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## Vocalizing the Lament over the Buddha's Passing

### A Study of Myōe's *Shiza kōshiki*

This article examines the *Shiza kōshiki* (*Kōshiki* in four sessions), composed by the Kegon-Shingon monk Myōe (1173–1232) for the *Nehanè* (Assembly on the Buddha's nirvana). It analyzes the performance practice of the *Shiza kōshiki* at Myōe's temple Kōzanji during his lifetime and at Shingon temples in the Tokugawa period, paying special attention to its musical dimension. During the *Nehanè*, clerics sang various liturgical pieces of different styles and thus created a rich sonic landscape. The musical method of reciting a *kōshiki* text further helped effectively convey its content and thereby supported the devotional function of the *kōshiki*. At certain occasions, singing was also a means to actively engage lay attendees in the ritual. In this way, I demonstrate that music is an essential element in *kōshiki*, as well as in Buddhist rituals in general. An annotated translation of the *Nehan kōshiki*, the first of the *Shiza kōshiki*'s four *kōshiki*, is included in the online supplement to this *JJRS* issue.

KEYWORDS: Myōe—*kōshiki*—*shōmyō*—Śākyamuni—ritual—*nenbutsu*—*Nehanè*

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IN CONTEMPORARY Japan the most famous observance of a *kōshiki* 講式 is the *Shiza kōshiki* (*Kōshiki* in four sessions), which is performed annually during the *Jōrakue* 常樂会, the commemoration of the death of the Buddha, at Kongōbuji 金剛峰寺 on Kōyasan. Similarly, the *Shiza kōshiki*, or excerpts from it, are performed at other Shingon temples on the memorial day of the Buddha. At Kongōbuji, more than one hundred clerics conduct this elaborate, nightlong ritual, starting in the late evening of 14 February and ending shortly before noon on 15 February. The performance also attracts many lay attendees and tourists. Because of the special layout of the hall in which this ritual is performed, lay attendees cannot see much of the ritual activities or the area around the altar. For them, the ritual unfolds its power through its rich musical chants and recitations. Like any long musical composition, the *Jōrakue* takes the participants on a “musical journey.”<sup>1</sup>

The *Shiza kōshiki* was composed by the Kegon-Shingon monk Myōe 明恵 (1173–1232), who is today mostly known for his dream diary and as a strong critic of the monk Hōnen 法然 (1133–1212); but he was also very influential in the development of Japanese Buddhist liturgy and composed many ritual texts.<sup>2</sup> With twenty-three *kōshiki* attributed to him, Myōe is one of the most accomplished *kōshiki* authors, second only to the Hossō monk Jōkei 貞慶 (1155–1213).<sup>3</sup> Myōe composed *kōshiki* for a wide range of objects of veneration, such as Śākyamuni, Buddha relics, Maitreya, the Sixteen Arhats, Bodhidharma, the Kasuga and Sumiyoshi deities, and the *Avatamsaka Sūtra* (Jp. *Kegonkyō* 華嚴經). These works reflect the wide range of Myōe’s devotional objects, as well as the pluralistic veneration in the Nara schools, in contrast to the so-called “new Kamakura schools,” which tended to favor a single form of devotion. Myōe’s *kōshiki* include many outstanding compositions that were widely performed across sectarian

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1. Sound recordings of this ritual—for example, the CD *Kōyasan no shōmyō Jōrakue*—are also available for the general audience. For a list of sound recordings of the *Shiza kōshiki*, see ARAI (2008, 162).

2. For detailed studies of Myōe, see GIRARD (1990) and TANABE (1992).

3. For a list of Myōe’s *kōshiki*, see GUELBERG (1999, 59–64) or GUELBERG’s *Kōshiki Database* (1997–2016). For an in-depth study of Jōkei, see FORD (2006).



FIGURE 1. *Jōrakue* performed at Kongōbuji on 15 February 2003. Photo by James Ford.

boundaries. The best-known and most often performed *kōshiki* by Myōe, as well as of the *kōshiki* genre in general, is the *Shiza kōshiki*.

In this article, I study the performance practice of the *Shiza kōshiki* during Myōe's lifetime in the early thirteenth century and in the Tokugawa period and analyze this *kōshiki* from several different perspectives, including musical realization, ritual structure, lay participation, scale of performance, and ritual change. While these might appear to be divergent angles of interpretation, I show that they are fundamentally interrelated. Indeed, to focus on only one dimension of *kōshiki* performance is to potentially obscure the multi-dimensional nature of this ritual genre. Such a multi-faceted approach also enables us to see the diversity within the genre as well as to understand its evolution over time.

Only in recent years have Western scholars of Japanese religions discovered *kōshiki* as a valuable research field. The first book-length publication on *kōshiki* in a European language was Niels GUELBERG's (1999) monograph about the development of *kōshiki* and its influence on Japanese literature. Since this landmark, several studies of *kōshiki* have been published. For example, James Ford has offered the first detailed work on *kōshiki* in English with his study of Jōkei's *Miroku kōshiki* 弥勒講式 (FORD 2005 and 2006). Lori MEEKS (2010) has explored the role of *kōshiki* at the convent Hokkeji 法華寺, while David QUINTER (2011) has analyzed two *Monjū kōshiki* 文殊講式, one by Jōkei 貞慶 and the other by Eison 叡尊 (1201–1290). Western studies of *kōshiki*, however, have tended not

to examine the musical dimension despite its central role in performances.<sup>4</sup> This article examines this overlooked facet of *kōshiki* and demonstrates that various styles of Buddhist vocal music formed a rich sonic landscape. In ritual handbooks and documents that describe the ritual form of *kōshiki*, titles of *shōmyō* pieces signpost the ritual structure of *kōshiki*. Therefore, I also analyze the form of rituals centering on *kōshiki*.

Additionally, I examine the participation of the laity in *kōshiki* performances. Some monks—Kakuban 覚鑊 (1095–1144), the founder of the Shingi branch of the Shingon school (Shingi Shingonshū 新義真言宗), for example—composed *kōshiki* to be performed in private monastic settings (YAMADA 1995, 35). Nevertheless, scholars working on *kōshiki*, such as James FORD (2005, 44), have often emphasized the role of lay participation and have suggested that it was one main reason for the popularity of this liturgical genre in medieval Japan. In this article, I aim to shed further light on the role and dynamics of lay participation in *kōshiki*, using the example of the *Shiza kōshiki*. I also show that the role of lay participation can change, and at certain times laypeople did not actively participate in the performance of *kōshiki* at all.<sup>5</sup>

Furthermore, I examine the scale of performance. Several scholars have described *kōshiki* as relatively simple ceremonies in comparison to *hōe* 法会 (dharma assemblies; TSUKUDO 1966, 325; FORD 2005, 44; MEEKS 2010, 230). I show, however, that the level of complexity can vary greatly. As I demonstrate, Myōe's *Nehanē* 涅槃会 (Assembly on the Buddha's nirvana) during his lifetime was indeed relatively simple, but after his death the ritual form of the *Shiza kōshiki* became increasingly complex. This reflects the breadth of options in *kōshiki* performances (see also GUELBERG 1999, 85–100). By exploring these diverse but interrelated facets of *kōshiki*, I aim to contribute to a better understanding of the performative nature of the genre.

Before I begin my analysis, a few words about my usage of the term *kōshiki* are necessary. Guelberg distinguishes between a narrow and a wide definition of the term. In a narrow sense, a *kōshiki* is a text of a specific liturgical form consisting of a pronouncement of intention (*hyōbyaku* 表白), usually an odd number of sections (*dan* 段), and Chinese verses (*kada* 伽陀; Sk. *gāthā*) after each section. This kind of text is also called *shikimon* 式文 (central text of the ceremony). However, in a ritual centering on this kind of text, other liturgical pieces are also recited or sung. The wide definition of the term *kōshiki* includes all liturgical

4. One exception is Steven Nelson's brief overview of the recitation method of *kōshiki* (NELSON 2008b). Another is Alison McQueen TOKITA's study of *kōshiki* as a performed narrative (2015). For a survey of research on *shōmyō* in European languages, see MROSS (2009).

5. On this point, see also MROSS (2014) on the *kōshiki* of the Sōtō school, which were often performed in closed monastic contexts; see also QUINTER (2011, 267–68).

texts vocalized (GUELBERG 2006, 30). In this article, I use the term *kōshiki* in the narrow sense, following the usage of the term in the Shingon school.

*Myōe's Composition of the Shiza kōshiki*

Myōe composed the *Shiza kōshiki* for the *Nehan'e* in Kenpō 3 (1215). The *Nehan'e*, also known as *Jōrakue* within the Shingon schools, is one of the three central ceremonies in the Buddhist liturgical year (*sanbutsuki* 三仏忌) and commemorates the Buddha's final nirvana.<sup>6</sup> Myōe observed the *Nehan'e* already as a young monk, as the *Kōzanji Myōe Shōnin gyōjō* 高山寺明恵上人行状 (Biography of the saint Myōe of Kōzanji) tells us:

On the fifteenth day of the second month, the *Nehan'e*. Once in his young years, he avoided lectures on sutras and the expounding of the dharma. In solitude, he left traces in mountains, forests, and deep valleys. By fully concentrating on the recitation of sutras and chanting the Buddha's name (*nenbutsu* 念仏), he remembered the benevolence of the Buddha.<sup>7</sup>

The *Kōzanji Myōe Shōnin gyōjō* continues by describing how Myōe conducted the *Nehan'e* in various places, for example, on mountains or under trees. His outdoor performances close to a hermitage of the temple Jōdōji 成道寺 in Itono 糸野 are also described in detail.<sup>8</sup>

In Genkyū 1 (1204), Myōe performed the *Nehan'e* in the house of a relative who had taken the tonsure. On this occasion Myōe himself vocalized the *Jūmuji'n'in shari kōshiki* (*Kōshiki* on the relics of Jūmuji'n'in), which he had written in the eighth month of Kennin 3 (1203).<sup>9</sup> This *kōshiki* consists of seven sections that describe the life of the Buddha, his entry into nirvana, his remaining traces, the benefits of Buddha relics, legends (*engi* 縁起) of Buddha relics (including a passage on how Myōe obtained Buddha relics), and arousing the vow to meet and obey the Buddha, followed by a section for merit transfer.<sup>10</sup> Interestingly, Myōe composed this *kōshiki* not for the *Nehan'e* but for a ritual to be conducted

6. The other two observances are the celebration of the Buddha's birthday (*Gōtan'e* 降誕会) and the celebration of the Buddha's enlightenment (*Jōdōe* 成道会).

7. My translation. *Kōzanji Myōe Shōnin gyōjō* (*Kana gyōjō*), in MSS 1: 47. The same explanation can also be found in the *Kōzanji Myōe Shōnin gyōjō* (*Kanbun gyōjō*; *Jōzanbon* and *Hōon'inbon*), in MSS 1: 130, 200. For a German translation of the passage from the *Kanbun gyōjō*, see GUELBERG (1999, 96).

8. See *Kōzanji Myōe Shōnin gyōjō* (*Kana gyōjō*), in MSS 1: 47–48; *Kōzanji Myōe Shōnin gyōjō* (*Kanbun gyōjō*; *Jōzanbon* and *Hōon'inbon*), in MSS 1: 130, 200.

9. See *Kōzanji Myōe Shōnin gyōjō* (*Kanbun gyōjō*; *Jōzanbon* and *Hōon'inbon*), in MSS 1: 115, 183.

10. For a study and a typographical reprint of the *Jūmuji'n'in shari kōshiki*, see ARAI (1977). For photographic reproductions of two medieval manuscripts and a typographical reprint, see MSS 4: 5–129. For studies of this *kōshiki*, see also ŌTSUKI (1997; 1998); YAMAMOTO (1998); and TATSUKI (2011).

on the fifteenth day of every month to worship the Buddha relics that he had received from Jōkei in the second month of the same year.<sup>11</sup> Myōe thought that he had received the relics thanks to the help of the Kasuga deity. The divinity had appeared to him in a dream and presented him two polished steel mallets, which Myōe thought represented the relics that he had received from Jōkei (ARAI 1977, 78–79; GUELBERG 1999, 59).

Several scholars have assumed that this composition was strongly inspired by Myōe's meeting with Jōkei.<sup>12</sup> Jōkei was also deeply devoted to Śākyamuni and had performed a *Shaka nenbutsue* 釈迦念仏会 (Assembly of chanting the Buddha's name) at Tōshōdaiji 唐招提寺 in the eighth month of Kennin 2 (1202). In the following year, he started to perform annually a weeklong *Shaka dainenbutsue* 釈迦大念仏会 (Grand assembly of chanting the Buddha's name) in the ninth month. During this weeklong ritual, he also vocalized a *Shari kōshiki* 舍利講式 (*Kōshiki* on relics). In between, in the second month of Kennin 3 (1203), the two monks met. Arai suggests that they might have talked about the Assembly of Chanting the Buddha's Name and the *Shari kōshiki* and that Jōkei might have advised Myōe to compose a *kōshiki* for worshipping the relics and to perform *nenbutsu* (ARAI 1977, 80).

