by the great propagators of Amidism in Japan of the 10th and 12th centuries (Ryōgen, Eshin Sōzu and Ryōnin), and they were closely connected with the *Amida sembō*, which Jikaku Daishi often practised in the Imperial Palace.

About A.D. 1000 the Chinese *T'ien-t'ai* priest Tsun-shih, called *Ji-un senshu* or "Master of Repentance" "Cloud of Compassion", wrote on the "Ceremonial rules (*kalpa*) of repentance and vows for rebirth in Amitābha's Pure Land" (Nanjō No. 1513) and also on the *Konkwōmyō-sembō*, for the practice of which he erected a chapel. Thus we see how the *Tendai* priests of China and Japan paid great attention, not only to the penitential ceremonies of their own sect, but also to those of the Amitābha doctrine. As to the priests of the *Jōdo* sect and the *Jōdo Shinshū*, from the beginning of their schools in Japan (A.D. 1175 and 1224) down to the present day they were, of course, faithful performers of the *Amida sembō* and used them as regular ceremonies. Besides the *nembutsu* and the hymns of praise, the *Kwangyō* or "*Sūtra* on the Contemplation of Amitāyus" (Nanjō No. 198) is the principal text, used in the *Amida-sembō* of the *Hongwanji* branch of the *Jōdo Shinshū*.

§ 20, D 4. *Hōkwō (Daitsū hōkwō), Shaka, Jizō and Miroku-kekwa, and Kwannon-sembō in Japan (8th—15th cent.)* (§ 17).

The *Hōkwō-kekwa* or "Vaipulya Repentance", considered to be the origin of the *Butsumyō sange*, was based upon a spurious *sūtra*, used in the latter ceremony. Like the *Butsumyō sange*, it was a penitential rite of the end of the year, performed by three high-priests of different sects, invited to the Palace, where they celebrated if for three days (A.D. 774, XII 15—17) or during one night (A.D. 823, XII 23).

The *Shaka-kekwa*, in worship of *Śākyamuni*, was practised in A.D. 832 in *Daianji* at Nara, in connection with the *Yuima-e* and *Saishō-e* of *Kōfukuji* and *Yakushiji* (8th month).

The *Jizō-kekwa*, in worship of the Bodhisattva *Kṣitigarbha*, was a ceremony of *Kashōji* in Kii district, Yamashiro, performed in the Engi era (A.D. 901—923); as to the *Miroku-kekwa*, devoted to *Maitreya*'s cult, we do not know when and where they took place.

The *Kwannon-sembō*, based upon the *Kwannongyō* (also called *Fumonbon*, the 25th chapter of the Lotus *sūtra*), were celebrated by the Chinese *T'ien-t'ai* priest Tsun-shih (A.D. 963—1032), introduced into Japan by the famous founder of the *Rinzai* branch of the *Zen* sect, Eisai (A.D. 1141—1215), and thenceforth used by the *Rinzai* priests even in the 15th century.

§ 20, D 5. *Hokke-sembō or Hokke-sammai-gyōbō or Sembōkō (A.D. 848—1868)* (§ 18).

This was the principal ceremony of repentance of the *Tendai* school in China and Japan, in the former country from the sixth century (Chi-che ta-shi and his teacher Hwui-szĕ, and the Emperor Wen Ti), in the latter from the middle of the ninth century

(Jikaku Daishi). The *Hokke-sembō* of *Hieizan*, which took place at night and in the morning, were first performed by Jikaku Daishi in the *Hokkedō* or *Hokke-sammai-dō*, the chapel erected there by him in A.D. 848 for this especial purpose. The *honzon* or "principal saint" of this chapel was *Fugen Bosatsu* (*Samantabhadra*). In the three following centuries several chapels of this name were dedicated by the Emperors and great ministers; and from the beginning of the eleventh century they became mortuary chapels of the highest families of Japan (Fujiwara no Michinaga having erected such a chapel in his family grave-yard at Kobata in Yamashiro, with *Samantabhadra* as *honzon*), and the *Hokke sembō* became masses for the dead.

In the twelfth century *Sembō-kō* or *Go-sembō* were celebrated in the Imperial Palace, and towards the end of the thirteenth century they were connected with the *Higan* festival and generally lasted also seven days. This "Festival of the Other Shore" (*Nirvāṇa*), held in the middle of the spring and autumn, was a peculiarly Japanese festival for the souls of the dead, begun in A.D. 806 on behalf of Sudō Tennō's soul, to save the Emperor Kwammu's life. Evidently because of Shen-tao's words in his Commentary on the *Kwangyō* (Nanjō No. 198) with regard to the contemplation of the setting sun in the spring and autumn (at the vernal and autumnal equinoxes) in order to behold Amitābha's Dharmakāya, the Japanese worshippers of Amitābha borrowed the term "the other shore" (*higan*) from ancient *sūtras* and composed three texts (attributed to Nāgārjuna!) to prove the ancient Indian origin of the *Higan* rites. In the tenth century the *Higan* had become regular yearly ceremonies of the clergy and laity, and Hieizan was their principal meeting place. In the thirteenth century they were combined with *Hōjō-e* or "Festivals for liberating living beings" and during those days it was forbidden to kill animals. In later times people used to visit Buddhist temples and the graves of their ancestors at the *Higan* festival (of which the middle day, devoted by the *Jōdo* sect to

the meditation on the setting sun, is the chief) and in Yedo the "Six Amidas" were visited. All the sects had adopted the rites, and in the *Tendai*, *Shingon* and *Zen* temples *segaki kuyō* (offerings to the *pretas*) were made on behalf of the believers.

