

Editor's Introduction

Paul L. SWANSON

One day about 1,200 years ago, a young monk named Saichō 最澄 (766–822) turned his back on the Buddhist establishment of the day in Nara and set off for Mt. Hiei on the southwest corner of Lake Biwa, to the northeast of present day Kyoto.¹ Vowing not to venture back into the secular world until “I purify my senses, . . . realize the absolute, . . . keep the precepts, . . . [and] attain wisdom,”² Saichō set up a simple hermitage in the woods to cultivate the Buddhist path. This was the humble beginning of the Enryaku-ji 延暦寺 and vast Tendai 天台 temple complex which was to have such far-reaching influence on Japanese religion, history, and culture. To commemorate this long and influential tradition, the *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* offers this special double issue, a collection of essays dealing with various aspects of Tendai Buddhism in Japan.

The collection aims neither to cover all facets of Tendai Buddhism nor to serve as a general and comprehensive introduction to the subject. The project was undertaken with the hope of bringing together representative contributions from Western and Japanese scholars which would touch on the major themes and provide new and stimulating studies on the relatively neglected field of Japanese Tendai Buddhism. As the contributions came in, I was pleased to see that they covered a broad range of topics, from the original meaning of the *Lotus Sūtra* to the modern relevance of Tendai thought, and were written from a variety of perspectives, including literature, doctrine, ritual, institutional history, biography, and moral development. I have chosen to present the articles in rough chronological order of their subject matter.

A brief outline of the history of Tendai Buddhism in Japan may help provide a broader context to the collection. Tendai (Chin. T'ien-t'ai) Buddhism was systematized by Chih-i 智顛 (538–597) on the basis of the *ekayāna*

¹ The *Eizan daishiden*, the earliest and most reliable biography of Saichō (see Groner 1979, pp. 17–18 and pp. 548–53), places this event in the middle of the seventh month of Enryaku 4 (785).

² See Saichō's *Ganmon*, Groner 1984, pp. 28–30.

principle of the *Lotus Sūtra*, which implies, among other things, that all beings are destined for Buddhahood. Whalen Lai examines the *Lotus Sūtra*, its teachings, and possible origin in his article on "Why the *Lotus Sūtra*? On the historical significance of Tendai." With characteristic creativity and broad sweep, Lai casts his net widely to speculate on the historical background which led to the development of the *Lotus Sūtra*, provides intriguing comments on the meaning of its teachings, and offers convincing arguments for why it was the *Lotus Sūtra* that offered Chih-i the framework or principle for synthesizing the varied Buddhist devotional practices and doctrinal teachings available in China at that time into the T'ien-t'ai system.

T'ien-t'ai texts were available in Japan long before the Tendai school was formally established on Mt. Hiei by Saichō. These texts were undoubtedly imported from China along with other Buddhist texts and materials soon after the official introduction of Buddhism to Japan in the 6th century. The first Japanese monk known to have studied T'ien-t'ai in China was Gyōga 行賀 (729-803), a Hossō monk from the Nara temple Gangō-ji. The most prominent figure associated with T'ien-t'ai before Saichō was Chien-chen (Jpn. Ganjin 鑑真, 688-763). Although philosophically a T'ien-t'ai master, Chien-chen is more famous as the Vinaya master who lost his eyesight in the course of his many attempts to reach Japan and properly transmit the precepts to this country. He brought a considerable collection of T'ien-t'ai texts with him to Japan, and it was probably due to this transmission that Saichō came into contact with the T'ien-t'ai tradition.

The most important figure in the history of Tendai in Japan is, of course, Saichō, who traveled to T'ang China and Mt. T'ien-t'ai in 804 to transmit the T'ien-t'ai tradition to Japan and establish the Japanese Tendai school on Mt. Hiei. He brought back with him many important T'ien-t'ai texts along with other materials related to esoteric, or tantric, Buddhism and the Vinaya. The Japanese Tendai tradition developed along a different line than Chinese T'ien-t'ai, as Hazama Jikō clarifies in his article on "Characteristics of Japanese Tendai." Generally speaking, Japanese Tendai stands on four "pillars": esoteric Buddhism (*mikkyō* 密教), Zen (or meditation), the (bodhisattva) precepts, and the "perfect" or "complete" teachings (*engyō* 円教) of T'ien-t'ai proper. This final pillar provided the principles for binding all these elements into a comprehensive unity. Hazama discusses these aspects of Japanese Tendai as well as other important contributions, such as its role in "protecting the nation." The article provides a broad introduction to Tendai Buddhism and sets the stage for the more specialized studies which follow.