According to the *Kōzanji Myōe Shōnin gyōjō*, many people sought guidance from Myōe after he had settled at Kōzanji around 1206 to the west of Kyoto and attended the *Nehan*. The form of the *Nehan* was not yet set; therefore, Myōe wrote the *Shiza kōshiki* in the first month of Kenpō 3 (1215) and thus finally determined the ritual form.<sup>13</sup> The *Shiza kōshiki* consists of four *kōshiki*: *Nehan kōshiki* (*Kōshiki* on the Buddha's passing),<sup>14</sup> *Jūroku rakan kōshiki* 十六羅漢講式 (*Kōshiki* on the Sixteen Arhats), *Yūiseki kōshiki* 遺跡講式 (*Kōshiki* on the remaining traces), and *Shari kōshiki* 舍利講式 (*Kōshiki* on relics).<sup>15</sup> These four *kōshiki*

11. See *Jūmujin'in shari kōshiki* (ARAI 1977, 85; MSS 4: 108). See also *Myōe Shōnin jingon denki*, in MSS 1: 247. Most other *Shari kōshiki* do not cover the Buddha's passing. The only other one that does is the *Nehan kōshiki* attributed to Genshin 源信 (942–1017) (TATSUKI 2011, 60, 66). Based on textual comparison, Asano Shoko argues that Myōe's *Jūmujin'in shari kōshiki* was influenced by Genshin's *Shari kōshiki* (ASANO 1992).

12. For example, ARAI (1977, 79–80); TATSUKI (2011, 60); ŌTSUKI (1997, 4). Arai and Ōtsuki assume that the *Jūmujin'in shari kōshiki* was Myōe's first *kōshiki* and that Jōkei had inspired Myōe to write *kōshiki* (ARAI 1997, 79; ŌTSUKI 1997, 4). Myōe, however, had composed *kōshiki* even before this. The *Kusharon ryakushiki* 俱舍論略式 (*Kōshiki* on the *Abhidharmakośa*) is considered to be his first work in the genre. For a study and typographical reprint, see NOMURA (1989).

13. See *Kōzanji Myōe Shōnin gyōjō* (*Kana gyōjō*), MSS 1: 47–48; *Kōzanji Myōe Shōnin gyōjō* (*Kanbun gyōjō*; *Jōzanbon*), MSS 1: 130; *Kōzanji Myōe Shōnin gyōjō* (*Kanbun gyōjō*; *Hōon'inbon*), MSS 1: 200.

14. An annotated translation of the *Nehan kōshiki* is included in the online supplement to this special issue (<http://dx.doi.org/10.18874/jjrs.43.1.2016.supplement2>).

15. Myōe composed all four *kōshiki* in the first month of Kenpō 3 (1215): the *Shari kōshiki* on the twenty-first day, the *Yūiseki kōshiki* on the twenty-second day, the *Jūroku rakan kōshiki* on

are based on two earlier works by Myōe: the *Jūmujin'in shari kōshiki* (1203) and the *Rakan kushiki* 羅漢供式 (Offering ceremony for the arhats), a ritual text for the worship of the Sixteen Arhats (1205?).<sup>16</sup> Consequently, he was able to compose the *Shiza kōshiki* in a very short time.

Unlike other *kōshiki*, the *Shiza kōshiki* consists of four different *kōshiki*, which are performed in a series during the *Nehanè*. This ritual therefore differs from other *Nehanè*, during which typically only one *kōshiki*, a *Nehan kōshiki* or a *Shari kōshiki*, or a work of a completely different liturgical genre is performed. All four *kōshiki* describe in a very emotionally evocative and dramatic manner the passing of the Buddha and his heritage. The *Shiza kōshiki* clearly reflects Myōe's strong devotion to Śākyamuni. He felt like a distant child of the Buddha and lamented having been born so long after the Buddha's death. Myōe had long planned to visit India, the land of the Buddha, but was never able to fulfill his aspirations. The *Shiza kōshiki*, as well as other rituals and dreams, served as a substitute to visualize this journey or, as George Tanabe writes, as "a means for encounter" (TANABE 1992, 72). To express his deep devotion to the Buddha, Myōe repeatedly uses the character *ren* 恋 (love) and the term *renbo* 恋慕 (longing) in the *Shiza kōshiki*, as well as its predecessor, the *Jūmujin'in shari kōshiki*.<sup>17</sup> Enoki therefore describes the *Shiza kōshiki* as "a unique literature of 'love' for *Sakya-muni*" (ENOKI 1967, 21). After having explored the origin of the *Shiza kōshiki*, I now turn to how Myōe performed the *Shiza kōshiki* at his temple Kōzanji.

### *The Ritual Form of the Nehanè at Myōe's Kōzanji*

A *kōshiki* is usually performed by a group of clerics, referred to by the term *shikishū* 識衆/式衆 or *daishū* 大衆, led by the officiant, the *dōshi* 導師 or *shikishi* 式師. Of course, Myōe served as the officiant at major ceremonies, such as the *Nehanè*, at his temple.

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the twenty-fourth day, and the *Nehan kōshiki* on the twenty-ninth day (*Nehan kōshiki kanchū*, *Jūroku rakan kōshiki kanchū*, *Yuiseki kōshiki kanchū*, and *Shari kōshiki kanchū*. Archive of Kōzanji; I consulted facsimiles at the Research Institute for Japanese Music Historiography of Ueno Gakuen University).

16. For a comparison of the *Jūmujin'in shari kōshiki* with the *Shiza kōshiki*, see YAMAMOTO (1998, 150–56). For a photographic and typographical reprint of the *Rakan kushiki*, see MSS 5: 325–66. For studies, see ISHIZUKA (2000) and YAMAMOTO (2000). On Myōe and the arhats, see MAEKAWA (2012, 229–38). Myōe's *Jūroku rakan kōshiki* influenced two later *kōshiki* on the Sixteen Arhats, the *Rakan kōshiki* attributed to the Sōtō monk Dōgen 道元 (1200–1253) and a *Jūroku rakan kōshiki* by the Shingon monk Eikai 榮海 (1278–1347). The *Rakan kōshiki* attributed to Dōgen has received intensive scholarly attention; see, for example, HARADA (1980); AZUMA (1983); KIRINO (2002); and MROSS (2007; 2011; and 2013).

17. For an analysis of the use of these and related terms, see ENOKI (1967); SHIBAZAKI (1982); and TATSUKI (2011). NISHIYAMA (1981) studies Myōe's devotion to Śākyamuni more generally and argues that it forms the basis for Myōe's thought.

Fortunately, one extant manuscript illuminates how Myōe performed the *Shiza kōshiki*. It is entitled *Nehanē hosshiki* (Ritual procedure for the *Nehanē*) and was written in Karoku 2 (1226) by Myōe's close disciple Kikai 喜海 (1178–1250). Because it provides important insights into the ritual practice of *kōshiki* in the Kamakura period, I present this text here in translation and then analyze it in detail.<sup>18</sup>

*Nehanē hosshiki* (Toganoō 梅尾)

The hall is decorated as usual.

Main objects of veneration (*honzon* 本尊):

In the middle: the nirvana image.

Left {East}: images of the Sixteen Arhats.

Right {West}: the image of the bodhi tree.

Between the nirvana image and the bodhi tree: a reliquary (*sharichō* 舍利帳)<sup>19</sup> is to be enshrined.

The offertory implements in front of the Buddha and the preparations and so on as usual.

Midday (*nitchū* 日中) {At the hour of the horse the following is to be carried out.} [on the fourteenth day of the second month, ca. 11 a.m.]<sup>20</sup>

First, strike the bell in order to assemble.

Next, all monks assemble.

Next, the communal obeisance (*sōrai* 惣礼):<sup>21</sup>

All participants recite in unison the words “We take refuge in the purple-golden wondrous body that finally entered nirvana in the Śāla Grove of Kuśinagara.” They cast the five parts of [their] bodies to the ground (*gotai tōji* 五体投地)<sup>22</sup> [and in this way] perform three prostrations (*raihai* 禮拜). {But a verse is not to be recited.}

Next, the officiant ascends the worship dais (*raiban* 礼盤).

18. Glosses in the manuscript have been put in brackets {...}.

19. The meaning of the term 舍利帳 (possible readings *sharichō* or *shari no tobari*) is not clear. Because it is one of the objects of veneration, I think that the term indicates either a reliquary (*shari hōchō* 舍利宝帳) or a curtain as a decoration for a vessel holding relics (*shari no tobari*). Because the verb “enshrine” (*an* 安) is used here, I translate 舍利帳 as “reliquary.” However, the *Kōzanji engi* states that a reliquary was put into a *tobari* 帳, a kind of wooden structure with decorative fabric between its poles similar to a canopy bed, at a ceremony in Kanki 1 (1229) (MSS 1: 638). Therefore, the translation “curtain for the relics” would also be possible. The term *sharichō* could also describe a kind of document or an embroidered image (*shūchō* 繡帳). As explained earlier, Myōe is supposed to have received two Buddha relics from Jōkei in the year Kennin 3 (1203). He probably used these relics here as an object of veneration.

20. The times have been indicated according to the entry *rōkuji* 六時 in the *Kojien*.

21. The communal obeisance (*sōrai*) usually consists of a verse sung in Chinese and words of worship (*namu...*). Here, however, only the words of worship are vocalized.

22. *Gotai tōji* describes a prostration during which both hands, both legs, and the head touch the ground.

Next, the *Four Shōmyō Melodies* (Hōyō 法用):<sup>23</sup>

*Praise* (*Bai* 唄)<sup>24</sup> [of the Thus Come One], *Scattering Flowers* (*Sange* 散華),<sup>25</sup> *Buddha's Voice* (*Bonnon* 梵音),<sup>26</sup> and *Priest Staff* (*Shakujō* 錫杖).<sup>27</sup>

Next, the opening statement (*keibyaku* 啓白) and so on as usual.

Next, the lecture on the *Sutra of the Teachings Left by the Buddha*.<sup>28</sup>

Next, after the lecture on the sutra, all monks perform a revolving reading (*tendoku* 転読)<sup>29</sup> of the *Sutra of the Teachings Left by the Buddha* in unison.

After the lecture on the sutra, the officiant joins [the chanting] and [then] dissolves [the assembly].

Next, all participants leave the hall.

23. *Hōyō* is an abbreviation for *Shika hōyō* 四箇法用, which is a ritual sequence that consists of the four *shōmyō* chants *Praise of the Thus Come One* (*Nyorai bai* 如来唄, in short, *Bai*), *Scattering Flowers*, *Buddha's Voice*, and *Priest Staff*. Therefore, I have rendered it here as *Four Shōmyō Melodies*. It is usually performed before the central part of a ceremony. Already during the eye-opening ceremony of the Great Buddha at Tōdaiji in Tenpyō 17 (752), a *Shika hōyō* was performed (*Tōdaiji yōroku*, 50).

24. *Bai* indicates here the *shōmyō* piece *Praise of the Thus Come One*. It consists of the first six characters of a verse from the *Śrīmālā Sūtra* (Ch. *Shengman jing*; Jp. *Shōmangyō* 勝鬘經; T 12: 217a24–27). The whole verse is also part of the *shōmyō* repertoire and is called *Nyorai bai* (*tannin* 短音). The piece consisting of only the first six characters is called *Nyorai bai* (*chōin* 長音) because the whole verse is sung with relatively simple and short melodies, whereas the *chōin* version is sung with many melismata, in other words, with long melodic embellishments on each syllable.

25. This piece is also called *Sange no ge* 散華偈 (*Gāthā* of scattering flowers). The text praises the Buddha and states that the monks offer flowers to him. During the chant, the clerics who sing this chant scatter flowers. For an English translation, see MROSS (2014, 77–78) or Barbara Ambros's translation of the *Anan kōshiki* in the online supplement to this special *JRS* issue (AMBROS 2016).

26. This piece is also called *Bonnon no ge* 梵音偈 (*Gāthā* of the Buddha's voice). The term *bonnon* 梵音 has several meanings; among others, it describes the beautiful voice of a Buddha. The title of this piece is chosen on the basis of the idea that the pure voice of the Buddha echoes in all ten directions, and all who hear it will reach enlightenment. The monks sing this piece to make offerings to the buddhas and bodhisattvas (ARAI 2008, 33). Because of this background, I have translated the title *Bonnon* as "Buddha's Voice." The liturgical text, however, states only that the clerics offer flowers to all buddhas and bodhisattvas. For an English translation, see MROSS (2014, 78) or AMBROS (2016).