The so-called *Nyohō-kyō* or "(Copying and offering up) the (Lotus) *sūtra* according to the Law" was a second ceremony connected with the *Hokke-sembō*. This was originated by Jikaku Daishi in A.D. 833, who then began to practise the *Rokkon sange* or "rites of repentance for purification of the six senses" in a grass-hut at Yogawa on *Hieizan*, and in consequence of a dream copied the Lotus *sūtra* (Kumārajīva's translation, Nanjō No. 134) during the intervals of his meditation (the four kinds of *samādhi*) which lasted three years. After having finished the *sūtra* he put it in a small pagoda, which he placed in a *Nyohōdō* or "Chapel according to the Law". From that time the term *Nyohōkyō*, based upon the words of the *sūtras* concerning the virtuous act of copying *sūtras* according to the Law, was specially used by the *Tendai* sect with regard to the Lotus *sūtra*, and it became a great ceremony, celebrated at the Court by the members of the Imperial House. Thirty great Shintō deities were made the tutelary gods of thirty days of the rites, and to some of them a copy of the *sūtra* was offered after the ceremony. Especially in the thirteenth century, in the second or fifth month, the Emperors who had abdicated (sometimes four of them were still alive, called by the titles of *Hōō*, *Ichi-in* or *Hon-in*, *In* or *Chū-in*, and *Shin-in*) performed the *Nyohō-kyō* in their palaces. They were combined with "ten kinds of offerings", and with the rites of repentance, and the *sūtra* was dedicated (to the Buddha) in an Imperial chapel.

In A.D. 1188 in Go Shirakawa's palace Hōnen Shōnin (Genkū) began to celebrate a similar ceremony, devoted to the three main *sūtras* of Amidism; and in A.D. 1204 he performed it for seven days in the *Renge-ō-in* (the *Sanjūsangendō*) on the thirteenth anniversary of the death of the same Emperor.

In the fourteenth century the *Hokke-sembō* or *Sembō-kōe* were

splendid Court festivals on behalf of the souls of deceased ancestors, taking place in the Imperial Palace or in the private palaces of the retired Emperors (*Sentō gosho*) or in the Buddhist temples attached to the Court (*monzeki jiin*), in worship of *Śākyamuni*, *Mañjuśrī* and *Samantabhadra*. The Emperor himself with the leading priest (an Imperial prince or a member of one of the five principal noble houses of Kyōto, belonging to the *Tendai* sect), the Ministers and the highest Court officials made *pradakṣiṇa* circumambulations around the images, read *sūtras* and sang hymns in praise of the Buddha and his attendant Bodhisattvas. In later centuries the *Hokke-sembō* remained in vogue at the Court, and they continued their ancient tradition until the Meiji Restoration in 1868.

§ 20, D 6. *Butsumyō-e or Butsumyō-sange, "Festival of the Buddha names" (A.D. 830—1467).*

The *sūtras* on the Buddha names, to be invoked to obliterate all sins and to obtain perfect wisdom in later times, are Nanjō No. 404 (12 chapters, translated A.D. 508—535 by Bodhiruci I) (11093 names of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and Pratyekabuddhas), a larger *sūtra* of 16 or 30 chapters (13000 names, also of Arhats), made in China in the eighth century and used in Japan from A.D. 846—918 (and also in later times by conservative leaders of the ceremony), and Nanjō Nos. 405—407 (translated by an unknown author of the Liang dynasty, A.D. 502—557; three *sūtras*, 3000 Buddha names, texts of repentance, and reference to *Amitāyus* and his Paradise).

From the beginning it was a Palace ceremony of the last month of the year, lasting three days and nights (first XII 15—17; from A.D. 858 XII 19—21, but sometimes it began on the 20th or even on the 23th), and intended to purify the Court and the country from the sins of the whole year and thus to cause felicity

in the next year. Its first names were *Butsumyō sanrai* and *Raibutsu sange*; then it was called *Butsumyō-sange*, and from the 12th century *Mi* (or *O*)-*Butsumyō*. The three leading priests, always of high rank, belonged to different sects (*Sanron*, *Hossō*, *Tendai*, *Shingon*). From A.D. 846 all provinces had to practise these rites for three days, and it was made a constant ceremony, performed in the government offices of the provinces (by seven priests) and in the Palace (by six, three leaders and three followers). Like many rites of repentance, it was especially a nocturnal ceremony, which lasted from 9 P.M. to 3 A.M.

