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Materializing and Performing *Prajñā*

Jōkei's Mañjuśrī Faith and the Kasagidera Restoration

This article illuminates the significance of the Mañjuśrī cult during Jōkei's (1155–1213) Kasagi years and his innovative synthesis of material, textual, and ritual culture. The study of such medieval Nara scholar-monks as Jōkei suffers from lingering biases that privilege the Buddhist schools strongest *now* over the many other movements thriving in medieval Japan. Their activities are typically cast as reactionary responses to popularizing tendencies championed elsewhere rather than as creative transformations of Buddhist teachings and practices in their own right. Even amid revisionist studies, the textual concerns of scholar-monks are often contrasted with the “lived religion” in such practices as icon veneration, pilgrimage, and simplified chanting rituals. However, this article uses Jōkei's involvement in the Kasagidera restoration and the Mañjuśrī cult, including his composition of a *kōshiki* devoted to Mañjuśrī (Jp. Monju), to show how these same practices were integral to the concerns of Nara scholar-monks. The online supplement includes a complete annotated translation of Jōkei's *Monju kōshiki*.

KEYWORDS: Jōkei—Mañjuśrī—*kōshiki*—Kasagidera—Maitreya—medieval—Nara Buddhism

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IN STUDIES of medieval Japanese Buddhism that privilege the new Kamakura schools, scholar-monks belonging to the Nara, Shingon, and Tendai schools are typically cast in a negative light. Despite his renown in the medieval period, the Hossō monk Jōkei 貞慶 (1155–1213) is no exception. In fact, Jōkei has often served as the poster child for the elitist and oppressive tendencies of scholar-monks from the established schools due to his putative role in suppressing Hōnen’s 法然 (1133–1212) new Pure Land movement. Recent studies, however, have challenged standard theories on Jōkei’s relationship to the early Kamakura period suppression of Hōnen and his followers from a variety of angles.¹ But most significant here among new developments in Jōkei studies are those spurred by the landmark publication in *Jōkei kōshiki shū* (TAISHŌ DAIGAKU 2000) of thirteen *kōshiki* he authored and the increased attention to the performative and popularizing dimensions of his diverse cultic activities.² As I will suggest, *kōshiki* texts also represent a chief means by which Jōkei and other Nara scholar-monks packaged their cultic concerns for broader, trans-sectarian audiences.

The activities of leading medieval Nara monks have typically been characterized as reactionary responses by elites to popularizing tendencies championed in the new Pure Land, Zen, and Nichiren schools rather than as creative adaptations of Buddhist teachings and practices in their own right. Even amid revisionist studies of Japanese religion, the textual and doctrinal concerns of Jōkei and other scholar-monks are often contrasted with the “lived religion” expressed in such activities as icon veneration, simplified chanting rituals, and pilgrimage practices. This article, however, uses Jōkei’s involvement in the restoration of Kasagidera 笠置寺 and in the Mañjuśrī cult—including a *kōshiki* dedicated to Mañjuśrī that Jōkei composed—as a case study of how one leading Nara scholar-monk integrated these same on-the-ground practices with his doctrinal and other textual activities.

Jōkei’s *Monju* and other *kōshiki* texts were not composed in a vacuum. For many of his *kōshiki*, we have colophons or other testimony by Jōkei that iden-

1. See, for example, FORD (2006, chapter 6); SHIMOTSUMA (2006); and JŌFUKU (2013).

2. For two leading recent examples of such new developments, see FORD (2006) and FUNATA (2011). Ford’s study remains the only scholarly monograph on Jōkei’s diverse activities; however, Funata’s detailed monograph on kami-buddha relationships and ritual in medieval Japan devotes more attention to Jōkei than to any other monk and, like Ford’s study, makes multifaceted use of Jōkei’s *kōshiki*.

tify the context of their composition. Some were composed upon request and thus tailored to the needs of the practitioners soliciting Jōkei's textual and ritual expertise. Others were initiated by Jōkei himself and reflect such well-known aspects of his cultic activities as his devotion to the buddha Śākyamuni, the bodhisattva Kannon (Sk. Avalokiteśvara), and the future buddha, Maitreya.³ For other *kōshiki*, however, including his *Monju kōshiki* 文殊講式 (Mañjuśrī Kōshiki), we lack such firsthand testimony to the date, place, or other circumstances of their composition and need to reconstruct their contexts based on both the internal evidence of the texts and their fit with other examples of his cultic activities.

The connections of the Maitreya cult with Kasagidera, and accordingly with Jōkei's activities after his move to this mountain temple about twelve miles northeast of Nara, are well known due to a massive cliffside image of Maitreya that had attracted devotees for centuries by the time of the restoration.⁴ However, the interlinked significance of the Maitreya and Mañjuśrī cults during Jōkei's Kasagi years (1193–1208), the most productive period of his career, has been little explored, even though that significance is attested in diverse material constructions, textual genres, and ritual performances. Particularly important for this study is recognizing that Jōkei's *Monju kōshiki* shows close thematic connections with his other activities at Kasagidera, including his composition of the *Shin'yōshō* 心要鈔 (Essentials of the mind), one of his best-known doctrinal treatises. And particularly important for understanding Jōkei's place in the medieval "revival" of Nara Buddhism more broadly is recognizing that in the early Kamakura period (1185–1333), Nara scholar-monks took the lead in the production of *kōshiki*, and Jōkei was the most prolific author across time periods.⁵ Moreover, the constructions that Jōkei sponsored at Kasagidera, like the

3. On Śākyamuni, Kannon, and Maitreya as the primary objects of Jōkei's devotion, see FORD (2006, 78–95). Shinkura Kazufumi and Kusunoki Junshō have recently reexamined Jōkei's Amida faith and argued that Amida should be added to those three as one of his main devotional commitments, especially for the early part of the monk's career (SHINKURA 2007; 2008a; 2008b; KUSUNOKI 2009). See also NISHIYAMA (1988, 237–38, and 247–51), who likewise points to the significance of Jōkei's Amida faith, especially its complementarity with his Kannon faith.

4. Unfortunately, the image was destroyed during battles in 1331, after Emperor Go-Daigo 後醍醐 (1288–1339; r. 1318–1339) had retreated to the temple, leaving only a shallow niche in the cliffside. For illustrations and efforts to reconstruct the form of the original image, see BROCK (1988).

5. Among 374 extant *kōshiki* preserved in Niels Guelberg's online *kōshiki* database, thirty are credited to Jōkei (GUELBERG 1997–2016). Although some of the attributions may be spurious, the vast majority have been accepted by specialists as Jōkei's authentic compositions, and even the spurious attributions attest to medieval and early modern recognition of his renown as an author of *kōshiki* texts. The Kegon-Shingon monk Myōe 明恵 (1173–1232) was the second-most prolific producer of *kōshiki*, with sixteen preserved

kōshiki he composed, were carried out in performative contexts. I will thus use the Kasagidera restoration and other evidence for Jōkei's participation in the Mañjuśrī cult during his Kasagi years to highlight a synthesized cultic configuration of his material, ritual, and scholarly concerns that transcends distinctions between the popular and the elite.

The most substantial evidence for Jōkei's involvement in the Mañjuśrī cult appears in texts related to his enshrinement of the *Great Wisdom Sutra* (*Daihannyakyō* 大般若經) at Kasagidera; in chapter 8, "The Gate of the Mother of Awakening" (*Kakumo mon* 覺母門), in the *Shin'yōshō*; and in his *Monju kōshiki*. I suggest that all three major examples of Jōkei's Mañjuśrī faith were connected, with the *Shin'yōshō* and *Monju kōshiki* both dated to around 1196, a few years into Jōkei's restoration of Kasagidera. Thus here, to provide context for the *kōshiki*, I will first examine Jōkei's restoration activities for the temple focusing on the links to the Mañjuśrī cult, then investigate the significant role that Mañjuśrī, the "Mother of Awakening," plays in the *Shin'yōshō*. In the third section, I will analyze the *kōshiki*, before concluding with reflections on how these three leading examples of Jōkei's Mañjuśrī faith show him variously adapting his cultic activities to local circumstances, incorporating them in sectarian concerns, and synthesizing them for use beyond those local and sectarian-specific contexts. In addition, I have augmented the article with a complete annotated translation of Jōkei's five-part *Monju kōshiki* in the online supplement to this issue of the *JJRS*.

Jōkei's Kasagidera Restoration and the Great Wisdom Sutra

Because of a long-standing link between Kasagidera and the Maitreya cult, and much evidence for Jōkei's participation in that cult, scholars generally associate Jōkei's Kasagi years with his Maitreya faith. However, often overlooked in analyses of Jōkei's restoration of Kasagidera or his Maitreya faith is the *intertwining* of his participation in the cults of Maitreya and Mañjuśrī: starting with his project to copy the six-hundred fascicle *Great Wisdom Sutra*, cultic practices related to both bodhisattvas played prominent roles in his activities at Kasagidera. Devotion to the *Great Wisdom Sutra* and Mañjuśrī went hand in hand for Jōkei and many other practitioners because by Jōkei's time, Mañjuśrī had long been con-

in Guelberg's database and another eight recognized there as attributed to him. In addition, although only two of his *kōshiki* are identified in the database, the Shingon Ritsu monk Eison 叡尊 (or Eizon; 1201–1290)—who, like Jōkei and Myōe, vigorously engaged in temple restoration projects—is credited with five *kōshiki* in an often-cited early modern chronological record of his activities, the *Saidai chokushi Kōshō Bosatsu gyōjitsu nenpu* 西大勸諭興正菩薩行実年譜 (NARA KOKURITSU BUNKAZAI KENKYŪJO 1977, 201; for more on Eison's *kōshiki*, see QUINTER 2011 and 2014).

sidered across diverse Mahayana schools as the transmitter of the Perfection of Wisdom (Sk. *Prajñāpāramitā*) teachings.⁶

Jōkei's process of copying and enshrining the *Great Wisdom Sutra* was a long one. He made his initial vow to have the sutra copied on the first day of the year in 1182, and the actual copying began later that year, on the twenty-seventh day of the eleventh month. The project was not finished, however, until exactly ten years later, on 1192/11/27. Jōkei's fulfillment of his long-held vow is closely connected to his retreat to Kasagidera. His decision to withdraw from Kōfukuji 興福寺—one of the two leading temples in Nara and the center for Hossō studies—and to become a reclusive monk (*tonseisō* 遁世僧) apparently came in early 1192.⁷ Our earliest testimony to that decision appears in the entry for 1192/2/8 in the diary of the Fujiwara regent Kujō Kanezane 九条兼実 (1149–1207), who records that he invited Jōkei to his residence and asked about the planned move.⁸ Kanezane only laconically attributes Jōkei's decision to a divine revelation he received, but Jōkei's later account of the start and finish of the *Great Wisdom Sutra* copying project helps us flesh out Kanezane's remarks.

Looking back in late 1195 on these events, Jōkei indicates that although he had long wanted to enter into reclusion, at the time he lacked the firm aspiration for the Way (*dōshin* 道心; Sk. *bodhicitta*). He thus made a proclamation to Kasuga 春日, the tutelary deity for his Fujiwara clan, and prayed that the kami would protect him “on the buddha-path in life after life and age after age.” He then performed a reading of the *Great Wisdom Sutra*'s Rishubun 理趣分 (Section on transcending principle) as an offering to the kami and made plans to copy the full sutra.⁹ When that long task was almost finished, Jōkei made pilgrimages to Kasuga Shrine for one hundred days, and in the spring of that year (1192)

6. One salient early Japanese example portraying Mañjuśrī as the transmitter of the *Prajñāpāramitā* “treasury” (Sk. *piṭaka*) appears in the writings of Kūkai 空海 (774–835), the founder of Shingon. Citing the *Daijō rishu roku haramittakyō* 大乘理趣六波羅蜜多經 (T no. 261), Kūkai identifies Mañjuśrī with this transmission in *Hokekyō* (or *Hokkekyō*) *shaku* 法華經釈 (Interpretation of the *Lotus Sutra*); see KŪKAI (1983–1985, 3: 401–402), or ABÉ (1999, 266), for an English translation.

