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Recognizing the Founder, Seeing Amida Buddha

Kakunyo's *Hōon kōshiki*

With the production of a eulogy known as *Hōon kōshiki* and illustrated biographies known as the *Shinran den'e*, Kakunyo re-envisioned Shinran as the founder of a distinct religious community that would come to be called Jōdo Shinshū and redefined Shin Buddhist piety as gratitude toward Amida Buddha. This article examines the close organic relation between the *Hōon kōshiki* and *Shinran den'e*, reading the two texts side by side with attention to their performative dimensions and demonstrating how they transformed the memorial services for Shinran into an opportunity to recognize him as the founder and “see” him as Amida Buddha.

KEYWORDS: Shinran—Kakunyo—memorial services—*Hōon kōshiki*—*Shinran den'e*—Jōdo Shinshū

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WHILE IT IS COMMON to refer to Shinran 親鸞 (1173–1262) as the founder of Jōdo Shinshū 浄土真宗 (True Pure Land School), one of the largest and most historically significant Buddhist sects in Japan, he died largely unknown but to a small group of disciples who were indistinct from a larger Pure Land movement inspired by his teacher, Hōnen 法然 (1133–1212). The development of a community centered around devotion to Shinran may be said to have begun with the construction of a memorial chapel and the donation of that memorial site to his followers by his youngest daughter Kakushin-ni 覚信尼 (1224–1283). It was, however, not until Kakunyo 覚如 (1270–1351), Shinran’s great-grandson, that a distinct religious community was envisioned with Shinran as its founder through the institution of regular memorial services at the site and the production of a number of ritual, biographical, and doctrinal texts for use in the memorial services. The first of these was an elegiac liturgy for Shinran entitled *Hōon kōshiki* 報恩講式 (*Kōshiki* on responding to benevolence) composed for use in the memorial services on the occasion of the thirty-third anniversary of Shinran’s death. Shortly after, Kakunyo produced the first illustrated biography of Shinran to be viewed and sacralized in the memorial services, an illustrated hand scroll (*emaki* 絵巻) that recorded the “life” of the teacher Shinran, the teaching of the “true import” (*shinshū* 真宗), and the community that took shape after his death.¹ During the course of his life, Kakunyo would go on to produce five more illustrated editions of the *Shinran den* 親鸞伝絵² and a host of other hagiographic representations that would serve to differentiate Shinran and his teachings in his efforts to transform the memorial site into a center of a new and distinct community.

1. In keeping with the Buddhist hagiographic genre of *den* 伝, Kakunyo’s illustrated biographies are not merely a record of the events of Shinran’s life in the nature of a historical biography, but are concerned ultimately with the transmission of the Pure Land teachings, their expression in the life of Shinran, and their extended life in his followers. As these texts concern the “life” of the figure, the teachings, and the community, these texts may be classified as hagiography or sacred biography.

2. The original manuscript was lost in the fire that consumed Honganji in 1336 but a copy of the original colophon is found in the later editions with the date 1295. After the first edition, Kakunyo produced additional illustrated biographies of Shinran, culminating in what would become the standard edition, the *Honganji Shōnin den* 本願寺聖人伝絵, which was produced in 1342. Later, the text and images were separated, with numerous copies being made of the text-only biography known as the *Godenshō* 御伝鈔, and the production of image-only illustrated hanging scrolls (*kakejiku eden* 掛軸絵伝).

While the *Shinran den'e* has received a lot of scholarly attention by both historians and sectarian scholars wanting to reconstruct the historical life of Shinran, the *Hōon kōshiki* has received relatively less attention.³ Later doctrinal writings by Kakunyo such as the *Kudenshō* 口伝鈔 (Extracts from the oral transmission) or the *Gaijashō* 改邪鈔 (Extracts correcting heresy), have also received attention for they are regarded as important sources for scholars wishing to write a history of the development of Shin doctrine (DOBBINS 1989, 79–98). As historical studies of Shinran and his thought has dominated past scholarship on Shin Buddhism, it probably does not come as a surprise that a ritual text in a community that is largely perceived as having little concern for ritual due to Shinran's emphasis on faith alone, would be put to the side. Nevertheless, I would argue that ritual congregations of Pure Land practitioners, which can be traced back to Genshin 源信 (942–1017) and the rise of Amida devotionism in the Heian period (794–1185), have always played a crucial role in the life of Pure Land Buddhism and in the case of the new Pure Land communities that arose in the Kamakura period (1185–1333), would continue to play an integral role in their genesis and popularity.

With the *Hōon kōshiki* and the production of the illustrated biographies, Kakunyo transformed the memorial services for Shinran into an occasion to express gratitude toward Shinran as founder of a new religious community and the means through which the community was able to witness the life of Shinran and his teaching. By the time of Rennyō 蓮如 (1415–1499), the memorial services for Shinran would become week-long, large-scale assemblies for the whole community known as the *Hōon kō* 報恩講,⁴ in which the *Hōon kōshiki* was recited and the large scale hanging scroll versions of the illustrated biographies were displayed and performed. These memorial services continue to be held today, with observances of the *Hōon kō* at the central temples of the community as well as local temples throughout Japan.⁵ Although not much is known about the earliest memorial services to Shinran, a closer examination of *Hōon kōshiki*, read alongside the illustrated biographies of Shinran, will show how Kakunyo sought to refocus the newly emerging community around devotion to Shinran and redefine Shin Buddhist practice as gratitude.

3. Unlike the *Shinran den'e*, which has been translated numerous times (SUZUKI 1983; INAGAKI n.d.), the *Hōon kōshiki* has not been translated into English, though Jerome Ducor made a French translation (DUCOR 1984). Dobbins discusses the *Hōon kōshiki* briefly in his history of Jōdo Shinshū (DOBBINS 1989, 82).

4. The earliest usage of the term *Hōon kō* in early Shin texts is found in Rennyō's letters. For a translation and discussion of the letters and Rennyō's affirmation of Kakunyo's redefinition of Shin piety as gratitude, see ROGERS and ROGERS (1991).

5. The annual observance of *Hōon kō* is performed in the third week of November at Higashi Honganji and the second week of January at Nishi Honganji. These are the two largest branch temples of the Shin community.

Situating the Hōon kōshiki in the History of the Genre

Before analyzing the text of the *Hōon kōshiki*, it is necessary to situate the text in the larger literary and discursive context by examining the genre in which it was written. As my approach to the genre is not merely as a formal stylistic device but as a performative structure and a social convention, this examination will allow me to illuminate not only the importance of the form and structure of the *Hōon kōshiki* but also to address its ritual performance and sociological function. By situating Kakunyo's *Hōon kōshiki* in the history of the genre, it is also possible to demonstrate how the text was shaped by generic conventions and how it was part of a development in the history that reshaped those conventions.

As indicated by the title, as well as its form and structure, Kakunyo's *Hōon kōshiki* is classified as a *kōshiki* 講式, which was a literary liturgical genre that emerged in the mid-Heian period and continued in popularity until the late Kamakura period.⁶ According to Yamada Shōzen, the first character *kō* 講 means to expound a difficult text like a Buddhist sutra and thus has the meaning of an expository lecture given by a lecturer (*kōshi* 講師). The second character *shiki* 式 signifies a ritual protocol or order. This suggests a ritualized form of exposition, in contrast to a less formal sermon. An examination of the ritual protocol of these *kōshiki* finds that they commonly take place in front of an object of devotion, *honzon* 本尊, such as a Buddha, bodhisattva, kami, patriarch, or sutra. While the ritual protocol and structural layout vary, all *kōshiki* include a lecture that espoused the merits of a particular practice or lauded the virtues of the object of devotion. Although the main intent of these *kōshiki* is to establish a “karmic affinity/connection” (*kechien* 結縁) between the participants and the object of worship, they also simultaneously functioned to strengthen the social bonds of the participants who gathered with a common object of devotion. In time, as the bonds between a group of devotees strengthened through participation in these devotional liturgies, the term *kō* came to designate a religious congregation (YAMADA 1995, 13–15).

As a large number of the earliest *kōshiki* took Amida Buddha as their object of worship and advocated various forms of Pure Land practice, the increasing popularity and accessibility of *kōshiki* rituals may be said to have played a crucial role in stimulating the rising tide of Amida devotionism in the late Heian period. Scholars generally recognize the *Nijūgo sanmai shiki* 二十五三昧式 ([*Kō*] *shiki* on the twenty-five *samadhi*; GUELBERG 1997–2016, no. 53) as the first exam-

6. As evidenced by this special issue on *kōshiki*, recent scholarship has seen a boom in interest in this genre. My analysis of the genre is largely based on YAMADA (1995, 11–52). Niels GUELBERG (1997–2016) has compiled an online database of *kōshiki* with information on a large collection of *kōshiki* texts.

ple of the genre.⁷ This text, attributed to Genshin, was written in association with an assembly of twenty-five monks residing at the Yōkawa section of Mt. Hiei. In the “vow of aspiration” attached to copies of this text, there is a pledge that was signed by twenty-five monks in 986 to encourage each other in their efforts to be born in Amida’s Pure Land.⁸ In this vow, the twenty-five signatories promised to meet on the fifteenth of every month to practice meditation on the Buddha (*nenbutsu sanmai* 念佛三昧) so that they would be able to achieve the “ten moments of thought” (*jūnen* 十念) necessary for birth at the moment of their death.⁹ This vow emphasizes not only a need to strengthen one’s faith in Amida Buddha but also the need for communal solidarity in one’s effort to attain birth.¹⁰ Although the vow indicates that all of the original ritual participants were monks, Yamada, citing records of mixed assemblies attending this and other related *kōshiki* in urban temples as well as the circulation of popular abbreviated editions of the ritual lecture, argues that *kōshiki* increasingly became a useful tool for proselytizing to the laity that was fundamental in the growth of Tendai Pure Land teachings (YAMADA 1995, 27–29).

