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REVIEW ARTICLE

Beyond Big Events, Their Heroes, the Nation, and the Sect

A Review of Recent Books Published in Japanese on Premodern Japanese Religion (Part One)

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The study of premodern Japanese religions has been propelled in ways that none of us could have foreseen just two decades ago. Theoretically, the work of Kuroda Toshio 黒田俊雄 provided a watershed moment in the history of the discipline. In the West, the work of a whole series of scholars has carried us beyond the traditionally-defined history of ideas or institutions. At the same time, our reception of Kuroda and, later, of the work of scholars such as Sueki Fumihiko remains limited insofar as the community of scholars of Japanese religions tends to take note of new works either through dissertations, other research on particular topics, or through direct conversations with Japanese scholars who recommend works related to specific objects of interest. Fortunately, *kuden* and *pmjs* have appeared as listservs that bring together Japanese and American scholars to share information and citations, but there is still no systematic or consistent consideration of the most recent important works related to Japanese religions that have been published in Japanese.

Although I would not dare to suggest that the set of works I have chosen necessarily represent what everyone in the field would judge the "best" works, I have endeavored to work with the editors of the *JJRS* and a series of Japanese

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colleagues to develop a master list of publishers that are the most prominent venues for relevant publications.

For this first review of Japanese books on premodern Japanese religion, I have chosen to include books from the past several years that I have determined merit attention based on conversations with the scholars mentioned above, as well as other colleagues such as Iyanaga Nobumi and Michael E. Jamentz. I will begin by discussing monographs concerning premodern Buddhism, followed by more general studies. I will then conclude by considering an important recent study that relates kami worship, combinatory religion, and the relationship between premodern Buddhism and East Asia. Due to limitations of space, this review does not complete my review of the past decade's works, so Part Two will include some other works that will not be covered here; after that, I plan to review prominent new publications once every two years and to consider only the most recent publications.

Temple Studies and Related Works

Research on the Shingon temple Daigoji has been propelled in particular by the work of Nagamura Makoto 永村 眞 (Nihon Joshi Daigaku) and the on-site research group he leads, which publishes the academic journal *Kenkyū kiyō* (Daigoji Bunkazai Kenkyūjo). Nagamura has several PhD advisees whose work has proven to be superlative, and their recently published books will undoubtedly revolutionize the study of Daigoji and expand our understanding of both Shingon Buddhism and the Kenmitsu Buddhist institutions of the medieval era. First, we can take note of Fujii Masako's 藤井雅子 *Chūsei Daigoji to Shingon mikkyō* 中世醍醐寺と真言密教 (Tokyo: Benseisha, 2008), which examines the development of the Shingon organization at Daigoji, particularly the relationship between the rise of Sanbō'in Hall within the monastic complex, its connection with the Sanbō'in Dharma lineage (*hōryū* 法流), and the designation of Sanbō'in as a *monzeki* 門跡 (cloister) in the fourteenth century. She draws attention to the developing competition between lineages at Daigoji for the authentic inheritance of Sanbō'in's uniquely respected authority within the compound, and the success of the so-called Sanbō'in-ryū Jōzei-kata 三宝院流定済方 lineage in estab-

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lishing the Sanbō'in *monzeki*. Fujii stesses, in particular, the role of Mansai 満済 (1378–1435)—originally the adopted son of shōgun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu—and his master/disciples in the consolidation of the cloister's authority over Daigoji by means of: 1. returning rule of the monastery to the Sanbō'in-resident "abbot" (*zasu* 座主); 2. reviving the Sanbō'in bond-establishing consecration rite (*kechien kanjō* 結縁灌頂) and 3. by performing rites regularly for the shogunate as well as making exhaustive efforts to collect and organize the treasury of sacred works (*shōgyō* 聖教) at Daigoji. Fujii also clarifies the historical patronage by cloistered sovereign Go Uda (後 宇多) of the various monastic halls (*inge* 院家) at Daigoji, and emphasizes the profound influence that he had there, not merely as a powerful outsider, but also as an active practitioner of Shingon Buddhism. Remarkably, she also offers an extensive examination of the activity of the Daigoji lineage-monks in the provinces, separating her analysis by Dharma lineage—Hōon'in-ryū, Muryōju'in-ryū—and including extensive graphs, a map, and an account of the known initiation practices conducted in the provinces. A hidden treasure in this study is her discussion in one chapter of Go Uda's influence on Shingon scholastic study in his day, including not only an examination of his support of Tōji and Mount Kōya but also his establishment of the scholastic hall Kyōōjōju'in within Daikakuji, a monastery he clearly saw as uniquely combining both scholastic and ritual studies.