Saichō's advocacy of the bodhisattva precepts, in opposition to the "Hīnayāna" precepts of the *Ssu fen lü* 四分律 (*Dharmaguptakavinaya*), was a key part of his attempt to gain an independent status for the Tendai school. Partial official recognition was gained in 806 when the court assigned two

annual ordinands (*nenbundosha* 年分度者) to the Tendai school, but full independence only came one week after Saichō's death in 822, when the court approved his petition for autonomous ordination with the bodhisattva precepts on Mt. Hiei. Shirato Waka studies this topic from a doctrinal point of view in an essay on "Inherent enlightenment (*hongaku shisō* 本覚思想) and Saichō's acceptance of the bodhisattva precepts," showing how much the philosophical assumptions behind these two issues have in common.

Saichō also visited the Kantō area in his later years to propagate the Tendai teachings. Here his interpretations of the Buddha dharma was challenged by the Hossō monk Tokuitsu (or Tokuichi 徳一, 749?-824-?), particularly with regard to the meaning of Buddha-nature. Tokuichi supported the Yogācāra interpretation of five *gotras*, or five inherent potentials latent in sentient beings, including the *icchantika* who have no potential for ever attaining Buddhahood. Saichō on the contrary championed the idea of universal Buddhahood on the authority of the *Lotus Sūtra*.

After Saichō's death the Tendai school continued to grow in influence and popularity. Ennin 円仁 (794-864) and Enchin 円珍 (814-891) visited China to study and strengthen their school's position with regard to esoteric Buddhist doctrine and practice. This "tilt" toward *mikkyō* climaxed doctrinally with the work of Annen 安然 (841-889?). Paul Groner's study of "Annen, Tankei, Henjō, and monastic discipline in the Tendai school: The background of the *Futsū jubosatsukai kōshaku*" sheds new light on the situation that developed within the first one hundred years after Saichō's death. Groner's meticulous study shows that, for better or worse, we already find Tendai monks seeking positions and influence in the very Office of Monastic Affairs from which Saichō had sought release, a watering down of the discipline required by Saichō for Tendai monks in terms of the number of years and content of their practice, and a shift to involvement in rather than avoidance of worldly affairs and political intrigue. This trend continued, as we can see from Neil McMullin's study of the situation about a century later. Writing on "The Enryaku-ji and the Gion shrine-temple complex in the mid-Heian period," McMullin focuses on the relationship between Enryaku-ji and the Gion (Yasaka Shrine-temple) complex to present a fascinating picture of the social, religious, and political situation of mid-Heian Japan, particularly the amalgamation of Buddhist and Shinto institutions.

There were other movements in Japanese Tendai during the Heian period (866-1185). Sōō 相応 (831-918) established the ascetic practice of walking and performing other practices in the mountains. His movement, centered at Mudō-ji, south of the main temple complex on Mt. Hiei, influenced the development of Shugendo. Robert Rhodes gives an extensive study of this movement, including its historical origins and development and a presentation of its modern day activity in "The *kaihōgyō* practice on Mt.

Hiei.”

Another important aspect of Japanese Tendai is *hongaku shisō*, the concept that all beings are endowed with enlightenment, that they are Buddhas just as they are and merely need to realize this fact. This philosophy gained popularity from the late Heian to Kamakura periods and influenced many of the Kamakura founders such as Hōnen, Shinran, and Nichiren. Tamura Yoshirō's “Japanese culture and the Tendai concept of original enlightenment” offers a general introduction to the notion of *hongaku shisō* and traces its widespread influence. Although I have tried throughout to maintain consistency of wording as much as possible, especially for technical terms, the term *hongaku* resists uniform rendering in English. Encouraged by Emerson's famous dictum that “a *foolish* consistency is the hobgoblin of little minds,” I have allowed for variance and the author's preference. Tamura has long used “original enlightenment,” following Hakeda's translation in the *Awakening of Faith*. Grapard uses “innate awakening” and I myself prefer “inherent enlightenment.” None of these is entirely satisfactory: “original enlightenment” has too strong a temporal implication, while the terms “innate” and “inherent” smack of a substantialist heterodoxy. The topic arises in a number of the articles presented here, and readers are invited to examine the subject from numerous perspectives and to reach their own conclusions.