27. This piece is also called *Shakujō no ge* 錫杖偈 (*Gāthā* of the priest staff). The text of this piece praises the virtue of the priest staff and states that the clerics give offerings to all buddhas. For an English translation, see MROSS (2014, 78) or AMBROS (2016).

28. The *Sutra of the Teachings Left by the Buddha* (Ch. *Yijiao jing*; Jp. *Yuikyōgyō*; T 12, no. 389) is thought to explain the last teaching of the Buddha and is traditionally read during the days before or on the day of the *Nehanē*. It was translated by Kumārajīva (343–413) into Chinese. Philip EIDMANN (2004) and John CLEARY (2005) have offered English translations.

29. The highly dramatic style of a revolving reading during which the clerics flip through sutra books in *leporello* format (concertina-fold booklets) became possible only after the introduction of that format. Whether this format had been introduced to Japan by Myōe's lifetime is unclear.

Sunset (*nichimotsu* 日没) {After the bell of the sunset the following is to be carried out.} [ca. 5 p.m.]

First, all monks assemble at the bell of sunset.

Next, the verse of the communal obeisance (*sōrai kada* 惣礼伽陀).<sup>30</sup>

After the verse all monks should stand up together, put [their] palms in *gasshō* 合掌, recite the phrase “We take refuge in ...,” and by casting [the] five parts of [their] bodies to the ground [they] perform prostrations {three times}.

The ritual form of the communal obeisances in the following sessions is the same.

Next, the officiant ascends the worship dais.

Next, *Revering the Three Treasures* (*Sanrai* 三礼) and so on<sup>31</sup> as usual.

Next, the reading of the *Nehan kōshiki*.

Next, the vocalization of [the Buddha’s] name (*shōmyō* 称名).

After the [*kō*]shiki the assembly occupying the lower seats vocalizes “We take refuge in Śākyamuni Buddha.” Then all participants vocalize together the name of the Buddha (*butsugō* 仏号) in unison.

Next, the officiant descends from the worship [dais] as usual and so on.

Early night (*shoya* 初夜) {After the bell of the early night the following is to be carried out.}[ca. 7 p.m.]

First, the sounding plate (*kei* 磬) is to be struck, and all participants end the vocalization of [the Buddha’s] name.

Next, the verse of the communal obeisance.

After the verse, all participants [perform] the ritual form of the communal obeisance as [described] above {three times}.

Next, the officiant ascends the worship dais. *Revering the Three Treasures* and so on as usual.

Next, the reading of the *Jūroku rakan kōshiki*.

Next, the vocalization of [the Buddha’s] name {as above}.

Next, the officiant descends from the seat.

Midnight (*chūya* 中夜) {At the hour of the ox the following is to be carried out.} [on the fifteenth day of the second month, ca. 1 a.m.]

30. The verses of the communal obeisance in the four *kōshiki* of the *Shiza kōshiki* are all different. The verses were chosen for each *kōshiki* and are variations of Chinese verses that are often used as communal obeisances.

31. Here I assume that *Revering the Three Treasures* (*Sanrai*) indicates a *shōmyō* piece that is also known under the title *Sanbōrai* 三宝礼. This piece is usually performed at the beginning of an exoteric ritual and consists of a verse through which the participants take refuge in the Buddha, the dharma, and the Sangha. If we assume that *Sanrai* indicates a *shōmyō* piece, then “and so on” (*tō* 等) refers to the *shōmyō* piece *Praise of the Thus Come One* (*tannin* 短音) because these pieces are usually performed together. The term *sanrai* could also describe three full prostrations.

First, the sounding plate is to be struck, and all participants end the vocalization of [the Buddha's] name.

Next, the verse of the communal obeisance. {All participants perform three prostrations as above. Three times.}

Next, the officiant ascends the worship dais. *Revering the Three Treasures* and so on as usual.

Next, the reading of the *Yuiseki kōshiki*.

Next, the vocalization of [the Buddha's] name {as above}.

Next, the officiant descends from the seat.

Next morning (*gochō* 後朝) {After the bell of the morning the following is to be carried out.} [ca. 5 a.m.]

First, the sounding plate is to be struck, and all participants end the vocalization of [the Buddha's] name.

Next, the verse of communal obeisance and so on<sup>32</sup> as customary.

Next, the reading of the *Shari kōshiki*.

Then all participants leave the hall and disperse.

On the second day of the second month of Karoku 2 (1226), I wrote this in the hermitage in Toganoo. Kikai<sup>33</sup>

As this document shows, the *Nehanè* at Kōzanji was a relatively long ritual that started on the fourteenth day of the second month around 11 a.m. and ended probably around 7 a.m. on the next day. Only between the reading of the *Sutra of the Teachings Left by the Buddha* and the *Nehan kōshiki* did the monks leave the hall. The *Nehanè hosshiki* states that all participants were supposed to stop their vocalization of the name, in other words, the *shaka nenbutsu* 釈迦念仏 (chanting the Buddha's name), when the sounding plate was struck at the beginning of a new session. This suggests that the attendees had no break in between the sessions. Thus the *Nehanè* lasted a whole day and night, with no time for sleep or rest.

The document indicates only a few preparations, such as the setting up of the images and the reliquary. In addition, Kikai provides brief indications about ritual actions, such as prostrations. But mainly the *Nehanè hosshiki* consists of a list of *shōmyō* pieces, reflecting the importance of music in the ritual.

32. Here “and so on (*tō* 等)” again indicates the *shōmyō* pieces *Revering the Three Treasures* and *Praise of the Thus Come One* (*tannin* 短音).

33. My translation. The manuscript is in the possession of the temple Kōzanji and is listed in *KŌZANJI TENSEKI MONJO SŌGŌ CHŌSADAN* (1973, 259). I have consulted a facsimile of this text in the archive of the Research Institute for Japanese Music Historiography of Ueno Gakuen University and a photographic reproduction included in the catalog of the Memorial Exhibition on Jōkei's eight hundredth death anniversary (NARA KOKURITSU HAKUBUTSUKAN 2012, 73). For a typographical reprint, see ARAI (2008, 5–6).

*Kōshiki* are essentially vocal music. Musical instruments, however, are occasionally played, not for musical accompaniment, but rather for indicating transitions between ritual sequences and for signaling the beginning of a *shōmyō* piece or of a line of a piece. The *Nehan'e hosshiki* mentions two musical instruments: a bell and a sounding plate. Both instruments were used for signals. The monks gathered at the beginning of the ritual when they heard the bell, and all participants ended the vocalization of the Buddha's name when the sounding plate was struck. Further, the sound of a bell, probably a different bell than the one calling all together, indicated the time. The bell that indicated the time was most likely the big temple bell. In *kōshiki* often other musical instruments that are not mentioned in the *Nehan'e hosshiki* are played; for example, during the piece *Priest Staff* clerics usually play the priest staff (*shakujō* 錫杖)<sup>34</sup> in between the lines of the verse.

Kikai rarely indicates whether a liturgical text was to be sung solo or in chorus, most likely because these conventions were well established. For example, the clerics most likely chanted the following liturgical texts in chorus: the communal obeisances, the last three pieces of the *Four Shōmyō Melodies* (*Scattering Flowers*, *Buddha's Voice*, and *Priest Staff*), the *Sutra of the Teachings Left by the Buddha*, the verses between the sections of the *kōshiki*, and perhaps *Revering the Three Treasures*. By contrast, a single cleric vocalized the pronouncement of intention and the sections of the four *kōshiki*.

A distinctive feature of the *Nehan'e hosshiki* is the participation of the laity. At the beginning of the *Nehan'e*, the whole assembly, laity and clergy alike, vocalized the phrase "We take refuge in the purple-golden wondrous body that finally entered nirvana in the Śāla Grove of Kuśinagara." This phrase seems to have been recited only once, and it is unclear whether the lay attendees actually joined the recitation. Nevertheless, according to the *Nehan'e hosshiki*, all participants were supposed to recite this phrase, and hence the ritual was supposed to start with communal chanting. After the recitation of the *Nehan kōshiki*, *Jūroku rakan kōshiki*, and *Yuiseki kōshiki*, the lay audience and clerics chanted "We take refuge in Śākyamuni Buddha" (*namu shakamuni butsu* 南無釈迦牟尼仏) together until the sounding plate announced the beginning of the next session. Since the *Nehan'e hosshiki* provides only the times of the beginning of a session and these times are not exact according to today's standard, it is difficult to determine exactly how long the *shōmyō* pieces and the recitation of the *kōshiki* lasted. Therefore, we can only guess the length of time that the clerics and lay attendees chanted the *shaka nenbutsu*. Because the *Nehan'e hosshiki* indicates six hours for the *Jūroku rakan kōshiki* session and four hours for the *Yuiseki kōshiki* session, the participants would probably have sung "We take refuge in Śākyamuni Buddha"

34. A *shakujō* is a percussion instrument with six metal rings on its upper end. If the *shakujō* is moved or struck on the ground, the rings produce a jingling sound.

for more than two hours between each of the four *kōshiki*. Even though the lay participants chanted only the *nenbutsu*, it comprised a large portion of the ritual.

The *Nehanè hosshiki*, along with extant diaries and other historical records, thus adds further to our understanding of lay involvement in *kōshiki* performances in medieval Japan. *Kōshiki* were in certain cases instances of communal practice and communal delivering of offerings to the object of veneration. Further, the vocalization of “We take refuge in Śākyamuni Buddha” was a means to make the Buddha present and to confirm the assembly’s taking of refuge in him. Moreover, the communal vocalization transformed the individual participants into a group whose members formed karmic bonds with one another, as well as with the object of veneration. Other descriptions of Myōe’s *Nehanè* also mention that all attendees, laity and clergy alike, chanted the Buddha’s name.<sup>35</sup> As noted above, Jōkei likewise conducted several day-long Assemblies of Chanting the Buddha’s Name. This demonstrates that a practice often associated with the Pure Land schools, in which the chanting of a Buddha’s name (*nenbutsu* 念佛) is solely directed toward Amida Buddha, was an essential practice in the Nara schools as well, but in a much broader sense (see also FORD 2002).

An analysis of the *Nehanè hosshiki*’s ritual structure shows that the four *kōshiki* stood at the center of the *Nehanè*. Before the four *kōshiki* sessions started, Myōe lectured on the *Sutra of the Teachings Left by the Buddha*. This sermon was also ritually framed by a communal obeisance, the singing of the *Four Shōmyō Melodies*, and the reading of the opening statement before the sermon and a revolving reading of the *Sutra of the Teachings Left by the Buddha* after the sermon. As a matter of fact, all *kōshiki* were framed in the same way: before a *kōshiki*, clerics sang a communal obeisance, *Revering the Three Treasures*, and the *Praise of the Thus Come One*; and after each *kōshiki*—with the exception of the *Shari kōshiki*—the whole assembly sang a *shaka nenbutsu*. In other words, three of the four *kōshiki* were set into the same ritual frame and thus Myōe’s *Nehanè* had a symmetrical and sequential structure.

Myōe, however, did not always perform the memorial service of the Buddha’s passing as recorded in the *Nehanè hosshiki*. The *Kōzanji Myōe Shōnin gyōjō*, for example, describes how Myōe, when he was still living in Itono, performed a *Nehanè* outdoors. At that time, he designated a big tree close to a hut as the bodhi tree, built a diamond throne (*kongōza* 金剛座) under the tree by piling up stones, and next to it erected a three-meter-high stupa. People from all social strata are said to have participated in the ritual. The participating laity and clergy

35. See *Kōzanji Myōe Shōnin gyōjō (Kana gyōjō)*, MSS 1: 47–48; *Kōzanji Myōe Shōnin gyōjō (Kanbun gyōjō; Jōzanbon)*, MSS 1: 130; *Kōzanji Myōe Shōnin gyōjō (Kanbun gyōjō; Hōon’inbon)*, MSS 1: 200. The words of worship after each verse in the *shikimon* are not mentioned in the *Nehanè hosshiki* but commonly still vocalized. This short phrase can also be interpreted as a condensed *nenbutsu* practice.

watered the bodhi tree in remembrance of an episode described in the *Sutra of King Asoka* (Ch. *Ayuwang jing*; Jp. *Aikuōkyō*) during which devotees tried to revive the dying bodhi tree with oil and milk (T 50: 139b10–19).<sup>36</sup> By contrast, at Kōzanji, the *Nehanè* was not performed outdoors but in a hall. Here the participants did not stage scenes from sutras, and the lay participation was reduced to singing and simple ritual actions, such as prostrations. Communal chanting, however, ensured that all participants, laity and clergy alike, were actively engaged at the same time.