In *Chūsei mikkyō jiin to suhō* 中世密教寺院と修法 (Tokyo: Bensei, 2008), Nishi Yayoi 西 弥生 draws her attention to Daigoji within the larger ritual world of Shingon Buddhism and, in part, ritual in Kenmitsu Buddhist temples more broadly. In particular, Nishi is concerned with the practice, meaning, and contextual significance of "esoteric rites" (*suhō* 修法; alt. *shuhō*). She turns first to consider the character of the elements in, and practice of, esoteric rites, especially the object of veneration (*honzon* 本尊), and its altar area (*shōgon* 荘厳), including oral transmissions concerning the latter. Using as her example the rite of the *Sutra of Benevolent Kings* (*Ninnōkyōhō* 仁王経法), and drawing attention to the actual practice of such esoteric rites, Nishi explores the structure of the participants (*shikishu* 職衆) and the larger connection between monastic and lay society reinforced by such practices. Nishi also examines the Sanbō'in-ryū as representative of how esoteric rites supported the creation and development of Dharma lineages (*hōryū*). This selection is particularly apt, since the broadest array of esoteric rites in Shingon developed in the Ono Branch, especially at Daigoji and its environs. Her emphasis on Seigen's 成賢 (1162–1231) practitioner role in the increasingly prominent use of the so-called "great rites" (*daihō*), and Seigen's creation, as master, of the *Usuzōshi* 薄草紙 as the sacred work of the Sanbo'in lineage transmitting the ritual instructions in "notes" (*shōmotsu* 抄物) genre format for rites of veneration used in esoteric rites, is prescient. Indeed, her detailed treatment of *Usuzōshi* as one of the main works transmitted within

the Sanbō'in-ryū, along with that of Raiyu's 頼瑜 *Usuzōshi kuketsu* 薄草子口決, clarifies how the *shōgyō* of the Dharma lineages were appropriated, in combination, toward the transmission of esoteric ritual instructions.

Research on the Tendai center Enryakuji (Mount Hiei) has made great strides over the past several years. We can take note of three works in particular. First, there was the monumental volume of essays entitled *Enryakuji to chūsei shakai* 延暦寺と中世社会 (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 2004), edited by the late Kawane Yoshiyasu 河音能平 and Fukuda Eijirō 福田榮次郎. The editors gathered together essays by leading historians and cultural studies of Enryakuji; indeed, the work begins by noting that the late Kuroda Toshio had lamented the lack of documents (*monjo* 文書) for the study of Enryakuji, particularly in connection with its burning by Nobunaga in the late sixteenth century. Indeed, it is terribly ironic that Enryakuji and other major Tendai temples such as Onjōji (Miidera) generally have small collections from the medieval era (an exception being Shōren'in), due primarily to the fact that as some of the most powerful power blocs (*kenmon*) of the period they became the targets of contentious warriors; on the other hand, the major Shingon temples, which featured comparably huge collections, have remained comparatively untouched, with the unfortunate exception of Negoroji, which suffered greatly historically. Thus we can learn infinitely more about the daily life, affairs, and thought in Shingon temples such as Daigoji, Tōji, Ninnaji, Zuishin'in, Ishiyamadera, and Kongōbuji (Mount Kōya; multiple halls), partially due to the fact that they were either weak power blocs or simply localized complexes.

Nonetheless, historians understand the historical centrality of Enryakuji among temples at a series of points in medieval Japanese history, and this work grows out of the effort to reconstruct documentary and other evidence. *Enryakuji to chūsei shakai* has three parts, focusing on the internal structure of the institution of Enryakuji, the connections of Enryakuji to the larger society, and the cultural world of Enryakuji respectively. Among the significant studies of which we can take note is Okano Kōji's 岡野浩二 analysis of temple regulations within Enryakuji, which stresses the general parallel between temple and mid-Heian-era royal court-issued rules, as well as the unique character of Enryakuji's own regulations. Okano interprets the special character of the Enryakuji rules through the attempt by the Tendai school to distinguish itself from Nara Buddhism and to the specific layout of the halls on Hiei. He takes note of the fact that the abbot's now often non-residential status contributed to the disappearance of the traditional regulations, and the appearance of new regulations—regulations of Ryōgen's 良源 (912-985) that by their contents illustrate that "half-monastic-half-lay" groups existed on Hiei and that others lived in the areas at the edge of the mountain (*satobō* 里坊, and so on).

Inaba Nobumichi 稲葉伸道 and Taira Masayuki offer compelling, if partially controversial, analyses of the history and debates held at the Hiei-affiliated

cloister of Shōren'in 青蓮院. Inaba focuses on the connection between the lineal logics of Dharma lineages and those in lay society and argues that, in the case of Shōren'in, the lineal logic of inheritance of lay society was paramount. In particular, Inaba uses the case of the abbots of Shōren'in to emphasize that the original entrance into the *monzeki*/*inge* at a young age had a unique and profound influence over a monk's clerical career, whereas consecration (*kanjō* 灌頂) could be received from more than one master; he claims that the real context for the arguments over the proper recipients of *shōgyō* collections was the problem of familial inheritance rather than concerns unique to temple power blocs. Taira takes a similar interpretation, focusing on the arguments concerning *shōgyō* mentioned in Inaba. He argues, however, that the background for the arguments were the political positions of the participants and the new political policies of the post-Mongol invasion court and Kamakura shogunate; the temples wanted to place sons/brothers of the cloistered sovereign in their abbacies so they allied themselves with one or other of the two royal factions of the day, and in particular it was intervention by the shogunate that led to shifts of abbots and debates over the possession of *shōgyō* collections. There are a whole series of trenchant studies in this edited work, but I would like to take note additionally of Kamikawa Michio's 上川通夫 argument that the domestication of the populist belief in Tenjin 天神 through placing Kitano Tenmangū 北野天満宮 shrine under the control of Mount Hiei was part of the early appearance of "medieval" Buddhism, and of manuscript studies of Jōbodai'in 成菩提院 (in Shiga prefecture) materials by Makino Kazuo 牧野和夫 and Matsumoto Kōichi 松本公一.