In the Palace the *honzon* or "principal saint" was *Shō-Kwannon* (*Ārya Avalokiteśvara*), the Emperor's tutelary deity. Incense and flowers were the offerings made to the Buddhas. The three leading priests were alternately on service, dividing the night into three parts. They recited the Buddha names, accompanied after the beginning of the tenth century by officials playing on Japanese harps (*koto*); the *khakkhara*-hymn was sung, and silk, incense and incense-burners were presented to the priests. From the end of the eleventh century the duration of the service was limited to one night in the first year of the reign of a new Emperor, and from the Kemmu era (A.D. 1334—1336) this was always the case, even in ordinary years. Finally the civil war of the Ōnin era (A.D. 1467—1468), which lasted eleven years, put an end to this important ceremony of repentance, as to so many other ancient rites.

CHAPTER IX.

THE RETREAT OF THE CLERGY (*ango*, 安居).

§ 1. *The Retreat in India.*

In his *Manual of Indian Buddhism*[1] Professor Kern deals with this subject as follows. "On the residence of the monks the sacred tradition affords much, apparently trustworthy, information. We are told that the Retreat during the rainy season, the *Vassa-vāsa* or *Vassa*, Skr. *Vārṣika*, was instituted in imitation of the same institution with the heterodox sects.[2] During that time the monks are forbidden to travel, and have to arrange for themselves places to live in. There are two periods for entering upon *Vassa*, *Vassūpanāyikā* (Skr. *Varṣopanāyikā*), a longer and a shorter one, the former beginning at full moon of *Āṣāḍha*; the latter one month later; both ending with the full moon of *Kārttika*. With the N. Buddhists the usual period of Retreat was three months, from the first of *Śrāvaṇa* to the first of *Kārttika* (so at least in the 7th century of our era)[3].... Now-a-days it is customary in Ceylon that the monks during the Retreat leave their monasteries and live in temporary huts.... The tenor of the regulation comes to this: during the rains the monks must stay in a monastery or any other fixed abode; in other seasons they may do so".

[1] *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 80.

[2] *Mahāvagga* III, 1. Cf. Nanjō No. 1117, the *Dharmagupta-vinaya*, Ch. XXXVII.

[3] *Voyages des Pèlerins Bouddhistes*, II, p. 492. Hüen-tsang travelled A.D. 629—645, I-tsing A.D. 671—695.

In another passage of the same work we read the following details. "The regular period for preaching is the rainy season. This custom or institution, dating from the very beginnings of Buddhism, is common to both divisions of the Church. In ancient India the ritual year was divided into three four-monthly periods. The three terms were celebrated with sacrifices on the full-moon-day of *Phālguna*, of *Āṣāḍha*, and of *Kārttika*; or otherwise one month later, in *Caitra*, in *Śrāvaṇa*, and in *Mārgaśīrṣa*. These three sacrificial festivals inaugurated summer, rainy season, and winter. The Buddhists have retained this ritual division, and equally celebrate the terms, but, of course, not with sacrificial acts. In the Siṃhalese calendar summer begins at the full-moon of *Phālguna*, the rainy season at the full-moon of *Āṣādha*, and winter at the full-moon of *Kārttika*".

"The entrance upon the Retreat during the rains is fixed either on the day of the full-moon of *Asāḍha*, or one month after. In Ceylon the *Vassa* is limited to three months. The solemn termination, *Pravāraṇā*, *Pavāraṇā*, is inaugurated by an act of the *Saṅgha* in an assembly of the chapter of at least five members. The *Pravāraṇā* is held on two successive days, the 14th and 15th of the bright half-month, on which *Uposatha* is kept. It is a festival and an occasion for giving presents to the monks, for inviting them to dinner, and for processions. Immediately after the *Pravāraṇā* there follows a distribution of robes which the believers offer to the fraternity. The raw cotton cloth, *Kaṭhina*, collected by the givers, cannot be received except by a chapter of at least five persons".[1]

As to the *Pravāraṇā* festival, celebrated at the end of the Retreat, we may refer to Chapter IV, § 3, pp. 68 sqq., where we dealt with it in connection with the festival of the dead. It is also stated there that according to the Chinese translators of the old school (of Nan-shan, 南山, i. e. Tao-süen, 道宣, A.D.

[1] *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 100.

596—667, the founder of the *Vinaya* school in China), the month Kārttika lasted from VII 16 to VIII 15 and the Retreat from IV 16 to VII 15, whereas according to the translators of the new school (Hüen-tsang, A.D. 600—664, and I-tsing, A.D. 635—713) the days of *Kārttika* were VIII 16—IX 15 and those of the Retreat V 16—VIII 15.[1] *Āṣāḍha* was identified with IV 16—V 15 by Hüen-tsang,[2] but he indicated the next month (*Śrāvaṇa*) as the opening month of the Retreat, which lasted three months.

Although Hüen-tsang and I-tsing fixed the dates of the Retreat for V 16—VIII 15, the Chinese and Japanese priests kept to the old tradition and always considered IV 16 as the day of the *Nyū-ango* (入安居) or "Entering upon the Retreat", and VII 15 as the principal day of the festival of the dead, identified with the *Pravāraṇa* festival. Yet we shall see below, that sometimes in Japan the *ango-kō*, or "Expounding of *sūtras* and *abhidharmas* in the Retreat", took place in the Palace in the 5th month.