7. “Reclusive monks” in medieval Japan referred to those who withdrew from full participation in the state-sponsored system of monastic appointments, often retreating to smaller or deteriorated temples in the process. On the significance of such reclusive monks in medieval Buddhism—which cuts across typical divides of the “old” or “exoteric-esoteric” Buddhism of the Tendai, Shingon, and Nara schools versus the “new” or “heterodox” Buddhism of the Pure Land, Nichiren, and Zen schools—see the work of MATSUO Kenji (1995; 1996; 1997; 1998).

8. For Kanezane's comments, see the entry for 1192/2/8 in his *Gyokuyō* 玉葉, KUJŌ (1906–1907, 3: 792).

9. The Rishubun section corresponds to fascicle 587 of the *Daihannya haramittakyō* 大般若波羅蜜多經 (Sk. *Mahāprajñā-pāramitā-sūtra*) and begins at T 5, no. 220, 986a28.

was finally able to retreat from worldly matters.¹⁰ This timing tallies well with Kanezane's account of Jōkei's decision (in accord with the lunar calendar), and it seems likely that the revelation Kanezane referred to occurred during Jōkei's pilgrimages to Kasuga shrine. Moreover, due to the strong connections that Jōkei would draw between Mañjuśrī and the *Great Wisdom Sutra*, it is also notable that Jōkei and other monks and priests linked to the Kōfukuji-Kasuga temple-shrine complex considered Mañjuśrī to be one of the Buddhist source-deities for Kasuga through Kasuga's Wakamiya 若宮 shrine.¹¹

In the eighth month of 1192, about six months after explaining to Kanezane his decision to become a reclusive monk, Jōkei copied the Rishubun section of the *Great Wisdom Sutra* before a fifty-foot-high image of Maitreya carved into a cliffside at Kasagidera, an image that both spurred and symbolized the Maitreya cult in the area. The next year, in fall 1193, Jōkei entered Kasagidera, and he soon began preparations for properly enshrining the massive sutra. He first designated a suitable spot to construct a six-sided platform—appropriately named Hanniyadai 般若台, or Great Wisdom Platform—to house a black-lacquered and similarly six-sided stand that he had constructed to enshrine the sutra.¹² According to Jōkei's 1195/11/19 dedicatory text (*ganmon* 願文) celebrating the completion of Hanniyadai, he had images of twelve deities and saints drawn on the doors of the sutra stand and “in the center enshrined one statue each of Śākyamuni Buddha, the two bodhisattvas Mañjuśrī and Maitreya, and sixteen grains of buddha relics.” Jōkei's ensuing account of the enshrined statues centers on Mañjuśrī: “Concerning this buddha image, I have heard that in ancient times a former emperor constructed it. The Great Sage Mañjuśrī came from Wutai 五台, sculpted [the image], and opened its eyes. Again, [it] manifested many

10. The account to this point is based on Jōkei's 1195/11/19 *Kasagidera Hanniyadai kuyō ganmon* 笠置寺般若台供養願文, which can be found in *Sanbutsujō shō* 讚仏乗抄, part 8, in FUJITA (1976, 97–98 [see page 98 for the details here]). For a good summary and analysis of these events, see also ISHIDA (1988, 345–47). For more detailed studies of Jōkei's move to Kasagidera and his activities there, see KOBAYASHI (1991) and FUNATA (2010).

11. Jōkei and colleagues considered Mañjuśrī to be the source-deity, or “original ground” (*honji* 本地), for the Wakamiya shrine kami as a “trace-manifestation” (*suijaku* 垂迹). Wakamiya shrine was recently established (in 1135) in Jōkei's time, thus we also find references to the buddha-kami associations for only the first four Kasuga shrines—omitting mention of Mañjuśrī and Wakamiya—and the specific associations continued to vary throughout the medieval period. However, Jōkei's three-part *Kasuga Gongen kōshiki* 春日権現講式 shows his explicit associations, including the Mañjuśrī-Wakamiya link; see the text in TAISHŌ DAIGAKU (2000, 208–209). For more on the buddha-kami relationships for the Kasuga shrines, see GRAPARD (1992, 74–93) and FORD (2006, 147–49).

12. See Jōkei's *Kasagi Shōnin daihannya rishubun oku nikki* 笠置上人般若理趣分奥日記 in HIRAOKA (1958–1960, 3: 415). This text was likely composed close in time to the 1195/7/24–25 recopying of the Rishubun section that it records, but before the offering ceremony for Hanniyadai on 11/19 that year.

miracles. However, I have not yet seen the text of the origin account (*engi* 縁起)” (*Kasagidera Hannyadai kuyō ganmon*, in FUJITA 1976, 97).

Unfortunately, Jōkei’s account here is too abbreviated to reconstruct his precise meaning. It is not clear, for example, if he attributes the entire triad or just the Mañjuśrī sculpture to the construction activities sponsored by the former emperor and to Mañjuśrī’s miraculous arrival from Mt. Wutai. What is clear, however, is that Jōkei links the origins of at least one of the statues to Mañjuśrī’s arrival and that he associated the image with miraculous occurrences even before its enshrinement at Kasagidera. Also, although Jōkei was not able to read any earlier origin account for the image, he effectively creates a brief one here by including this story in his dedicatory text. The story suggests a localized application of the Mañjuśrī cult, as it shows parallels with origin accounts of the famed Maitreya image at Kasagi. In a near-contemporary tale of Kasagidera’s founding, the Maitreya image was said to have originated when an ancient prince—who reportedly later became emperor—vowed to carve it on the cliff from which he was about to fall. After being miraculously saved, returning to the site, and heading to the base of the cliff, however, the prince realized that he would never be able to carve the image on such a precipice. Moved by compassion, a celestial being carved the image in his stead.¹³

The possibility of a distinctively Kasagidera *engi* for the Mañjuśrī statue (and perhaps the entire triad) that Jōkei installed within Hannyadai is intriguing. However, the association of Mañjuśrī with Jōkei’s enshrinement of the *Great Wisdom Sutra* is also appropriate for reflecting a long-standing aspect of the Mañjuśrī cult—the bodhisattva’s close links to the Perfection of Wisdom teachings and *prajñā*—that transcended localized instantiations. Even after the completion of Hannyadai, we can see the continuing interlinked significance of the sutra, its enshrined adornments, *prajñā*, and Mañjuśrī in Jōkei’s ritual and scholarly activities. Once Hannyadai was dedicated in the 1195/11/19 offering ceremony, Jōkei’s next major ritual event at Kasagidera was to launch a “one-thousand-day relic lecture” in the fourth month of 1196. In his fundraising appeal for the lecture ceremony, he proclaims: “Concerning the bequeathed bodily relics of the Great Teacher Śākyamuni, I wish to hold an offering service before the next buddha, the Compassionate Master,” referring to the cliffside image of Maitreya.¹⁴ Although Jōkei does not mention Mañjuśrī in this very brief fundraising

13. See Karen Brock’s translation of this account from the *Konjaku monogatari shū* 今昔物語集 (Tales of times now past), which is typically dated to the early- to mid-twelfth century (BROCK 1988, 240–41).

14. See *Shamon Jōkei Kasagidera shari kō butsugu kanjinjō* 沙門貞慶笠置寺舍利講供勸進狀, in HIRAOKA (1958–1960, 3: 238). “The next buddha, the Compassionate Master” renders *fusho jison* 補処慈尊 and is one of various epithets for Maitreya, the Compassionate Master (*jison*) who will succeed the previous buddha and “take his place” (*fusho*) as buddha in his next lifetime.

appeal, he does invoke a similar constellation of Śākyamuni, Maitreya, and relics as in the offerings enshrined in the sutra stand for the *Great Wisdom Sutra*. Moreover, FUNATA (2010, 162) suggests that the relics offered in this ceremony were the ones enshrined at Hannayadai.

Jōkei's third major ritual event at Kasagidera, his restoration of the Eight Lectures on the *Lotus Sutra* (*Hokke hakkō* 法華八講), reiterated the importance of the *Great Wisdom Sutra* when he added ceremonies for the latter sutra to the Eight Lectures. The Eight Lectures on the *Lotus Sutra* had been one of the most popular Buddhist ceremonies in the Heian period (794–1185), and origin accounts for Kasagidera claim that the temple was the third site of their practice in Japan, dating to 794.¹⁵ The Eight Lectures originally served primarily as memorial rites, with the eminent monk Gonzō 勤操 (754–827) leading the first Japanese ceremony, in the late eighth century, for the mother of a fellow monk (the monk had passed away before his mother and thus could not sponsor such rites himself). Alongside their common function as a memorial rite for the deceased, the Eight Lectures developed in diverse ways over the next four hundred years. The ceremonies came to serve variously as “pre-memorial rites” (*gyakushu* 逆修) in which the living could generate merit toward future rebirths and as lavish opportunities for aristocrats to accrue and display Buddhist merit and political prestige. They were both arenas for high-stake debates between Buddhist schools and grand occasions for host temples to solicit donations.¹⁶

Although the Heian-period Eight Lectures were primarily aristocratic, commoners, especially in the latter half of the period, were able to participate in “bond-forming” (*kechien* 結縁) versions. In such bond-forming ceremonies, groups collectively sponsored a Buddhist painting, statue, or rite and held the accompanying lectures. The merit from sponsoring Eight Lectures ceremonies were dedicated to any of various ends, including the salvation of oneself or one's family members, forging karmic bonds with a specific deity or among the sponsoring members, and such public purposes as protecting the state or the emperor. Parallels here with *kōshiki* performances are significant, as *kōshiki* also typically were held as group assemblies, emphasized karmic bonding with the object of devotion and among the group members, and could accommodate mixed assemblies of monastics and laypeople.

The popularity of the Eight Lectures, their varied functions, and their long-standing association with Kasagidera made them a fitting venue through which Jōkei could promote the ongoing restoration of the temple and help draw pil-

15. Jōkei reports this account in his *Shamon Jōkei Kasagidera hokke hakkō kanjinjō* 沙門貞慶笠置寺法華八講勸進狀, in HIRAOKA (1958–1960, 3: 238–39).

16. Details here and in the next paragraph on the Heian-period Eight Lectures on the *Lotus Sutra* are based on Willa Jane Tanabe's excellent summary (TANABE 1984).

grims. Continuity with his earlier enshrinement of the *Great Wisdom Sutra* and construction of Hannyadai was made clear in his 1196/12 fundraising petition for the transformed Eight Lectures ceremony. There, he proposed to add lectures on the *Great Wisdom Sutra* in the spring and the *Shinji kangyō* 心地觀經, or the *Mind-Ground Contemplation Sutra*, in the fall. He called the *Great Wisdom Sutra*, the *Lotus Sutra*, and the *Shinji kangyō* the “threefold Mahayana” and simultaneously petitioned to have a thirteen-story stupa constructed that would enshrine relics, the three sutras, and statues of Mañjuśrī and the Four Heavenly Kings. This stupa, he claimed, would be patterned after the Hannyatō 般若塔, or Prajñā Stupa, on Vulture Peak (*Ryōjusen* 靈鷲山), where Śākyamuni was said to have preached the *Lotus* and other sutras (see the *Shamon Jōkei Kasagidera hokke hakkō kanjinjō*, in HIRAOKA [1958–1960, 3: 238–40]).