Shimosaka Mamoru's 下坂 守 exhaustive study of temple society at Enryakuji, *Chūsei jiin shakai no kenkyū* 中世寺院社会の研究 (Kyoto: Shibunkaku, 2001), offers an invaluable analysis of the political roles of the great temple complex. Those of us who have spent time at Mount Kōya can imagine, albeit through a refracted lens, what the multifaceted society at Enryakuji must have been like originally, with its multiple halls spread out over the larger mountain and its multi-layered organization. Shimosaka is most interesting on politics, but his study of the decision-making and levels within the larger Enryakuji complex (Part Two) is trenchant; his clarification of the documentary distinction between the clerics of the various halls and valleys, on the one hand, and the complex as a whole (*jike* 寺家; *sōji* 惣寺, *sōzan* 惣山), on the other, helps to improve our understanding of the character and extent of the "independence" of the former.

Tanaka Takako 田中貴子 has become known for her studies related to gender and narrative (*setsuwa)*, particularly in connection with medieval Japanese Buddhism, but in *Keiranshūyōshū no sekai* 渓嵐拾葉集の世界 (Nagoya Daigaku, 2003), based on her doctoral dissertation, she turns to the notes (*shōmotsu*) genre famous in medieval Buddhism, perhaps most famous in the example of the Hiei monk Kōshū's 光宗 (fl. fourteenth century) *Keiranshūyōshū*. Tanaka initially

conducts an extensive textual analysis of the various extant editions of the work, and offers a useful presentation on the role of so-called *kike* 記家 record-writing monks such as Kōshū in the Enryakuji complex. Building on the work of Kuroda Toshio and others—and similar to the work of Jacqueline Stone—Tanaka emphasizes the role of the *kike* as recorders of oral transmissions (*kuden* 口伝) as well as their eventual roles as scholastic monks committed to writing the oral transmissions of their respective lineages at Hiei; Tanaka also calls attention to the direct relationship between *kike* and the production of various apocryphal works (*gisho*), especially a series of works called *sanshōnishi nijūkan* (three holy men/two teachers/twenty fascicles), which seem to have resulted from the collecting and recording of oral transmissions and *kirigami*-strip transmissions of the late Heian and Kamakura eras; the immediate forerunner of *Keiranshūyōshū* was Shōchō's 承澄 (1205–1282) *Asabashō* 阿娑縛抄, which Tanaka describes as constituting an esoteric Buddhist effort to systematize the inscription of oral transmissions on kami and buddhas (*shinbutsu* 神仏). Moreover, from her perspective, *Keiranshūyōshū* was compiled as part of the final stage of the systematic development of such efforts, since it added both tales (*setsuwa* 説話) and annotations (*chūshaku* 注釈) in the attempt to depict the Hiei kami Sannō as its protective deity and to legitimate inscriptions of oral transmissions concerning its status. Such efforts would culminate in the broad annotative efforts of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, which were based on discussions (*dangi* 談義) of *Lotus Sutra* teachings.

Temples, their manuscripts, and their rites

We turn now to recent works concerning the writings produced in medieval temples as well as the performative aspects of temple life. The twenty-first century began, in regard to temple documents and *shōgyō* manuscript research, with the major scholarly trumpet of Nagamura Makoto 永村 眞. His *Chūsei jiin shiryō ron* 中世寺院史料論 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2000) is a masterful study that won the Kadokawa Prize for History, and remains the most prominent study of its kind, a fact perhaps related also to Nagamura's status as the leading scholar of both Tōdaiji and Daigoji manuscript studies.

Nagamura's study takes the approach of "social history" to the study of medieval temple life (*jiin shakai shi* 寺院社会史), which he sees as inextricably bound with the large society of lay patrons. In particular, in this work, Nagamura interprets the collections of Tōdaiji, Daigoji, and Kōfukuji in terms of their connection with temple life, a system of lay-monastic interaction that he divides into four elements: precepts and objects of veneration (monastic practice and lay belief); protection of the sovereign/royal family (*chingo kokka* 鎮護国家; "religious function"); practice and ritual assemblies (*hō'e* 法会; determines Bud-