Throughout the Heian period and beyond, the Tendai establishment became increasingly involved in worldly affairs, catering to secular demands with esoteric rituals and ceremonies, and accumulating power and wealth. To some extent Ryōgen 良源 (912–985), who served as the 18th Tendai Abbot (*zasu* 座主) from 966 to 985, resisted this trend. His “26-Article Regulations” was introduced in an attempt to encourage scholarship and a stricter religious life. His disciple Genshin 源信 (942–1017), most famous as the compiler of Pure Land texts in the *Ōjōyōshū* 往生要集, was a great Tendai scholar learned in many areas. Also worthy of mention is Hōchibō Shōshin 宝地房証真 (12th century), whose detailed commentaries on the central works of Chih-i represent a major contribution to Tendai scholarship. It is said of Shōshin that he was so wrapped up in his studies that he was not even aware of the ongoing struggle between the Taira and Minamoto families, as difficult to imagine as a German academic in the 1940s working away oblivious of World War II. Finally we may single out Jien 慈円 (1155–1225), a Tendai Abbot who, lamenting the decadence of his age, attempted to revive the precepts and reestablish principles of sound scholarship. His *Gukanshō* 愚管抄, an early history of Japan and an analysis of contemporary secular struggles and problems, reflected the prevalent view that the current age was the degenerate Age of the Latter Dharma (*mappō* 末法).

The amalgamation of Buddhism and Shinto has characterized Japanese religion throughout the course of history, and Tendai was no exception. The

Sannō cult, a merging of Tendai Buddhism and the local deities of Mt. Hiei, is the subject of Allan Grapard's "Linguistic cubism — A singularity of pluralism in the Sannō cult." Grapard examines the poems found in a collection called the *Hie hong'i* 日吉本記 along with other texts to reveal the interaction of Tendai concepts with local beliefs and deities. The delightful discovery of these poems as palindromes to be read not only vertically from above to below, but also from below to above and even horizontally is an exiting mental flight into past speculations and verbal games.

Back on Mt. Hiei, efforts to revive the bodhisattva precepts and encourage a stricter morality among the monks were made by Kōen 興円 (1263–1317), who developed a ceremony (*kaikanjō* 戒灌頂) combining precepts with *mikkyō* elements, and Ejin 惠鎮 (1281–1358), whose efforts on behalf of keeping the precepts won the admiration and support of Emperor Godaigo. A century later Shinzei 真盛 (1443–1492) emphasized the importance of both the precepts and the chanting of the *nenbutsu* (*kaishō nimon* 戒称二門). In general the period between the 14th and 16th centuries saw no momentous developments in Japanese Tendai. On the contrary Tendai reached a nadir in 1571 when Oda Nobunaga burned down the its headquarters on Mt. Hiei, killing thousands of the residents (see McMullin 1984).

Because there were many other places with long Tendai traditions, the destruction of the Tendai establishment on Mt. Hiei did not spell the end of Tendai in Japan. Even Mt. Hiei was rebuilt quickly with the support of Toyotomi Hideyoshi and the Tokugawa family. More important was the Tendai tradition in the Kantō area, especially after Edo (now Tokyo) had become the center of Japanese life with the establishment of the Tokugawa Shogunate. Tokugawa Ieyasu was a strong supporter of Tenkai 天海 (?–1642), an impressive scholar who worked to revive Tendai, especially in the Kantō area where the Tendai establishment came to rival and eventually surpass that on Mt. Hiei. In 1637 he began a project to print the entire Buddhist Tripiṭaka, a task which produced the canon known as the Tenkai edition in 6,323 fascicles, finished in 1648. Tenkai was also in charge of the Tendai temple at Nikkō, which ultimately became the final resting place for Ieyasu.

One movement worthy of note during the Tokugawa period (1600–1868) is the Anraku school 安楽派 of Myōryū 妙立 (1637–1690) and Reikū 靈空 (1652–1739). They urged a revival of the precepts based on the *Ssu fen lü* in response to what they perceived as a decadence encouraged by the philosophy of inherent enlightenment. They also propagated the philosophy of Chih-li 知礼 (960–1028), a major figure in Chinese T'ien-t'ai. This school was instrumental in reviving Tendai philosophy, especially the interpretations of Chih-li, and encouraged a return to a stricter moral life style. It was from around this time that the *T'ien-t'ai ssu chiao i* 天台四教儀 [An outline of the Fourfold Teachings] (T. 46, 774c–780c) of Chegwan 諦觀 (10th century)

began to be used as an introduction to Tendai philosophy.