Another early example of the genre is the *Ōjō kōshiki* 往生講式 (*Kōshiki* on rebirth; GUELBERG 1997–2016, no. 56) by Yōkan 永觀 (1033–1111), a Sanron monk who was an early advocate of the recitation of the *nenbutsu*. This text, which was written in 1086, outlines a specific ritual protocol that begins with installing an image of the welcoming Amida Buddha on the western wall, the ritual offerings of flowers and incense, an opening hymn of praise, followed by a statement of intent and a lecture in seven sections, each punctuated with hymns and worship. Similar to the *Nijūgo sanmai e*, the “statement of intent” in Yōkan’s *Ōjō kōshiki* also specified that the ceremony be performed on the fifteenth day of each month, a day that by this time became particularly associated with the worship of Amida Buddha. As Yamada points out, numerous copies were made of this *kōshiki* in the *kana* syllabary making it available to laity who could not read Chinese characters to recite the text (YAMADA 1995, 33). As the popularity of Pure

7. As Yamada notes, even though the attribution of this text to Genshin is questionable, it is clear, based on the content and the *ganmon*, that the text has a close connection with Genshin (YAMADA 1995, 22–23).

8. For a translation and discussion of this vow, see BOWRING (1998, 221–57).

9. This requirement is found in the *Wuliangshou jing* 無量壽經 (Sutra on the Buddha of Immeasurable Life), where it is mentioned in Amida’s eighteenth vow: “If when I attain Buddhahood, sentient beings in the ten quarters, with sincere mind and joyous faith, possess ten moments of thought wishing to be born in my land, not be born there, may I not attain true awakening” (T 12, no. 360, 268a).

10. According to Bowring, who reads the vow alongside later covenants by the group, this need for communal support was driven out of a deep sense of insecurity concerning one’s death and salvation. This need and anxiety even went so far as requiring the deceased to return from Paradise and produce signs of birth for the living (BOWRING 1998, 243).

Land devotion increased in the late Heian period, additional *kōshiki* devoted to Amida were composed, such as the *Sanji nenbutsu kanmon shiki* 三時念仏觀門式 (*[Kō]shiki* on contemplation gate of the *nenbutsu* of the three times; GUELBERG 1997–2016, no. 271), also by Yōkan, the *Junji Ōjō kōshiki* 順次往生講式 (*Kōshiki* on instantaneous birth; GUELBERG 1997–2016, no. 57) by Shingen 真源 (?–1136), and the *Taima mandara kūshiki* 当麻曼荼羅供式 (*Kūshiki* on the Taima mandara; GUELBERG 1997–2016, no. 297) by Shōkū 証空 (1177–1247).

Although *kōshiki* devoted to Amida Buddha continued to be written in the late Heian and early Kamakura periods, an increasing number of *kōshiki* were written in this period for devotional figures other than Amida. As Ford has argued, “It would appear that by the late Heian period, the *kōshiki* genre was an important tool for competing with the growing popularity of Amida devotion” (FORD 2006). In response to the popular Pure Land movements of Hōnen and Shinran, figures such as Myōe 明恵 (1173–1232) and Jōkei 貞慶 (1155–1213) produced a large number of *kōshiki* devoted to other devotional figures such as Miroku, Śākyamuni, and Kannon and used this popular liturgical genre to attract lay devotion. In this context of competing devotions, *kōshiki* were also written by the laity, such as the *Tenjin kōshiki* 天神講式 (*Kōshiki* on Tenjin; GUELBERG 1997–2016, no. 249) attributed to Sugawara Tamenaga 菅原為長 (1158–1256), and the *Mujō kōshiki* 無常講式 (*Kōshiki* on impermanence; GUELBERG 1997–2016, no. 52) attributed to Emperor Gotoba 後鳥羽 (1180–1239). It was also with this creative peak in the genre that there was an expansion of the types of objects of devotion in the writing of *kōshiki*, including not only other buddhas, bodhisattvas, and kami, but also *kōshiki* devoted to doctrinal ideas, the poetic tradition, and a religio-aesthetic object such as the moon.

Of particular interest in this creative reshaping of the genre is the *Chūshū hōon kōshiki* 中宗報恩講式 (*Kōshiki* on responding to benevolence of the Middle Way school; GUELBERG 1997–2016, no. 294) that was composed in 1200 by Jōkei. This *kōshiki* is said to be based on a lecture Jōkei gave on the Hossō school 法相宗 to Emperor Gotoba (GUELBERG 2000, 426–51). What is interesting about this *kōshiki* is that the object of devotion here is a Buddhist school. The *Kōshiki* is divided into sections that trace the history of that school from its origins in India to its transmission to China and Japan and divine protection by the gods. Although there is no way to know if Kakunyo came across this *kōshiki* by Jōkei during his short tenure at Kōfukuji 興福寺, the use of this liturgical genre to lecture on the history of a religious community provides an interesting precedent regarding the use of the genre to create a sacred history for a religious community. Moreover, the similar title and theme of “responding to benevolence” (*hōon* 報恩) invite comparison with Kakunyo’s *Hōon kōshiki*. Despite the similarity of the title and the theme of “responding to benevolence,” I have not detected similar language or content that would suggest “influence.” Nevertheless, this text illus-

trates one of the important ways that a *kōshiki* could be used to construct a sacred history of a religious community. Another similar *kōshiki* of a school or lineage is the *Tendai shodaishi kōshiki* 天台諸大師講式 (*Kōshiki* on the various masters of Tendai; GUELBERG 1997–2016, no. 196) attributed to Ryūkan 隆寛 (1148–1227).

One development of the genre, which is of particular significance regarding Kakunyo's *Hōon kōshiki*, was its eventual use in memorializing a historical figure. Although it is difficult to determine when this development began, there are numerous *kōshiki* devoted to early patriarchal figures such as Prince Shōtoku 聖德太子 (574–622; GUELBERG 1997–2016, nos. 174–190), Gyōki 行基 (668–749; GUELBERG 1997–2016, no. 191), and Emperor Shōmu 聖武天皇 (701–756; GUELBERG 1997–2016, no. 190). Kūkai 空海 (774–835; GUELBERG 1997–2016, nos. 192–195) and Ryōgen 了源 (912–85; GUELBERG 1997–2016, nos. 197–206). Of these, *kōshiki* devoted to Prince Shōtoku are the most numerous, though the earliest that any of these can be dated is to the twelfth century.¹¹ There are a number of *kōshiki* devoted to Ryōgen, including several early texts attributed to his disciples Genshin and Kakuchō 覚超 (960–1034), but these are of doubtful authenticity.¹² In the thirteenth century, there was a boom of *kōshiki* devoted to patriarchal figures. What is different about this sub-genre of *kōshiki* is their eulogistic and hagiographic character, in which the “life” of the figure is read as an expression of the sacred. A common feature of this type of *kōshiki* is their tendency to read the historical figure in terms of the medieval religious notion of “original ground/manifest trace” (*honji suijaku* 本地垂迹), whereby the figure is identified as an incarnation of a Buddha or bodhisattva. Another feature of these *kōshiki* is their tendency to extend their praise beyond the virtues of the life of the figure to the ongoing benefits to their devotees after their death and entry into nirvana (*metsugo riyaku* 滅後利益).

Lastly, there is the *Chion kōshiki* 知恩講式 (*Kōshiki* to acknowledge benevolence; GUELBERG 1997–2016, no. 209) that is listed in a catalog of Shin Buddhist scriptures and was used within the Shin Buddhist community in memorial services for Hōnen. While the earliest extant copies of this text date to the late Muromachi period, an old copy by Shin'amidabutsu 心阿弥陀仏 dated 1228 was discovered by Kushida Ryōko 櫛田良洪.¹³ Scholars have generally agreed

11. Niels Guelberg lists a *kōshiki* for Shōtoku called the *Shōtoku Taishi shōshin kushiki* 聖德太子生身供式 that is attributed to Jōkai (1084–1149) and is dated 1121 (GUELBERG 1997–2016, no. 175). See also YAMADA (1995, 44). One of these *kōshiki* for Shōtoku is attributed to Kakunyo's son, Zonkaku (GUELBERG 1997–2016, no. 189).