Once the stupa construction was finished, Jōkei's 1198/11/7 dedicatory text for the offering ceremony reveals an iconographic linking of Śākyamuni's and Mañjuśrī's mountains, both of which were considered Pure Lands in this very world. At the start of the text, Jōkei lists together the Vulture Peak and Mt. Clear-and-Cool, referring to Mt. Wutai in China, among the illustrations on the left and right screens (*shōji* 障子) behind the doors of the stupa. He also had a Mañjuśrī image engraved on the face of an enshrined mirror; such mirrors were usually made of polished bronze and often used in kami cults to represent the “True Body” (*mishōtai* 御正体) of the deity. In a section of the dedicatory text lauding various early Buddhist saints in Japan, Jōkei signaled Mañjuśrī's distinctive presence in this “land of the kami” (*shinkoku* 神国) by referring to the Nara-period saint Gyōki 行基 (668–749) as the response-manifestation body of the Mother of Awakening (a common epithet for Mañjuśrī). Also noteworthy among the deities and saints celebrated in the text are offerings of a golden Śākyamuni statue and a reported one-thousand Maitreya images accompanying the enshrined relics.¹⁷ Because of the variety of images offered, this is not as clear a triad of Śākyamuni, Mañjuśrī, and Maitreya as in the sutra stand for the *Great Wisdom Sutra*, but the prominent place of the three among the images for the stupa remains noteworthy.

Throughout these construction and ritual activities that build on Jōkei's enshrinement of the *Great Wisdom Sutra* at Kasagidera, there are two keynotes associated with Mañjuśrī: *prajñā* and generation of the aspiration for enlightenment (Sk. *bodhicitta*; Jp. *bodaishin* 菩提心). These two keynotes are closely linked in Jōkei's writings and much other literature on the bodhisattva because Mañjuśrī, as the embodiment of *prajñā*, is said to be the progenitor of both awakening (Sk. *bodhi*) and awakened ones (buddhas). Thus this “Mother of Awakening” sets practitioners on the path to enlightenment and buddhahood by

17. See the 1198/11/7 *Kasagidera Jōkei ganmon* 笠置寺貞慶願文, in *Kamakura ibun* (TAKEUCHI 1971–1997, 2: 324–26 [doc. 1012]).

first engendering the aspiration for such enlightenment. It is natural, then, that we find frequent reference to helping people generate that aspiration in Jōkei's texts for the Kasagidera structures, his rituals related to the *Great Wisdom Sutra*, and such writings of his on Mañjuśrī as the *Shin'yōshō*'s "Mother of Awakening" chapter and the *Monju kōshiki*. At the same time, given the prominence of the Maitreya cult at Kasagidera and in Jōkei's activities more broadly, it is equally natural that these texts also celebrate Maitreya.

For example, Jōkei closes his 1195 account of copying the Rishubun portion of the *Great Wisdom Sutra* by praying that buddha-disciples and his fellow monks will, at the time of their deaths, be welcomed by the various buddhas, worthies (*ken* 賢), and sages, and be reborn in the Inner Cloister of Tuṣita Heaven (Tosotsu nai'in 兜率内院), where Maitreya resides. There, Jōkei's prayer continues, they will be able to "see the buddha and hear the dharma, awaken *prajñā*, take in countless sentient beings, and cause them to generate the aspiration for enlightenment" (*Kasagi Shōnin daihannya rishubun oku nikki*, in HIRAOKA [1958–1960, 3: 415]). In his dedicatory text for the Hanniyadai offering ceremony, to such vows on practitioners' ascent to Maitreya's realm, Jōkei's closing statements add passages on Maitreya's descent from Tuṣita to take his place as the next buddha.¹⁸ Here, Jōkei prays that when Maitreya descends and preaches *prajñā*, the various great assemblies will together journey to the place of the buddha. Jōkei goes on to pray that sentient beings will together see and hear the various rites and dharma expositions, generate the aspiration for enlightenment, and receive predictions of their future enlightenment (*Kasagidera Hanniyadai kuyō ganmon*, in FUJITA [1976, 98]). Moreover, as his explicit aim in having the Eight Lectures on the *Lotus Sutra* revived and the thirteen-story Hannya stupa constructed at Kasagidera, Jōkei declares his desire to "sincerely repay and thank the vast benevolence of the Buddha; through that merit, requite the true virtue of the Great Shrine [of Ise]; and, borrowing from that awesome power, pray that the sentient beings of our country will generate the aspiration for enlightenment" (*Shamon Jōkei Kasagidera hokke hakkō kanjinjō*, in HIRAOKA [1958–1960, 3: 239]).

We find a similar emphasis in Jōkei's 1198 dedicatory text for the thirteen-story stupa, where he insists that generating the aspiration for enlightenment and causing others to do the same is what truly repays the four debts (those to one's parents, other sentient beings, the sovereign, and the three jewels; *Kasagidera Jōkei ganmon*, in TAKEUCHI [1971–1997, 2: 325, doc. 1012]). In East Asia, the *locus classicus* for the discourse on the four debts is the *Shinji kangyō*,

18. The "ascent and descent motifs"—of Maitreya's and devotees' ascent to Tuṣita and of his descent from that heaven after 5,670,000,000 years to preach the dharma—form two basic paradigms for the Maitreya cult in East Asia; see MIYATA (1988, 176–79) for a summary of the motifs focusing on ancient Japan.

a sutra also invoked for famed passages on Mañjuśrī as the mother of buddhas and one of the two sutras that Jōkei added to the Eight Lectures on the *Lotus Sutra*. I will return to this issue below, in my discussion of Jōkei's *Shin'yōshō*.

Jōkei's Shin'yōshō and the Mother of Awakening

The two keynotes of *prajñā* and the aspiration for enlightenment struck in Jōkei's enshrinement of the *Great Wisdom Sutra* at Kasagidera are also well attested in Jōkei's section on Mañjuśrī in the *Shin'yōshō* and in his *Monju kōshiki*. Both texts are believed to have been composed during his Kasagi years. Here I will analyze the role of Mañjuśrī in the *Shin'yōshō*, before turning to the *kōshiki* in the next section.

Although Jōkei specialists differ on the dating of the *Shin'yōshō*, most consider it to have been composed around 1196.¹⁹ That dating places this doctrinal treatise squarely amid Jōkei's ritual and construction activities for the various "Hannya" (Sk. *prajñā*) structures at Kasagidera. Thus, while the *Shin'yōshō* is of a different genre than the previously examined texts of Jōkei's sponsoring material constructions and ritual performances, it is fitting that one of the *Shin'yōshō*'s longest chapters is on the "Mother of Awakening" and widely celebrates Mañjuśrī's embodiment of *prajñā*. The place of this eighth and final chapter and its focus on Mañjuśrī in the overall doctrinal scheme of the work is outlined in Jōkei's opening summary of "the essentials":

The essentials of the sacred teachings do not go beyond *bodhi*. The essentials of *bodhi* do not go beyond the two benefits. The essentials of the two benefits do not go beyond the three learnings. The essentials of the three learnings do not go beyond [the teachings of] the one mind. The essentials of the one mind do not go beyond contemplating the mind. The essentials of contemplating the mind do not go beyond calling the buddha to mind (*nenbutsu* 念仏). The essentials of calling the buddha to mind do not go beyond generating the aspiration for enlightenment. The essentials of generating the aspiration do not go beyond the Mother of Awakening. Now, relying on these eight gates, I will slightly expound the essentials of the mind.²⁰

19. On the differing views for the dating of the *Shin'yōshō*, see FORD (2006, 233, note 61).

20. Translation based on *Shin'yōshō*; in SGZ 63: 328a, with reference to FORD (2006, 117). The "two benefits" are those for oneself and for others. The "three learnings" (*sangaku* 三学) are the precepts, meditation, and wisdom. The "one mind" refers to *yuishiki* 唯識, or "consciousness-only." "Consciousness-only contemplation" (*yuishikikan* 唯識觀) is used in Hossō to refer to meditative practices based on the fundamental Yogācāra teaching that all that we perceive is appropriated through, and thus constructed by, our various types of consciousness. By Jōkei's time, "calling the Buddha to mind" most commonly referred to contemplative practices—including name recitation—centered on the Buddha Amida (Sk. Amitābha or Amitāyus), but could also refer to ones centered on Śākyamuni, Maitreya, or other buddhas or bodhisattvas.

It is clear that Mañjuśrī, the Mother of Awakening, plays a fundamental role among these eight gates of practice, yet the bodhisattva's significance receives relatively little attention in analyses of Jōkei's *Shin'yōshō*. Thus to see Mañjuśrī's role in action, let us now turn to the Mother of Awakening chapter.

Jōkei begins, as he does all eight chapters, by explaining the "aspects" (*sō* 相) of the subject. He proclaims:

Prajñāpāramitā Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva is the Mother of Awakening for generating the aspiration for enlightenment for the buddhas of the three times. His substance is wisdom. There is a dharma, and it is called the *Prajñā* sutras. There is a person, and he is named Myōkichijō 妙吉祥 [that is, Mañjuśrī].

(SGZ 63: 349a)

Continuing the emphasis on the bodhisattva's inseparability from *prajñā*, Jōkei insists:

Mañjuśrī takes wisdom and makes it his original substance. He takes suchness (*shinnyo* 真如) and makes it his true body ... Prajñāpāramitā is Mañjuśrī's true substance; he explicated the passages, syllables, chapters, and verses of the *Prajñā* [sutras]. The expresser and the expressed are not one and not different.

(SGZ 63: 349a–b)

For all his emphasis on Mañjuśrī's wisdom, however, Jōkei also recognizes the bodhisattva's compassionate aspects, and he repeatedly uses parental metaphors—especially maternal ones—in his explications and scriptural supports for both the wisdom and compassion aspects. For example, in his closing passages on the aspects of the Mother of Awakening, he insists that on the bodhisattva path, before attaining the stage of the "ten grounds" of a bodhisattva, one practices *prajñāpāramitā* and that "this is Mañjuśrī's inner realization of wisdom":

Metaphorically, it is like when a father and mother produce a child; the two parents' bodies are divided and first become the child's substance. Bodhisattvas who generate the aspiration should know the Mother of Awakening's true substance [as a] single portion; the thirty minds before the [ten] grounds [of a bodhisattva] are called the sacred womb. This is because the dharma body is not yet revealed. If people who generate the aspiration already dwell within *Prajñā* Mañjuśrī's womb, compassion will surround and protect them, no different than a worldly mother's maternal thoughts when she is pregnant.

(SGZ 63: 350a)²¹

21. The "thirty minds before the [bodhisattva] grounds" (*jizen no sanjisshin* 地前三十心) refers to the first thirty stages of mind on the bodhisattva path before the ten "grounds" (Sk. *bhūmi*), or stages, of a bodhisattva's practice; see NAKAMURA (1981, 564a, s.vv "jizen sangen," "jizen no sanjisshin").