dhist economic, social, and scholastic structure); and faith and enlightenment (spiritual endeavors). In particular, Nagamura interprets temple society within a framework of interdependency marked by lay patronage (*onkei* 恩恵), on the one hand, and ritual prayer/protection (*kitō* 祈祷, *goji* 護持), on the other. Moreover, he casts temple writings as "secondary sources" reflective of the organizational activity within temple society, the sites of which can be divided between the three jewels—Buddha (object of veneration; Buddha Hall), Dharma (scholastics, assemblies), and Sangha (master-disciple relationship, and larger monastic organization). Nagamura traces the beginnings of temple writings to the three jewels, temple administration, and religious faith (*shinjin* 信心 of patrons and monastics), by examining examples from genres such as 1. Buddha image and temple construction documents (Buddha), ritual texts for debates (*rongi-e no shidai* 論議会の次第) and related *shōgyō* (Dharma); 2. temple organization documents (precept-related, recitation-recording, and oath *monjo*, along with master-disciple transmission sacred works) (Sangha); 3. temple administration documents (gazetteers, economic records, document templates, and so on); and 4. documents demonstrating "faith" (meritorious-act-records inserted in Buddha images and "gladly throwing away" (*kisha* 喜捨) belongings. Finally, Nagamura devotes a major section of the work to the analysis of sacred works, including considerations of four basic modes of their production: 1. presumably accurate copying of earlier sacred works; 2. creating "notes" (*shōmotsu*) on other *shōgyō*; 3. classifying and editing (*ruiju* 類聚, *henjutsu* 編述); and 4. recording the discussions (*mondō* 問答, *dangi* 談義) of one's master (*kikigaki* 聞書).

Kamikawa Michio's 上川通夫 *Nihon chūsei bukkyō shiryōron* 日本中世仏教史料論 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2008) approaches temple sources by similarly examining them in context, but with an approach more directly political—and which directly places medieval Japanese Buddhism within the larger East Asian Buddhist trans-cultural setting. Kamikawa employs Kuroda Toshio's (and Taira Masayuki's) theory of the Kenmitsu Buddhist system to attempt to broaden the interpretation of medieval "Japanese" Buddhism. Drawing upon the pioneering historical work on Japanese relations with East Asia by Murai Shōsuke 村井章介, Kamikawa skillfully reinterprets medieval Japanese Buddhism beyond exclusive attention to its position within national boundaries. In particular, Kamikawa analyzes the history of the reception and use of the Buddhist canon (*issaikyō* 一切経), and finds that for both court and temples the canon had great political importance—and that its reception also reflected an active renewed engagement with the continent from as early as the tenth century. Moreover, Kamikawa argues that the northern Fujiwaras, distinct from the court as a whole, made contacts with the continent to promote the introduction of Tendai Pure Land Buddhism, while the court as such consciously "arranged" Buddhism—both newly and formerly introduced—in a process marked initially by practices to

produce merit (*shuzen* 修善), such as the burial of sutras and sutra-copying more generally. With regard to *shōgyō*, Kamikawa argues that their increasing centrality within temple complexes was related directly to new administrative formations of the late Heian era; he offers a useful analysis of the scriptural collections (*kyōzō* 経蔵) containing the collections respectively at the level of the larger monastic community (*jike* 寺家) within the complexes, the residential halls (*inge*) there, and the level of individuals such as abbots, although my own research suggests that the placement and organization of these were even more fluid than his depiction would infer.

Yamagishi Tsuneto's 山岸常人 work has had surprisingly little impact on the non-Japanese academy, a fact that may be related to his field—architectural history. Indeed, his *Chūsei jiin no sōdan/hō'e/monjo* 中世寺院の僧団·法会·文書 (Tokyo Daigaku, 2004) promises to be the most important contribution to the study of daily temple life in Japanese Buddhism of the last several years. Yamagishi turns initially to the monastic organization within temples, considering the specific features and character of daily life of the monks, including religious and administrative aspects as well as the places they lived and frequented. He outlines aspects of temple life that have been quite vague to many scholars of premodern Japanese Buddhism until recently, including in his analysis of Hosshōji 法勝寺, an example, as he puts it, of a temple with "no sangha." That is, Hosshōji and the other six superlative temples (*rikushōji* 六勝寺; Higashiyama) constructed as vow-temples (*goganji* 御願寺) of the cloistered sovereign, seem to have had very few resident monks, but were selected to come to assemblies from major monasteries of the Nara and Kyoto areas by the Dharma Prince of Ninnaji, who administered official Japanese Buddhism in the late-Heian and early-Kamakura eras. In other words, Hosshōji and the other five were distinctly different in character from the major power bloc temple complexes (*kenmon jiin* 権門寺院) of Nara and Kyoto, and served primarily as a site for the cloistered sovereign to hold assemblies in which he gathered monks from the complexes, on the one hand, and a whole series of nobles (sponsors), on the other—*not* a monastery marked by the ongoing presence of the three jewels.

Yamagishi's study of the character of monk's residences (*sōbō* 僧房) is particularly informative, and offers us further insight into everyday life in the monasteries. The three general types of residence in the medieval era included the traditional so-called monastic compound (*garan* 伽藍) residences, those in separate halls or cloisters (*inge/shi'in* 子院), and those in veneration halls (*dō'in sōbō* 堂院僧坊—for example, Sanmai-dō at Tōdaiji, for Hokke-zanmai 法華三昧 (rite practice). Yamagishi emphasizes the broad range of variations within these categories of residence, but he also stresses the importance of practice illustrated within these areas—examples of the posting of instructions to regularly participate in temple rites as well as of individual monks' establishment of personal

places of practice/study directly attached to veneration hall areas. Furthermore, Yamagishi demonstrates that, with the weakening of temple administration and regulations from the end of the twelfth century onwards, monks could increasingly trade or even sell or purchase their residences, practices traceable originally to the bequeathal of monastic residences beginning in roughly the early tenth century. The increase in monastic residences, and the fluidity of their use, meant that lay believers and even women sometimes made use of them. Yamagishi concludes that the separate halls increasingly featured places of practice because such halls were more functional for the daily lives of religious practitioners, as opposed to the constraints of any changes that might be made to any part of the traditional monastic compound.