Images replaced the previous symbolic representations. For each of the four *kōshiki*, an image was prepared as an object of veneration: a nirvana image for the *Nehan kōshiki*, images of the Sixteen Arhats for the *Jūroku rakan kōshiki*, an image of the bodhi tree for the *Yuiseki kōshiki*, and relics for the *Shari kōshiki*. *Kōshiki*, as well as most other Buddhist rituals, are usually performed in front of an image that serves as the central object of veneration. In many *kōshiki* performances, the image is a painting placed in front of the altar because the main image of the hall is not always identical to the object of veneration in the respective *kōshiki*. Likewise, Myōe and his disciples prepared images of the central objects of veneration of the four *kōshiki*. The images stimulated the imagination of the participants and helped them visualize the objects of veneration; at the same time, the images represented the objects of veneration. Additionally, the *kōshiki* text recited by the officiant described the objects of veneration. The voice of the officiant thereby created a link between the image and the written text during the performance of the *kōshiki*.

Myōe experimented with his form of the *Nehanè*, adapting it according to the place and circumstances of the performance. When there was no hall in which to perform the ritual, he creatively improvised outdoors, making the ritual highly accessible to the participants.<sup>37</sup> In his last years, Myōe changed the ritual form again, as the *Kōzanji Myōe Shōnin gyōjō* tells us:

From the fifteenth day of the second month of Kanki 2 (1230) on, he slightly changed the ceremony (*shiki* 式) of the *Nehanè*. After the lecture and praise of the *Sutra of the Teachings Left by the Buddha* in the middle of the day, he observed one session of the *Nehan kō* (*Nehan kō no ichiza* 涅槃講一座). He shortened the [other] three sessions of the *kō*[*shiki*] (*sanza no kō* 三座講), the recitation of the [Buddha's] name (*shōmyō*), and other [elements] that were performed during the night. The reason for this was that for one day and night many people gathered. [Consequently,] there was the coming and going of the

36. See *Kōzanji Myōe Shōnin gyōjō* (*Kana gyōjō*), MSS 1: 47–48; *Kōzanji Myōe Shōnin gyōjō* (*Kanbun gyōjō*; *Jōzanbon*), MSS 1: 130; *Kōzanji Myōe Shōnin gyōjō* (*Kanbun gyōjō*; *Hōon'inbon*), MSS 1: 200.

37. See *Kōzanji Myōe Shōnin gyōjō* (*Kana gyōjō*), MSS 1: 47–48; *Kōzanji Myōe Shōnin gyōjō* (*Kanbun gyōjō*; *Jōzanbon*), MSS 1: 130; *Kōzanji Myōe Shōnin gyōjō* (*Kanbun gyōjō*; *Hōon'inbon*), MSS 1: 200.

audience, and there was the hustle and bustle in the temple.<sup>38</sup> Because there were such troubles, [the ceremony] was abbreviated.<sup>39</sup>

According to this source, Myōe decided in Kanki 2 (1230) to shorten the *Nehanē* due to logistical problems. Another reason might have been that the performance of the long *Shiza kōshiki* became too exhausting for Myōe, who died around two years later.

As the author and abbot of Kōzanji, Myōe had the authority to decide the ritual form of his *kōshiki*. He was able to express his imagination and his longing for the Buddha ritually. No prior tradition on how to perform the *Shiza kōshiki* dictated any details to him; therefore, he was able to revise it creatively whenever he wanted to or when circumstances demanded it. After his death, the *Shiza kōshiki* was incorporated into the Shingon tradition and became part of the liturgical repertoire of the school. This development is the subject of the next section.

### *The Development of the Nehanē's Ritual Form*

The *Shiza kōshiki* or its individual *kōshiki* were already performed at other temples during Myōe's lifetime (ARAI 2008, 7). In the case of Kōyasan, the center of the Nanzan Shin lineage 南山進流 of Shingon *shōmyō*, the *Shiza kōshiki* was first performed at Dairakuin 大楽院 at the end of the thirteenth century in fulfillment of retired emperor Kameyama's 龜山 (1249–1305) vow.<sup>40</sup> On that occasion, the monk Shinnichi 信日 (?–1307) presided over the ceremony. Unfortunately, no extant sources document the ritual form used by Shinnichi. Nevertheless, texts survive that can illuminate the later development of the ritual form in the Shingon schools.

Mainly interested in the discourse embedded in *kōshiki*, most scholars working on this genre have studied texts that contain the *shikimon* and the verse of the communal obeisance of a particular *kōshiki*. These texts usually provide only a brief sketch of a common ritual form. To fully understand the ritual performance of *kōshiki*, however, it is necessary to widen the focus and to include in our analysis other ritual manuals used in the performance of *kōshiki*. These

38. The *Kōzanji Myōe Shōnin gyōjō* (*Kana gyōjō*) contains the following additional explanation: "Furthermore, there was danger of fire (*kanan* 火難)" (MSS 1: 49–50).

39. My translation. *Kōzanji Myōe Shōnin gyōjō* (*Kanbun gyōjō*; *Jōzanbon* and *Hōon'inbon*), MSS 1: 130–31, 200. See also *Kōzanji Myōe Shōnin gyōjō* (*Kana gyōjō*), MSS 1: 49–50. For a German translation, see GUELBERG (1999, 97).

40. The Nanzan Shin lineage is one of the Shingon *shōmyō* lineages. Its center is on Kōyasan. Originally, the lineage was called *Shinryū* 進流, but around 1235 the center of the lineage was moved to Kōyasan, and because of its location in relation to Hieizan it was renamed Southern Mountain lineage (Nanzan Shin lineage). It is the only old Shingon *shōmyō* lineage that has survived to this day. The *shōmyō* of the Shingi Shingon branches (*Chizanha* 智山派 and *Buzanha* 豊山派) developed from this lineage.

manuals suggest that documents containing only the *shikimon* do not reflect the ritual form actually used by the performers. All manuscripts or printed editions of the *Shiza kōshiki* from the Tokugawa period that I have consulted contain only a very brief description of the ritual form, in the same way as earlier manuscripts do. For example, after the verse of the communal obeisance, most manuscripts give instructions for the officiant to ascend the worship dais, for the *Four Shōmyō Melodies* to be sung, and for the officiant to recite the pronouncement of intention.<sup>41</sup> No further information is given about the opening part of the ritual. But ritual manuals used by the assembly in the Tokugawa period give a far more complex ritual structure. This should caution us against taking for granted that the brief description of the ritual procedure in the manuscripts containing only a *shikimon* reflects the actual performance practice.

One genre essential for studying the ritual form of *kōshiki* is *hossoku* 法則 (ritual procedures). In *hossoku*, the choral pieces of a particular ceremony are written down in the order chanted. Next to all liturgical texts, we find a musical notation (*hakase* 博士) indicating the melodies of the *shōmyō* pieces.<sup>42</sup> *Hossoku* are usually written for individual *kōshiki* and are titled accordingly. For example, *Jōrakue hossoku* are ritual handbooks in which the choral pieces of the *Jōrakue* are included. These texts provide information about the ritual form used in the *Jōrakue* at a certain time. In the Tokugawa period, at least four different editions of the Nanzan Shin lineage and three of the Shingi branch were printed.<sup>43</sup> Here I cannot analyze all extant *Jōrakue hossoku* in detail, but I will give an overview of several aspects.

An analysis of several editions of the *Jōrakue hossoku* shows that over time *shōmyō* pieces were added, and the ritual structure of the *Jōrakue* became increasingly complex. At the same time, the *shaka nenbutsu* was shortened. Furthermore, *shōmyō* training was necessary to vocalize even the *shaka nenbutsu*, as well as all

41. See, for example, the Jōkyō edition of the *Shiza kōshiki* (for a reprint, see ARAI 2008, 164, 176, 185, 195); the Genroku edition (for a reprint, see KINDAICHI 1964, 491, 503, 512, 522); and all four *kōshiki* of the *Shiza kōshiki* on the CD-ROM *Kōyasan kōshikishū* (KŌYASAN DAIGAKU FUZOKU KŌYASAN TOSHOKAN SHOZŌ 2001).

42. Music notation has a long tradition in Japanese Buddhism, and many different styles of *hakase* were developed, which vary according to the school and time period. Attesting to the importance of music in Japanese Buddhism, the oldest printed music notation in the world is a *shōmyō* notation titled *Shōmyōshū* 声明集 printed at Kōyasan in Bunmei 4 (1472) (Archive of the Research Institute of Japanese Music Historiography, Ueno Gakuen University). For a facsimile and detailed study of this text, see FUKUSHIMA (1995). For a detailed study of the development of *shōmyō* notation, see ARAI (1996).

43. For an overview of Tokugawa-period editions, see ARAI (2008, 11–13, 160). An edition of the Nanzan Shin branch from Meiwa 6 (1769) can be viewed online: <http://kindai.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/818696> (accessed 24 February 2015). An edition of the most widely circulated edition of the Shingi branch is included in *Nihon kayō shūsei* 4, 39–51 (*Shiza kō hossoku*; 1705).

other *shōmyō* pieces, because they were vocalized with fixed melodies notated in the *hossoku*. This suggests that the lay participation became increasingly limited as usually only clerics had access to the necessary *shōmyō* training.

In order to demonstrate how complex and elaborate the form of the *Shiza kōshiki* became, I provide an overview of the ritual form according to the *Jōrakue hossoku* from Tenna 2 (1682), which contains the basic ritual structure for later editions of both the Nanzan Shin and Shingi branches.<sup>44</sup> Unfortunately, the editor and any details about the background of this edition are unknown. The *Jōrakue hossoku* provides the following ritual structure (the liturgical texts that are also mentioned in the *Nehan* *hosshiki* have been underlined):

[Session of the *Nehan kōshiki*]

Invitation (*kanjō* 勸請)<sup>45</sup>

Communal obeisance (*sōrai* 惣礼) [for the whole *kōshiki*]

Vocalization of the name (*shōmyō*)<sup>46</sup>

Delivery of offerings (*tengu* 伝供):<sup>47</sup>

*Sanskrit Hymn of the Four Wisdoms (Shichi no bongo 四智梵語)*<sup>48</sup>

44. I consulted a copy of the Tenna 2 edition at the Research Institute for Japanese Music Historiography of Ueno Gakuen University.

45. The *kanjō* (also called *kanjōmon* 勸請文) invites the object(s) of veneration to the ritual place. In the case of the *Shiza kōshiki*, the Buddha, Monju, Miroku, the Sixteen Arhats, the fifty-two kinds of beings present in the Śāla Grove, and the masters who have venerated the holy site of the Buddha's passing are invited to come to the place of the ceremony. It is not a standardized *shōmyō* piece; rather, a *kanjō* is written for each ritual by inserting the name(s) of the object(s) of veneration into one of the patterns that are commonly used for *kanjō*.

46. Here the clerics pay respect to the Buddha, the Sixteen Arhats, and the humans and heavenly beings who were present in the Śāla Grove. The text is as follows: "We take refuge in Śākyamuni Buddha, the great compassionate teacher. We take refuge in the Sixteen Arhats, who protect the teachings left [by the Buddha]. We take refuge in the great assembly of humans and heavenly beings in the Śāla Grove [near the] Ajitavatī river."

47. The following three *shōmyō* pieces are sung during the delivery of offerings to the objects of veneration. Therefore, this ritual sequence is called "delivering of offerings" (*tengu* 伝供, also read as *dengu*).

48. This hymn is also called *Shichi no bongo san* 四智梵語讚. It praises the four wisdoms by invoking the four directional buddhas, who each represent one of the four wisdoms. In the Shingon tradition this chant is interpreted as praise of Mahāvairocana of the diamond realm because Mahāvairocana's wisdom is thought to encompass all four wisdoms (ARAI 1999, 327; NELSON 1998, 477). It is one of the oldest Buddhist chants of the Japanese *shōmyō* repertoire. Arai writes: "It seems likely that this piece derives from seventh-century India, and that it was transmitted to China in the eighth, and to Japan at the beginning of the ninth" (ARAI 1999, 326). The *Hymn of the Four Wisdoms* was originally a *śloka*, a Sanskrit verse consisting of two sixteen-syllable lines. Two versions of this chant exist: (1) a transliteration called *Shichi no bongo* and (2) a Chinese translation called *Shichi no kango* (Chinese hymn of the four wisdoms). The first one is chanted here, whereas the second one is chanted later during the ritual. For a translation into English, see NELSON (1998, 478) or MROSS (2014, 86).