Jōkei concludes the “aspects” section of his discussion with these words, but immediately continues the maternal metaphors in his second section, on scriptural citations. He first cites the *Great Wisdom Sutra*:

Part 8 of the *Great Wisdom Sutra* states that “The extremely deep *prajñā-pāramitā* is the birth mother and foster mother of all good dharmas. It births them well and raises them well. This is because [the perfections of] charity, the pure precepts, and so on to the five eyes all have fathomless and boundless merit.” [The sutra] also states: “[*Prajñāpāramitā*] gives rise well to all good dharmas and serves as their mother. This is because the good dharmas of all auditors (Sk. *śrāvaka*), *pratyekabuddhas*, bodhisattvas, and Thus Come Ones are born from that. (SGZ 63: 350a)²²

He follows this passage by quoting the renowned Indian Buddhist philosopher Nāgārjuna as stating that “The various buddhas and bodhisattvas, auditors, and *pratyekabuddhas* understand and explicate the path to nirvana. They are all born from *prajñā*. The Buddha serves as the father to sentient beings. *Prajñā* gives birth well to the Buddha” (SGZ 63: 350a).

The citations from the *Great Wisdom Sutra* and Nāgārjuna provide strong pedigrees for Jōkei's insistence on the generative and nurturing aspects of *prajñā*. Turning specifically to Mañjuśrī, he cites two classical sources for the understanding of the bodhisattva as the Mother of Awakening, the *Shinji kangyō* and the *Hōhatsukyō* 放鉢經 (Sutra of the bowl-hurling [miracle]). As the passages are quoted variously in Jōkei's *Shin'yōshō* and his *Monju kōshiki*, here I will translate from the versions in the *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* canon. Jōkei first directly quotes the following *Shinji kangyō* passage:

The various buddhas of the three times take the Honored Great Sage Mañjuśrī as their mother. The initial awakening of the aspiration for enlightenment for all the Thus Come Ones of the ten directions is due to the power of Mañjuśrī's guidance.²³

He then paraphrases and abbreviates the following *Hōhatsukyō* passage:

22. Jōkei's first citation from the *Great Wisdom Sutra* is based on fascicle 8 of Xuanzang's translation, T 5, no. 220, 45a5–8. For the second citation, see fascicle 75, T 5, no. 220, 426c14–16. The “five eyes” (*gogen* 五眼) refer to (1) the flesh-eye of humans, which sees form; (2) the heavenly eye of the gods, which sees near and far, past and future, unhindered; (3) the wisdom-eye of accomplished *śrāvakas* and *pratyekabuddhas*, which perceives the emptiness of phenomena; (4) the dharma-eye of bodhisattvas, which discerns the methods for saving people; and (5) the buddha-eye, which possesses all the abilities of the preceding four.

23. *Shinji kangyō*, T 3, no. 159, 305c25–26. See SGZ 63: 350a), for Jōkei's citation of the passage in *Shin'yōshō*. In Jōkei's *Monju kōshiki*, this is the verse (Sk. *gāthā*) to be chanted at the end of part one; see TAISHŌ DAIGAKU (2000, 147), for the original passage.

Now, my [Śākyamuni's] attaining buddhahood; having the thirty-two marks and eighty auspicious signs, majesty, and dignity; and saving the sentient beings of the ten directions is all due to the benevolence of Mañjuśrī. Originally, he was my teacher. In the past, the innumerable buddhas were all Mañjuśrī's disciples. Those in the future will also be led by his majesty and benevolent power. Just as all the infants of the world have fathers and mothers, Mañjuśrī is the father and mother on the buddha-path.²⁴

With Jōkei's references to these classic sources on Mañjuśrī as the progenitor of the aspiration for enlightenment for buddhas, we see how, *in the context of that aspiration*, even Jōkei's often-cited devotion to such buddhas (or future buddhas) as Śākyamuni and Maitreya can be complementary to Mañjuśrī faith.²⁵

After the citations from such exoteric scriptures, Jōkei shifts from the focus on Mañjuśrī as mother and father for the buddha-path, closing the section on scriptural citations with esoteric five-syllable views of the bodhisattva. In doing so, however, he maintains the emphasis on *prajñā* and the *pāramitās*. Drawing on the *Kongōchōgyō yuga Monjushiri Bosatsu hō* 金剛頂經瑜伽文殊師利菩薩法, or the *Rite of Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva According to the Vajraśekhara-sūtra*, Jōkei writes:

The *Mañjuśrī Five-Syllable Ritual Procedures* (*Monju goji giki* 文殊五字儀軌) states: “Merely recite this mantra. All the dharmas preached by the Thus Come Ones are contained within the five-syllable mantra, and it can cause sentient beings to fulfill the *pāramitās*.” Again, it states: “In his right hand, he clutches the diamond sword. His left hand, at the place of his heart, makes the diamond fist and holds a blue lotus flower. Atop the flower is a *Prajñāpāramitā* sutra container.”²⁶ Again, it states: “The syllable *a* is the principle of transforming desire. The syllable *ra* is the principle that taints and attachments (*zenjaku* 染着) will not cause sentient beings to be abandoned. The syllable *pa* is the principle of absolute truth. The syllable *ca* is the principle of wondrous activity. The syllable *na* is the principle of no self-nature. [This practice] fulfills all prayers.” Again, it states: “Recite it five hundred thousand times and you will assuredly acquire unlimited eloquence.”²⁷ (SGZ 63: 350b)

24. Translation based on *Hōhatsukyō*, T 15, no. 629, 451a14–19, with reference to LAMOTTE (1960, 93–94). For the *Shin'yōshō* paraphrase of the passage, see SGZ 63: 350a–b. For a very similar paraphrase in Jōkei's *Monju kōshiki*, see TAISHŌ DAIGAKU (2000, 146–47).

25. While it may be the case that, as James FORD (2006, 97) notes, in the context of the *Shin'yōshō* more broadly, Jōkei saw devotion to Mañjuśrī and other bodhisattvas “as complementary to veneration for Maitreya,” we need to keep in mind—here and elsewhere for Jōkei's devotional testimonies—the question of complementarity with respect to *which aspects* of the objects of veneration.

26. The term “sutra container” (*bonkyō* 梵函)—literally “Indian” or “Brahman” box—refers to Indian scriptures written on palm leaves held together by boards, like a box. In Mañjuśrī iconography, this often looks like a small book.

27. The four quotations in this paragraph are apparently paraphrased from the following

Although the fundraising and dedicatory texts for the Kasagidera Hannya structures primarily reflected exoteric views of Mañjuśrī, this *Shin'yōshō* passage is significant as it shows Jōkei moving fluidly from exoteric to esoteric views. Jōkei is best known as an exoteric Hossō monk, but such passages in his writings illustrate how naturally Nara monastics of the time, across sectarian boundaries, also incorporated esoteric views and practices. Thus the simplified recitative practices that Jōkei and colleagues promoted included not only recitations of a buddha's or bodhisattva's name, such as in *nenbutsu* practices, but also esoteric mantras and spells. Jōkei's *Monju kōshiki* shows this clearly in the pronouncement of intentions for the ceremony (*hyōbyaku* 表白), where he notes that "some will recite the divine spells (*jinsu* 神呪 or *shinju*), and others will chant the treasured name [of Mañjuśrī]" (TAISHŌ DAIGAKU 2000, 146).²⁸

Returning to the broader narrative of the "Mother of Awakening" chapter in the *Shin'yōshō*, we again see Jōkei's recognition of the power of recitative practices, also showing a link to Mañjuśrī, in the third and final section of the chapter. The section is called "on resolving the doubts," following the same structure as the preceding chapters. Here, in answering the questions of a constructed questioner, Jōkei maintains his emphasis on the aspiration for enlightenment, but he is less centered on the figure of Mañjuśrī than in the preceding two sections. Toward the end, however, Jōkei includes anecdotes that illuminate the interrelated significance of Mañjuśrī and Maitreya in his Hossō milieu. He first underscores the importance to the school of the *Heart Sutra*, one of the shortest but most famous *Prajñāpāramitā* sutras, by relating a story of Kannon conferring the sutra on the Chinese monk Xuanzang 玄奘 (600–664). By reciting this sutra, Jōkei remarks, Xuanzang was able to "escape from hardships on his western route," as "demon-spirits, when he rose his voice, feared the sutra and would not approach." Xuanzang was renowned for his journey westward to India and was venerated in Hossō as the transmitter of the Yogācāra teachings to China. Due to the protection afforded Xuanzang by the *Heart Sutra*, Jōkei states emphatically that "The transmission of the Middle Sect [Hossō] was simply due to the power of this sutra. As a result, the *tripiṭaka* master [Xuanzang] recited this in his final moments (*rinjū* 臨終)" (SGZ 63: 355b–56a).

The Xuanzang anecdote then leads Jōkei to a second anecdote, which establishes a distinctive significance for Mañjuśrī in the Hossō school through links to the *Heart Sutra*. Referring to the activities of Xuanzang's disciple Cien 慈恩

passages in the *Kongōchōgyō yuga Monjushiri Bosatsu hō*, which I have listed in the order they appear in the *Shin'yōshō*: T 20, no. 1171, 705a12, 17–18; 707a23–26; 705b5–9; 705b24–25.

28. "Spells" here renders *ju* 呪, which refers variously to mantras and *dhāraṇī* (Jp. *darani* 陀羅尼).

(Jp. Jion),²⁹ who is generally regarded as the first Chinese patriarch of the school, Jōkei instructs:

Jion Daishi 慈恩大師 wrote by hand a golden-letter copy of the *Heart Sutra*. Afterward, he climbed Mt. Wutai and journeyed to the place of Mañjuśrī. Mañjuśrī manifested and revealed the karmic cause from a previous life. Thus you should know that the eminent patriarch (*kōso* 高祖) deeply revered the *Heart Sutra*, extending to Mañjuśrī. Future students should follow this.

(SGZ 63: 356a)

Finally, Jōkei again aligns Mañjuśrī and Maitreya, as he follows these words by asking:

Why, among the various Great Sages, do we take Maitreya and Mañjuśrī and make them our main deities? Mañjuśrī is the Honored Śākyamuni's ninth-generation ancestral teacher.³⁰ Maitreya, in his next lifetime, will take [Śākyamuni's] place. When one receives the bodhisattva precepts, these two sages serve as *ācārya* [that is, master] and instructor. The compilation of the Mahayana was due to the benevolent virtue of the two sages. (SGZ 63: 356a)

In this passage, with the reference to the bodhisattva precepts, we see another likely influence on the Śākyamuni-Mañjuśrī-Maitreya triad that Jōkei enshrined in the stand for the *Great Wisdom Sutra* at Kasagidera. This influence blends Hossō (or Yogācāra) and Tendai traditions and merits elaboration here because it illuminates an aspect of Jōkei's Mañjuśrī faith not revealed by a read of his *Monju kōshiki* alone, in isolation from the combined evidence in *Shin'yōshō* and his restoration activities for Kasagidera.

Saichō 最澄 (767–822), the founder of Tendai in Japan, had initiated the use of Śākyamuni, Mañjuśrī, and Maitreya as, respectively, the preceptor, the master of the proceedings, and the instructor for ceremonies conferring the bodhisattva precepts of the *Brahmā Net Sutra*.³¹ The use of these three positions, or the “three

29. Cien (632–682) is also known as Kuiji 窺基 or simply Ji 基.

30. Mañjuśrī appears as Śākyamuni's “ninth-generation” teacher in the introduction to the *Lotus Sutra*. According to this account, when Mañjuśrī was the bodhisattva Wonderfully Bright (Myōkō 妙光; Ch. Miaoguang) in a previous life, he taught the eight sons of the Buddha Sun Moon Bright. This account then led to an interpretive tradition in which the last son to become a buddha, known as Buddha Burning Torch, was recognized as Śākyamuni's teacher and Mañjuśrī was seen as Śākyamuni's ninth-generation ancestral teacher. For the *Lotus Sutra* passage, see T 9, no. 262, 4a22–b16, and WATSON (1993, 16–17) for an English translation. For related references to Mañjuśrī as Śākyamuni's ninth-generation teacher, see the *Hokke gisho* 法華義疏 (Ch. *Fahua yishu*; T 34, no. 1721, 481b2–3) by Jizang 吉藏 (549–623) as well as the *Hokke gengi shakusen* 法華玄義釈籤 (Ch. *Fahua xuanyi shiqian*; T 33, no. 1717, 922c23–26) and the *Hokke mongu ki* 法華文句記 (Ch. *Fahua wenju ji*; T 34, no. 1719, 207c27–208a3), both by Zhanran 湛然 (711–782).