12. Groner questions the early attribution of these *kōshiki* for Ryōgen by his disciples Genshin and Kakuchō (GRONER 2002, 292).

13. Piecing together an old manuscript written on the back of another document, Kushida found two *kōshiki*, the *Betsuji nenbutsu kōshiki* 別時念仏講式 (GUELBERG 1997–2016, no. 275) and the *Chion kōshiki* (GUELBERG 1997–2016, no. 209) copied by Shin'amidabutsu in 1225 and 1228. Each has a colophon that attributes the text to Ryūkan. See AGAWA (1966).

that this liturgy was written by Ryūkan 隆寛 (1148–1227), one of Hōnen's leading disciples.¹⁴ As a eulogy that recounts the virtues of Hōnen's life and death, scholars citing its early date maintain that it is one of the oldest biographies of Hōnen.¹⁵ Akamatsu Toshihide, noting similar passages in the *Chion kōshiki* and *Hōon kōshiki*, finds that perhaps Kakunyo used Ryūkan's *kōshiki* for Hōnen as a model for his own *kōshiki* for Shinran (AKAMATSU 1957, 272). As recorded in Kakunyo's biographies, Kakunyo's first teacher, Chōkai 澄海 (d. 1280) is of the Chōrakuji lineage of Ryūkan, so it is highly probable that Kakunyo came across a copy of Ryūkan's liturgy for Hōnen.¹⁶ Like Kakunyo's liturgy for Shinran, the *Chion kōshiki* praises Hōnen as the patriarch who promulgated the true import of the Pure Land path and recognizes him as a manifestation of Amida Buddha.

Memorial Services in Early Shin Buddhism: A Tale of Two Founders

The practice of memorializing the dead has a long history in Japan, and in the case of the memorial services for founders, it has played a fundamental role in the formation of new religious communities. With the death of a charismatic religious teacher who has come to be regarded as a founder, death becomes a point of origin, these rites of remembrance a way to form new communities, and these biographical records a part of the sacred history of the community.

With the advent of the Pure Land movement of Hōnen and Shinran in the early Kamakura period, memorial services began to play a new role in the identity and religious practice of communities who recognized them as founders. Due to the suppression of the “exclusive practice” of saying the name of Amida Buddha (*senjū nenbutsu* 専修念仏) in 1204 and the exile of Hōnen and his disciples in 1207, Hōnen, when he neared death, issued a last will and testament that requested that his disciples build no memorial temple and refrain from holding memorial services, for fear that such gatherings would lead to discord and

14. In addition to the colophon, Ryūkan's authorship is supported by the fact that he led the fifth week of memorial services for Hōnen as attested by some of the early biographies such as the *Honchō soshi denki ekotoba* 本朝祖師伝記絵詞 (1237) and Kakunyo's *Shūi Kotokuden ekotoba* 拾遺古徳伝絵詞 (1310). See AGAWA (1966).

15. The colophon gives 1228 as the date in which the text was copied by Shin'amidabutsu. According to Itō Yuishin, the *Chion kōshiki* (1216–1226) was written after the *Daigobon Hōnen Shōnin denki* 醍醐本法然聖人伝記 but sometime before Ryūkan's death in exile due to the Karoku persecution of 1227 (Itō 1996, 3–57).

16. In addition to Kakunyo's connection to Chōrakuji, copies of *Chion kōshiki* might have circulated in Shin circles as evidenced by the fact that Shinran commented on and recommended Ryūkan's writings to his own disciples, such as the *Ichinen tan'en betsuji* 一念多年別事 (sss 1: 489a–91b) and the *Jiriki tariki no koto* 自力他力事 (sss 1: 487b–89a). According to Yoshiyama Shōkai, Shinran's representation of Hōnen in his biographical hymns in the *Kōsō wasan* 高僧和讃 conform to the representation of Hōnen found in the *Chion kōshiki* (YOSHIYAMA 1993).

reprisal.¹⁷ Despite this request, the earliest biographies record that mourning rituals and memorial services were conducted following his death on the twenty-fifth day of the first month of 1212. According to the *Honchō soshi denki ekotoba* 本朝祖師伝記絵詞 (The illustrated biography of the founding teacher of Japan), even though Hōnen's death was accompanied by auspicious signs and dreams by his followers indicating his certain birth in the Pure Land, "his disciples followed the custom of the world, obtained his remains and sent off the intermediate shadow (*chūin* 中陰)" (JZ 17: 76).¹⁸ The biography goes on to detail the seven-week mourning services that were each presided over by one of Hōnen's disciples.¹⁹

In addition, these early accounts also relate that a mausoleum was erected at Hōnen's final resting place at Ōtani and regular memorial services were held. According to the aforementioned *Chion kōshiki*, it is said that his followers visited his memorial hall (*byōdō* 廟堂) and worshipped his image (*eizō* 映像). As a sign of the increasing extent of the master's benevolence following his death, the *Chion kōshiki* reflects on the numbers of followers that flock to the Ōtani mausoleum for the monthly and yearly anniversaries, finding that they are lined up just like a busy market. Perhaps partially in response to these popular gatherings, another suppression of Hōnen's supporters followed with the Karoku persecution of 1227, in which Hōnen's grave was desecrated and his disciples Kōsai 幸西 (1163–1247) and Ryūkan were exiled.²⁰ Despite these setbacks, the *Honchō soshi denki ekotoba* records that his remains were cremated and reinterred in Saga,²¹ an image installed, and monthly and annual memorial services observed by men and women in every house (JZ 16: 30). Although both the *Honchō soshi denki ekotoba*

17. This request is found in Shinran's copy of the *Sōke tsuizen no koto* 葬家追善のこと, contained in his collection of texts on his master called the *Saihō shinanshō* 西方指南抄 (TSSZ 5: 171–72). It is also found in the forty-eight fascicle Imperial illustrated biography, the *Hōnen Shōnin gyōjōezu* 法然上人行狀絵図 (JZ vol. 16).

18. This biography, commonly referred to as the *Denbōe* 伝法絵 and composed in 1237, is the oldest illustrated biography of Hōnen. It is hard to tell from the text if any criticism is meant here, as it only says "however, afterward." The participation in the third week of mourning services by the author of the text *Tankū* 耽空 suggests of the observation of mourning services is not a problem.

19. The earliest record of these services is found in the *Honchō soshi denki ekotoba* (JZ 17: 76–78).

20. The reasons for the Karoku persecution are complex, but it is often argued that it was brought on by Ryūkan's attack of the *Dansenchaku* 弾選擇, a Tendai polemic against Hōnen's *Senjaku hongan nenbutsushū* 選擇本願念仏集 by Jōshō 定照 written in 1225.

21. According to Miyazaki, because the biography expounds in detail the relation of Hōnen to Saga of the capital, Tankū is thought to be of the Saga *monto*. Since there is a monk named Shōshinbo Tankū 正信湛空 in the Saga *monto*, there have been arguments over whether he is the same person. The argument against is that in the colophon it records that Tankū is 69, but Shōshinbo Tankū died at 78 in 1249, so there is a discrepancy in the ages. The argument that they are the same person maintains that the ages were recorded wrong. See MIYAZAKI (1990, 143–53).

and the *Chion kōshiki* offer an idealized portrait that seeks to praise Hōnen's virtue by narrating the spread of his community, they demonstrate the importance of memorial services for Hōnen in the early community that formed after his death.

According to the *Shūi kotoku den'ekotoba* 拾遺古徳伝絵詞 (Illustrated gleanings of the life of the ancient and virtuous sage), an illustrated biography of Hōnen produced by Kakunyo in 1301, Kakunyo relates how Shinran had desired to return to the capital after his master's death, but respecting his master's instruction to spread the teachings, he decided to remain in the Eastern provinces. Later, after having finally returned to the capital, Shinran still had some regret over not being able to attend the mourning services for his master, so he "arranged for monks in black robes to hold a *nenbutsu* liturgy (*raisan nenbutsu* 礼賛念仏) each month for four days and four nights in order to respond to the benevolence and praise the virtue (*hōon shatoku* 報恩謝徳) of his former teacher" (sss 1: 590).²² The reference to a *nenbutsu* liturgy of four days and nights refers to Shandao's 善導 (613–81) *Ōjō raisan* 往生礼賛, a liturgy involving the recitation of hymns six times a day and repentance.²³ Although Kakunyo's biography of Hōnen seeks to legitimize Shinran as the leading disciple of Hōnen and thus reflects his intent to promote Shinran and his lineage, it also reveals the continued practice of memorial services for Hōnen among Shinran's followers and the character they were assumed to take. Indeed, for Shinran and his immediate followers, Hōnen was the "original teacher" (*honshi* 本師) who established the true import of the Pure Land teachings.²⁴ The continued practice of memorial services for Hōnen on the twenty-fifth day of every month and the circulation of copies of *Chion kōshiki* in the early Shin Buddhist community suggests that Hōnen would continue to play a role as the founder.