A prominent work that, while slightly dated, has not received much attention in the West, is Matsuo Kōichi's 松尾恒一 study of major performative rites in Nara and Kyoto temple complexes, *Ennen no geinōshiteki kenkyū* 延年の芸能史的研究 (Tokyo: Iwata Shoin, 1997). Matsuo clarifies that the so-called *ennen* performative arts were not only performed at the banquets following monastic assemblies (*hōe*), but also upon events such as royal progresses, the visit of aristocrats, the inauguration of new administrators or abbots, as well as the conferral of higher office or status on monks of the relevant temple. In other words, these arts were pervasive in the monastic complexes and their occasions were multifarious.

Moreover, the performers of these arts in their early forms were the new class of monastic figures called *shuto* 衆徒, the same group who in the major complexes often numbered in the thousands and who came to be referred to in much later history as *sōhei* (warrior-monks). Matsuo examines the *shuto* in general and considers the specific example of Onjōji to clarify the broad array of rituals in which they participated as well as the specific performative rites they conducted. He also offers the first major study ever of the *ennen* performative arts at Kōfukuji, despite the fact that these arts are thought to have had a great influence on the development of *Yamato sarugaku* 大和猿楽; the Yuima'e 維摩会 assemblies there of the late Heian era onwards were where the *shuto* first appeared as a large group performing, and these performances of recitation and continental *sangaku* dance, which were undertaken to praise the lecturer (*kōji* 講師), are thought to have constituted the beginning of *ennen* practice historically. Matsuo goes on to examine the changes in *ennen* arts over the course of the Muromachi era, when scholar-monks (*gakuryo* 学侶) also began to engage in such performance.

Komine Kazuaki 小峯和明 recently published a major study of the medieval arts performed at monastic assemblies (*hōe*) entitled *Chūsei hōe bungeiron* 中世法会文芸論 (Tokyo: Kasama Shoin, 2009). Komine is interested in the broader sense of the term *shōdō* 唱導, often seen as identical with preaching (*sekkyō* 説教, *seppō* 説法), and so he emphasizes that the category includes the broad range

of rites at the assemblies. Komine finds the original link between Buddhism and the arts illustrated in the early tale collection *Nihon ryōiki* 日本霊異記 and in the ritual text *Tōdaiji fujumonkō* 東大寺諷誦文稿, and then turns to consider the assembly arts in the cloistered sovereign and periods soon after, when the *Agui* lineage preachers Chōken 澄憲 and Seikaku 聖覚 raised the practice of *shōdō* and related arts to a new level of performative complexity. In particular, Komine sees the arrival of the cloistered sovereign period, with its interdependence of the Royal Law (*ōbō* 王法) and Buddhist Law (*buppō* 仏法), as being marked by a religious power represented not only in court-sponsored annual assemblies but also in individual sponsorship of Buddhist rites; the assemblies came to be systematized with a whole series of protocols (*shidai* 次第, and so on) as novel discourse, which came to be represented in the production of collections like *Ganmonshū* 願文集, *Hōsokushū* 法則集, and *Hyōbyakushū* 表白集. He also goes on to consider the later development of the Agui 安居院 lineage, taking note of the fact that Chōken's descendant moved to Kanto and performed assembly rites of veneration on behalf of the Hōjō family and shogunate in general; scholar-monks in Kamakura learned what they saw as orthodox studies and orthopractical protocols for *kōshiki* 講式 liturgies from the Agui. Komine proceeds to consider a series of textual and intertextual problems related to the influence of continental performative literature, of the use of ritual pronouncements (*hyōbyaku*) and prayers (*ganmon*), and even of the use of *waka* poetry at assemblies.

Meanwhile, Kudō Miwako 工藤美和子 draws on Buddhist narrative and mythological studies—as well as, to a certain extent, European thought—to make an important contribution with her *Heianki no ganmon to Bukkyōteki sekaikan* 平安期の願文と仏教的世界観 (Kyoto: Shibunkaku, 2008), in which she connects the writing of prayers (*ganmon*) within the Heian-era royal court with the latter's adoption of a Buddhist world view. She begins by considering, for example, the actual salvific goal of early sovereigns' sponsorship of the writing of prayers for assemblies: how did aristocratic society view the sovereigns, in Buddhist terms? Focusing on the prayers included in the important Heian court records collection *Honchō monzui* 本朝文粋, Kudō takes note of the introduction of the term "golden wheel-turning holy king" (*konrin jōō* 金輪聖王) and, in particular, its increased use in the tenth century, and interprets this as reflective of a reconceptualization of the sovereign as the transformation of a bodhisattva. She highlights the new emphasis on the bodhisattva's practice of saving others in this period in other works as well, and argues that reference in works like the Sanbō'e of the era to the "last age" (*sue no yo* スエノヨ) does not reflect belief in the negativity of *mappō,* but rather the belief that the last age is the gateway to a revival of the Buddhist teachings. Kudō also emphasizes that Ōe no Masafusa's 大江匡房 (1041–1111) *ganmon* likewise reflects the view of the sovereign as a golden wheel-turning king who acts to save others, and concludes with an effort

to reconstruct the views of women in their sponsorship of prayers that referred to the female five obstacles to salvation—arguing that such references expressed confidence in salvation rather than preoccupation with sinfulness.