31. “Master of the proceedings” renders *konma ajari* 羯磨阿闍梨; literally, the *karma ācārya*. This refers to the monk responsible for carrying out the ordination in the proper manner. The

masters,” was common to “separate ordination” ceremonies conferring the full monastic precepts of the *Four-Part Vinaya*, as in the Nara schools and Shingon, and to ordinations conferring the bodhisattva precepts.³² For the separate ordinations, however, it was expected that senior monks, who had been ordained at least ten years, would serve as the three masters and that the ceremonies would be performed before seven monks (or two in outlying districts) as witnesses. By contrast, Saichō’s regulations for bodhisattva precept ordinations relied on Śākyamuni, Mañjuśrī, and Maitreya as the three masters and on the buddhas of the ten directions as the witnesses.³³

Under the influence especially of Saichō’s disciples and later Tendai monks, the *Brahmā Net* ceremonies had developed into the most popular form of bodhisattva precept ordinations by Jōkei’s time. Although the original ordination platform on Mt. Hiei, authorized by the court in 825, burned down in the medieval period, the platform is believed to have included images of Śākyamuni, Mañjuśrī, and Maitreya. It is therefore possible that such ritual and iconographic use of the triad in Tendai influenced the grouping of the three in Jōkei’s conception of the *Great Wisdom Sutra* stand. As indicated, however, in Saichō’s own proposal for Tendai yearly ordinands, who would be ordained using the Mahayana precepts of the *Brahmā Net Sutra*, the tradition of inviting the Buddha and the two bodhisattvas to serve in those roles in bodhisattva-precepts ceremonies was itself based on the *Kan Fugengyō* 觀普賢經 (Samantabhadra Contemplation Sutra). The context for the use of Śākyamuni, Mañjuśrī, and Maitreya in the *Kan Fugengyō* was one of self-ordination using the six and eight major precepts for lay and monks described in Yogācāra texts, rather than for ordaining others using the *Brahmā Net Sutra* precepts as in the Tendai ceremonies.³⁴ Thus if Jōkei

instructor (*kyōju ajari* 教授阿闍梨 or *kyōjushi* 教授師) questioned the candidate to determine the candidate’s eligibility for ordination. See Saichō’s 819 *Tendai Hokkeshū nenbundosha eshō kōdai shiki* 天台法華宗年分度者回小向大式, translated and annotated in GRONER (1984, 138–44) and also found at T 74, no. 2377, 624c17–625b16. The *Brahmā Net Sutra* refers to *Bonmōkyō* 梵網經; T no. 1484), which details Mahayana “bodhisattva precepts” that could be conferred on monastics and lay alike.

32. On distinctions between “separate ordination” (*betsuju* 別受) and “comprehensive ordination” (*tsūju* 通受) ceremonies, see MATSUO (1995, 220–22) and MINOWA (2008, 133–36). The *Four-Part Vinaya* refers to *Shibun ritsu* 四分律 (Ch. *Sifen lü*; T no. 1428).

33. On Saichō’s establishment of the Tendai system of bodhisattva precepts, see GRONER (1984, 107–246).

34. For Saichō’s reference in the *Tendai Hokkeshū nenbundosha eshō kōdai shiki* to the *Kan Fugengyō* (Ch. *Guan Puxian jing*), see T 74, no. 2377, 625a13; on the contrast with the precepts ordinations specified in the *Kan Fugengyō*, see GRONER (1984, 141, note 115). For the passages in question in the *Kan Fugengyō*, see T 9, no. 277, 393c11–394a4, and KATŌ et al. (1975, 367–68) for an English translation. See also YAMABE (2005), especially 33–34, for an alternative, abbreviated translation from the same passages and a discussion of likely textual influences on the *Kan Fugengyō* self-ordinations using the six and eight precepts.

was indeed influenced in his grouping of the three deities by a Tendai bodhisattva precept tradition, that Tendai tradition itself was influenced, through the mediation of the *Kan Fugengyō*, by Yogācāra precept traditions.

As a monk in a tradition that continued to use the full monastic precepts of the *Four-Part Vinaya* rejected by Saichō as “Hinayana,” Jōkei did not limit his alignment of Mañjuśrī, Maitreya, and precept traditions to the bodhisattva precepts favored by Tendai. But to understand how he extends the alignment, we need to examine his pairing of Mañjuśrī and Maitreya in the context of the full *tripiṭaka*, or the “three baskets” of Buddhist scriptures. After invoking Mañjuśrī and Maitreya for bodhisattva precept ceremonies and for compiling the Mahayana, Jōkei refers to two vast stores of Buddhist literature that he associates with the two bodhisattvas: “Among the various teachings, *Prajñā* and Consciousness-only (*yuishiki*) are what we uphold and recite. *Prajñā* is the sutra storehouse. All the sutras emerge from this sutra.... Consciousness-only is the *abhidharma*” (SGZ 63: 356a). Mañjuśrī, as mentioned earlier, was believed to have preached the *Prajñā* literature. Similarly, Maitreya was believed in Hossō to have dictated Consciousness-only scriptures to Asaṅga, the fourth to fifth century Indian monk later known as the founder of the Yogācāra school. Jōkei does more in this passage, however, than further the association of Mañjuśrī and Maitreya with these subsets of Buddhist literature. He also invokes two of the three fundamental groupings that constitute the three baskets of Buddhist scriptures as a whole: sutras, or the discourses of the Buddha, and the “higher dharma” (Sk. *abhidharma*) commentarial literature.

Abhidharma is concerned with analysis of the various dharmas, or phenomena, that constitute reality and our perceptions of it. Hossō, the “dharma-aspects” school, is so called (initially by opponents) due to its specialization in such analysis. Recognizing this, as well as Jōkei’s later involvement in the thirteenth-century precepts-revival movement, helps us see the significance of Jōkei’s next doctrinal move in both sectarian and trans-sectarian terms. He proceeds from the linking of Consciousness-only teachings and the *abhidharma* to an invocation of the third basket of Buddhist scriptures, the *vinaya*, through the study of the precepts: “[Consciousness-only] discerns the nature and the aspects and instructs followers who study the precepts. This is none other than *Prajñāpāramitā*” (SGZ 63: 356a). Here, Jōkei at once unites the Consciousness-only and *Prajñā* literature while effectively subsuming precept study within the former.

Jōkei returns to the personified version of *prajñā*—Mañjuśrī, the Mother of Awakening—and to Consciousness-only in his conclusion to the chapter and to the *Shin’yōshō* as a whole. He does so by summarizing “the essentials” through a reverse sequence of the practices and teachings that we saw at the beginning of the *Shin’yōshō*:

Relying on the power of the Mother of Awakening, [we] generate the aspiration for enlightenment. Relying on the aspiration for enlightenment, we accomplish calling the Buddha to mind. Relying on the power of calling the Buddha to mind, we perform consciousness-only contemplation. Relying on the power of consciousness-only contemplation, we subdue the one mind. Relying on the subduing of the one mind, we accomplish the three learnings. Relying on the accomplishment of the three learnings, we perfect the two benefits. Perfecting the two benefits, we verify the attainment of *bodhi*. Verifying the attainment of *bodhi*, we proclaim the sacred teachings. (SGZ 63: 356b)

In devotional and doctrinal terms, this passage and Jōkei's "Mother of Awakening" chapter as a whole extol the virtues of Mañjuśrī through a focus on the bodhisattva as a divine being and emphasis on the aspiration for enlightenment and *prajñā*. As James FORD asserts with reference to this passage, "the most essential step in this schema is the arousal of the aspiration for enlightenment" (2006, 117). The significance of Mañjuśrī and the intimately related virtues of arousing the aspiration and awakening *prajñā*—which Jōkei specifically equates with *bodhi* in his *Monju kōshiki*³⁵—cuts across sectarian boundaries in his analysis, as do the three baskets of Buddhist literature and the three trainings of precepts, meditation, and wisdom that he invokes. Simultaneously, however, the synthesized veneration of Mañjuśrī and Maitreya at the end of the chapter lends a sectarian aspect through the association of Maitreya with the Consciousness-only literature that Hossō specializes in. It also does so through the framing of both precepts study and meditation primarily within the rubrics of Consciousness-only teachings and contemplation (*yuishikikan*). Yet as we will see for the *Monju kōshiki* in the next section and in the concluding reflections to this article, in the *kōshiki*, such sectarian aspects are more subdued, in favor of a ritualized sermon that lent itself more readily to diverse audiences.

Jōkei's Monju kōshiki

Our third and final major piece of evidence for Jōkei's Mañjuśrī faith, his five-part *Monju kōshiki*, represents yet another genre, alongside the Kasagidera fundraising and dedicatory texts and the *Shin'yōshō* doctrinal treatise.³⁶ Even as the genre changes, however, much remains consistent with the aspects of his Mañjuśrī faith examined above. *Kōshiki* texts were scripts for recited and chanted lecture-rituals, and they effectively served as templates for devotional practice centered on the object of veneration. As *kōshiki* performances could incorporate mixed groups of monastics and laypeople, and the scripts for the performances were readily

35. In the *Monju kōshiki*, Jōkei proclaims, "*Bodhi is prajñā; it takes wisdom as its nature*" (TAISHŌ DAIGAKU 2000, 148).

36. This section draws on, while recontextualizing, material addressed in QUINTER 2011.

transferable to various locales, they were used widely by early medieval leaders of Nara Buddhism to synthesize and promote cultic practices. As is often the case for medieval *kōshiki*, however, we have few records for the actual performance of Jōkei's *Monju kōshiki*. But given what we know of *kōshiki* texts and performances, as well as Jōkei's activities more broadly, his composition of this and many other *kōshiki* is consistent with his combined textual and ritual efforts to reach a broad range of monastic and lay supporters after his move to Mt. Kasagi in 1193.³⁷

Jōkei was particularly active in composing *kōshiki*, often upon request, during his Kasagi years. Nine of his thirteen datable *kōshiki* were composed during this time, and his two earliest datable *kōshiki* were composed in 1192, shortly before the move.³⁸ Jōkei's *kōshiki* are principally concentrated into three periods, those in or near 1196, 1201, and 1209 (KŌSHIKI KENKYŪKAI 1994, 124). Based on the writing style of the *Monju kōshiki*, Niels Guelberg suggests that it belongs to the earliest of these three periods. The *Monju kōshiki* shares certain passages verbatim with Jōkei's 1192 *Hosshin kōshiki* 発心講式 (Kōshiki on generating the aspiration for enlightenment), an appropriate overlap considering Jōkei's identification of Mañjuśrī with the aspiration for enlightenment. As Guelberg points out, however, the style of the *Monju kōshiki* is particularly close to Jōkei's 1196 five-part *Miroku kōshiki* 弥勒講式 (Maitreya *kōshiki*) and 1196 five-part *Jizō kōshiki* 地藏講式 (Kṣitigarbha *kōshiki*). He thus proposes 1196 as an approximate dating for the *Monju kōshiki* as well (KŌSHIKI KENKYŪKAI 1994, 124). This dating fits well with Jōkei's devotional activities related to *prajñā* and Mañjuśrī near this time, as we saw in the texts for the various Hannya structures and rituals at Kasagidera and the circa-1196 *Shin'yōshō*.