The memorialization of Shinran began shortly after his death. Following the description of his death, Kakunyo ends the *Shinran den'e* with a final section on the erection of a Buddhist hall, which would serve as the memorial site for the community and which Kakunyo sought throughout his life to establish as the center of the community. The relevant passage is as follows:

22. For an examination of the history and development of the *Shūi kotoku den'ekotoba*, see ŌYAMA (2000, 321–53).

23. The use of Shandao's liturgy for memorial services is also found in the *Honchō soshidenki ekotoba*, where it is recorded that Hōnen was invited to a seven-day liturgy in honor of ex-Emperor Goshirakawa 後白河 in 1192 (JZ 16: 19–20).

24. In one of his hymns, Shinran writes: "Although Shandao and Genshin had recommended the way, if the founding patriarch Genku [Hōnen] had not spread the teaching to us who live in these isolated islands and in this defiled age, how would we have awakened to the true import?" (sss 1: 279b–282b). Yoshiyama argues that these biographical hymns share commonalities with the portrait of Hōnen found in Ryūkan's *Chion kōshiki*, and thus argues that Shinran had access to the eulogy. See YOSHIYAMA (1993, 165–202).

In the winter of the ninth year of Bun'ei (1272), the tomb at Ōtani, at the western foot of Higashiyama, north of Toribeno, was moved westward to the north of Yoshimizu. His remains were excavated and transferred, a Buddhist hall was erected, and his image was installed. (sss 1: 529a–b)

Although Kakunyo does not report it here, his grandmother Kakushin-ni, with the support of Shinran's disciples in Kantō, was responsible for the construction of the Buddhist chapel in 1272. What is significant in this passage is that Shinran's remains were buried at the site, an image (*eizō*)²⁵ installed in the chapel, and the chapel was set up as a kind of memorial site, much like the construction of a memorial site to Hōnen.

Shortly after the construction of the memorial site, it became a popular pilgrimage spot for Shinran's followers in the eastern provinces. In a letter to Shinran's disciples in the eastern provinces written in 1277, Kakushin-ni bequeathed the rights to the land of the memorial site to Shinran's followers in the countryside (sss 1: 967), an act that initiated the process that would eventually distinguish his followers from the larger Pure Land movement. The earliest reference to memorial services for Shinran occurs in a letter dated the eleventh month of the year 1280. It consists of a joint petition by Shinkai 信海 (dates unknown) of the Kashima 鹿島 congregation, Kenchi of the Takada congregation, and Kōshin 光信 (dates unknown) of the Araki 荒木 congregation to raise money for the monthly memorial services for Shinran being held at the memorial site. It is addressed to the *nenbutsu* community and asks them not to be negligent in offering their support to Kakushin-ni and the memorial services (sss 1: 969). In addition to this letter, one can surmise from many of Kakushin-ni's letters, written to these disciples in the anniversary eleventh month, that the disciples came from the eastern provinces for the annual services (sss 1: 967–68).

Before examining the reformulation of the memorial services under Kakunyo, it is necessary here to stop and point out two interesting facts. First, within the early Shin Buddhist community, the traditional monthly liturgies for Amida Buddha held on the fifteenth of the month that were observed in the Heian period were replaced by memorial services to Hōnen and Shinran (MIYAZAKI 1971, 85). This is noteworthy because it shows that the life and death of the founders as recounted in the biographies and remembered in memorial services came to play a central role in the ritual life of communities. Although it would be going too far to say that they replaced Amida Buddha as the central object of worship, it does indicate that Hōnen and Shinran came to be the medium through which Amida Buddha's benevolence was known and worshipped.

25. The term *eizō* could refer to either a painted or a sculpted image. There is some proof that Kenchi 顯智 (1226–1310), the leader of the Takada 高田 congregation, may have had a hand in the production of this image, as indicated in a letter from Shōren'in 青蓮院 in 1311 which says that Kenchi made the image for the disciples. See HIRAMATSU (1997, 306).

Second, it is important to note that even after Shinran died, his followers continued to produce and copy biographies of Hōnen, collect and make copies of his writings, produce portraits of the master, and observe memorial services.²⁶ As evidence of ongoing memorial services to Hōnen, copies of Ryūkan's memorial lecture for Hōnen, the *Chion kōshiki*, have been found in Shin temples, and the text is included in catalogues of Shin scripture.²⁷ According to an outline of rituals and practices conducted at Honganji and recorded by Jitsugo 実語 (1492–1584), the *Honganji sahō no shidai* 本願寺作法の次第 (Outline of Honganji rituals and practices), memorial services to Hōnen continued to be observed at Honganji until the death of the eighth patriarch of Honganji, Rennyo, who coincidentally died on the twenty-fifth of the month, the same day as Hōnen (SSZ 3: 912).

Thus, contemporaneous documents suggest that Shinran's followers saw themselves as part of a broad Pure Land movement initiated by Hōnen and his disciples that was both under the larger umbrella of the Tendai school and was persecuted when it did not conform to the social and religious norms of the period.²⁸ It is in this setting that Kakunyo sought to distinguish Shinran and his followers from the other Pure Land groups, elevate the memorial site as the center for Shinran's followers, and place Shinran, as the "original teacher" and a manifestation of Amida Buddha, at the center of Shin piety.

The Hōon kōshiki and the Illustrated Biographies of Shinran

The writing of the liturgical tract entitled the *Hōon kōshiki*, Kakunyo's first known composition, is a bit of a mystery. Unlike the handwritten manuscripts of illustrated biographies of Shinran by Kakunyo that contain useful colophons concerning the date, occasion, and intent of the work, none of the copies of the *Hōon kōshiki* exist in his hand and the earliest extant copies contain little information regarding the date of composition, the occasion for which it was written, or the author's intent (SSS 1: 1112b–13a).²⁹ Nevertheless, scholars are in agreement that

26. Kenchi copied *Honchō soshi denki ekotoba* in 1296, the year after Kakunyo produced the first manuscripts of the *Shinran denē*. At the request of Dōshin 導信 of the Kashima congregation, Kakunyo produced a biography of Hōnen, the aforementioned *Shūi kotoku denekotoba*.

27. The text found in the SSZ is a Muromachi copy from the temple of Kōtokuji 光徳寺 of Kawachi. See AGAWA (1966) for a comparison of the Kōtokuji text of the *Chion kōshiki* with the one discovered by Kushida.

28. From an institutional standpoint, Honganji was under the administration of Shōren'in 青蓮院, who had absentee proprietor rights over the land that the temple was situated on and adjudicated in the dispute with Yuizen in favor of Kakunyo. In addition, as Matsuo Kenji points out, all Honganji leaders, except Kakunyo, were ordained at Shōren'in up to the time of Kenno 顯如 (1543–1593). Even after Kenno, the relation continued, as the name of the new temple head was reported to Shōren'in (MATSUO 1998, 230).

29. The *Genzon shōgyō mokuoku* 現存聖教目録 (Catalog of extant scriptures) lists five extant manuscripts. Among the earliest extant copies is a copy made in 1468 by the eighth Honganji

the liturgical tract was the earliest of Kakunyo's writings and composed sometime before the first manuscript of the *Shinran den*, as is known from the earliest Shin Buddhist catalogues and the biographies of Kakunyo. According to the *Jōten mokuroku* 淨典目錄 (Catalog of Pure Land scriptures, 1362), an early catalog of Shin Buddhist scriptures by Kakunyo's first son, Zonkaku 存覚 (1290–1370), the *Hōon kōshiki* is listed first among Kakunyo's works (sss 1: 1016b).³⁰ The best clue concerning the date of the work comes from the *Bokiekotoba* 慕婦絵詞 (Illustrated account of beloved departed), an illustrated biography of Kakunyo by his second son Jūkaku 従覚 (1295–1360). In the second section of the fifth scroll, it is recorded:

In the middle of the tenth month of the winter of the third year of Einin (1295), thinking to repay benevolence and express gratitude, he composed a record of the events in the life of the Sage of Honganji. Since making this illustrated origin-narrative in two fascicles, followers from near and far worship and appreciate it, both young and old copy and enshrine it. And, years ago, he composed a work called *Hōon kōshiki*. Because this text also lauds the virtue of the founding teacher and sage, on the monthly anniversary of his passing, even now people are certain to gather and perform the liturgy in three sections.

(sss 1: 915ab)³¹

As this vague reference suggests, the *Hōon kōshiki* was composed some years before the writing of the biography of Shinran. According to the *Bokiekotoba*, shortly after his return from a journey to the eastern provinces to visit with Shinran's disciples in 1292, Kakunyo decided to leave his position at Kōfukuji 興福寺 and remain at the Ōtani memorial chapel with his father, Kakue 覚恵 (1239–1307) (sss 1: 914a–b). Given the fact the thirty-third anniversary of Shinran's death fell in the year 1294, scholars have speculated that perhaps Kakunyo

patriarch, Rennyo. Rennyo's copy is held at Higashi Honganji and is the most widely used copy. The lack of copies of early Shinshū texts is a persistent problem in the study of early Shin Buddhism.