Abe Yasurō 阿部泰郎, the premodern Japanese literature scholar of similar legendary stature in manuscript studies to the historian Nagamura Makoto, published *Seija no suisan: Chūsei no koe to okonaru mono* 聖者の推参—中世の声とヲコなるもの (Nagoya: Nagoya Daigaku, 2001), a major contribution to the study of the religious dimensions of medieval literature. This is probably the most difficult of the works to review, undoubtedly connected to the aesthetic quality and subtlety of Abe's argument, which focuses on the depiction of the interaction between itinerant holy figures and others—such as cloistered sovereigns—in medieval literature to understand more clearly the relationship between religion and the arts and, ultimately, what he sees as a remarkable dynamism in the medieval world. Abe investigates particular terms reflective of that interaction, such as *suisan*, the use of which he demonstrates—particularly through examination of Fujiwara no Teika's 藤原定家 diary *Meigetsuki* 明月記—was connected not simply to an individual's physical movement but to the ritual performances conducted at banquets following the rites of the sovereign and cloistered sovereign. Examining the use of the term from its representation of a rite conducted by court nobles during the *go-sechi* 五節 dances (and apparently anti-establishment in character), Abe clarifies that in the medieval era it was transformed into a performative rite for praise of the sovereign that was esoterically transmitted (*hikyoku denju* 秘曲伝授). In a chapter devoted to an examination of narratives of kami dream anomalies and oracles by female performers in Nara—and the depictions of their practices at the Kasuga-Kōfukuji shrine-temple complex there—Abe highlights, on the one hand, the relationship between religion and the performative arts, and on the other, the depictions of oracles in those associated with the larger complex at Mount Hiei (Enryakuji). In the Kasuga-Kōfukuji case, he considers a series of medieval tales of female *shirabyōshi* dancers and *miko* oracles and suggests that some of these constituted women's own voicing of themselves. This voicing was handed down in the form of preaching literature in the area near the complex; in the case of Hiei, stories such as that of the deity Sannō's appearance to reveal that young boys' play was actually appropriate—a means for *kechien* 結縁, making a karmic-connection toward salvation—further reinforced the discourse of kami-Buddha relations reflective of the medieval social ethos.

Religion and Medieval Japanese Society

I would like to conclude by turning briefly to recent research that is focused on the relationship between Buddhism and the larger society. We can start with Sueki Fumihiko's most recent major study of medieval Japanese Buddhism, *Kamakura*

Bukkyō tenkairon 鎌倉仏教展開論 (Tokyo: Transview, 2008). Although it does not focus per se on the relationship between aristocrats and the Buddhist institutions, its emphasis on evaluating the larger meaning of Kamakura Buddhism incorporates, by implication, the greater social context within which it developed. Sueki argues that the two-sided character of the so-called "holy ones" (*hijiri* 聖) is the key to what he sees as a weakness of the Kenmitsu Buddhism theory of Kuroda Toshio and in particular, Taira Masayuki: the *hijiri* phenomenon began within the Kenmitsu Buddhist structure, but with their proliferation in the areas outside of the major complexes, they were not limited completely by the Kenmitsu system. Thus even the major writings of Hōnen on Pure Land Buddhism and Eisai (Yōsai) on Zen, both completed in 1198, were actually an extension of this trend. Hōnen, in particular, invariably invited criticism from Kenmitsu monks insofar as he offered the novel doctrinal classification of *shōdōmon* 聖道門 (self-powered gate) and *jōdomon* 浄土門 (Pure Land, other-powered gate) along with the claim that Pure Land Buddhism constituted a school (*shū* 宗 = Jōdoshū). Sueki emphasizes that even by the thirteenth century the notion of eight established schools (*hasshū* 八宗) came to be just one possible interpretation, with the monk Enni 円爾 (1202–1280) claiming the existence of ten through his addition of the Pure Land and Zen schools; this, from Sueki's perspective, reflected the movement toward "late" medieval Japanese Buddhism. In other words, movements outside of the Kenmitsu system began in the Kamakura era, which eventually resulted in its weakening and its co-existence with several movements. Eventually, the principles of Zen mind and Jōdo faith became developed doctrines, and the interest in basic principles—alongside the rising interest in Shinto theories—formed the basis for the introduction of Christianity. Sueki includes not only an updated analysis of the study of Kamakura Buddhism and his take on the character of the development of Kamakura Buddhism, he includes trenchant studies of the thought of figures like Eisai, Raiyu, Mujū 無住, and Musō Soseki.