Sanskrit Hymn of Mahāvairocana (*Shinryaku no bongo* 心略梵語)<sup>49</sup>

Hymn of Vajrakarma (*Kongōgō* 金剛業)<sup>50</sup>

Offeratory declaration (*saimon* 祭文)<sup>51</sup>

Communal obeisance of the *Nehan kōshiki*

*Praise of the Thus Come One*<sup>52</sup>

*Scattering Flowers*

*Buddha's Voice*

*Priest Staff*

*Nehan kōshiki* (the *hossoku* contains only the verses)

*Transfer of Merit* (*ekō* 回向)<sup>53</sup>

*Japanese Hymn on Nirvana* (*Nehan wasan* 涅槃和讚)<sup>54</sup>

*Chanting the Buddha's Name* (*Shaka nenbutsu*)

*Homage to the Diamond Realm* (*Kongōkai shōrei* 金剛界唱礼)<sup>55</sup>

49. This chant praises Mahāvairocana (Jp. Dainichi 大日) of the womb realm and is therefore also known under the title *Dainichi san* 大日讚. Like *Shichisan*, this chant was originally a *śloka* and was composed in seventh-century India. Again, two versions exist: one transliteration (*Shinryaku no bongo*) and a translation into Chinese (*Shinryaku no kango* 心略漢語). As Nelson explains, “The term *shinryaku* may be translated as ‘abbreviation of the heart,’ and refers to the fact that the text of this *san* is an abbreviation of a longer text which is 32 verses in length” (NELSON 1998, 488). For a translation, see NELSON (1998, 489).

50. The full title of this *shōmyō* piece in Sanskrit is *Kongōgō bosatsu san* 金剛業菩薩讚 (Hymn of the Bodhisattva Vajrakarma). It is praise for the bodhisattva Vajrakarma, who dwells in the north. Therefore, this chant is also called *Hoppō no san* 北方讚 (Hymn of the north). This chant was originally a *śloka*, which was composed in seventh-century India. The *Hymn of Vajrakarma* is also used as praise for the Buddha (ARAI 2008, 27; *Shōmyō jiten* 245).

51. Here *saimon* indicates the liturgical text *Nehan kō saimon* 涅槃講祭文. The *hossoku* indicates only “*saimon*” and does not give the liturgical text because this text was recited by a single monk. *Saimon* are read in order to ask the object(s) of veneration to accept the offerings. Like *kōshiki*, *saimon* are written in Chinese (*kanbun*) but read in Japanese (*kundoku*). *Saimon* were originally composed for each ceremony, but slowly standardized texts came to be used. It is still unclear when *saimon* began to be composed for *kōshiki*. According to medieval sources, Myōe is supposed to have written a *saimon* for his *Gojūgo zenchishiki kōshiki* 五十五善知識講式 (*Kōzanji Myōe Shōnin gyōjō* [*Kana gyōjō*], MSS 1: 56). However, this text is not extant (GUELBERG 1999, 42).

52. *Praise of the Thus Come One* and the following three pieces form the ritual sequence *Shika hōyō*.

53. In Buddhism, the recitation of sacred texts is said to generate merit. Therefore, the accumulated virtue is transferred to all sentient beings at the end of each ritual. Here a commonly used verse from the *Lotus Sutra* (Ch. *Miaofa lianhua jing*; Jp. *Myōhō renge kyō* 妙法蓮華經) is chanted: “We wish that this merit / extends universally to all. / May we and all sentient beings / together realize the Buddha way” (T 9: 24C21–22). In the Shingon tradition, it is also called *Ekō kada* 回向伽陀. In this article, *Transfer of Merit* is italicized when the *Ekō kada* is recited.

54. *Wasan* are hymns in Japanese. Genshin is supposed to have composed the first *wasan*. Guelberg gives some examples of the use of *wasan* in *kōshiki* (GUELBERG 1999, 40–42). The *Nehan wasan* summarizes the content of the *kōshiki* in easily comprehensible fashion. It was probably composed at the end of the Kamakura period (ARAI 2008, 59).

55. *Kongōkai shōrei* is a ritual sequence performed in esoteric rituals. Two versions of *shōrei* 唱礼 exist: (1) the *Kongōkai shōrei* for the diamond realm and (2) the *Taizōkai shōrei* 胎藏界唱礼

*Sanskrit Hymn of the Four Wisdoms*<sup>56</sup>

*Sanskrit Hymn of Mahāvairocana*

*Hymn of the Southern Direction (Nanhōsan 南方讚),*<sup>57</sup> *Hymn of Mañjuśrī (Monjusan 文殊讚),*<sup>58</sup> or *Hymn of the Buddha Relics (Hōshu no san 宝珠讚)*<sup>59</sup>

*Dhāraṇī of General Offerings (Fukuyō 普供養)*<sup>60</sup>

*Gāthā of the Three Powers (Sanriki no ge 三力偈)*<sup>61</sup>

Circumambulation of the hall during the chanting of the name of the Buddha (*nenbutsu gyōdō* 念仏行道)<sup>62</sup>

*Chinese Hymn of the Four Wisdoms (Shichi no kango 四智漢語)*<sup>63</sup>

*Chinese Hymn of Mahāvairocana (Shinryaku no kango)*

*Closing Chant (Kassatsu 合殺)*<sup>64</sup>

*Hymn of the Weeping over the Buddha's Passing (Kokubussan 哭仏讚)*<sup>65</sup>

*Wholehearted Transfer of Merit (Shishin ekō 至心回向)*<sup>66</sup>

[Session of the *Rakan kōshiki*]

for the womb realm. Both consist of several *shōmyō* pieces. The *Kongōkai shōrei* consists of invocations, mantras, and verses. The chanting clerics worship various buddhas and bodhisattvas and repent their transgressions in front of them. For a translation, see NELSON (1998, 485–88).

56. This piece and the next two *san* form the ritual sequence of the opening hymns (*zensan* 前讚).

57. This chant in Sanskrit praises the bodhisattva Vajraratnaḥ (Jp. Kongōhō 金剛宝), the bodhisattva of the south. Therefore, it is also called *Kongōhō bosatsu san* 金剛宝菩薩讚.

58. This is a praise of Mañjuśrī in Chinese.

59. This Sanskrit piece praises the Buddha relics (ARAI 2008, 67).

60. *Fukuyō* and *Sanriki no ge* are two short *shōmyō* “pieces, which are always performed together... Although extremely short, ‘*Fukuyō*’ is an extremely important Sanskrit *mantra* that expresses the conceptual aspect of veneration, as opposed to the concrete aspect of offering as represented by the Six Offerings and the sound of *shōmyō* and the *narashimono* instruments. While intoning the *mantra*, the *dōshi* and other priests form a *mudrā* out of which is imagined to flow wondrous offerings like the precious Mañi gem, which permeates the universe” (NELSON 1998, 490). For a translation, see NELSON (1998, 490).

61. *Sanriki no ge* is another important text that is written in Chinese. According to Nelson, “It explains the amalgamation of three types of power thought to bring about universal veneration, and is a concise description of the Shingon concept of enlightenment” (NELSON 1998, 490). The three powers are the power of individual merit, the power of the support of the Buddha, and the power of the dharma world (*hōkai* 法界). The text states that through these powers, offerings can be widely delivered (*Shōmyō jiten* 144). For a translation, see NELSON (1998, 490).

62. This is the center of the esoteric rite during the ritual. While the officiant performs the main offering for Śākyamuni (*shakahō* 釈迦法), the assembly circumambulates the hall and chants the name of the Buddha.

63. This hymn and the *Chinese Hymn of Mahāvairocana* together form the closing hymns (*gosan* 後讚).

64. Here the assembly recited the name of Śākyamuni eleven times with distinct melodies.

65. This is a hymn in Chinese.

66. This verse is also included in the *Worship of the Diamond Realm (Kongōkai shōrei)*, but here it serves to transfer the merit at the end of the session of the *Neihan kōshiki*. For a translation, see NELSON (1998, 486–87).

Communal obeisance of the *Rakan kōshiki*

*Rakan kōshiki* (the *hossoku* contains only the verses)

Transfer of Merit<sup>67</sup>

*Japanese Hymn on the Arhats* (*Rakan wasan* 羅漢和讚)<sup>68</sup>

Chanting the Buddha's Name

[Session of the *Yuiseki kōshiki*]

Communal obeisance of the *Yuiseki kōshiki*

Verse of Praise (*Gozenju* 御前頌)<sup>69</sup>

*Yuiseki kōshiki* (the *hossoku* contains only the verses)

Transfer of Merit<sup>70</sup>

*Japanese Hymn on the Remaining Traces* (*Yuiseki wasan* 遺跡和讚)<sup>71</sup>

Chanting the Buddha's Name

[Session of the *Shari kōshiki*]

Communal obeisance of the *Shari kōshiki*

*Shari kōshiki* (the *hossoku* contains only the verses)

Transfer of Merit<sup>72</sup>

*Japanese Hymn on the Relics* (*Shari wasan* 舍利和讚)<sup>73</sup>

*Praising Hymn of the Relics* (*Shari sandan* 舍利讚歎)<sup>74</sup>

*Homage to the Buddha's Relics* (*Shari rai* 舍利礼)<sup>75</sup>

*Sending Off*<sup>76</sup> (*Busō* 奉送)

Transfer of Merit<sup>77</sup>

Final words of worship (*Shōmyōrai* 称名礼)<sup>78</sup>

67. Here the verse of the fifth section of the *Rakan kōshiki* serves as the transfer of merit.

68. The author and the date of its composition are unknown.

69. This *shōmyō* piece is used as an abbreviation of the *Shika hōyō*. Originally, it was sung solo at the end of an esoteric ritual by the officiant in front of the object of veneration. Therefore, it is called *Gozenju* (ARAI 2008, 104).

70. Here the *Ekō kada* is sung again.

71. The author and the date of its composition are unknown.

72. Here the monks again sing the *Ekō kada*, as they did after the *Nehan kōshiki* and *Yuiseki kōshiki*.

73. Two theories about the author exist: one states that the *Yuiseki wasan* was written by Yōkan 永観 (1033–1111), and the other that it was written by Yūgen 融源 (ARAI 2008, 147).

74. This *shōmyō* piece in Japanese is a composition by the Tendai monk Ennin 円仁 (794–864), who is considered the founder of Tendai *shōmyō* because he transmitted many *shōmyō* pieces from China to Japan. Ennin composed this liturgical text for a relic ceremony in Jōkan 2 (860).

75. This is a chant in Chinese that praises the Buddha's relics. It is attributed to Amoghavajra (705–774).

76. This *shōmyō* piece is used to respectfully send off the objects of veneration, who have been invited at the beginning of the ritual with the *kanjō*. It is also called *Busō kada* 奉送伽陀 (ARAI 2008, 152).

77. Here the *Ekō kada* is sung again.

78. At the end of the ritual the clerics pay respect to the Buddha, the Buddha relics, and the living beings of the dharma worlds by singing “We take refuge in ...”

Even at a glance, it is clear that this ritual form is highly complex. It consists of thirty-nine different liturgical pieces in Sanskrit, Chinese, and Japanese plus the Chinese verses sung during the four *kōshiki*. Therefore, it stands in stark contrast to Myōe's relatively simple form that consisted of only thirteen different liturgical pieces, not a single one in Sanskrit.

Like the *Nehan'e hosshiki* describing the ritual form that Myōe used, the *Jōrakue hossoku* contains multiple sessions that center on the four *kōshiki*. Structurally, the individual sessions are not symmetrically constructed. While the *Nehan'e hosshiki* indicates identical frames for each of the *kōshiki* (with the exception of the closing of the *Shari kōshiki*), the Tokugawa-period *Jōrakue hossoku* does not. Instead, it lays out four different ritual frames that contain some similar chants, as well as different ones. The first *kōshiki*, the *Nehan kōshiki*, was set into the most complex ritual frame, consisting of twenty-seven pieces (three of them are sung twice, once before the *Nehan kōshiki* and once after the *kōshiki*), whereas the *Rakan kōshiki* was placed into the simplest one, consisting of only three liturgical pieces. The centers of the ritual, the four *kōshiki*, stayed relatively stable, but the ritual frames surrounding these centers were greatly expanded. The ritual frames consisted of standardized *shōmyō* pieces that were combined according to the ritual tradition of Japanese Shingon Buddhism. These liturgical pieces belong to the two *shōmyō* styles of song (*utau shōmyō* 歌う声明) and recitation (*katari shōmyō* 語る声明).<sup>79</sup> For example, the various hymns, the *Four Shōmyō Melodies*, and the verses after each section of a *kōshiki* were sung, whereas the actual *kōshiki* text was recited. In this way, different musical styles formed a rich sonic landscape.