30. Zonkaku provides the following list of six of Kakunyo's works: *Hōon kōshiki*, *Kudenshō* 口伝抄, *Shujishō* 執持鈔, *Ganganshō* 願願鈔, *Saiyōshō* 最要鈔, and the *Honganshō* 本願鈔. Zonkaku also makes reference to the *Hōon kōshiki* in his own eulogy for Shinran, the *Tandokumon* 嘆徳文 (Passages lamenting virtue): "Although the *kōshiki* in three sections lauds Shinran's benevolence sufficiently, two generations have not yet tired of singing his praise" (sss 1: 594b).

31. The earliest version of the *Bokiekotoba* was compiled by Jūkaku in 1351 with illustrations by Fujiwara Takamasa 藤原隆昌 (dates unknown) and Fujiwara Takaaki 藤原隆章 (dates unknown) and text written by Sanjō Kintada 三条公忠 (1324–1384) and others. Of the ten fascicles, the first and seventh fascicle were lost and a supplement was added in 1482, with illustrations by Fujiwara Hisanobu 藤原久信 (dates unknown) and text by Asukai Masayasu 飛鳥井雅康 (1436–1509). For a discussion of the text and its authorship, see CHIBA (2001, 151–99).

wrote the *Hōon kōshiki* for the occasion of the anniversary some time between the year of his return and the year of the anniversary.³²

In addition to the proximity in the dates of their composition, the pairing of the *Hōon kōshiki* with Kakunyo's biography of Shinran indicates the close relation of the two texts and reveals something of the intent in the production and reception of both. Similar to Kakunyo's colophon to the *Shinran denē*, which states that the intent of the biography is for the purpose of "knowing benevolence and responding to virtue" (*chion hōtoku* 智恩報德) (sss 1: 529b),³³ Jūkaku finds that the life of Shinran was composed in order to "respond to benevolence and praise virtue" (*hōon shatoku* 報恩謝德). Although Kakunyo's motives in writing the *Shinran denē* surely exceeded the stated intent and purpose of the work, Kakunyo's stated intent in the colophon and the received intent shown above reveal a shared understanding between the production of the *Shinran denē* and its reception and use. The pairing of the *Shinran denē* with the *Hōon kōshiki*, which "also lauds the virtue of the founding teacher and sage," demonstrates that both texts share the same purpose, to praise Shinran's virtues and express gratitude toward the founder (*soshi* 祖師).³⁴

The *Hōon kōshiki* consists of three sections that (1) praise the virtue of Shinran's promulgation of the true import of the Pure Land teachings and his missionary activity to spread the teaching; (2) laud the virtue of his perfection in the practice and teaching in accord with Amida Buddha's vow to save all sentient beings; and (3) describe the continuing benefits after his entrance into nirvana and the spread of his teaching through his written texts and the faith of his disciples. In contrast, the *Shinran denē* is not structured around the praise of specific virtues but rather relates a series of events in Shinran's life and teaching. Nevertheless, the tone of the *Shinran denē* is laudatory and the events that Kakunyo narrates exemplify and demonstrate the virtues specified in the *Hōon kōshiki*.³⁵ Much like the *Hōon kōshiki*, the *Shinran denē* has numerous passages that do not relate any information about Shinran's life, but rather, using performative

32. Generally, scholars have assumed that the work was composed for the thirty-third anniversary of Shinran's death and commonly give 1294 as the date of composition. See SHIGEMATSU (1964, 109); MIYAZAKI (1971, 160–62). According to Chiba Jōryū, the text was composed sometime in the years between 1292 and 1295 (sss 1: 62b–63a).

33. The colophon of the biography reads: "The intent of the above origin-narrative and pictures is solely for the purpose of knowing benevolence and responding to virtue and not for 'frivolous words and fancy phrases'" (*kyōgen kigo* 狂言綺語).

34. Kakunyo frequently often uses the term *soshi* to refer to Shinran in the *Hōon kōshiki* and his other writings. In the *Hōon kōshiki*, he refers to Hōnen as the "founding patriarch of the *nenbutsu* in Japan" (*Honchō nenbutsu no ganso* 本朝念仏の元祖).

35. Noticing the organic connection between the *Hōon kōshiki* and the *Shinran denē*, some scholars, set on unraveling the mystery of the structure of the *Shinran denē*, have argued that the earliest manuscripts of the *Shinran denē* were based on the three-part structure of the *Hōon kōshiki* (SAKADO 2007).

language, call upon the reader and viewer to revere Shinran and entrust themselves to his teachings. When read in the context of the memorial services for which illustrated biographies were produced and in which the *Hōon kōshiki* was performed, the illustrated life of Shinran is both an object of worship that was exhibited at the Ōtani memorial chapel during the memorial services, and, when recited, a ritual performance of praise and response to the benevolence embodied in events of the life of the founder.³⁶

While the pairing of the *Shinran den'e* with the *Hōon kōshiki* in the above reference and in the ritual context of the memorial services brings out the performative qualities of the former, it also illuminates how the latter shares a thematic focus with the biography and thus may be read as a kind of ritual biography. This reading may come as a surprise as the *Hōon kōshiki* contains little of the details of Shinran's life and thus has warranted little attention by historians who have focused their attention primarily on Kakunyo's *Shinran den'e*. Nevertheless, this reading is supported in the characterization of the two texts in the *Saishukyōjū ekotoba* 最須敬重絵詞 (Illustrated account of utmost reverence), a biography of Kakunyo produced by his disciple Jōsen 乗専 (1295–1377). In the seventh scroll, it is recorded:

There is a liturgical text of one fascicle that records the beginning and end of the Sage of Honganji's transformative guidance. It is called the *Hōon kōshiki*. The memorial service is held every month as a custom at the head temple. The liturgy has been added to the sacred scriptures of this school and is enshrined at community halls of various provinces. And there is the two-fascicle origin narrative that records the events of the life of the Sage. It records the essential purport in words and expresses its form in pictures. This was also worshipped in the community and circulated here and there. These two works are the profound compositions of this revered master Kakunyo. (sss 1: 957a)³⁷

Similar to the reference above, the *Hōon kōshiki* and the *Shinran den'e* are paired together as sacred texts that are to be copied, circulated, enshrined, and worshipped. This is indicative of how both of these texts were being used within the community at this time and suggests the close symbiotic relation between

36. As indicated in the colophons, the history of the production of the subsequent editions of the *Shinran den'e* as well as the copies of the written text and the later production of illustrated hanging scrolls (*eden* 絵伝) suggests that many of these texts were produced for use in the memorial services.

37. While the *Saishukyōjū ekotoba* goes on to discuss Kakunyo's other works, it is clear from the last line of the above that these two texts are paired together. In contrast to the reference in the *Boki ekotoba*, Jōsen places the *Hōon kōshiki* first, though we cannot be certain this indicates chronological priority. It is a curious fact that unlike the explicit use of the title with respect to the *Hōon kōshiki*, neither the *Boki ekotoba* nor the *Saishukyōjū ekotoba* refer to the *Shinran den'e* by title, which is mostly like due to the fact that the editions of the text had multiple titles.

them. In the description of the *Shinran den*, the text is similarly identified as an “origin-narrative” (*engi* 縁起) that records the events in the life of Shinran. Moreover, Jōsen further clarifies the intent of the work by finding that it “records the essential purport in words and expresses its form in pictures.” The use of the word *shishu* 旨趣, here translated as the “essential purport,” refers to the meaning of the events of Shinran’s life, but it also connotes the “true import” (*shinshū* 真宗) of the Pure Land teachings transmitted and embodied by the teacher, Shinran.

Similarly, in the description of the *Hōon kōshiki*, the text is characterized as a record of “the beginning and the end of the Sage of Honganji’s transformative guidance,” which suggests that it is a kind of biography of the “life” of Shinran’s teaching. This characterization provides an important key to the interpretation of the text. The teaching here is understood not as abstract doctrine, but rather as Shinran’s “transformative guidance” (*kadō* 化導) or, in other words, the charismatic effect of the message that Shinran promulgates, embodies, and transmits to his followers. As the *Hōon kōshiki* traces the origin and the perfection of the teaching in Shinran to the extended life of his message in his community, when it is read in the performative context of the memorial services, it functions as a ritual biography that establishes a connection between the life of the teacher, the teaching, and the community of followers.

Analyzing Form and Structure in Kakunyo’s Hōon kōshiki

As mentioned in the earlier discussion on the genre, *kōshiki* are a structured devotional form that consist of a liturgical lecture performed by an officiant on a devotional topic that is set within a ritual protocol of various forms of communal worship including the recitation of hymns, offerings, prayers, and the dedication of merit. One of the central purposes of *kōshiki* is not merely to edify those in attendance, but rather to establish a karmic connection between the object of worship and the ritual participants. In order to understand how a text like the *Hōon kōshiki* achieves this purpose, it is important to examine the form and structure of the text to determine how the text does what it does. But the analysis here is not merely a formal one, for what is important is how the form and structure of the text give shape to its content, and in doing so, give shape to what the text represents. Our approach to the genre is as a performative structure that reshapes reality in its articulation and response. By approaching Kakunyo’s *Hōon kōshiki* as a performative text, I hope to show how it gives form to the life of the teacher, the teaching, and the community, distinguishing and constructing their shared history.