Kikuchi Hiroki 菊地大樹 examines the larger history of the development of medieval Japanese Buddhism through the lens of the *jikyōja* 持経者 (alt. *jigyōsha*), figures associated with so-called holy men (*hijiri*, *shōnin* 聖人) identified generally with devotion to and recitation of sutras, especially the *Lotus Sutra*. His *Chūsei bukkyō no genkei to tenkai* 中世仏教の原形と展開 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2007) not only examines the history of these "sutra upholders" with meticulous research but also offers an extensive examination of the history of studies related to *hijiri* that have been conducted over the last century in Japan. Kikuchi goes as far back as the tale collection *Nihon ryōiki* (ca. early ninth century) in his genealogical study of the use of the term *jikyōja*, finding that the early representations of the term associated it with recitation based on memorization of the *Lotus Sutra*; he notes that it was represented in association with begging practice and that no clear distinctions were made either between reading (読) and

recitation (誦), on the one hand, or the recitation/memorization of sutra and *darani*, on the other. He also clarifies the ambiguities in representation in early government chronicles such as *Shoku Nihongi* and lawbooks like the *Ritsuryō* codes, which depict similar practices respectively and seem to have tried to domesticate what may have originally been practices completely independent of governmental authority. Kikuchi makes special note of the extensive representations of the *jikyōja* in the mid-eleventh century Hiei work *Hokke genki* 法華験記. He emphasizes that the work's depiction of the prominent *jikyōja* Shōkū 性空 (917–1007) does not suggest that Shōkū was in any sense influenced by the governmental policies that attempted to domesticate such practice—and a recluse for whom a similar non-establishment example can be found in the example of death of a *jikyōja* by self-sacrifice in *Nihon ryōiki*. Kikuchi also points to the decline of the *Ritsuryō* in the tenth century as further evidence that the governmental policy promoting/domesticating such practice had also now come to an end; rather, he suggests that what is precisely fascinating—and mutually related—about those engaged in mountain practice (*sanrin shugyō* 山林修行) and *jikyō* was that they were recognized by the *Ritsuryō* system but continued to flourish despite the latter's decline. He goes on to connect the *jikyōja* with mountain ascetics (*shugenja* 修験者), emphasizing that the former are depicted in a whole range of *shugen* sources, including not only *Shozan engi* 諸山縁起 but also records depicting the *jikyōja* granting esoteric consecration (*kanjō*) to mountain ascetics—even granting mountain legend documents (*engi*, for example, of Ōmine 大峰) to the latter. Kikuchi also highlights the great interest of the aristocrats and, presumably, broader population for the powers associated with *jikyōja* and these other comparatively liminal figures; and he skillfully compares works depicting them, like the *Hokke genki*, to other genres, gleaning from the analysis a conclusion that the anomalies associated with the *jikyōja* were of a generic piece with those depicted in *Nihon ryōiki* and even similar to those emphasized by Ōe no Masafusa in his *Honchō shinsen den* 本朝神仙伝.

Matsumoto Ikuyo 松本郁代, in her remarkable study *Chūsei ōken to sokui kanjō* 中世王権と即位灌頂 (Tokyo: Shinwasha, 2005), provides the most intimate portrait of the religious and social contexts within which this esoteric Buddhist royal accessional rite developed. In particular, she examines a whole range of *shōgyō*, literature, and court-related sources to interpret the character of the relationship between Shingon Buddhism and the royal court during the medieval era. Matsumoto considers the connection made in the medieval court between court mythology (the so-called "medieval *Nihongi*") and the ritual powers thought to be held by Shingon ritual practitioners. Matsumoto also investigates the development of Shingon cosmology in its connection with the construction of Kūkai's image within medieval Shingon and at the court. Finally, we can draw attention to her examination of the relationship between differing

lineages' practice of the *sokui* rite and their respective, contending patronage by differing royal factions in the fourteenth century, as well as her consideration of the pivotal role of the court nobles in the representations and performance of the rite, even when conceived by the Shingon lineages themselves. The Shingon protocols for the rite thus made the larger post-temple world its site—they constituted works that incorporated political concerns into the very stuff of medieval Buddhist ritual practice.