Significantly, the *Nehan kōshiki* session contains a new secondary center: the delivering of offerings for Śākyamuni (*shakahō* 釈迦法) performed by the officiant while the monks of the assembly circumambulate the hall and chant the Buddha's name. The ritual frame of this secondary center starts with the esoteric chant *Homage to the Diamond Realm* and ends with the *Closing Chant* (see FIGURE 2). In this way, the *Jōrakue* contains an esoteric Buddhist ritual sequence despite the fact that *kōshiki* originally were classified as exoteric rituals. Usually esoteric and exoteric Buddhist rituals are considered distinct categories, but by the addition of this ritual sequence the *Shiza kōshiki* became a *kenmitsudate* 顕密立 ritual; in other words, a ritual that contains both exoteric and esoteric ritual sequences. Thus, in the Tokugawa period, the *Jōrakue* began to merge these two previously distinct categories. The *Jōrakue hossoku* from Tenna 2 (1682) is one of the first ritual manuals for the *Jōrakue* that contains this esoteric ritual

79. A third style is reading (*yomu shōmyō* 読む声明), but the Tokugawa-period *Jōrakue* most probably did not include liturgical texts of that style. It is important to note that there is great musical variety within the liturgical pieces belonging to the *shōmyō* style of song.

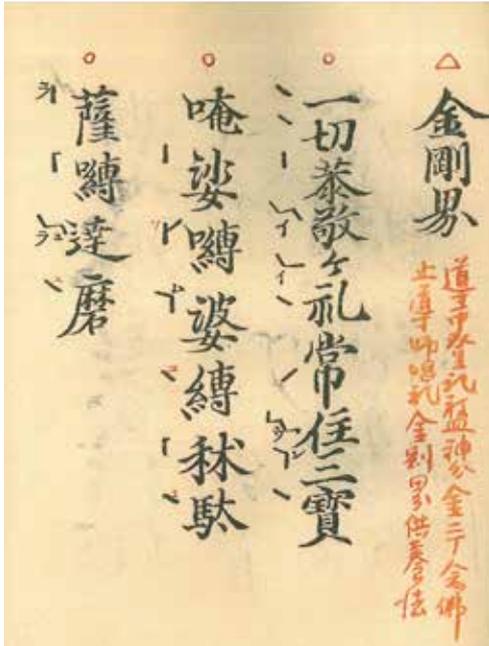


FIGURE 2. *Homage to the Diamond Realm (Kongōkai shōrei), Jōrakue hossoku (1682)*. Reproduced with the permission of the Research Institute for Japanese Music Historiography of Ueno Gakuen University. This image shows the beginning of the piece *Homage to the Diamond Realm*. The lines to the left of the Chinese characters are the musical notation (*hakase*). A cleric who used this text added annotations in red ink (for color, see <http://dx.doi.org/10.18874/jjrs.43.1.2016.89-130>). The red triangle highlights the title of the *shōmyō* piece, and the small circles in red indicate the beginning of each line.

sequence.<sup>80</sup> In Genroku 1 (1688), a new *Jōrakue hossoku* of the Shingi Shingon branch was printed on Kōyasan; notably, it contains the same esoteric pieces (ARAI 2008, 12–13). Consequently, both the *Jōrakue* in the Nanzan Shin lineage and the Shingi Shingon branch became exo-esoteric rituals.

Shingon rituals are often interpreted through the lens of a guest-host paradigm and are thought to be banquets or entertainments for deities, the guests, who are invited to the ceremonial place by the performing clerics, the host(s). The structure of the *Jōrakue hossoku* clearly reflects this concept. The clerics chanted the invitation in order to welcome the deities—in this case the Buddha, Mañjuśrī, Maitreya, the Sixteen Arhats, the fifty-two kinds of beings present in the Śāla Grove, and the masters who have venerated the holy site of the Buddha's passing. Then the monks paid respect to the deities by singing a communal obeisance. The clerics presented offerings to the deities while singing three Sanskrit hymns and then asked the deities to accept these offerings through the recitation of the *saimon*. Elaborate praises and offerings followed during a long and sequential ritual. Finally, the monks sent

80. A few years earlier it was already mentioned in the *Dairakuin Jōrakue Hossoku* included in a compilation of different *hossoku* edited by Yūkō 宥皓 in Kanbun 11 (1671) (*Hossoku shū*, in *Shingonshū shohōe gisoku shūsei*, 180).

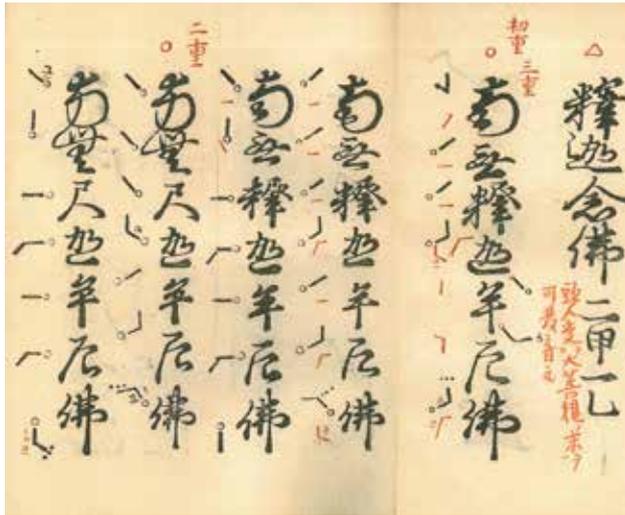


FIGURE 3. *Chanting the Buddha's Name (Shaka nenbutsu)*, *Jōrakue hossoku* (1682). Reproduced with the permission of the Research Institute for Japanese Music Historiography of Ueno Gakuen University. This image shows the first five lines of the piece *Shaka nenbutsu*. The lines to the left of the Chinese characters are the musical notation. A cleric who used this text added annotations in red ink (see <http://dx.doi.org/10.18874/jjrs.43.1.2016.89-130>). The characters *shojū* 初重, *nijū* 二重, and *sanjū* 三重 indicate the three different pitch levels on which the text is sung, while the small circles in red highlight the start of a new pitch level.

the deities off with the *Busō kada*, a verse of farewell, and transferred the gained merit to all living beings. In other words, the ritual was clearly framed as a visit.<sup>81</sup>

The guest-host paradigm also provides insights into why the session with the *Nehan kōshiki* in its center is so much longer than the other three sessions: the first session has to invite all deities to the ritual place. The delivering of offerings for Śākyamuni, the new secondary center in the session of the *Nehan kōshiki*, with ten different liturgical pieces, additionally contributed to the fact that the session of the *Nehan kōshiki* became extremely complex. The last session of the ritual, the session of the *Shari kōshiki* with nine different chants, is also longer than the session of the *Rakan kōshiki* and the *Yuiseki kōshiki* (five or six liturgical pieces). One reason is probably that during the session of the *Shari kōshiki* the deities had to be sent off respectfully and the ritual needed to be brought to a close.

The *Jōrakue hossoku* contains many different liturgical pieces belonging to various *shōmyō* genres. All pieces included in the *hossoku* are notated with musical notation, reflecting the fact that all pieces were sung with distinct, pre-

81. For an analysis of the guest-host paradigm in esoteric rituals, see, for example, PAYNE (1991, 88–89) and SHARF (2003).

scribed melodies. Even the chanting of the Buddha's name (*shaka nenbutsu*) was performed with distinct melodies on different pitch levels and required special training (see FIGURE 3). Therefore, lay attendees were no longer able to sing the *shaka nenbutsu* along with the priests, as they were able to do at Myōe's Kōzanji when they had chanted "We take refuge in Śākyamuni Buddha" for several hours.

Most pieces would not have been comprehensible to the listeners because they were chanted in Sino-Japanese or are transliterations of Sanskrit. As George Tanabe notes:

Chanting often produces sounds that cannot be recognized as a regular spoken language. The *Heart Sutra* (*Prajñāpāramitāhṛdaya-sūtra*), for example, is popular in East Asia as a Chinese text about emptiness, a fundamental Mahāyāna teaching, but when it is chanted in Japan, each Chinese character is given a Japanese pronunciation without any change in the Chinese grammatical word order of the text. The audible result is neither Japanese nor Chinese, but a ritual language unto itself. (TANABE 2004, 137)

This also applies to almost all *shōmyō* pieces in Chinese chanted during the ritual. Nevertheless, the monastic performers reading the text were still able to understand its content. The only exceptions are the chants in Sanskrit transliteration. Even when the chanting clerics saw the text, they were not able to understand its meaning without further study because the written characters are used phonetically and convey no inherent meaning.

The ritual form described in the *Jōrakue hossoku* contains only a few liturgical pieces vocalized in Japanese, which nonetheless constituted a large part of the ritual. These are the four *kōshiki* constituting the *Shiza kōshiki*, which were the longest texts vocalized during the ritual and which formed the centers of the ritual. These were recited in a distinct way in order to keep the attention of the audience over a long time, as I explain below. The verses sung after each section, however, were chanted in Sino-Japanese and were therefore not intelligible to the audience. Furthermore, the *Nehan kōshiki* session contains an offertory declaration, which served as the offertory declaration for the whole ritual. This liturgical text ritually supported the function of the *delivery of offerings* (*tengu*) hymns because it praised the objects of veneration and asked them to accept the offerings. Additionally, four Japanese hymns (*Nehan wasan*, *Rakan wasan*, *Yuiseki wasan*, and *Shari wasan*) were sung after each respective *kōshiki*. Originally, Myōe did not include any *wasan* in his *Nehan*; but relatively early, around the time when the *Shiza kōshiki* was adopted at Dairakuin, *wasan* were added (ARAI 2008, 11). The monks further sung a *Shari sandan*, which the Tendai monk Ennin, said to be the founder of Japanese Tendai *shōmyō*, composed as a

praise of Buddha relics. Thus, the ritual contains not only different *shōmyō* styles but also liturgical texts in three different languages.

In summary, this section has demonstrated that by the Tokugawa period, the *Nehan* centering on the *Shiza kōshiki* had evolved from Myōe's simple form, in which lay participation was an important factor, into a highly complex ritual, in which lay participation played only a minor role or none at all. In the *hossoku*, all texts were written with musical notation indicating that the performers needed extensive *shōmyō* training. The *hossoku* only include the choral pieces, but not the *Shiza kōshiki*, which the officiant recited solo. The next section explores the texts containing the *kōshiki* and its musical realization.

### *The Vocalization of the kōshiki*

I turn now to the central part of the ritual, the vocalization of the *kōshiki*. First I explain the basic concepts of the *kōshiki*'s vocalization and then analyze the relationship between the text and its vocalization. Thereby, I demonstrate that the musical realization enhanced the dramatic effect of the *kōshiki*.

*Kōshiki* belong to the *shōmyō* category of recitation. It is considered essential that the audience understands the content of the liturgical text, and the style of vocalization supports this aim. The ritual sequence of the *kōshiki* has various functions. First, it expresses lamentation of the devotees over the death of the Buddha. It is further a means to remember the Buddha and pay respect. Moreover, the text educates the audience about the life of the Buddha and his teachings. The voice of the officiant fulfills all these functions.

The recitation of the *kōshiki* text lasts more than one hour in most cases.<sup>82</sup> The length of the text requires variety in the musical performance in order to maintain the audience's attention over such a long period of time. This led to the development of a special recitation method that utilizes melodic formulas, known as *kyokusetsu* 曲節, on three different pitch levels. A change of the *kyokusetsu* can highlight important passages; the highest pitch level marks a high point and is sparingly used.<sup>83</sup>

Steven Nelson has shown that the recitation in the early stages of the *kōshiki* offered a lot of freedom for improvisation (NELSON 2001; 2009). For example, the *Shiki hossoku yōi no jōjō* 式法則用意条々 (Procedures and points of caution for [*kō*]shiki, late twelfth century), a manual for recitation of *kōshiki* written by Fujiwara no Takamichi 藤原孝道 (1166–1237), provides guidelines for recitation

82. At Kongōbuji the recitation of the *Nehan kōshiki* and the *Jūroku rakan kōshiki* takes about one hour and forty minutes, the *Yūiseki kōshiki* takes more than two hours and twenty minutes, and the *Shari kōshiki* takes more than one hour (participant observation at Kongōbuji, February 2009).

83. The explanation about the principles of musical realization of *kōshiki* is based on NELSON (2009).

methods used in *kōshiki*.<sup>84</sup> Takamichi belonged to the influential Myōon lineage 妙音院流, which was founded by Fujiwara no Moronaga 藤原師長 (1138–1192), one of the greatest musicians of the Heian period.