Kakunyo’s *Hōon kōshiki* begins with a communal obeisance (*sōrai* 惣禮), which consists of the entrance of a group of clergy bowing in front of an image of the object of worship while chanting a hymn (*kada* 伽陀). Leaving aside the

problem of determining what kind of image is displayed, the primary object of worship is defined in the opening series of devotional acts. The hymn is from *Jūnirai* 十二礼 (Twelve adorations) attributed to Nāgārjuna. The recitation of this hymn is succeeded by “three reverences” (*sanrai* 三禮), which refers to the act of taking refuge in the three treasures of the Buddha, Dharma, and the Sangha. Then, there is the recitation of a song giving praise to the wondrous form of the Tathāgata (*Nyoraibai* 如來唄). The focus of these three devotional forms at the outset of the ritual raises an important question as to what is being offered as the primary object of worship in the *Hōon kōshiki*. Although it might be argued that these are standard devotional forms of worship used in Buddhist ceremonies, the question here concerns the use of such forms in *kōshiki* devoted to patriarchal figures. I would argue that these frame the liturgy to follow and offer an important key in interpreting the structure of the text.

Next, the officiant reads the “statement of intent” (*hyōbyaku* 表白). The term *hyōbyaku* is an abbreviation of *hyōkei kokuhyaku* 表啓告白 and refers to a statement that clarifies the intent of a Buddhist ceremony, which is commonly read before the ceremony proper. *Hyōbyaku* commonly begin with a lengthy reverential address that situates the ritual participant in relation to the object of worship, which in this case includes Śākyamuni and Amida Buddha, the three Pure Land sutras, the entire corpus of exoteric and esoteric Buddhist scriptures, the bodhisattvas Kannon and Seishi, the patriarchs who have transmitted the teaching of the *nenbutsu*, and the three treasures. This address is followed by a declaration of the rarity of human life and the chance to encounter the Buddhist teaching, a standard Buddhist trope. Next follows an expression of gratitude towards the “transformative guidance” of Shinran, who allows those present to know the Buddha’s immeasurable benevolence and instructs their grateful response through the recitation of Amida’s name. Given that the principle function of this ritual, as indicated by the title itself, is to respond to benevolence, it is important to ask *how* that benevolence and its response are being defined and structured through the performance of the liturgy.

Although it is generally assumed that the devotional topic of the *Hōon kōshiki* is Shinran, the thematic unity of the text extends beyond the life of Shinran to include the life of his teaching and his afterlife in the community. Following the statement of intent, the main body of Kakunyo’s *Hōon kōshiki* is divided into three sections corresponding to three virtues, the praise of which is offered as a response to the benevolence of the three treasures. The pairing of the Buddha’s benevolence described in the statement of intent and the praise of Shinran’s virtues in the main body of the text serves to construct the crucial relation “in” the text, which is the relation of the benevolence of Amida to the virtue of the teacher, Shinran.

After the narrative depiction of each of the three virtues of Shinran, a pair of hymns is recited by a group of priests followed by recitations of the *nenbutsu* by

the audience (YASUI 1974). The hymns that Kakunyo uses in his liturgy are from the *Panzhouzan* 般舟讚 (Hymns on the *samadhi* of the Buddha's presence), the *Fashizan* 法事讚 (Hymns of the *nenbutsu* liturgy) by Shandao, and the *Wuhui Fasizan* 五会法事讚 (Pure Land liturgy in five movements) by Fazhao 法照 (fl. eighth century). Of particular interest is one hymn by Shandao that is also used in the *Chion kōshiki*. This hymn, which follows the first section, reads:

How can I today reach the jeweled land?
 Actually it is by the power of the original teacher of this defiled world.
 If not for the encouragement of our wise guide, the original teacher,
 How could we enter Amida's Pure Land? (T 83, no. 2665, 756a)

The phrase “original teacher of this defiled world” refers in general to Śākyamuni. In Pure Land Buddhism, because Śākyamuni is thought to have expounded the Pure Land sutras and thus revealed the teaching, practice, and realization of birth in the Pure Land, he stands in fundamental relation to Amida Buddha. The ambiguous double use of the term *honshi* 本師 (“original teacher”) in this hymn allows it to refer to Śākyamuni as well as to any teacher who stands in a similar position and encourages the practitioner toward this goal. In Shinran's own writings, this term is commonly used to refer not only to Śākyamuni, but also to the lineage of patriarchs that have transmitted the Pure Land teachings. In the context of the *Hōon kōshiki*, it refers to Shinran, the original teacher being praised. Kakunyo makes skillful use of this hymn allowing Shinran to play the role of “original teacher” who makes birth in the Pure Land possible.

By praising the virtues of the teacher and prompting a response, the *Hōon kōshiki* constructs the crucial relation “by” the text that links both the benevolence of the Buddha and the virtue of the teacher to the ritual practitioner. A series of doubles—Amida-Śākyamuni, vows instruction, and a demonstration of truth by the Buddhas' sympathetic initiation by the patriarchal teacher—constructs this relation in the final lines of the second section of the *Hōon kōshiki*:

We cannot help but look up to Amida's inconceivable vows and Śākyamuni's compassionate instruction. We cannot help but rely on the demonstration of truth by the various Buddhas and the sympathetic initiation of the patriarchal teacher. Therefore, we chant the name of the Buddha who possesses each of the primal vows and conform more and more to the deep compassion of the two sages, Amida and Śākyamuni. Crowned with the Buddha's benevolence and shouldering the teacher's virtue, we offer the faithful thought of the one mind. (T 83, no. 2665, 756a)

As demonstrated by this passage, this series of doubles is transposed on the ritual practitioner who “cannot help but rely” on the Buddhas and the patriarchal teacher, Shinran. What is more is how the practitioner responds to benevolence—

and offers praise for the virtue of the teacher—is defined, the practice of the *nenbutsu* and faith.

As the overall structure of Kakunyo's *Hōon kōshiki* is connected with how it functions, it is useful here to pause and ask what might have been the underlying notion behind this division of the *Hōon kōshiki* into three sections. One possible interpretation is that Shinran's life is being read in terms of the three jewels of the Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha. This is suggested by the performance of the triple refuge in the beginning of the ceremony, the reference to the three jewels in the address of the statement of intent, and preceding the praise of Shinran's three virtues. It is also supported by the fact that most of the biographic content is in the praise of the first virtue, which narrates Shinran's awakening and teaching career; the second virtue equates him with the teaching; and the third focuses on the benefits to his disciples after his death. In this way, as suggested earlier, the structure of the text constructs a sacred history of Shinran, the teaching, and the community.

Another possible reading is that Kakunyo has structured his praise of Shinran in terms of the teaching (*kyō* 教), practice (*gyō* 行), and realization (*shō* 証) of the Pure Land path, the rubric that frames Shinran's magnum opus, the *Kenjōdo shinjitsu kyōgyōshō monrui* 顕浄土真実教行証文類 (Collection of passages revealing the true teaching, practice, and realization of the Pure Land). This reading is supported by the fact that the first virtue praises Shinran as a teacher, the second for his true practice and faith, and the third for his realization. In this way, the structure of Kakunyo's *Hōon kōshiki* represents the life of Shinran in terms of the three fundamental aspects that Shinran found were the essence of the Pure Land path.

Representing the Memorial Services

What is surprising about both the *Shinran denē* and the *Hōon kōshiki* is that, in addition to the ritual use and performance of the texts in the memorial services, these texts contain written representations of the memorial services. In addition, the texts also include pictorial representation of the memorial services found in the illustrations that accompany the various editions of Kakunyo's *Shinran denē*. Although the representations found in these texts may be an idealization of the memorial services, they do indicate how Kakunyo imagined these observances and how he envisioned the community at worship. Moreover, as both the *Hōon kōshiki* and the *Shinran denē* were both utilized in the memorial services, these representations act as a mirror for the ritual participant, directing their attention to the ritual setting and situating them “in” the narrative being performed. As discussed earlier, these biographical accounts were not limited to the life of Shinran but were records of the transmission of his teaching to his followers,

and thus narratives that were extended to the life of the community. As both texts end with a representation of the memorial services at Shinran's mausoleum, the ritual participant of the memorial services is included in the story of the patriarch and in the community who has received his benevolence.