Tendai Buddhism remains, of course, alive and active in the modern world. Tendai temples are not as numerous as those of other derivative but more "popular" schools such as the Pure Land (Jōdō and Shin), Zen (Rinzai and Sōtō), and Nichiren traditions; and in recent decades some of the more powerful individual temples such as Sensō-ji in Asakusa, Tokyo, and Tennō-ji in Osaka have become independent of Mt. Hiei. Nevertheless, the Tendai tradition lives on. Mt. Hiei is the center for the 1987 celebrations marking the 1200th anniversary of Saichō's historic retreat to the mountains. Tendai philosophy is studied at universities throughout Japan and across the world. Taishō University in Tokyo is supported by the Tendai school, and a Tendai mission has been established in Hawaii.

As Michael Saso's contribution shows, monks continue to be ordained and the teachings and practices are passed on. Lest the reader rush too quickly to identify the decadence of Tendai with the rise of esoteric Buddhism, Saso shares his experience and insight into the past and present meaning of Tendai *mikkyō* in his contribution "*Kuden*: The oral hermeneutics of Tendai Tantric Buddhism." Saso has spent the last seven years directly absorbing and learning the oral tradition and various tantric rites of Tendai Buddhism. His study provides a window into Tendai as a living tradition and reveals the profound meaning of the tantric rites.

David Chappell directly addresses the question of the relevance of Tendai in his stimulating article "Is Tendai Buddhism relevant to the modern world?" Chappell outlines, in terms which avoid unnecessary technical jargon, some major Tendai concepts such as the Threefold Truth and Four Teachings, and then applies these concepts to the contemporary situation by comparing the Four Teachings to Lawrence Kohlberg's stages of moral development.

If I may venture to add a note of my own to these arguments for the contemporary relevance of Tendai, I believe that the concept of the Threefold Truth (emptiness, conventionality, and an integrating middle path) takes on universal or global relevance when applied to such questions as our attitudes toward material possessions. Together with the "developed" nations of the Western world, Japan has grown into a consumer-oriented society that makes constant demands on its citizens for ever-increasing amounts of material goods. How is one to maintain concern with spiritual matters under such pressures? The Threefold Truth offers an interesting pattern of options. To begin with, one can acknowledge the insubstantiality of material goods and the fleeting and unsatisfactory nature of physical pleasure, and reject these materialistic attachments. "Vanity of vanities, says the Preacher, . . . all is vanity" (Ecclesiastes 1:2). This is the negative thrust of "emptiness," the non-substantiality of all things. An excessive insistence on this aspect, however,

can lead to nihilistic depression or a severance or alienation from any form of daily life. Is the total rejection of contemporary life really a viable option? Does one not lose the opportunity to live a bodhisattva-like life of healing and service within society if one rejects the world for a hermit's life in the wilderness? A second option offered by the pattern of the Threefold Truth is to recognize things for what they are—finite, provisional objects and pleasures which have their limited use and value. "For everything there is a season, and a time for every matter under heaven" adds the Preacher (Ecclesiastes 3:1). Worldly goods have a conventional value, though it takes the wisdom and compassion of a bodhisattva to handle them properly. In fact it is the definitive responsibility of a bodhisattva to remain in the world and deal with the difficulties that that entails. Finally, Tendai offers the ideal of the middle way, a balanced acceptance which both negates worldly goods as having ultimate value and positively recognizes their provisional utility, the ideal of being "in the world but not of the world." Here the goal is to maintain a harmonious tension between both "extreme," though not contradictory, approaches. This is not all there is to the Threefold Truth, but neither is it merely an abstract philosophical theory.

Two reviews of significant recent Japanese books on Tendai have been appended to the collection of essays. Yamano Toshirō reviews Ikeda Rosan's study on how to read and understand the *Mo ho chih kuan*, and I have reviewed Hirai Shun'ei's controversial book on the influence of Chi-tsang on works attributed to Chih-i, especially the *Fa hua wen chü*.