One century later, Gen'un 玄雲 (1280–1340?) of the Ōhara lineage 大原流 of the Japanese Tendai tradition wrote a manual entitled *Shōjin yōshō* (Important points for the voice, 1313; *Zoku Tendaishū zensho hōgi* 1, 402–22). Both the *Shiki hossoku yōi no jōjō* and the *Shōjin yōshō* describe how a reciter would have to plan the performance and how he was supposed to distribute the three pitch levels. The final decision about how to recite the *kōshiki* was left to the reciter.

Around the Kamakura period, reciters started to add musical notation to the texts, and the musical realization of a certain *kōshiki* became fixed. Initially, only the pitch levels were indicated, but in later periods the concrete melodic movements were also notated and thereby standardized. Thus the improvisational aspect was slowly lost.<sup>85</sup> This development was mostly likely due to “the increased importance of transmission within sectarian lineages” (NELSON 2009, 1). In addition, as NELSON (2009, 5) argues, the pitch accent had substantially changed by the Muromachi period so that reciters were no longer able to vocalize the texts by instinct.

Unfortunately, there are no extant manuscripts with musical notation that could illuminate how Myōe vocalized his *kōshiki*.<sup>86</sup> The oldest datable manuscripts of the *Shiza kōshiki* with musical notation were written in the Muromachi period. Within the many *Shiza kōshiki* manuscripts and editions printed since the Tokugawa period, two musical notation systems were used next to each other.<sup>87</sup> One is the notation of *kyokusetsu*, which indicates the broader musical structure, and the other is *hakase*, which indicates the melodic movement of individual syllables. The names of the *kyokusetsu* for the different pitch levels are as follows:

84. For an analysis and typographical reprint of the *Shiki hossoku yōi no jōjō*, see NELSON (2001).

85. Nonetheless, improvisation still exists in schools that did not develop a fixed recitation style for *kōshiki*. For example, in the Sōtō school, *shikimon* and *saimon* are usually read without melodies. Because the texts are written without any musical notation in the ritual handbooks, the performing priests have a lot of freedom in vocalizing the text. Suzuki Eiichi 鈴木永一 of the head temple Sōjiji 總持寺 in Tsurumi, for example, always adds melodic patterns to a *shikimon* or *saimon* in a way similar to how these texts are vocalized in the Shingon or Tendai schools (author's fieldwork at Sōjiji from 2007 to 2013).

86. A manuscript of the *Shiza kōshiki* with musical notation in the possession of the temple Shōrakuji 正樂寺 (Okayama Prefecture) is supposed to have been written by Myōe. However, this attribution has been questioned because the musical notation system used in it was developed after Myōe's death (SAKURAI 1976, 239–40; KINDAICHI 1964, 46–47).

87. For a description of manuscripts and printed editions of the *Shiza kōshiki*, see KINDAICHI (1964) and ARAI (2008, 8–11).

Lowest pitch level: *shojū* 初重 / *geon* 下音 / *honchō* 本調  
 Middle pitch level: *nijū* 二重 / *chūon* 中音  
 Highest pitch level: *sanjū* 三重 / *jōon* 上音

The highest pitch level is one octave higher than the first pitch level. Often the notation of the *kyokusetsu* is combined with graphic symbols (for example, *ioriten* 〰) so that a performer can easily recognize the beginning of a certain *kyokusetsu*. These signs, which can be interpreted as a form of musical notation, were surely helpful for officiants performing in dark temple halls. In several older manuscripts, only these graphic symbols or other markings were used.

In the *kōshiki* texts, the terms *kō* 甲 or *otsu* 乙 sometimes precede the name of a *kyokusetsu* (for example, *shojū*, *nijū*, *sanjū*). *Kō* and *otsu* indicate two different modes that are used in *kōshiki*. A pattern in *kō* has the pitch *kyū* 宮 as the central tone, whereas a pattern in *otsu* has the tone *chi* 徵 as its central tone. A *kōshiki* in *kō* starts with *kō*; *otsu* follows for the middle pitch level and *kō* for the highest pitch level. In a *kōshiki* in *otsu* the pattern is exactly the opposite: *otsu* is used for the lowest pitch level, *kō* for the middle pitch level, and *otsu* for the highest pitch level. The four *kōshiki* of the *Shiza kōshiki* are all in *otsu*. Takamichi's *Shiki hosoku yōi no jōjō* confirms the existence of a concept of two modes for *kōshiki* at the end of the twelfth century (NELSON 2001, 242).<sup>88</sup>

The second notation system for *kōshiki* is *hakase*. *Hakase* indicates the melodic movements next to the *furigana* 振り仮名 or *yomigana* 読み仮名, which provides the pronunciation of the text. For the recitation of *kōshiki*, *hakase* is necessary only for words in *kun'yomi* (Japanese reading). Words in *on'yomi* (Sino-Japanese reading) are written with *shōten* 声点, small circles around the characters to indicate the respective Chinese tones. These correspond to musical tones. FIGURE 4 shows a graph that reveals which *shōten* corresponds to which *hakase*. This graph was drawn on the first page of a *Shiza kōshiki* edition printed in Tenna 1 (1681, *Tennaban*), the first printed edition of the *Shiza kōshiki* of the Shingi Shingon branch.<sup>89</sup>

I now turn to the relationship between the music and the text. Each section of a *kōshiki* starts with a melodic formula on the first pitch level, followed by a formula on the middle pitch level (*nijū*), and then the officiant recites a formula on the middle pitch level (*chūon*) that is an intermediate pattern different from *nijū*. From there, he proceeds either to the first pitch level or up to the third pitch level. After the third pitch level, the reciter goes to the middle pitch level and then by way of *chūon* back to the first pitch level. A change from *shojū* to *geon* and back is also possible. At the end of a section, the officiant always returns to the first pitch

88. For an explanation, see NELSON (2001, 222–24).

89. For a detailed explanation, see ARAI (2008, 155–56).

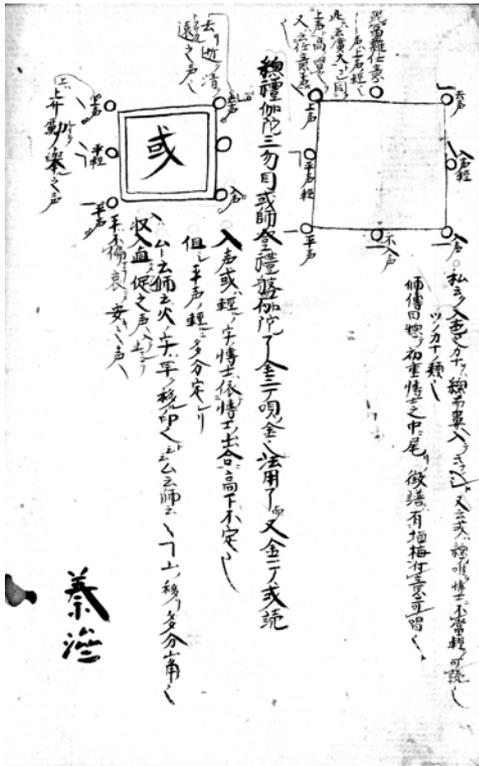


FIGURE 4. Front pastedown of the cover from a Tennaban edition of the *Shiza kōshiki* (1681). Reproduced with the permission of the Research Institute for Japanese Music Historiography of Ueno Gakuen University. The small circles around the two graphs refer to the Chinese tones for words in *on'yomi*, and the names of the respective Chinese tones appear next to the small circles. The lines next to the characters are a musical notation that indicates short melodic inflections.

level. In this way, tension is built up and released. Changes of topic, citations from sutras, or important passages are highlighted by a change of pitch level.

Likewise, the names of the *kyokusetsu* indicate the three different pitch levels in manuscripts or printed editions of the *Shiza kōshiki*. All four *kōshiki* follow the above-mentioned principles, by means of which tension is built up and released during the vocalization. The officiant starts on the first pitch level, then occasionally moves up to the second pitch level, and in two or three passages per *kōshiki* goes up to the third pitch level. Notably, the third pitch level is already used in the following passage from the first section of the *Nehan kōshiki*.<sup>90</sup> FIGURE 5 shows an excerpt from an edition of the *Shiza kōshiki* printed in Jōkyō 3 (1686, *Jōkyōban*). This edition was widely circulated and is still in use in the Buzan subbranch of the Shingi Shingon branch.

[First pitch level (*shojū*)]

The Tathāgata further addressed the great assembly and said:

90. For an analysis of the distribution of the *kyokusetsu* in the *Nehan kōshiki*, see my translation of the *kōshiki* in the online supplement to this issue.

“Now, my body is racked with pain.  
The time of [final] nirvana has come.”  
After speaking thus,<sup>91</sup>  
he entered various states of *samādhi*  
in an order of his choosing.<sup>92</sup>  
After he arose from *samādhi*,  
he expounded the marvelous dharma  
for the assembly and said:

[Second pitch level (*nijū*) in *kō*]

“The fundamental nature of ignorance  
has always been that of liberation.<sup>93</sup>  
I now abide in peace,  
eternally in the radiance of quiescence.  
This is called the *mahā-parinirvāṇa*.”<sup>94</sup>  
After he spoke to the assembly,  
he leaned his whole body over and lay on his right side;  
his head to the north, his feet to the south,  
facing the west with his back to the east.<sup>95</sup>  
[Intermediate pattern (*chūon*)]<sup>96</sup>  
Then he entered the fourth stage of *samādhi*  
and achieved the *mahā-parinirvāṇa*.

[Third pitch level (*sanjū*)]

He closed his lotus blue eyes  
and his smile of compassion disappeared forever.  
His lips, red as the fruit of the *bimbā* tree, were sealed  
and finally his pure, compassionate voice went silent.<sup>97</sup>

91. These four lines are a variation of the beginning of the second chapter of the *Daihatsu nehangyō gobun* (Ch. *Daban niepan jing houfen*; T 12: 904b7–8).

92. The second chapter of the *Daihatsu nehangyō gobun* explains in detail in which order Śākyamuni entered the various stages of *samādhi* (T 12: 904b9–18, c1–14).

93. This is a citation from the second chapter of the *Daihatsu nehangyō gobun* (T 12: 904c16).

94. This is also a quote from the second chapter of the *Daihatsu nehangyō gobun* (T 12: 904c18–19).

95. This is also a quotation from the second chapter of the *Daihatsu nehangyō gobun* (T 12: 905a2–3).

96. *Chūon* is also a pattern on the middle pitch level. Because it differs from *nijū*, I have translated *chūon* here as “intermediate pattern” and *nijū* as “second pitch level.”

97. My translation. T 84: 899a4–12; ARAI (2008, 41–42). The whole passage is a variation of the second section of the *Jūmujiin'in shari kōshiki* (ARAI 1977, 89; MSS 4: 25–26, 85). Nelson and Tokita also provide a translation and a musical analysis of this passage (NELSON 2008b, 71–73; NELSON 2009; TOKITA 2015, 41–43, 46–48).

In this excerpt, the officiant changes to the middle pitch level at the last words of the Buddha, thereby emphasizing this passage. The statement that the Buddha entered the fourth stage of *samādhi* and then achieved *mahā-parinirvāṇa* is recited on *chūon*, the intermediate pattern on the middle pitch level. Finally, the priest recites the parallel verses that describe the very last moments of Śākyamuni at the highest pitch level. This is the climax of the first section. The highest pitch level dramatizes these lines and enhances their emotive effect, adding an emotional component to the text. As a result, the deep lament about the death of Śākyamuni, explicitly described in other passages of the *Nehan kōshiki*, is amplified by the music.

The excerpt translated above is a variation of a passage from the second section of the *Jūmujin'in shari kōshiki* (ARA1 1977, 89; MSS 4: 25–26, 85). The *Kōzanji Myōe Shōnin gyōjō* contains the following description of the *Nehan* in Genkyū 1 (1204), during which Myōe recited his *Jūmujin'in shari kōshiki* in the house of a relative:

[And then he read] the second section [on] the gate of the loving yearning for the Tathāgata who entered nirvana. In that moment, an expression of grief appeared on the saint's face, and his eyes swam with tears of sorrowful yearning. He read this [section] with a strong voice, but when he reached the verse "He closed his lotus-blue eyes, and his smile of compassion disappeared forever. His lips, red as the fruit of the *bimbā* tree, were sealed and finally his gentle, compassionate voice went silent," [the saint's] body and mind trembled, and shedding tears of sadness, he cried out. The voice that had been preaching the dharma ended, and [his] breathing stopped. Everyone in the assembly wondered if he had passed away. After some time, [his] breath resumed and then he descended from the worship dais and stopped preaching the *kō*. Therefore, he let Kikai continue reading this *shikimon*.<sup>98</sup>

In other words, according to the *Kōzanji Myōe Shōnin gyōjō*, Myōe collapsed from grief when he was reading the lines that are recited on the third pitch level in the *Nehan kōshiki*.<sup>99</sup> The recitation of these lines at the third pitch level expressed the lament over the death of the Buddha musically. Undoubtedly, the vocal performance and the text enhanced each other.