One of the features that stands out in Kakunyo's *Hōon kōshiki* is its dialogic character with the ritual participants. As Yamada Shōzen and other scholars have shown, *kōshiki* often involved the assembly's participation in the chanting of hymns that punctuated the prose of the lecture sections (YAMADA 1995, 13–14). Although many *kōshiki* read very much like a lecture, Kakunyo's *Hōon kōshiki* repeatedly reaches out to the audience, asking rhetorical questions and inviting their participation in the narrative performance. In keeping with its title, it asks the ritual participant to “respond to benevolence” (*hōon* 報恩). Nowhere is this more evident than in the final section of the text, in which Kakunyo describes those who have come to the memorial site for the memorial services.

Ah, where is his serene countenance now hidden? Our service is separated by decades. As his personal instruction is cut off, we have longed for these former traces for more than a hundred years of frost. Disciples who treasure his lasting virtue and descendants who disregard their own lives, every year without arguing or thinking it is too far, endure long distances and barrier gates and travel from Ōshū. Spending many days on hilly roads, they come from many provinces to gather and worship. Bowing at the memorial hall, they wipe their tears. Worshipping his remains, they grieve at his departure. Although it has been many years since his entry into nirvana, their coming to worship together has yet to end. Sorrowfully, although his benevolent countenance has been transformed into the smoke of tranquility his image remains before our eyes. Sadly, although his virtuous voice has drifted on the winds of impermanence, his true words remain in the bottom of our ears. (T 83, no. 2665, 756c)

As I have tried to demonstrate through my translation, this passage slides back and forth between a lyrical voice expressing the loss of Shinran's personal guidance (“we”) and a narrative representation of those who have traveled to the memorial (“they”). Beginning with a rhetorical question expressing the loss of the master, this passage alternates between absence and presence, between what is lost and what remains. In addition, this movement of loss and remembrance is expressed as a temporal and spatial movement that situates the ritual practitioner in relation to the teacher who has departed and to those who travel to the memorial hall to worship. This temporal and spatial movement is expressed in both general and specific terms, marking the time that has passed (“decades”) and mentioning the distant places (Ōshū 奥州)³⁸ from which those who journey

38. The mention of this specific place is significant as it is the home base of Nyoshin 如信 (1235–1300), Shinran's grandson and the teacher who, according to Kakunyo, received an oral

to the memorial site originate. This combination of general and specific terms allows the text to be both relevant to the context in which it was produced and evocative of a larger context in which this movement, the unfolding of the Buddha's benevolence in the life of Shinran and his community, is taking place.

Throughout this passage, the ritual participant is called to the ritual scene and to the ritual activity that is unfolding and of which they are part. By narrating the journey and ritual activity of those past disciples, the ritual participant of the present is placed at the end of a pilgrimage and within a narrative of ritual actions: bowing at the memorial hall and wiping tears, worshipping Shinran's remains, and experiencing heartrending grief. In these ritual actions, the visual and auditory senses are called upon in the alternation from loss to remembrance and there is a physical and bodily expression of emotion. Through the visual and aural poetic images of the smoke that rises from the funeral pyre in the annihilation of his bodily form (nirvana) and the wind of impermanence that disperses his voice, the ritual participant is asked to look before their eyes to the "true image" (*shinei* 眞影) before them and recall the words of the teacher to remain in the "bottom of their ears" (*mimi no soko* 耳底) (SSS 1: 501a).

These last two phrases require comment. After moving Shinran's remains and erecting a Buddhist chapel, his followers installed an image. While the nature of the image at the memorial hall, whether it was a sculpted or painted image, has occasioned a lot of scholarly debate, what is important here is that the "true image" is being treated as a double of Shinran with the ritual participant called to gaze upon the image in his absence. As Bernard Faure and James Dobbins have noted, such doubles have played an important role in transmission and legitimacy.³⁹ Similarly, the *Hōon kōshiki* asks the ritual participant to recall the words of the teaching in the master's absence. The phrase "bottom of my ears" (*mimi no soko*) is also found in the preface to *Tannishō* 歎異抄 (Extracts lamenting deviations), a well-known record of Shinran's teachings by his disciple Yuien-bō 唯円房 (d. 1290), as well a number of other Buddhist texts that record the direct oral transmission of a master (*kuden* 口伝). As found in its use in the *Tannishō* and other works, it has the connotation of oral transmission and thus legitimacy. Both of these phrases suggest the legitimacy of the Ōtani memorial as a site of both Shinran's presence and his teaching.

In Kakunyo's *Shinran den'e*, the narrative does not end with Shinran's death, but with a description of the memorial services being conducted at the mau-

transmission in the *Kudenshō*. This locale is mentioned as one of the places to which Kakunyo traveled with his father on their trip to the Kanto region as well as the location of Nyōshin's thirteenth memorial service that Kakunyo attends in 1312 (SSS 1: 913a; SSS 1: 634a, 649a).

39. Bernard FAURE has discussed the function of Chan icons as "doubles" for the absent master (1991, 169–78). DOBBINS has similarly discussed the use of Shinran's portraits as a functional double (2001).

soleum at Ōtani. In the final section of the *Shinran denè*, after describing the erection of the memorial chapel, the narrative describes the ongoing life of his teaching in his thriving community of followers.

From that time, the teaching transmitted by the Sage prospered more and more, and his dying instructions continue to flourish more than ever, exceeding even when he was alive. Now, his disciples fill every country and province, and the members of his school are spread here and there, their number beyond count. Those who value having received the teaching and strive to repay their indebtedness to Shinran, whether they be monk or lay, old or young, each take up the journey and travel every year to the mausoleum. (sss 1: 529b)

The spread of Shinran's teaching and the countless disciples that fill the country call to mind the narrative and the images in the third section of the *Shinran denè*, wherein Kakunyo reads Shinran's dream at Rokkakudō 六角堂 as a prophetic message and as a sign of Shinran's propagation of the true import of the Pure Land teachings. Here, in the final lines of the *Shinran denè*, that prophetic mission has come to fulfillment. In addition, the text fashions a vision of the community that includes monk and lay, old and young, and followers from every region. Lastly, it describes the ritual setting of the memorial services with the mausoleum depicted as the destination of a pilgrimage. In line with the ritual context of Kakunyo's *Hōon kōshiki*, the journey of the participants is in response to the benevolence of Shinran.

The pictorial representation of the memorial site in each of Kakunyo's illustrated biographies has been the source of considerable debate, much of it concerning the presence of a sculpted image in the memorial hall. The *Takada-bon* 高田本 manuscript (1295) portrays the memorial chapel as a six-sided chapel with a simple stupa in the center flanked to the left by a sitting image of Shinran. In contrast, the *Rinna-bon* 琳阿本 manuscript depicts the chapel with only a stupa. Maintaining that the original memorial site did not have an image, scholars such as Miyazaki Enjun have argued that the *Rinna-bon* represents the memorial before the installation of the image, while other scholars such as Akamatsu Toshihide and Miyamoto Toshimune place the *Takada-bon* first and argue that a sculpted image was present at the time Kakunyo produced the first edition of the *Shinran denè* (MIYAZAKI 1971, 159–73). The latter view finds that the *Rinna-bon* is a later edition and reasons that the text was produced some time after Yuizen absconded with the image in 1310. As the term *eizō* (image) does not necessarily indicate a sculpted image, its usage in the narrative in both texts has led scholars such as Hiramatsu Reizō to argue that perhaps a painted image was present on the wall of the chapel in the *Rinna-bon* but was hidden from view.

Largely overlooked by scholars is the ritual scene that surrounds the memorial chapel. In each of the editions of the *Shinran denè*, the hexagonal chapel is framed