The ritual structure of Jōkei's *Monju kōshiki* is also very close to his 1196 *Miroku kōshiki*,³⁹ with the main exception being that the *Monju kōshiki* features an unusually long pronouncement of intentions. The *Monju kōshiki* begins with a communal obeisance (*sōrai* 総礼) chanted in verse, followed by the chanting of the "essential dharma rites" (*hōyō* 法用), a petition to the kami (*jinbun* 神分), the pronouncement of intentions, and five numbered and thematically organized parts, with the fifth part doubling as the dedication of merit for the assembly.⁴⁰

37. For more on the popularizing and other dimensions of *kōshiki* as a textual and ritual genre, see GUELBERG (1993 and 2006); YAMADA (1995); and FORD (2005).

38. See the chart of Jōkei's datable devotional texts in FORD (2006, 150).

39. For a well-annotated translation of the *Miroku kōshiki*, see FORD (2006, 207–14, 259–61). The original Chinese text, with a parallel classical Japanese (*yomikudashi* 読み下し) rendering, can be found in TAISHŌ DAIGAKU (2000, 77–99).

40. The "essential dharma rites" refer to the *shika hōyō* 四箇法用, or the four essential dharma rites, which were performed in various rituals. In *kōshiki*, these typically comprise a verse of praise (*bonbai* 梵唄), the flower-scattering rite (*sange* 散華), verses offered to the three jewels (*bon'on* 梵音 or *bonnon*), and the staff-wielding rite (*shakujō* 錫杖) performed as four different Buddhist chant (*shōmyō* 声明) melodies (GUELBERG 2006, 33). The "petition to the kami" (*jinbun* 神分)

The five parts each close with verses of praise (*kada* 伽陀; Sk. *gāthā*) that help divide the sections.

Although *kōshiki* could also be performed individually, typically in group performances, the ceremony leader would recite the pronouncement of intentions and any ensuing numbered or thematically designated sections, while the other gathered monastics would chant the verse portions in chorus. The intervals between the fixed sections recited by the ceremony leader could also include courtly music, such as *bugaku* 舞樂 or *saibara* 催馬樂 melodies. Adding to the performative element, *kōshiki* were usually held before a painting or other image representing the object of devotion, and it is likely that Jōkei's *Monju kōshiki* was also intended to be performed in such a ritual context. Moreover, Jōkei clearly presupposed a regularized group context for the *kōshiki*, because he notes toward the end of the pronouncement of intentions that “accompanied by good spiritual friends,⁴¹ we will hold a lecture-assembly (*kōseki* 講席). Each month, we will designate one day and diligently practice this without neglect” (TAISHŌ DAIGAKU 2000, 146). My analysis below of the *kōshiki* centers on the pronouncement of intentions and the five parts, which can be understood as constituting the fixed “lecture” (*kō* 講) or sermon portion of Jōkei's text and which, narratively, constitutes the majority of the text.⁴²

The long pronouncement of intentions draws repeatedly on the *Lotus Sutra* to establish the existential crisis that the ceremony will address. At the start, Jōkei laments sentient beings' failure to loathe birth and death and to rejoice in enlightenment, insisting that “We are like the children playing in a burning house, unaware and thus unafraid. Again, we are like the blind near a mountain of treasures, unable to see it and thus not longing for it” (TAISHŌ DAIGAKU 2000, 143). Paired like this, the mentions of the “burning house” and “mountain of treasures” can be viewed as implicit references to two of the *Lotus Sutra*'s most famous parables. The parable of the burning house offers an allegory of beings trapped in the “burning house” of transmigration and the need to save them using expedient means (Sk. *upāya*). In turn, the parable of the phantom city shows how travelers seeking rare treasures are induced to finish crossing a steep and dangerous path by a guide, who manifests a

can take various forms, but generally refers to chanting the *Heart Sutra* (*Hannya shingyō* 般若心經) or another scripture as a petition to the gods to dispel evil spirits and other hindrances at the beginning of the assembly. The numbered and thematically organized parts of a *kōshiki* are referred to as *dan* 段; however, Jōkei's five-part *Miroku kōshiki* and the *Monju kōshiki* each refer to them as “gates” (*mon* 門), the same term that was used for the eight numbered chapters of the *Shin'yōshō*.

41. “Good spiritual friends” renders *zen'u* 善友 (Sk. *kalyāṇa-mitra*), referring to a friend or teacher who helps one along the Buddhist path. The term here could refer to laypeople, monastics, or both.

42. In group performances of *kōshiki*, the chanted verses and other musical intervals between the recited lecture portions often last longer than those lecture portions. Thus I am only referring to narrative length here.

phantom city—representing the provisional nirvana of auditors and *pratyekabuddhas*—and tells them that they can rest there temporarily.⁴³

Similarly in Jōkei's *kōshiki*, the weary travelers are sentient beings on the treacherous road of birth and death, and the guide is the Buddha, who will lead them to the “place of treasures,” or the true nirvana of a buddha. Jōkei thus insists that the “follies and delusions of sentient beings” are repeatedly like those of the children in the burning house or the travelers unable yet to see the treasures on the mountain they are climbing. Again quoting the *Lotus Sutra* without mentioning it by name, Jōkei further laments that, “From darkness into darkness, we do not hear the Buddha's name for ages.⁴⁴ Even chancing to approach the three jewels, those with faith and reverence are few.” The challenge, even for those inclined to follow the buddha path, is that it “is long and vast and takes countless kalpas” (TAISHŌ DAIGAKU 2000, 144–45).⁴⁵

The repeated use of *Lotus Sutra* passages in Jōkei's pronouncement of intentions for the *Monju kōshiki* is significant here for three main reasons. First, given his explicit identification of Mañjuśrī and the *Perfection of Wisdom* scriptures, incorporating the *Lotus Sutra* in this Mañjuśrī ceremony is the flip side of his incorporating the *Great Wisdom Sutra* in the Eight Lectures on the *Lotus Sutra*. Second, links between Mañjuśrī and the *Lotus Sutra* in Jōkei's Kasagi activities were also clear in his petition for the Eight Lectures, when he simultaneously petitioned for the construction of a Hannya stupa that would enshrine statues of Mañjuśrī and the Four Heavenly Kings. Third, Jōkei's uncited references to passages from this popular sutra reflect a shared knowledge and interest that he expected his audience to have. Thus despite the challenges of reconciling the *Lotus Sutra* teachings on universal buddhahood with traditional Hossō doctrine denying this possibility, and the strong association of the *Lotus Sutra* with Hossō's main sectarian rival, Tendai, Jōkei clearly prized the sutra and found it useful for addressing broader audiences. In his *Monju kōshiki*, much of that usefulness lay in the sutra's ability to help situate the *obstacles* facing his audience, even if the sutra was better known for its more optimistic preaching of universal buddhahood.⁴⁶

43. See WATSON (1993, 56–79) for an English translation of the burning house parable and T 9, no. 262, 12b13–16b6, for the original *Lotus Sutra* passages. For the phantom city parable, see WATSON (1993, 135–37, in prose and 140–42 in verse) or T 9, no. 262, 25c26–26a24, for the original in prose and 26c29–27b8 in verse.

44. This sentence quotes two verses from the phantom city parable in the *Lotus Sutra*; see T 9, no. 262, 22c24.

45. The phrase, “the buddha path, which is long and vast and takes countless kalpas” (仏道懸曠經無量劫) is also found in the *Lotus Sutra*, in the story of the eight-year-old dragon girl's instantaneous attainment of enlightenment; see T 9, no. 262, 35c8, and WATSON (1993, 188).

46. On Jōkei's and related efforts to reconcile Hossō's “five natures” of sentient beings—including those “without the nature” for buddhahood—with the *Lotus Sutra*'s doctrine of universal buddhahood, see RHODES (1993, 319–21); FORD (2006, 60–65); QUINTER (2007, 445–51, 457–58).

One would expect such obstacles to be exacerbated in the latter days of the dharma and a “peripheral land,” far removed from Śākyamuni’s India, as twelfth-century Japan was perceived to be. After first establishing such obstacles, however, Jōkei repeatedly strikes more optimistic notes throughout the text, showing ways to overcome these obstacles. For example, he insists that “The unsurpassed enlightenment is vast and deep. Even the initial awakening of the aspiration for enlightenment will inevitably become the three wondrous contemplations (*sanmyōkan* 三妙觀).” Here, Jōkei ties the aspiration for enlightenment that Mañjuśrī was so effective in engendering to a threefold contemplative method employed in Hossō: contemplation on “the mind that loathes and separates from the conditioned (*ui* 有爲),” “the mind that deeply considers sentient beings,” and “the mind that joyfully seeks *bodhi*” (TAISHŌ DAIGAKU 2000, 144).⁴⁷ Thus Jōkei’s text incorporates a Hossō contemplative method in his solution to the existential challenges his audience faces; however, in contrast to his emphasis on “Consciousness-only” contemplation in *Shin’yōshō*, he does not overtly signal this as such.

Jōkei’s *Monju kōshiki* invokes the discourse of Japan as a peripheral land in a latter age while denying any ultimate status to the limitations suggested by those conditions. In a liturgical text devoted to Mañjuśrī, it is natural that the solution to overcoming these limitations should be found in the aspiration for enlightenment and the devotion to the Mother of Awakening who sparks that aspiration. Addressing the three wondrous contemplations he just mentioned, for example, Jōkei acknowledges that “To save a single person or reject a speck of dust—the sincere mind is particularly difficult for the deluded beings of the latter ages. How much more so to [save] all people and [reject] all things throughout the realm of emptiness?” Later in the pronouncement of intentions, however, Jōkei counters this concern by emphasizing that “The origins of all the past buddhas were as deluded beings always drowning [in the sea of transmigration]. From within the lightless egg, they established the superior mind.” The implication is that, whether one is in a latter age or not, one *always* embarks on the path to buddhahood as an ordinary, deluded being (*bonbu* 凡夫) who generates the mind that seeks enlightenment. Such an ordinary being need not even be in the human realm to generate that aspiration, as it “even occurs among hell-dwellers, spirits, and animals” (TAISHŌ DAIGAKU 2000, 144–45).

Concerns for one’s capacity to do so in a “peripheral land” such as Japan are dismissed equally forcefully: “Do not protest, ‘But this land is a peripheral land!’ The country of Japan is replete with [those who have] great capacities. Do not

47. Cien also refers to these three contemplations, but with the order of the second and third ones reversed, as does Jōkei in his *Hosshin kōshiki* (TAISHŌ DAIGAKU 2000, 46). For Cien’s references, see *Kongō hanyakyō sanjutsu* 金剛般若經贊述, T 33, no. 1700, 130b28–c8, and *Hannya haramitta shingyō yūsan* 般若波羅蜜多心經幽贊, T 33, no. 1710, 525c22–526a2.

think, ‘But this time is the latter days!,’ because the teachings of the Mahayana are spread vigorously” (TAISHŌ DAIGAKU 2000, 145). Thus while the practitioner’s position in Japan makes it all the more rare and precious to encounter the buddha-teachings from India, he or she *can* still set one’s sights on generating the superior mind to seek enlightenment and benefit others. And if one needs help arousing the aspiration for enlightenment, who better to turn to than the Mother of Awakening? Jōkei invokes this theme repeatedly in his *Monju kōshiki*: “In accordance with the Great Sage’s [Mañjuśrī’s] empowerment, our superior minds should be provoked. Who surpasses the Mother of Awakening in elucidating the gist [of the teachings]?” “Humbly, we pray to the Great Sage: have pity on us and grant us your empowerment. During this life, may we generate the aspiration for the Way without fail, and may even our last thought suffice to fulfill our hopes” (146).