As to the different dates of the Retreat in India, the old translators (Tao-süen c.s.) spoke of three Retreats (*san ango*), the first (*zen-ango*, 前安居, IV 16—V 15), the middle (*chū-ango*, 中安居, V 16—VI 15), and the last Retreat (*go-ango*, 後安居, VI 16—VII 15), each lasting thirty days. The new translators (Hüen-tsang and I-tsing) knew only two periods: the former (V 16—VIII 15) and the latter (VI 16—IX 15).

The names by which the translators called the Retreat were *ango*, *u-ango* (雨安居, "Rain-retreat"), *zage* (坐夏, "sitting summer", because the monks sat in meditation), *geza* (夏坐, idem), *gegyō* (夏行, "summer rites"), *gesho* (夏書, "summer books"), *gekyō* (夏經, "summer *sūtras*"), *gedan* (夏斷, "summer cutting off" (of passions), *gerō* (夏籠, summer cage), *gege* (夏花, "summer flowers", because the explaining of *sūtras*

[1] *Daijiten*, p. 194, 2, s.v. *Kachina*.

[2] *Daijiten*, p. 17, 3, s.v. *Ashada*; Nanjō No. 1503 (Hüen-tsang's *Ta-T'ang Si-yü-ki*, Ch. II).

was compared to the scattering of flowers), *shukujō* (寂靜, rest), and *zarō* (坐臘, the second character, *lah, rō*, designating Taoist offerings made after the summer or winter solstice, or on five dates: I 1, V 5, VII 7, X 12 and the third day of the dog in the twelfth month, after the winter solstice).

Its beginning is called *nyū-ango* (入安居, "entering upon the Retreat"), *kechige* (結夏, "binding summer", i.e. fixing summer life), *kessei* (結制, "binding the rules", namely of summer time), and *geshu*, 夏首, "head, i.e. beginning, of summer").

Its last day is named *gege* (解夏, "unloosening summer", i.e. removing the restrictions of summer life), *gesei* (解制, "dissolving the rules"), *gematsu* (夏末, "end of summer"), *geman* (夏滿, "completion, i.e. end, of summer"), *gekyō* (夏竟, "end of summer") and *ge-ango* (解安居, "unloosening the Retreat"). On the last day of the Retreat the *jishi-hō*, 自恣法, or *Pravāraṇa* rites took place.[1] This is the eve of the ecclesiastical year and at the same time the beginning of a new period;[2] hence the titles of two *sūtras*, devoted to it: "*Sūtra*, spoken by the Buddha on receiving the (new)year", and "*Sūtra*, spoken by the Buddha on the new year" (Nanjō Nos. 570 and 763), translated in the Western and Eastern Tsin dynasties, A.D. 265—316 and 317—420). Nanjō No. 923, the "*Sūtra* spoken by the Buddha upon the 'unloosening of summer' (the end of the Retreat), *Bussetsu gegekyō*, and Ch. XXIV of the *Ekottarāgama sūtra* (Nanjō No. 543, no. 32, Chapter on the amassing of virtues) are the same works as No. 763.[3]

The term *gege-sō* (解夏草) means "grass of the unloosening of summer". On the last day of the Retreat the monks collected grass which they compared to the *kuśa* grass upon which the

[1] *Daijiten*, p. 45, 2, s.v. *ango*; p. 431, 1, s.v. *gege*. *Daijii*, I, p. 88, 3, s.v. *ango*. *Kokushi daijiten*, p. 97, s.v. *ango*. Hüen-tsang, *Si-yü-ki*, Nanjō No. 1503, Ch. II; *I-tsing, Nanhai-kikwei-neifah-chw'en*, Nanjō No. 1492, Ch. II.

[2] Kern, *Geschiedenis van het Buddhisme in Indië*, II, p. 210.

[3] *Daijiten*, p. 431, 1, s.v. *Gegekyō*.

Buddha was seated under the Bodhi tree when reaching Perfect Knowledge. This "Grass of Felicity", *Kichijō-sō* (吉祥草), which keeps off all poisonous reptiles, was spread by the monks to sit upon during the ceremony of the solemn termination of the Retreat, and then distributed to the donors (*dan-otsu*, 檀越, *dānapati*, 施主, *seshu*).[1]

There was also a Winter Retreat, mentioned in Hüen-tsang's *Si-yü-ki* (Ch. I) in connection with the *Kasana* kingdom,[2] where the rainy season began at the end of winter and the beginning of spring. Therefore the monks of that country, which was very hot, held the Retreat from XII 16 till III 15. Also the priests of of the *Zen* sect in Japan hold a Winter Retreat, perhaps because two seasons were originally spoken of as the times for observing the Rest.[3]

§ 2. *The Retreat in China.*

From the Histories of Chinese Buddhism (Nanjō No. 1661, 佛祖統紀, compiled about A.D. 1269—1271; Nanjō No. 1524, 景德傳燈錄, Ch. XVII, sub 曹山本寂禪師,[4] compiled in the King-teh era, A.D. 1004—1007; and the 嘉泰普燈錄, Ch. XIV, sub 雪庭元淨禪師, compiled in the Kia-t'ai era, A.D. 1201—1205), we learn that the Chinese monks of more than 30 years of age used to observe a Summer Retreat of exactly 90 days. This was, however, not at all a fixed rule, because the climate and the character of the Chinese people were quite different from those of India, and opinions differed as to

[1] *Daijiten*, p. 431, 1, s.v. *gege-sō*.