Arai Daisuke 新井大祐, Daitō Takaaki 大東敬明, and Mori Gorō 森 悟朗 offer a trenchant study of Shinto discourse, ritual, and pilgrimage in their *Gensetsu/girei/sankei: "Ba" to "itonami" no Shintō kenkyū* 言説·儀礼·参詣—＜場＞と＜いとなみ＞の神道研究 (Tokyo: Kōbundō, 2009). Mori's study of pilgrimage has a modern focus, so I leave it out of this review, but Arai's and Daitō's constitute important contributions to the study of kami worship and Shinto. Arai's focus is on the effort to appropriate discursive analysis to the history of particular shrines. For example, he examines the development of veneration toward Nishinomiya's *ebisujin* 夷神 by considering how the discursive connection between Nishinomiya, *ejin*, and *hiroko* 蛭子 was first evident in annotations of the *Kokinshū* in the Kamakura era, which reflected the practice of reading *waka* at banquets for *Nihongi* lectures at court; in other words, the original site of the discourse was unrelated to actual religious "faith," but the topos of *hiroko* came to be incorporated into all manner of *Shintōron* treatises, military tales, and even *otogizōshi* and *kyōgen* as time went on. The diffusion of the discursive connections were part of the larger dissemination of medieval Japanese mythology—a shift that led discourse from a particular site to be re-presented in inscription connecting it to a narrative place that then functioned as a shrine "legend" (*engi* 縁起) which spread elsewhere as well. Daitō considers the history of the study of "Shinto" practice as it existed historically within Buddhist temples, taking as his focus the *Nakatomi no harae* rite within the major Shun'ie assembly (*omizutori*) within Tōdaiji, outlining important features such as the reading of the invitation Kinbu(sen) Daibosatsu 金峰山大菩薩 and Hachiman followed by the full *Jinmyōchō* 神名帳 document inviting all kami of the realm to attend, and the *Jinbun* rite in which the *Heart Sutra* 般若心経 is read for all of the kami as well as figures like Buddhist patron-deities Bonten 梵天 (Brahmā) and Taishakuten 帝釈天 (Vaiśravana). Interestingly, the next section of the invitation, that of the "spirits" (*go-ryō* 御霊) of the realm, is performed in a lower voice that Daitō interprets as reflecting a distinction made ritually between these human spirits—which if not propitiated can likewise cause calamity—and the various kami of the realm. Daitō makes it clear that the use of the "Buddhist" and "Shinto" systematic interpretation is irrelevant to the interpretation of such a practice, and he instead calls for analysis that understands it as *jingi* belief enacted as part of the unique ritual event known as an assembly (*hōe*).

The work of Yokouchi Hiroto 横内裕人 is comparable in its breadth and depth with the achievements of major figures like Abe Yasurō, Komine Kazuaki, Nagamura Makoto, Sueki Fumihiko, Taira Masayuki and, among younger scholars, Kikuchi Hiroki, Suegara Yutaka 末柄豊, and Uejima Susumu 上島享. He has intimate knowledge of Tōdaiji— having previously been on staff—and great skill with a whole variety of ancient and medieval manuscript sources from throughout the Kansai region. His *Nihon chūsei no Bukkyō to Higashi Ajia* 日本中世の仏教と東アジア (Tokyo: Hanawa Shobō, 2008) is clearly one of the most important contributions to the study of Japanese religions in this decade. Its significance is not so much reflected in his trenchant analyses of medieval Ninnaji and Daikakuji, his discovery of a new *Kukyō sōgōnin* 究境僧綱任 record of the official monastic hierarchy, or his clarification that late Heian-era aristocrats were studying Buddhism on a sophisticated level, but rather in his broad and deep engagement with problems concerning the relationship between medieval Japanese Buddhist institutions and East Asia. Kamikawa Michio took an important step in the effort to broaden the Kenmitsu theory of Kuroda to include East Asia, and Yokouchi continues that effort with depth and flair. Yokouchi unflinchingly calls into question tendencies he sees in Kuroda's writings to essentialize Japanese culture; in this case, he sees the esoteric Buddhist (*mikkyō*) focus of Kuroda as reflective of a "hidden" presupposition of Kuroda's that Japanese religion had, at its core, magico-placatory practices that worked across classes and at a basic level. Yokouchi suggests that Kuroda's interest must be freed from its ahistorical essentialism to make room for an analysis that investigates trans-class developments that are simply historical in character, arrived at through some form of mutually created and shared consciousness. The effort, from Yokouchi's perspective, should be to analyze how it was that individuals and groups attempted to create a common basis for consciousness, belief, and practice. In particular, that goal—that conception of a common basis—*was* Kenmitsu Buddhism, and instead of seeing it as an orthopractical "Japanese" mode of Buddhism, the scholar of religious history should consider how it was that Buddhism as a broad-based religion ("world religion") came to be incorporated not as an event limited within Japanese borders, but established through cross-cultural negotiation—diplomacy, monks' continental pilgrimages, along with the importation of continental Buddhist ideas, images, and texts. A high point in his analysis, at least in my view, is his tracing of the introduction and collecting of the Koryŏ Buddhist printed canon between Koryŏ 高麗, the northern Song 北宋, Liao 遼, and Japan. The Japanese cloistered sovereign Shirakawa refused to engage in diplomatic ties with the northern Song, but chose to acquire Buddhist treatises of the canon from Koryŏ through the mediation of the Dharma Prince at Ninnaji O'muro—eventually becoming a basis for many of the views of the famous scholar-monk Myōe 明恵 (1173–1232). Yokouchi's argument that the various Japanese Buddhist

lineages quite selectively chose among possible continental influences offers a point of view that, while clearly influenced by the Kenmitsu thought of Kuroda and Taira, is extremely interested in scholastic currents in the period and seems to avoid notions of uni-directional or unified incorporation of continental influence, suggesting that any presumed orthopraxis in medieval Japanese Buddhism was actually a normative *discourse*; indeed, it was strikingly dynamic and strategic in character—and required negotiation.

On Future Reviews

Due to limitations of space, I hope to be able to review the following books in my next installment of this review. I would also like to note that I am open to suggestions for additions.

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