Such claims and prayers in the pronouncement of intentions are bolstered by scriptural citations in part 1, “Eulogizing the Benefits of the Mother of Buddhas.” Jōkei begins the section by quoting the previously addressed *Hōhatsukyō* passage on Mañjuśrī sparking the attainment of Śākyamuni, and indeed all buddhas, as “the father and mother on the buddha-path” (TAISHŌ DAIGAKU 2000, 146–47). He proceeds to cite “the *Manjukyō* 曼殊經” (Mañjuśrī Sutra) as stating: “Vairocana Buddha and the buddhas of the four directions, long ago under Mañjuśrī, simultaneously awakened the aspiration for enlightenment.”⁴⁸ He closes the section by having the participants in the *kōshiki* ceremony chant the famed *Shinji kangyō* verses on Mañjuśrī as the mother of the buddhas, the one who guides them toward their initial awakening (147).

Jōkei transitions to part 2, “Eulogizing the Benefits of Wisdom,” by referring to an unidentified scriptural passage in which Mañjuśrī states that he will take his light called “Clear Awakening” (*kakuryō* 覺了) and “illuminate and touch sentient beings, generate their mind of clear awakening, and quickly liberate them from birth and death.”⁴⁹ After elucidating in this section how Mañjuśrī’s sword of wisdom helps the audience “cut off the passions” and thereby “verify the principle” of cause and effect (TAISHŌ DAIGAKU 2000, 148), in part 3 Jōkei eulogizes “The Benefits of Extinguishing Transgressions” brought about by hearing Mañjuśrī’s name and seeing his image (149–50). In this section, there is a self-referential quality, as the *kōshiki* performance itself becomes an opportunity for the assembly to repent past transgressions through chanting the verses in praise of Mañjuśrī

48. It is unclear which sutra Jōkei is referring to when he cites the “*Manjukyō*” here, but in the *Sutra of the Mañjuśrī of a Thousand Arms and a Thousand Bowls*, Vairocana refers to Mañjuśrī as his teacher from the distant past; see the *Daijō yuga kongō shōkai Manjushiri senbi senpatsu daikyōōkyō* 大乘瑜伽金剛性海曼殊室利千臂千鉢大教王經, T 20, 1177a, 725b14–17.

49. In the “Mother of Awakening” chapter in *Shin’yōshō* (SGZ 63: 350a–b), Jōkei includes a slightly different version of this passage and identifies it as coming from the *Hōhatsukyō* (T no. 629). However, it cannot be found in *Hōhatsukyō* as we have it now.

before his image. However, in part 4, “Eulogizing the Benefits of According with Conditions,” we see that the benefits are extended even to those far removed—in space, time, or nature—from those participating in the performance:

Among the six destinies [Mañjuśrī] divides his forms and through the four kinds of birth he saves creatures...⁵⁰ In favorable or adverse conditions, all bind their encounters distant and near [that is, form karmic bonds with Mañjuśrī from their encounters with him]. In the good gate or the evil gate, all reveal the virtues and faults of their likes and dislikes. There is no way they will not enter the gate of *bodhi*.
(TAISHŌ DAIGAKU 2000, 150)

Mañjuśrī's capacity to accord with the conditions of those he would save—even those who are “adversely connected” (*gyakuen* 逆縁) to him—then returns Jōkei to the crucial issue of generating the aspiration for enlightenment. Paraphrasing from the *Sutra of the Mañjuśrī of a Thousand Arms and a Thousand Bowls*, Jōkei writes:

Thus, a sutra states: “Those who slander me, those who direct anger at me, those who are haughty toward me, those who debase me—I vow to form karmic bonds with them and lead them to arouse the aspiration for enlightenment.”
(TAISHŌ DAIGAKU 2000, 150)⁵¹

Once one has formed such bonds with Mañjuśrī and generated the aspiration for enlightenment, the question of one's rebirth in a Pure Land after death—a characteristic concern of Jōkei's and many other practitioners in early medieval Japan—is settled.⁵² In a synthesis of Mañjuśrī and Maitreya faith similar to that at the end of the *Shin'yōshō*, in the final section of the *Monju kōshiki*, Jōkei dedicates the merit from the performance and leads the assembly through their own generation of vows as follows:

A sutra states: “Those who call and keep Mañjuśrī in mind, when facing the end of their lives, settled and in accordance with their hearts' desires, shall all attain birth.”⁵³ [We] buddha-disciples take refuge in Maitreya's original vow and joyfully seek birth in Tuṣita. That being the case, collectively we dedicate to the four debts of the dharma-realm the good roots of the three deeds that

50. The “four kinds of birth” (*shishō* 四生) refer to the four methods of birth for sentient beings in transmigration: from the womb (humans and other mammals); eggs (for example, birds, fish, and reptiles); moisture (or the combination of heat and cold; generally referring to insects and other small life forms whose eggs are tiny); and metamorphosis (for example, gods and hell-dwellers, who are born spontaneously based on their karmic conditions).

51. This passage draws on the second, fourth, and fifth of Mañjuśrī's ten great vows in the *Sutra of the Mañjuśrī of a Thousand Arms and a Thousand Bowls* (T 20, no. 1177a, 726b25–7, 726c3–10). For the full text of the ten vows in the sutra, see 726b10–727a28.

52. On the significance of deathbed rituals and rebirth aspirations in Heian and early medieval Japan, see STONE (2004; 2007; 2008).

53. This passage is likely based on the *Darani jikkyō* 陀羅尼集經, T 18, no. 901, 839b13–14.

we have cultivated.... On the evening of the end of our lives, may we dwell in true mindfulness, and at the time of the closing of our eyes, pay reverence to the Honored Maitreya. Together with sentient beings, may we dwell in Tuṣita Heaven. May we fulfill the six perfections (Sk. *pāramitā*), perfect the two benefits, quickly realize *bodhi*, and widely save sentient beings!

(TAISHŌ DAIGAKU 2000, 151)

Thus if here, like in the *Shin'yōshō*, Jōkei recommends seeking rebirth in Tuṣita Heaven—which essentially serves as Maitreya's Pure Land until he descends as the future Buddha—he also makes it clear that devotion to and contemplation of Mañjuśrī fulfills the crucial purpose of settling one's mind on that path. Regarding the question of one's aspiration for rebirth, then, in both texts Mañjuśrī faith is ultimately complementary to Maitreya faith.⁵⁴ But for arousing the aspiration for enlightenment that sets one on the course to such a felicitous rebirth, the reverse is the case.

Concluding Reflections

One of the challenges in evaluating Jōkei's *kōshiki* texts, and many of his other writings, is that they were often composed upon request and thus adapted to the circumstances of the person or group soliciting his contribution (see NISHIYAMA [1988, 251]; FORD [2006, 149–51, and 247, note 44]; and SHIMOTSUMA [2006, 202–205]). Given this, and the broader evidence for Jōkei's participation in the cults of Maitreya, Kannon, and Śākyamuni than of Mañjuśrī, it may be tempting to group Jōkei's *Monju kōshiki* with this category and interpret it as reflecting the cultic concerns of *others* more than his own. Indeed, the text may have been composed upon request; we simply lack a concrete colophon or other testimony

54. Alternative versions of this text, however, do render the passages on which Pure Land is being aspired to variously. For example, a mid-Muromachi-period (1333–1568) copy held by Koyasan University (on behalf of Kongō zanmai'in 金剛三昧院) omits the references to Maitreya and Tuṣita, pointing instead to taking refuge in *Mañjuśrī's* original vow and seeking birth simply in a “pure realm.” Accordingly, the deathbed prayer that follows refers to paying reverence to the Honored Manju 曼殊 (Mañjuśrī) and attaining birth in an unspecified “pure Buddha country” (see TAISHŌ DAIGAKU 2000, 152 and 306). In addition, a seven-part *Monju kōshiki* that appears to be an expanded version of the five-part one used here refers to Amida and the Western Pure Land or Gokuraku 極樂 (variant designations for Amida's Pure Land) rather than to Maitreya and Tuṣita; see GUELBERG (1997–2016, *kōshiki* no. 328, lines 155–56, 159–61). That said, the passages in the five-part version used for this study and for the *Jōkei kōshiki shū* (TAISHŌ DAIGAKU 2000) are consistent with those in a 1350/4/25 version held by Daikōji 大光寺 in Hyūga 日向 Province, which is printed in MIYAZAKI-KEN (1973, 47–53). The passages here are also consistent with the synthesis of Mañjuśrī faith with aspiration for birth in Tuṣita Heaven in the *Shin'yōshō*. Thus, although it is possible that such variations could be by Jōkei himself—as SHINKURA (2008b, 11) suggests for the seven-part one—I believe that they more likely reflect adaptations of Jōkei's five-part text by others. For more on this issue, see QUINTER (2011, 293–94).

to the precise circumstances of its composition. I do, however, concur with Guelberg's conclusion that a circa-1196 date seems likely. And placing this text in the context of other evidence for Jōkei's material, ritual, and doctrinal promotion of Mañjuśrī during his Kasagi years—alongside his long-standing project of copying and enshrining the *Great Wisdom Sutra*, which effectively materialized the *prajñā* that Mañjuśrī embodied—suggests that his interest in the bodhisattva was more than a passing one and not limited to the cultic concerns of others.

That said, whatever the relative status of Mañjuśrī within Jōkei's *personal* devotions, I am most interested in how the evidence for his linked participation in the Mañjuśrī cult and the Kasagi restoration shows him both tailoring cultic concerns to local contexts and packaging them in ways that transcend those contexts. I would thus like to conclude by examining three different, but related, modes in which Jōkei operates in the three bodies of evidence for his Mañjuśrī faith that we have examined here.

First are Jōkei's invocations of Mañjuśrī in dedicatory texts for diverse constructions and rituals at Kasagidera, especially those related to the *Great Wisdom Sutra* and the temple's various Hannya (Sk. *prajñā*) structures. Here, we see Jōkei operating as the scholar-monk spearheading the restoration of a specific temple at which he resided. This evidence represents the most clearly localized instantiation of his involvement in the cult, including the intertwined examples of Mañjuśrī and Maitreya devotion found therein. Jōkei began his massive *Great Wisdom Sutra* copying project long before he entered Kasagidera and may well have brought his linked Mañjuśrī faith to the temple. However, his copying of the Rishubun section of the sutra in front of the cliffside Maitreya image at Kasagidera shortly before the completion of the project, and his material and ritual enshrining of the sutra at the temple, ensured a local link between Jōkei's devotion to "Prajñā Mañjuśrī" and Maitreya.

Jōkei's intertwined participation at Kasagidera in the Mañjuśrī, the Maitreya, and diverse other cults also points to what Jōkei brought to the restoration—and how he could broaden the appeal of that restoration—as a well-connected scholar-monk. His move to Kasagidera has often been explained in terms of his own devotion to Maitreya and desire to abandon the "worldly" distractions of temple life at Kōfukuji for the greater solitude Kasagidera afforded. As Shimotsuma Kazuyori has argued, however, we must recognize that Jōkei was solicited by Kasagidera monks to contribute fundraising appeals even before his move to the temple, and his vigorous promotion of material constructions and ritual assemblies at the temple after the move hardly paint a picture of solitary retreat in the mountains.⁵⁵ Moreover, the great acceleration of the restoration after Jōkei

55. On this point, see SHIMOTSUMA (2008, 91–92, 100–101). For a good summary and analysis of the fundraising for the Kasagidera restoration, see GOODWIN (1987).

entered the temple suggests that Kasagidera monks were wise in their choice of the scholar-monk to lead that restoration.