As mentioned above, every effort was made to standardize technical terms, but some leeway was allowed for individual preference. Abbreviations for primary Buddhist texts are uniform and included at the end of each relevant article. This has resulted in some bibliographical repetition, but was considered useful in light of the fact that essays in a journal such as this are often circulated independently. The *kanji* sprinkled liberally throughout the essays to assist the reader in identifying the original term are occasionally given without any Japanese reading. This is often the case in places where the Japanese article quotes a Chinese text, and the addition of a Japanese reading would be meaningless. Finally, I have added a general bibliography of Western language works on T'ien-t'ai/Tendai at the end of this introduction.

The articles by Hazama, Shirato, and Yamano were translated by the editor from the Japanese. Tamura's article is based on a short piece submitted by the author in English and supplemented by the editor with reference to Tamura's work in Japanese. The editor would like to thank Ōkubo Ryōjun and Ichishima Masao of Taishō University for permission to use Hazama's article, and for their assistance in identifying many of the

references. Thanks are also due to Shirato Waka and Yamano Toshirō for permission to use their articles, and for their assistance in the preparation of the translation during a busy weekend while Ōtani University hosted the annual conference of the *Indogaku bukkyōgakukai* on 6-7 June of this year. The articles translated from the Japanese are a bit different than the originals, at places shortened and at places supplemented, in response to their new context.

I would like to thank Imadegawa Gyōun of Enryaku-ji for permission to reproduce the picture of the *Lotus Sūtra* on the opening plate of this issue, and the Zoku Gunshoruijū Kanseikai for permission to reproduce a page from their edition of the *Zoku gunshoruijū* in Grapard's article. And finally, a special thanks to James Heisig and Tsuchida Tomoaki for their technical assistance.

**Select Bibliography of
Western Language Works on T'ien-t'ai/Tendai**

BEAL, Samuel

- 1871 *A Catena of Buddhist Scriptures*. London: Trübner & Co., pp. 250–73
[translation of the *T'ien-tai hsiao chih-kuan* 天台小止觀].

CHAPPELL, David W., ed.

- 1983 *T'ien-t'ai Buddhism: An Outline of the Fourfold Teachings*. Tokyo: Daiichi Shobō.

DONNER, Neal A.

- 1976 *The Great Calming and Contemplation of Chih-i. Chapter One: the Synopsis*. Ph. D. dissertation, the University of British Columbia.
1987a Chih-i. *The Encyclopedia of Religion* 3:240–42. New York: Macmillan and Free Press.
1987b Chih-i's meditation on evil. In *Buddhist and Taoist Practice in Medieval Chinese Society*, Buddhist and Taoist Studies II. David W. Chappell, ed. University of Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press.

GODDARD, Dwight, ed.

- 1970 Dhyana for beginners [transl. of the *T'ien-tai hsiao chih-kuan*]. In *A Buddhist Bible*. Boston: Beacon Press (reprint of E. P. Dutton, 1938).

GRAPARD, Allan G.

- 1986 Lotus in the mountain, mountain in the Lotus. *Monumenta Nipponica* 41/1:21–50.
1987a Enchin. *The Encyclopedia of Religion* 5:105–6. New York: Macmillan and Free Press.
1987b Honjisuijaku. *The Encyclopedia of Religion* 6:455–57. New York: Macmillan and Free Press.
1987c Enmountained text, textualized mountain. George and Willa Tanabe, eds. *The Lotus Sūtra in Japanese Culture*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

GRONER, Paul

- 1983 The significance of the ambiguities in Saichō's rules for Tendai monks (*Sange gakushōshiki*). *Tendai gaku* 天台学報 25:1–17.
1984 *Saichō: The Establishment of the Japanese Tendai School*. Berkeley Buddhist Studies Series 7. Seoul: Po Chin Chai, Ltd.
1987 Saichō. *The Encyclopedia of Religion* 12:569–70. New York: Macmillan and Free Press.

HURVITZ, Leon

1960-62 *Chih-i (538-597): An Introduction to the Life and Ideas of a Chinese Buddhist Monk*. Bruxelles: Mélanges Chinois et Bouddhiques 12, Bruges, Belgium.

OKAKURA Kakuzō

1923 On the method of practising concentration and contemplation *chi-ki* (*chik i*) [transl. of the *T'ien-tai hsiao chih-kuan*]. *Harvard Theological Review* 16/2:109-41.