[2] 羯霜那, Eitel, *Sanscr.-Chin. dict.* s.v. *Kasanna*; *Daijiten*, p. 196, 1, s.v. *Kasōna*.

[3] *Daijii*, p. 90, 1, s.v. *ango*.

[4] Biography of the famous Dhyāna-master Păn-tsih (Honjaku) of Ts'ao-shan, the founder of the later *Ts'ao-tung* (*Sōdō*) sect in China, who lived A.D. 840—901, cf. *Daijii* III, p. 4211, 2, s.v. *Honjaku*.

the necessity of a retreat of 90 days. Those who preferred to follow the prescriptions rigorously, observed it from IV 14 to VII 14. They may have chosen these dates instead of IV 16 to VII 15, because the latter date was the principal day of the Festival of the Dead, which, although originally identified with the *Pravāraṇā* festival, had acquired an entirely different character. The *Bukkyō daijii*, which refers to the above passages, points out that the Retreat was not mentioned among the regular ceremonies of the year and months, and that this was probably due to the fact that it was observed freely, according to local custom. Thus Fah-hien, on his journey to India in A.D. 399, successively took part in the Retreat in two countries, where it ended on different dates. [1]

§ 3. *The Retreat in Japan.*

According to the *Sandai jitsuroku* [2] (A.D. 860, X 25) a *Hōryūji* missive (to the Throne) stated that there were two kinds of *kōshi* (講師, "expounding masters"), namely that of the *kudoku-ango* (功徳安居), or "Retreat of Meritorious actions and virtue (*guṇa*)", established in consequence of a vow of Jōgū (i.e. Shōtoku) Taishi (A.D. 572—621), and that of the *kwan-ango* (官安居), or "Official Retreat", instituted on account of a vow, uttered by Shōbō-kanjin (i.e. Shōmu) Tennō (A.D. 724—749). This passage shows, that like the festival of the Buddha's birth and the *Urabon* (A.D. 606), [3] the Retreat was known in Japan from the beginning of the seventh century. Yet the annals do not mention it before A.D. 683 (V 1).

In A.D. 680, the ninth year of Temmu Tennō's reign, V 1,

[1] Nanjō No. 1496, Fah-hien's journey, *Fah-hien chw'en*, also called *Fuh-kwoh-ki*, or "Record of Buddha's country".

[2] *Sandai jitsuroku*, Ch. IV, *Kokushi taikei* Vol. IV, p. 65, Jōkwan 2 (A.D. 860, X 25).

[3] Cf. above, Ch. III, § 6, A, p. 52.

"the expounding of the *Konkwōmyōkyō* (the *Suvarṇa-prabhāsa sūtra*, Nanjō No. 127) was begun in the Palace and in the various temples".[1] This is considered to be the origin of the *ango* in Japan.[2] The first passage of the *Nihongi*, however, where it is called by its proper name, describes the events of three years later.

In A.D. 683 (the twelfth year of Temmu's reign, VII 5) we read: "In this summer priests and nuns were for the first time invited to the Palace for a 'retreat'. Accordingly thirty persons of pure conduct were selected, who renounced the world".[3]

Two years later (A.D. 685, Temmu 14, IV 25) "priests and nuns were invited for the first time (namely in that year) to come to the Palace for a 'retreat'".[4]

In A.D. 690 (the fourth year of the Empress Jitō's reign, V 15) "expounding (of texts) of the Retreat was begun in the inner precinct (the Palace)".... VII 14: "On this day alms of coarse silk, raw silk, floss silk, and cloth were given to 3363 priests of the seven temples who had taken part in the Retreat (*Ango* (*no*) *shamon*). Alms (*fuse*) were bestowed separately on behalf of the (soul of the) Prince Imperial (who died A.D. 689 IV 13; Prince Kusakabe the only son of Temmu and Jitō Tennō, A.D. 662—689), or 329 priests of three temples who had taken part in the Retreat".[5]

This "expounding of the Retreat" (*ango kōsetsu*, 安居講說, called usually *ango-kō*) is the expounding of *sūtras* and abhidharmas during the Retreat. Its leading priest is the *ango kōshi* (講師).

As to the expression "for the first time", *hajimete*, the character 始 is often used in the annals to designate the beginning of

[1] *Nihongi*, Ch. XXIX, p. 519; Aston II, p. 346.
[2] *Daijii*, I, p. 90, 2, s.v. *ango*.
[3] *Nihongi*, Ch. XXIX, p. 530; Aston II, p. 360.
[4] *Nihongi*, l.l., p. 536; Aston II, p. 369.
[5] *Nihongi*, Ch. XXX, p. 555 sq.; Aston II, p. 398 sq.

ceremony, without meaning that it was the first time it took place. The adverbial use of *hajimete* in this sense is comparable to that of *aete* (敢, to dare), *yoku* (能, to be able to), *yoroshiku* (宜, used with *beshi*, ought), *masa ni* (將, shall), and *masa ni* (當, 應, used with *beshi*, ought). In A.D. 683 *hajimete* is apparently used in the sense of "for the first time", but two years later, on IV 25, they *began* to invite the priests for the *ango*.