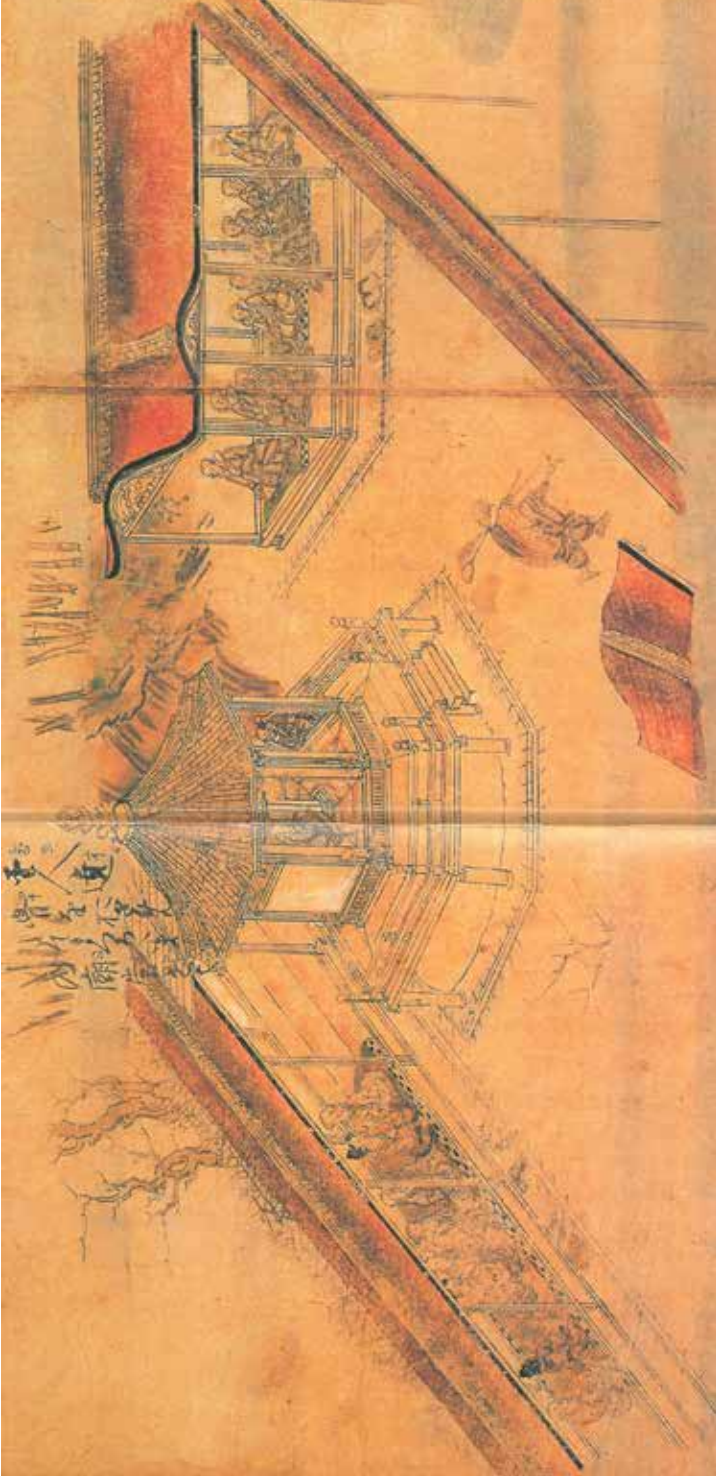


FIGURE 1. Depiction of the memorial chapel and the memorial services from the Takada-bon, which is held at Senjuji, the head temple of the Takada branch. Reproduced with permission of Senjuji.

by an L-shaped verandah on the right and a long covered passage on the left. In the Takada-*bon* (FIGURE 1), nine monks are seated to the right in the L-shaped verandah, and to the left, a small group of both lay and clergy is pictured facing the scene. In front of the chapel is a monk facing the image of Shinran and in the yard is a monk holding a key and a broom, commonly identified as Kakunyo. Interestingly this scene appears to be a depiction of the memorial services. The Rinna-*bon* contains a similar yet simpler scene, absent the two figures in the courtyard. To the right, there are four monks, and on the left two monks are drawn.

As indicated in the later colophons, the first edition of the *Shinran den'e* was lost in the fire that burned down much of the capital in the wake of Ashikaga Takauji's 足利尊氏 (1305–1358) taking of the city in 1336. In the years that followed the chapel was rebuilt and Kakunyo produced a larger scale copy of the biography called the *Honganji Shōnin Shinran den'e* 本願時聖人親鸞伝絵 or the *Kōei-bon* in 1342, a text that would in time become the standard edition of the biography. Curiously, the illustration of this edition does not appear to represent a memorial service, but only a hexagonal chapel with an image of Shinran, flanked by plum and cherry blossoms and the figure of the caretaker, Kakunyo. The lack of representation of a ritual service stands out in contrast not only to the earlier editions of the biography but also to later editions such as *Gugan-bon* (1346) that portrays a lively ritual scene with clear indications that a ritual is taking place. In this edition, which was written by Kakunyo's grandson and successor Zennyō 善如 (1333–1389), six monks are depicted leading a service in the L-shaped verandah. Several of the monks are holding prayer beads with their hands in prayer, and one monk in the front is reading from a text. In the courtyard, a layman is standing between the group of monks and the chapel, facing the performing monks. In front of the image of Shinran is an altar with flowers. To the left are a mixed crowd of monk and lay, men and women, old and young.

So what does the apparent lack of a ritual being represented in the standard edition of Shinran's illustrated biography suggest? Does the stark portrayal of the memorial site found here represent the actual historical situation of the time, in which the chapel had burned down and had only been recently rebuilt, with Kakunyo and the capital still recovering from war as HIRAMATSU has suggested (1997, 300–302)? A closer look at this image reveals that unlike the other editions here the image of Shinran faces the viewer and the building that would have housed the ritual participants is in the foreground obscured from view. In a manner of speaking, the ritual participants have been placed right in front of the image of Shinran. Here, the artists have skillfully situated the viewers of the illustrated biography inside the ritual hall and realigned the chapel so that it faces the viewers who are now permitted to “see” Shinran and respond in gratitude to his benevolence.

Concluding Remarks

In a context of continued prohibitions of the Pure Land movement by the authorities and increasing competition among Hōnen's followers over the legacy of the Pure Land teachings, Kakunyo instituted regular memorial services at the memorial chapel and produced ritual, doctrinal, and illustrated biographies in order to foster a cult of founder worship, transmit and define Shinran's teachings, and envision a distinct community in Shinran's name. In this context of competing foci of devotion and authority, rival lineages and sacred sites, Kakunyo's hagiographic vision provided not only a record of Shinran's life, but also constructed Shinran as a new source of authority, produced the narrative and ritual structures of remembrance, and located the memory of Shinran and the community in a specific place, the memorial site and later temple, Honganji.

Through the *Hōon kōshiki*, Kakunyo restructured the memorial services around the virtues of Shinran's life, teaching, and community, and reformulated the memorial services as a means through which to establish a karmic connection with Shinran. Similar to the *Chion kōshiki* written by Ryūkan for Hōnen, Kakunyo's *Hōon kōshiki* recognizes Shinran as the "original teacher" of the true import for the Pure Land teachings and a manifestation of Amida Buddha. And yet, although *Hōon kōshiki* recognizes Shinran as the recipient of the "true import" of the Pure Land teachings from Hōnen, it is clear, from both the *Hōon kōshiki* and the illustrated biographies, that Kakunyo sought to refocus the worship of the community upon his ancestor, Shinran. This is evident in the illustrated biographies, where Prince Shōtoku and Hōnen are regarded as incarnations of the bodhisattvas Kannon and Seishi respectively, and Shinran alone is depicted as a manifestation of Amida Buddha.

While not much can be known about how the *Hōon kō* memorial services were performed before Rennyō's time, the two texts produced for use in the memorial services, the *Hōon kōshiki* and the *Shinran denē*, provide us with some clues as to how Kakunyo envisioned both the services and the community at worship. In this ritual context, the illustrated biographies that would be copied, enshrined, and worshipped on the occasion of the memorial services, provide the means for the ritual participant to see Shinran as both the founder of a distinct religious community and as the manifestation of Amida Buddha. This ritual vision was enabled by the illustrated biographies that attempted to demonstrate and visually depict Shinran as the embodiment of the true import and as the manifestation of Amida Buddha. Numerous episodes in the illustrated biographies recount a vision of Shinran by one of his disciples and graphically display his image for the viewer. In this way, Kakunyo provided both the ritual structure for the memorial services through the *Hōon kōshiki* and the object to

be worshipped through the illustrated biographies that would be displayed and viewed in the *Hōon kō*.

The production and display of the illustrated biographies in the memorial services were also part of Kakunyo's broader strategy to legitimize the *Shinran denē* as the authoritative biography of Shinran and a sacred text for the community. It is clear that the purpose of these biographies, much like the *Hōon kōshiki*, was not merely to record the life of the figure in the manner of a historical biography, but rather to reveal the sacred dimensions of that life by demonstrating how that life was an expression of the Pure Land teachings. These biographies were not limited to the life of Shinran, but also narrated the life of the teaching and the community that he founded. Through this thematic focus, both the *Hōon kōshiki* and the *Shinran denē* made known and defined the true import of the teacher, the teaching, and the community that would come to be known as Jōdo Shinshū. Moreover, the close organic relation between the *Hōon kōshiki* and the *Shinran denē* and their shared intent and ritual function to respond to the benevolence of the Amida Buddha and Shinran as the teacher who transmitted the true import of the Pure Land Way demonstrate how Kakunyo sought to refocus and redefine Shin Buddhist piety as gratitude to the founder.

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- SJS *Shinshū jūhō shūsei* 真宗重宝集成. 10 vols. Ed. Chiba Jōryū 千葉乘隆. Kyoto: Dōbōsha, 1987–1989.
- SSS *Shinshū shiryō shūsei* 真宗史料集成. Kashiwahara Yūsen 柏原裕泉 et al., eds. 13 vols. Kyoto: Dōbōsha Shuppan, 1983.
- SSZ *Shinshū shōgyō zensho* 真宗聖教全書. 5 vols. Ed. Shinshū Shōgyō Zensho Hensanjo 真宗聖教全書編纂所. Kyoto: Ōyagi Kōbundō, 1969–1970.
- T *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經. 100 vols. Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎 and Watanabe Kaigyoku 渡辺海旭 et al., eds. Tokyo: Taishō Issaikyō Kankōkai, 1924–1934.
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