LAI, Whalen

1981 Faith and wisdom in the T'ien-t'ai Buddhist tradition: A letter by Ssu-ming Chih-li. *Journal of DHARMA* 6:283-98.

1982 A different religious language: The T'ien-t'ai idea of the triple truth. *Ching Feng* 25/2:67-78.

LU K'uan-yü

1964 Śamatha-vipaśyanā for beginners [transl. of the *T'ien-tai hsiao chih-kuan*]. In *The Secrets of Chinese Meditation*. New York: Samuel Weiser, pp. 111-56.

MAGNIN, Paul

1979 *La Vie et l'Oeuvre de Huisi 慧思 (Les origines de la secte bouddhique chinoise du Tiantai)*. Publications de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient CXVI. Paris: École Française d'Extrême-Orient.

MCMULLIN, Neil

1984 The Sanmon-Jimon schism in the Tendai school of Buddhism: A preliminary analysis. *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 7/1:83-105.

1985 *Buddhism and the State in 16th Century Japan*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

PEIZOLD, Bruno

1979 *Tendai Buddhism*. Yokohama: International Buddhist Exchange Center.

1982 *Die Quintessenz der T'ien-t'ai-(Tendai-)Lehre*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

PRUDEN, Leo M.

1987 T'ien-t'ai. *The Encyclopedia of Religion* 14:510-19. New York: Macmillan and Free Press.

REISHAUER, Edwin O.

1955 *Ennin's Travels in T'ang China*. New York: Roland Press.

REISHAUER, Edwin O., transl.

1955 *Ennin's Diary: The Record of a Pilgrimage to China in Search of the Law*. New York: Roland Press.

RHODES, Robert F.

- 1980 Saichō's *Mappō Tōmyōki: The Candle of the Latter Dharma*. *Eastern Buddhist* 13/1:79–103.
- 1984 The four extensive vows and four noble truths in T'ien-t'ai Buddhism. *Annual Memoirs of the Ōtani University Shin Buddhist Comprehensive Research Institute* 2:53–91.
- 1985 Annotated translation of the *Ssu-chiao-i* (On the four teachings), *chüan 1*. *Annual Memoirs of the Ōtani University Shin Buddhist Comprehensive Research Institute* 3:27–101.
- 1986 Annotated translation of the *Ssu-chiao-i* (On the four teachings), *chüan 2*. *Annual Memoirs of the Ōtani University Shin Buddhist Comprehensive Research Institute* 4:93–141.

STEVENSON, Daniel B.

- 1986 The four kinds of samādhi in early T'ien-t'ai Buddhism. In *Traditions of Meditation in Chinese Buddhism*. Peter N. Gregory, ed., Kuroda Institute *Studies in East Asian Buddhism* 4. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, pp. 45–97.

SWANSON, Paul L.

- 1983 Chih-i's interpretation of *jñeyāvaraṇa*: An application of the threefold truth concept. *Annual Memoirs of the Ōtani University Shin Buddhist Comprehensive Research Institute* 1:51–72.
- 1984 Review of *T'ien-t'ai Buddhism: An Outline of the Fourfold Teachings*, David W. Chappell, ed. *The Eastern Buddhist* 12/2:142–44.
- 1985 Chih-i's interpretation of the four noble truths in the *Fa hua hsüan i*. *Annual Memoirs of the Ōtani University Shin Buddhist Comprehensive Research Institute* 3:103–131.
- 1985 *The Two Truths Controversy in China and Chih-i's Threefold Truth Concept*. Ph. D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin–Madison.
- 1986 T'ien-t'ai studies in Japan. *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 2:219–232.
- 1987 Ennin. *The Encyclopedia of Religion* 5:114–16. New York, Macmillan and Free Press.

TAMURA Yoshirō

- 1987 Tendaishū. *The Encyclopedia of Religion* 14:396–401. New York: Macmillan and Free Press.

WEINSTEIN, Stanley

- 1973 Imperial patronage in the formation of T'ang Buddhism. In *Perspectives on the T'ang*, Arthur Wright and Dennis Twitchett, eds. New Haven: Yale University Press, pp. 265–306.
- 1974 The beginnings of esoteric Buddhism in Japan: The neglected Tendai tradition. *Journal of Asian Studies* 34/1:177–191.