However, not all manuscripts indicate the third pitch level for this passage. In the Shingi branch, the third pitch level seems customary, whereas in the Nanzan

98. My translation. *Kōzanji Myōe Shōnin gyōjō* (*Kanbun gyōjō; Jōzanbon*), MSS 1: 115; *Kōzanji Myōe Shōnin gyōjō* (*Kanbun gyōjō; Hōon'inbon*), MSS 1: 183–84. For a German translation, see GUELBERG (1999, 95–96).

99. The passage in the *Kōzanji Myōe Shōnin gyōjō* cited here is interwoven with Myōe's actions: when the text mentions that the Buddha's compassionate voice went silent, Myōe also lapsed into silence, and it seemed that Myōe had died, just as the Buddha had. This, of course, leads to questions about its historicity. Nevertheless, the *Kōzanji Myōe Shōnin gyōjō* is the most reliable source about Myōe's life.



FIGURES 5a (right), 5b (center), and 5c (left): Excerpt from the *Shiza kōshiki* (1686). Reproduced with the permission of the Research Institute for Japanese Music Historiography of Ueno Gakuen University. The passage translated here begins in the middle of the first line of image 5a (right) and ends in the middle of the last line of image 5c (left). The lines next to the *furigana* are the musical notation, which indicates the melodic movement of the individual syllabi. The *ioriten*  $\sim$  on the right side of the characters and the name of the *kyokusetsu* on the left indicate a change in the pitch level.

Shin lineage the texts vary: some manuscripts of the latter offer the same distribution of *kyokusetsu*;<sup>100</sup> others give the reciter a choice between the first or the third pitch level;<sup>101</sup> but most texts of the Nanzan Shin branch indicate only the first pitch level.<sup>102</sup> When the reciter uses the third pitch level at the beginning of the *shikimon*, it is difficult to build up tension during the rest of the *shikimon* and to effectively convey the content through the vocal performance. Likewise, Takamichi offers the following instruction in his *Shiki hossoku yōi no jōjō*:

100. *Kōyasan kōshiki shū*: 四 26 and 四 52 (KŌYASAN DAIGAKU FUZOKU KŌYASAN TOSHOKAN SHOZŌ ed. 2001). The editors of the *Kōyasan kōshiki shū* use the character 四 (*shi*) as an abbreviation of *Shiza kōshiki* and labeled all *Shiza kōshiki* texts included in the compilation with this character and a number.

101. See, for example, *Shiza kōshiki, Kan'eiban Reprint* (archive of the Research Institute for Japanese Music Historiography of Ueno Gakuen University, *kōshiki* no. 58).

102. See, for example, *Shiza kōshiki, Hōrekiban* (1758; archive of the Research Institute for Japanese Music Historiography of Ueno Gakuen University, *kōshiki* no. 71). *Kōyasan kōshiki shū*: 四 14, 四 17, 四 24, and 四 50.

If you are reading a *shiki* in five sections, you should go up to *nijū* in the second or third section, and in the fourth or fifth section you should go up to *sanjū* at lines with beautiful parallel couplets. If you go up immediately in the introduction, or as you wish from the first section, it will sound the same all the way through to the fourth and fifth sections, and the music will have no effect... People who disregard this and read with strained voices from the beginning have no idea of how things should be done.<sup>103</sup>

The same idea, namely that overuse of the third pitch level lessens the dramatic effect of the recitation, might have led several editors of the Nanzan Shin lineage to decide against using the third pitch level in the first section of the *Nehan kōshiki*. Nevertheless, the third pitch level is also used in the second section of the *Rakan kōshiki* and in the first section of the *Yuiseki kōshiki*.

In the *Nehan kōshiki*, the third pitch level is further used in the fourth and fifth sections. Here, I briefly present the passage in the fourth section that is vocalized at the third pitch level (see FIGURES 6a and 6b). The fourth section first describes in detail the *śāla* trees under which the Buddha died and then the following is narrated:

[Second pitch level]

If you cross the river in the north of the city [Kuśinagara] and proceed around three hundred steps,  
you will find the place where the Tathāgata was cremated.  
Now the earth [there] is yellow and black.  
The soil is mixed with ash and coal.

[Intermediate pattern]

If you search sincerely, you surely will find relics.<sup>104</sup>

[Third pitch level]

Likewise, the dharma master Deng (Tō hosshi 燈法師)<sup>105</sup>  
passed through the vastness of the shifting sands  
and crossed the high peaks of the snowy mountains.<sup>106</sup>

103. Adapted from NELSON (2009, 7). For the Japanese original, see NELSON (2001, 242–43).

104. These lines are a variation of a passage in the *Taitō saiiki ki* (Ch. *Datang xiyu ji*; T 51: 904b11–13).

105. Deng is the Tang monk Da-sheng Deng 大乘燈. A biography is included in the *Taitō saiiki guhō kōsō den* (Ch. *Datang xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan*; T 51: 4b18–c14). He was ordained by Xuanzang 玄奘 (Jp. Genjō, 602–664) and died in Kuśinagara.

106. The shifting sands refers to the Taklamakan and snowy mountains to the Himalayas. These two lines seem to be a quote from the biography of the monk Daoxi 道希, which is also included in the *Taitō saiiki guhō kōsō den* (T 51: 2a28–b14, citation 2b1–2). Whether Myōe confused the biography or whether the manuscript he used did is unclear. All monks who traveled from China to India, however, needed to cross the Taklamakan and the Himalayas. Therefore,

He renounced the sympathy of the six close relatives (*rokushin* 六親)<sup>107</sup> and died under the twin trees (*sōrin* 双林).<sup>108</sup>

[Second pitch level]

People who see this weep tears of sadness, and  
those who hear it are moved by grief.<sup>109</sup>

After the description of the place where the Buddha was cremated, recited at the middle pitch level, the officiant recites how Da-sheng Deng traveled to India and died under the *sāla* trees at the third pitch level. Then, he vocalizes the lines that describe the lament of the people who heard about Da-sheng Deng's passing at the middle pitch level and thus releases tension. As this short passage clearly shows, the change of the *kyokusetsu* coincides with a topic change. Further, the most dramatic event, the travel and subsequent death of Da-sheng Deng, is recited on the highest pitch, making this passage more emotive. These two examples of the *Nehan kōshiki* illustrate how the musical vocalization relates to the liturgical text. The distribution of *kyokusetsu* helped create variety in the recitation and highlighted selected passages. In this way, the officiant was able to keep the attention of the listeners for a long time.

The description of Da-sheng Deng's journey to India reminds us of Myōe's two futile attempts to visit that country. Myōe employed rituals and visualizations as a substitute for a pilgrimage to India. Through the power of the ritual, Myōe was able to bring India to Japan and to make an "imaginative" pilgrimage possible for the participating clergy and laity. The *Shiza kōshiki* was a means to achieve this aim.

The musical notation resulted in the standardization of the vocal performance, which was transmitted in *shōmyō* lineages from master to disciple. While these lineages kept the tradition alive and ensured a degree of consistency, we can reasonably assume that the art of improvisation was lost as the vocalization of a *kōshiki* text—at least in the schools with a strong *shōmyō* tradition such as the Shingon schools—became completely prescribed. We can only conjecture what the creative performances of revered monks such as Myōe and Jōkei must have been like. Nevertheless, the standardization of reciting a *kōshiki* text yields insights into the musical concepts that performers had used in the realization of a *kōshiki* text.

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this passage does not necessarily need to be interpreted as a quotation from the biography of the monk Daoxi.

107. *Rokushin* are father, mother, wife, children, and older and younger siblings.

108. *Sōrin* are the *sāla* trees under which the Buddha passed away.

109. My translation. T 84: 900a29–b5; ARAI (2008, 53).



FIGURES 6a (right) and 6b (left): Excerpt from the *Shiza kōshiki* (1686). Reproduced with the permission of the Institute for Japanese Music Historiography of Ueno Gakuen University. The passage translated here begins in the lower half of the first line of image 6a (right) and ends in the middle of the last line of image 6b (left).

### Conclusion

In medieval Japan, *kōshiki* constituted a ritual form to creatively express religious concepts and sentiments. As demonstrated above, the vocalization of texts was a central aspect of *kōshiki* performances. During Myōe's lifetime, the laity actively participated in the *Nehanē* by chanting "We take refuge in Śākyamuni Buddha" for several hours and by performing simple ritual actions, such as prostrations. On some occasions they even reenacted scenes from sutras. Thus Myōe's *Nehanē* was a place of communal practice, and singing was an important way to actively engage the monastic performers and the lay attendees at the same time.

Nevertheless, only clerics vocalized most liturgical texts while the lay audience only listened. By the Tokugawa period, the laity did not join the chanting

in the *Jōrakue* of the Shingon schools anymore, suggesting that the role of lay participation had vanished. We should not conclude too hastily, however, that in medieval Japan the laity always participated in *kōshiki*. The genre offered a high degree of flexibility as *kōshiki* could be performed either by mixed assemblies of laity and clergy or by an exclusive group of clerics. Nevertheless, lay participation was certainly an important factor in the great popularity of this genre in medieval Japan.

In the thirteenth century the recitation of *kōshiki* was still improvised, and Myōe probably vocalized his *Shiza kōshiki* in the style described above. But as time went by, the vocal performance of the *Shiza kōshiki* became standardized and was notated in the texts by using *kyokusetsu* and *hakase*. Both the improvised and the fixed way of recitation helped convey the content to the listeners more efficiently than a simple reading would have. The various editions of the *Jōrakue hosoku* also contain musical notation for all liturgical texts, reflecting that the choral pieces were vocalized with distinct melodies as well. All this shows that rituals centering on *kōshiki* are actually music, and clerics can be characterized as singers, who learned to vocalize a wide range of liturgical texts during many years of training. Despite being obvious to observers of *kōshiki*, this facet is often not taken into consideration in scholarship on Buddhist rituals. This key feature of *kōshiki*, however, is essential for our understanding of the genre.<sup>110</sup>

The *Nehanē* at Myōe's Kōzanji was a relatively simple ritual, but later the ritual centering on the *Shiza kōshiki* became increasingly complex as new *shōmyō* pieces were added. In the Tokugawa period, even an esoteric ritual sequence was integrated into the *Jōrakue*, and thus a ritual that originally was exoteric became exo-esoteric (*kenmitsu*). Clearly, there was a wide range of possibilities to perform *kōshiki*. Depending on the place and time, as well as the means of the temple or sponsor, the scale of performance could be changed.<sup>111</sup>

It is important to note that the text of the *Shiza kōshiki* remained fixed, but the texts that surrounded the *Shiza kōshiki*'s four *kōshiki* were greatly elaborated; in other words, the ritual frame was considerably expanded. The liturgical texts forming the ritual frame were mostly standardized *shōmyō* pieces that were combined according to the ritual tradition of the Shingon schools. Many of

110. I should note that some *kōshiki* have been read silently rather than being vocalized. For example, at Tōdaiji during the last day of the *Shunie* 修二会, a ceremony during which the monks repent their sins in front of the bodhisattva Kannon and pray for the benefit of the country, the *Shiza kōshiki* is read silently.

111. Another example of relatively elaborate *kōshiki* are *kangen kō* 管弦講, in which musicians performed *gagaku* 雅樂 music between the sections of *kōshiki*. *Gagaku* and *shōmyō* were transmitted together from Korea and China and therefore shared a common performative context; see, for example, NELSON (2008a and 2008b).

these pieces have been performed across sectarian boundaries and are therefore part of a shared ritual language of Japanese Buddhism.

Today the *Shiza kōshiki* is performed not only during the *Nehan* in grand Shingon temples and for CD recordings, but also on the concert stage. For example, for the eight hundredth anniversary of the *Shiza kōshiki*, the choir Sennen No Koe 千年の聲 (Voices of a Thousand Years) performed this liturgy in a concert hall in February 2015 during an international performing-arts meeting in the Tokyo-Yokohama metropolitan area.<sup>112</sup> Its performance on stage demonstrates that *kōshiki* are considered an important style of traditional Japanese music history.

Vocalizing a wide range of sacred texts has played an important role in the lives of clerics. I hope that my work will inspire future research on *shōmyō* because understanding the history, transmission, and performance practice of *shōmyō* is essential for understanding Japanese Buddhism as a lived religion. A world full of music and sounds still awaits exploration in future studies.

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