In A.D. 742 (Tempyō 14, VII 14) the Dajōkwan issued an order to the Departments of State affairs (*Jibushō*), Finance (*Ōkura-shō*), and of the Imperial Household (*Kunaishō*) to the effect that henceforth, by virtue of a command of the Empress Kwōmyō (consort of the Emperor Shōmu and mother of the Empress Kōken), given IV 3 of that year, the Retreat should take place regularly in the *Konkwōmyōji* (金光明寺) (erected A.D. 733, a shrine of *Tōdaiji*, originally called *Konshōji*, 金鐘寺, afterwards the *Hokkedō* called *Sangwatsudō*, 三月堂)[1] in accordance with the precedent of eight other temples (of Nara). This important fact, stated by the *Daijii*,[2] without reference to the passage where it is given, is not found in the *Shoku Nihongi*, *Fusō ryakki*, *Genkō Shakusho* or *Nihon kiryaku*. Similarly Shōmu Tennō's ordinance of A.D. 748 (Tempyō 20, VIII), fixing the *Saishōōkyō* (Nanjō No. 126) as the text to be expounded during the Retreat in the Capital, the Home and other provinces,[3] is not mentioned in the principal annals. The *Shoku Nihongi*[4] only states that in that month (VIII 5) the Emperor Shōmu "reformed and fixed the garments, utensils and ceremonies of Buddha's cult". If the *Daijii*'s source is trustworthy, we learn from these two facts that the Retreat was held regularly in several temples of the capital, and that, in accordance with the statement of the

[1] Yoshida Tōgo, *Dai Nihon chimei jisho*, I, p. 194, 3, s.v. *Sangwatsudō*.
[2] *Daijii*, I, p. 90, 2, s.v. *ango*.
[3] *Daijii*, l.l.
[4] *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. XVII, p. 276; *Nihon kiryaku, Zempen*, Ch. X, p. 286.

Sandai jitsuroku (A.D. 860 X 25) given above, Shōmu Tennō may have been the Emperor who instituted the "Official Retreat", observed in the *kokubunji* or official provincial sanctuaries.

The following year (A.D. 749, VII 2) Shōmu Tennō abdicated in favour of his daughter, Kōken Tennō (A.D. 749—758 VIII 1), who was a fervent Buddhist. The same year this Empress issued an ordinance, stating that the *Hokkekyō* as well as the *Saishōōkyō* should be expounded during the Retreat, which was to last nine decades of days (three months) and to be repeated yearly for "ten thousand generations". [1]

In A.D. 757 (Tempyō Shōhō 9, I 3) she fixed V 3 as the date of the beginning of the Retreat of that year, after having ordered the *Bommōkyō* (梵網經, *Brahmajāla sūtra*, Nanjō No. 1087, translated by Kumārajīva A.D. 406) to be expounded from IV 15 to V 2 in all provinces. It began V 3, because V 2 was the date of the *shūki-saie* (周忌齋會) or first anniversary of Shōmu Tennō's death, on which occasion more than 1500 monks were invited to a vegetarian entertainment (*sessai*) in *Tōdaiji*. [2]

In A.D. 806 (Enryaku 25, IV 25) the Emperor Heijō, who succeeded his father Kwammu Tennō (A.D. 806, III 17), ordered that during the yearly Retreat of the 15 great Buddhist temples i.e. the 7 great temples of Nara: *Tōdaiji*, *Kōfukuji*, *Gwangōji Daianji*, *Yakushiji*, *Saidaiji*, *Hōryūji*, and 8 other temples, namely *Shin-Yakushiji*, *Hongwangōji* (本元興寺; sometimes the *Hokkeji* instead of this temple), *Shōdaiji* (招提寺), *Shi Tennōji*, *Sufukuji* (崇福寺, i.e. *Shiga-dera*), *Gufukuji* (弘福寺), *Tōji* (東寺) and *Saiji* (西寺), [3] the *Ninnō-hannya kyō* (Nanjō No. 17, translated A.D. 402—412 by Kumārajīva, cf. above, Ch. V) should be expounded, because this *Sūtra* of the

[1] *Daijii*, l.l.; not found in the annals.

[2] *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. XX, pp. 319, 322.

[3] With regard to *Tōji* and *Saiji* cf. *Nihon kōki*, Ch. XXII, p. 144, where we read that in A.D. 813 (Kōnin 4, I 19) the first Retreat was held there with the same presents and offerings as in the other great temples.