Jōkei's success in attracting elite donors and diverse pilgrims to Kasagidera is well evidenced in two more testimonies to the Hannya constructions and the Maitreya cult during his time there. In 1199/6, the office of Retired Emperor Go-Toba 後鳥羽 (1180–1239; r. 1183–1198) issued a directive designating land in Iga Province as “Hannya Estate” and declaring it a holding of Mt. Kasagi's Hannyadai. In 1203, Kasagidera issued a fundraising appeal to reconstruct the Veneration Hall (*raidō* 礼堂) for the cliffside Maitreya image, lamenting that the current building was too close to the image to see it in its entirety, that the space could not properly accommodate the “masses of monastics and laypeople” when they gathered for formal dharma assemblies, and that the stages for dancers and musicians were too small. The reconstruction was completed the very next year, and the *Azuma kagami* 吾妻鏡 (Mirror of Eastern Japan) reports that the shogun Minamoto no Sanetomo 源実朝 (1192–1219) had been one of the donors.⁵⁶

Surely, Jōkei's status as a Kōfukuji monk with an aristocratic Fujiwara pedigree, and his strong connections to influential patrons, were part of the promise he held for Kasagidera monks soliciting his help. But so too was the scholarly ability that was inseparable from his status as an elite scholar-monk. That ability was what enabled Jōkei to craft persuasive fundraising appeals and elegant dedicatory texts. It also enabled him to effectively synthesize devotion to Maitreya as the main deity for Kasagidera, the resident bodhisattva of Tuṣita Heaven, and the future Buddha with trans-sectarian devotion to Mañjuśrī as the embodiment of *prajñā* and progenitor of the aspiration for enlightenment, to Śākyamuni as the founding teacher across the schools, as well as to relics, the *Lotus Sutra*, various Pure Lands, kami, and many other objects of veneration.

All these cultic devotions play roles in the evidence for Jōkei's Mañjuśrī faith examined here. Yet while Jōkei's cultic activities promoting constructions and rituals at Kasagidera are naturally tied to that temple—which, in contrast to his former resident temple Kōfukuji, did not have a strong Hossō institutional identity when he entered⁵⁷—his “Mother of Awakening” chapter in *Shin'yōshō* is situated within an explication of Hossō teachings. The text thus shows Jōkei operating in a second mode, that of a scholar-monk promoting a distinctive lineage viewpoint in a doctrinal treatise. In this sense, we might consider the text to be ideologically

56. For the edict on Hannya Estate, see TAKEUCHI (1971–1997, 2: 349–51 [doc. 1063]). For the Veneration Hall fundraising petition, see HIRAOKA (1958–1960, 3: 240–41). For the *Azuma kagami* reference, see GOODWIN (1987, 832) and SHIMOTSUMA (2008, 100). Whether the *Azuma kagami* account is accurate or not, it is noteworthy that this thirteenth-century record of the Kamakura shogunate sees the Kasagidera rite as one worthy of Sanetomo's direct support.

57. SHIMOTSUMA (2008, 98) points out that, at the time, Kasagidera was actually a “separate cloister” (*betsu'in* 別院) of Tōdaiji, which often stood as a rival to Kōfukuji in Nara.

“localized,” and many of the issues that he addresses may have arisen due to his encounters with diverse practitioners at Kasagidera. However, the text also clearly reflects a Hossō-school identity of Jōkei's transcending his time at the temple. Thus here, when Jōkei extols the virtues of Mañjuśrī and *prajñā* in the “Mother of Awakening” chapter, he directly relates those virtues to his Hossō lineage.

For example, as cited previously, after Jōkei establishes earlier in the chapter that “*Prajñāpāramitā* is Mañjuśrī's true substance,” in the final section, he highlights the devotion of the Hossō school's two main Chinese founding figures, Xuanzang and Cien, to the *Heart Sutra* and then links that devotion directly to Cien's Mañjuśrī faith. Jōkei follows this by asking: “Why ... do we take Maitreya and Mañjuśrī and make them our main deities?” He answers that question in broader terms than just Hossō; however, the setup clearly suggests that he is referring to monks in that lineage (SGZ 63: 349a–b, 355b–356a).

In Jōkei's five-part *Monju kōshiki*, we see him operating in a third mode, but one still linked to his skills as a scholar-monk. This text shows more strongly than the preceding two bodies of evidence how Jōkei marshaled specific cultic practices for audiences beyond his local institutional or sectarian circumstances. Attention to the significance of “place” and the local circumstances for Jōkei's *kōshiki* and other texts' composition—such as Ford and Shimotsuna have emphasized—is well-warranted (see FORD [2006, 146–53]; SHIMOTSUNA [2006; 2008]). My own study is tied to a specific place, Kasagidera, while striving to show the links among diverse examples of Jōkei's Mañjuśrī faith during his Kasagi years. At the same time, however, we should recognize that Jōkei was surely aware that *kōshiki* texts and performances could be used in diverse locales and circumstances, and this likely added to the appeal that the genre had for him and other early medieval Nara leaders.⁵⁸

We do find signs of Jōkei's specific Hossō commitments in his *Monju kōshiki*, such as in his invocation of the “three wondrous contemplations” (*sanmyōkan*) found in the writings of the patriarch Cien and in his segue from extolling Mañjuśrī to the benefits of Maitreya's Pure Land at the end of the text.⁵⁹ In general, however, the specifically sectarian or local qualities of the text are subtle, apart from its localization within Japan as a whole. For example, in the *Monju kōshiki*, we do not see any explicit mention of “consciousness-only” (*yuishiki*), which often served as an alternative appellation for the Yogācāra or Hossō teachings and which appears repeatedly in the *Shin'yōshō*. Also in contrast to the *Shin'yōshō*, the *Monju kōshiki* does not mention such Hossō-lineage patriarchs

58. For an example of this appeal focusing on Eison's *Shōtoku Taishi kōshiki* 聖德太子講式 and his involvement in the Shōtoku cult, see QUINTER (2014).

59. Maitreya faith, although cutting across sectarian boundaries much like Mañjuśrī faith did, was typically more closely linked to the Hossō school because Maitreya was reported to have authored various fundamental Yogācāra texts and been the teacher of Asaṅga, the reputed Indian founder of Yogācāra.

as Xuanzang and Cien, even while generally praising the same attributes of Mañjuśrī and in several instances relying on the same scriptural passages that we find quoted or paraphrased in the *Shin'yōshō*. Again, although Jōkei and other Hossō monks in his time considered Mañjuśrī to be one of the five Buddhist source-deities for the five Kasuga shrine sanctuaries, and Jōkei does mention this relationship in his three-part *Kasuga Gongen kōshiki* 春日権現講式 (Kōshiki on the Provisional Manifestation of Kasuga),⁶⁰ Kasuga receives no mention in his *Monju kōshiki*. This all suggests that Jōkei had more than a Hossō audience in mind for his *Monju kōshiki* and that he strove to package this script for Mañjuśrī devotion for performances among broader, trans-sectarian assemblies.

That the text does, however, reflect long-standing concerns of Jōkei's is also clear. In addition to the emphasis on the materialization and embodiment of *prajñā* in his copying of the *Great Wisdom Sutra*, in the various Hannya structures at Kasagidera, and in *Shin'yōshō*, Jōkei's *Monju kōshiki* reinforces the second keynote of his Mañjuśrī faith, the aspiration for enlightenment (Sk. *bodhicitta*). Jōkei repeatedly turns to the necessity of this aspiration, and to Mañjuśrī's distinctive gift for arousing it, in the text. Before the rise of Hōnen's Pure Land movement, generating the aspiration for enlightenment had been widely viewed throughout the Japanese Buddhist schools as a prerequisite to attaining birth in a Pure Land after death. Hōnen challenged this view by claiming in the *Senchakushū* 選択集 (T no. 2608) that the aspiration was not necessary for rebirth in Amida's Pure Land, the most popular Pure Land destination in his time. Hōnen's challenge did provide one context for a renewed emphasis on the aspiration for enlightenment among leading medieval monks of the Nara schools, which we see most clearly in Myōe's repudiations of the *Senchakushū* in 1212 and 1213.⁶¹ Significantly, Myōe was also deeply involved in the Mañjuśrī cult. Later in the thirteenth century, Eison's similar twofold emphasis on the aspiration for enlightenment and Mañjuśrī could also have found motivation in repudiation of Hōnen's more exclusive Pure Land stance, although Eison did not explicitly frame it as such.⁶² Yet while Jōkei also stands as one of the most famous monks associated with the Kamakura-period "revival" of Nara Buddhism, the timing of his material, doctrinal, and ritual testimonies to the aspiration for enlightenment, *prajñā*, and Mañjuśrī reminds us of the limitations of using the rise of such new Kamakura Buddhist movements as Hōnen's to explain the doctrinal and devotional emphases of early medieval Nara leaders.

60. See the *kōshiki* passages in TAISHŌ DAIGAKU (2000, 208–209).

61. On Hōnen's views in the *Senchakushū* and Myōe's arguments against them, see TANABE (1992, chapter 4). Myōe's best-known refutation of this text is his 1212 *Zaijarin* 摧邪輪, which can be found in KAMATA and TANAKA (1971, 43–105).

62. For more on Eison's linked emphasis on the bodhi-mind and the Mañjuśrī cult, including comparisons with Myōe's and his disciples' activities, see ABÉ (2002–2003) and QUINTER (2015).

Hōnen's rejection of the necessity of the aspiration for enlightenment did not become well known until the completion of the *Senchakushū*, reportedly written in 1198 but confined to immediate disciples until official publication in 1212 shortly after his death. However, Jōkei began his *Great Wisdom Sutra* copying project in 1182, composed the *Hosshin kōshiki* (Kōshiki on generating the aspiration for enlightenment) in 1192, and began efforts to ritually and materially enshrine the *Great Wisdom Sutra* at Kasagidera in late 1193. Moreover, he is believed to have completed both the *Shin'yōshō* and *Monju kōshiki* by 1196. Even if new evidence comes to light suggesting a later dating for these two texts, it is significant that the primary evidence cited by modern scholars for Jōkei's putative role in suppressing Hōnen's movement—a 1205 Kōfukuji petition (*Kōfukuji sōjō*) only later attributed to Jōkei—does not mention Hōnen's rejection of the necessity of the aspiration for enlightenment.⁶³

Based on this various evidence, it is unlikely that Jōkei's linked promotion of arousing the aspiration for enlightenment, *prajñā*, and Mañjuśrī faith found its primary stimulus in reaction to Hōnen's movement. I suggest instead that we place such promotion—and indeed, the majority of Jōkei's cultic activities during his Kasagi years—in the context of his three operating modes examined here, all of which are intimately related to his scholarly status and abilities: as the leader for the restoration of a specific temple at a specific time amid *many* potentially competing cultic sites,⁶⁴ as the author of a distinctive lineage position in a doctrinal treatise amid *many* lineages, and as the synthesizer of a specific devotional cult for performances before audiences transcending those geographically and ideologically local circumstances.

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63. For the full text of the petition, see KAMATA and TANAKA (1971, 31–42). For an English translation, see MORRELL (1987, 75–88).

64. On the significance of the diversity of cultic centers for understanding Kamakura Buddhism, transcending distinctions between so-called “old” and “new” Buddhism, see DOBBINS (1998).

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- Daihannyakyō* 大般若經. See *Daihannya haramittakyō*.
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