Benevolent Kings was the best text to be used in order to remove calimity, to promote felicity and protect the Head of the State. Moreover, in the *Kokubunji* of all provinces this *sūtra* was to be expounded as the secondary text next to the principal *sūtra*, the *Saishōōkyō*, for the sake of the Peace of the Realm and of the Court. From this time forward this should be a constant rule. This official ordinance is found in the *Fusō ryakki*, [1] but not in the *Nihon kōki*. It does not agree with the statement of the *Daijii*, [2] which says that the Emperor Heijō made the *Saishōōkyō* the principal and the *Ninnōkyō* the secondary *sūtra* of the Retreat of the 15 great temples, and that the former text was the main *sūtra* of these sanctuaries as well as of the *Kokubunji*, whereas their secondary *sūtras* were different. The passage of the *Fusō ryakki* clearly states that from that time forward the *Ninnōkyō* should be the text of the *ango* of the 15 great temples, and the secondary text, next to the *Saishōōkyō*, of the *Kokubunji*. As to the *Genkō Shakusho*, [3] there we read that the Emperor commanded the fifteen great temples and the *Kokubunji* to begin the Retreat and expound the *Ninnō-gokoku-kyō*, and that he established this as a fixed rule. As the *Fusō-ryakki* gives the date IV 25, evidently the Retreat did not begin IV 15, but somewhat later, as was often the case.

In A.D. 835 (Shōwa 2, X 15) by order of the *Dajōkwan* the expenses for the sacerdotal robes of the yearly Retreat were fixed according to the rules concerning the yearly ceremonies, mentioned in Dengyō Daishi's report to the Throne. [4]

In A.D. 839 (Shōwa 6, VI 28) the *Dajōkwan* ordered all the provinces to cause the "expounding and reading masters" (*kōtoku-shi*, 講讀師) first to expound the *Saishōōkyō* in the meetings

[1] *Fusō ryakki*, 拔萃, Heijō Tennō, p. 592, Enryaku 25.
[2] *Daijii*, I, p. 90, 3, s.v. *ango*.
[3] *Genkō Shakusho*, Ch. XXIII, p. 1041.
[4] *Daijii*, l.l.; not found in the annals.

of the Retreat in the *Kokubunji* of the monks, and then the *Myōhō rengekyō* (the Lotus *sūtra*) in the *Kokubunji* of the nuns (the *Kokubun-niji* or *Hokke metsuzaiji*, the provincial nunneries established by Shōmu Tennō in A.D. 741, together with the provincial monasteries). This order was issued, because for some years in the provincial nunneries the explaining of the Lotus *sūtra* during the Retreat had been omitted. The ancient custom, however, had to be restored for the sake of the country's well-being, since it removed calamity and caused felicity. [1]

As to the leaders of the *ango* ceremonies, the "expounding master" (*kōshi*) and the "reading master" (*tokushi*) were priests of the *kokubunji*, and this was also the case with those who read the prayers, chanted the hymns, and scattered the flowers, whereas the listening monks and nuns belonged to other temples of the province where the Retreat was held. [2]

The texts to be expounded were the *Saishōōkyō*, the *Hokkekyō* and the *Ninnōkyō*, which rule was fixed in A.D. 877 (Genkei 1, V 23) under the reign of Yōzei Tennō. [3]

The *Hōryūji* missive of A.D. 860, X 25, mentioned in the beginning of this paragraph, stated that from A.D. 825 (Tenchō 2) the *Enryakuji* priests were appointed *Kwan-ango kōshi* or "Leaders of the Official Retreat", and that according to a decision of the Dajōkwan of A.D. 855 (Seikō 2, VIII 2) the *kōshi* of all provinces were taken from the *gokaisō* (五階僧) and the *tokushi* from the *sankaisō* (三階僧). [4] Then the *Hōryūji* priests requested that not only the *kōshi* of the "Official Retreat", but also those of the *kudoku-ango* (instituted by Shōtoku Taishi) might be appointed *kōshi* of the Summer Retreat; this was granted. [5]

[1] *Shoku Nihon kōki*, Ch. VIII, p. 258.

[2] *Shoku Nihon kōki*, Ch. XIV, p. 350 (A.D. 844, IV 10, *ango* of the first month; *Daijii* III, p. 91, 1.

[3] *Fusō ryakki*, Ch. XX, p. 597.

[4] Cf. *Daijiten*, p. 513, 1, s.v. *gokaisō*, p. 606, 1, s.v. *sankaisō*.

[5] *Sandai jitsuroku*, Ch. IV, pp. 65 sq.

In A.D. 863 (Jōgwan 5, III 15) the Emperor Seiwa ordered all the provinces to have the *kyō-ō*, 經王, the "King of *Sūtras*" (*Saishōōkyō*, *Ninnōkyō* or *Hokkekyō*), expounded during the Retreat, in order to drive away the prevailing pestilence. [1]

The *Engishiki* [2] ("Ceremonies of the Engi era", A.D. 901—922) gives several details concerning the Retreat of the Fifteen Great Temples. There were eight officiating priests in each of them: the *kōshi* and *tokushi* ("expounding and reading masters"), and the three *hōyō* (法用), or "persons in use for the rites", i.e. the reader of the votive text (*jugwan*, 咒願, "magic prayer" for the felicity of the donors), the priest who had to scatter the flowers (*sange*, 散花), and he who had to sing the hymns (*bai*, 唄), and three *shami* (*śrāmaṇeras*), namely the *jōza shami* (定座沙彌), or principal *śrāmaṇera*, and the attendants of the *kōshi* and *tokushi*. They belonged to all sects and were invited in the first decade of the fourth month. The Retreat lasted from IV 15 till VII 15. In *Tōdaiji* the texts to be expounded were: the *Hokkekyō*, *Saishōōkyō* and *Ninnō-hannya-kyō* (entirely), and the *Rishu-hannya-kyō* (理趣般若經) (Nanjō No. 1033, translated between A.D. 723 and 730 by Vajrabodhi) as well as the *Kongō-hannya-kyō* [3] (Nanjō No. 10, translated A.D. 402—412 by Kumārajīva, cf. above, Ch. I, § 9, p. 16) (one chapter of each). In *Gufukuji* (弘福寺) the *Yuimakyō* (維摩經, Nanjō No. 146, translated A.D. 402—412 by Kumārajīva, cf. above, Ch. I, § 5, p. 9) was added to the three main texts (Lotus *sūtra*, *Saishōōkyō* and *Ninnōkyō*) (all entirely), and in *Tōji* the *Shugo-kokkaishu-darani-kyō* (守護國界主陀羅尼經, *Deśānta-pālapati-dhāraṇī-sūtra*, Nanjō No. 978, translated A.D. 785—810 by Prajña) (entirely) was added to the same three main texts,

[1] Ibid., Ch. VII, p. 126.

[2] *Engishiki*, Ch. XXI, 玄蕃寮, *Kokushi-taikei* Vol. XIII, p. 660.

[3] Cf. *Engishiki*, Ch. XXVII, p. 812: *tendoku* of the *Kongō-hannya-kyō*, performed in the *Kichijō kekwa* and *ango* assemblies.

which in the 12 other sanctuaries were, as before, the only *sūtras* to be explained. The *ango* texts of the temples erected in consequence of special Imperial vows (*gogwan shoji*, 御願諸寺) are not given, but we know from a sacrificial text (*kuyō-mon*) of the Empress Dowager, read in A.D. 859 (Jōkwan 1) in *Anjōji* (安祥寺), that at that time the same thsee *sūtras* were there in use; from then the *Hokkekyō* and the *Saishōōkyō* should be explained alternately, but the *Ninnōkyō* every year. [1] The presents in silk, cloth and cotton for the officiating priests, enumerated in the same passage of the *Engishiki*, had to be given by the temples themselves, except by *Tōji* and *Saiji*, which received them from the official families. [2] The offerings of rice, however, belonged to the regular taxes (each temple 21 *koku*, 6 *tō*, two *shō* and seven *gō*) of the provinces where the temples were situated. [3]

As to the *ango* of the *Konkwōmyōji* (i.e. of the *Kokubunji*) for the presents of silk for the leaders and hearers, the boiled rice, beans, oil, pickles, sea-weed, vegetables and salt, the regular taxes were used, and in *Kwanzeonji* of *Dazaifu* (in Chikuzen) they used the regular taxes of Chikuzen province. The priests mentioned in this list are the *kōshi* and *tokushi*, as well as the three priests for the prayer, the flowers and the hymns, and the three *śrāmaṇeras* (the principal *shami* and the attendants of the *kōshi* and the *tokushi*), i.e. the same eight officiating priests as those of the Fifteen Great Temples, and the listening monks and nuns (who also received one piece of coarse silk and one piece of cloth). The regular taxes of Owari province served for the sacerdotal robes, presents and offerings of the *kōshi* and *tokushi* of the Retreat in Shima province, and those of Mikawa province for the invitation of the *tokushi* (of the *ango* in Shima). [4] Although

[1] *Daijii*, I, p. 91, 1.

[2] *Engishiki*, l.l.

[3] *Engishiki*, Ch. XXVI (主税, 上), p. 792.

[4] *Engishiki*, l.l., p. 793.

the *Engishiki* does not speak of *ango* of the *Hokke-metsuzaiji* (the provincial nunneries) nuns are mentioned, and in A.D. 839 these retreats were held, as seen above in the passage of the *Shoku Nihon kōki.*

We learn from the details, given by the *Engishiki,* that there was not much difference between the *ango* of the Fifteen Great Shrines and those of the *Kokubunji.* In later ages some alterations may have been made, but even nowadays the Retreat is observed by all sects according to much the same rules. From the seventeenth century (A.D. 1640, Kwanei 17, and 1661—1673, Kwanbun era) the *Hongwanji* and *Ōtani* branches of the *Jōdo-Shinshū* held special *ango,* and after the Enkyū era (A.D. 1744—48) they had four Retreats in the four seasons (that of Summer being the principal one), with the *Muryōjukyō* (the *Amitāyus sūtra,* Nanjō No. 27, 23(5)), the *Kwangyō* (Nanjō No. 198) and the *Amida-kyō* (Nanjō No. 200) as principal texts, these being the *Jōdo sambukyō,* also called *Mida sambu* or Three Amitābha *Sūtras.* [1]

[1] *Daijii,* I, p. 91, s.v. *ango.*