

Article

On Bonshakuji as the Penultimate Buddhist Temple to Protect the State in Early Japanese History

George A. Keyworth

College of Arts and Science, History Department, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, SK S7N 5A5, Canada; george.keyworth@usask.ca

Abstract: During the 740s in Japan, the emperor established Buddhist temples in nearly all the provinces, in which three Buddhist scriptures were chanted to avert natural disasters. Tōdaiji, in the recently constructed capital, was the head temple of a network of Temples of Bright Golden Light and Four Heavenly Kings to Protect the State. The principal Buddhist scripture followed in these temples was the Golden Light Sūtra, translated from Sanskrit into Chinese in Tang China at the beginning of the 8th century. This article investigates the history of an understudied example of one of these temples, called Bonshakuji. Emperor Kanmu (r. 781–806) repurposed it in 786 after the introduction from China of novel rituals to protect the state. It had among the most important Buddhist temple libraries, which came to rival perhaps only that of Tōdaiji through the 12th century. I also examine how and why scholar officials and powerful monastics, particularly those associated with the so-called esoteric Tendai and Shingon temples of Enryakuji and Miidera, and Tōji and Daigoji, respectively, utilized the library of Bonshakuji and older and novel state protection texts kept there to preserve early Japanese state-supported Buddhist worldmaking efforts long after that state had become virtually bankrupt.

Keywords: Japanese Buddhism; early Japanese history; Bonshakuji; Eichū; Segyō; Jōtō; Suvarṇabhāṣottama-sūtra; Heian Buddhism; State Protection Buddhism; first record of tea in Japan



Citation: Keyworth, George A. 2022. On Bonshakuji as the Penultimate Buddhist Temple to Protect the State in Early Japanese History. *Religions* 13: 641. <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel13070641>

Academic Editors: Jinhua Chen and Kai Sheng

Received: 3 May 2022

Accepted: 21 June 2022

Published: 12 July 2022

Publisher's Note: MDPI stays neutral with regard to jurisdictional claims in published maps and institutional affiliations.



Copyright: © 2022 by the author. Licensee MDPI, Basel, Switzerland. This article is an open access article distributed under the terms and conditions of the Creative Commons Attribution (CC BY) license (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>).

1. Bonshakuji and the Golden Light Sūtra

There is an edict found in the third of the Six National Histories (*Rikkokushi* 六國史, comp. ca. 720–901), *Nihon kōki* 日本後紀 (Later Chronicles of Japan, comp. 840), from the fifteenth day of the ninth lunar month of 795 (Enryaku 14), which Abé Ryūichi translates as follows in his groundbreaking book *The Weaving of Mantra: Kūkai and the Construction of Esoteric Buddhist Discourse*:

Among the followers of the true teaching [of Buddhism], the king is responsible for bringing it to prosperity. Although the teachings of the Dharma are countless, their essentials are transmitted by priests and nuns. As emperor, I extend my rule to the four realms [of Tao, heaven, the earth, and the kingly domain] and nurture millions of lives. Following the example of the [Confucian] sage-kings in guiding my subjects with virtue and ordering the world through rites, I am desirous of spreading the [Buddhist] way of subtle, unsurpassed enlightenment (Abé 1999).

I have therefore cleared a site in a scenic forest in the mountains, donated land, trees, and other property to erect a monastery, which is named Bonshakuji. I have appointed as the resident priests ten meditation masters renowned for their untainted discipline and selected three administrators from among them to head the monastery. As for the sustenance of the monastery, I have donated one hundred *chō* of paddy fields in Ōmi, two fiefs respectively of fifty farming households in Shimotsuke and Echizen provinces. My wish is to propagate the Dharma in our land as swiftly as breakaway horses and to make it a time to transform hills into shrines and temples for worship so that this auspicious work and merit of founding the monastery will be shared by all beings.

延曆十四年（七九五）九月己酉【十五】》○己酉。詔曰。眞教有屬、隆其業者人王。法相無辺、闡其要者佛子。朕位膺四大、情存億兆。導德齊禮、雖遵有國之規、妙果勝因、思弘無上之道。是以、披山水名区、草創禪院。盡土木妙製、裝銑伽藍。名曰梵釋寺。仍置清行禪師十人、三綱在其中。施近江國水田一百町・下総國食封五十戸・越前國五十戸、以充修理・供養之費。所冀還經馳驟、永流正法、時變陵谷、恒崇仁祠、以茲良因、普爲一切、上奉七廟、臨寶界而增尊、下覃萬邦、登域而洽慶。皇基永固、卜年無窮。本枝克隆、中外載逸。綿該幽顯、傍及懷生、望慈雲而出迷途、仰惠日而趣覺路。（Kuroita 1914–1918, comp. 840)

Abé (1999) further explains that emperor “Kanmu’s [桓武, 735–806, r. 781–806] promulgation plainly indicates that the late Nara [710–794] and early Heian (794–1185) ritsuryō [律令] state legitimized Buddhist worship only insofar as it did not contradict Confucian cosmology, at the heart of which was the emperor’s rule by virtue.” (Kuroita 1914–1918; Sakamoto 1991; Demiéville et al. 1978; Borgen 1986)¹ How the early Japanese state employed Buddhist rituals and effective control of institutions and monastics under the auspices of the Sōgō 僧綱 (Office of Monastic Affairs) is richly discussed in this classic study designed to “move studies of Kūkai [空海 (Kōbō daishi 弘法大師, 774–835; China 804–806)] ‘out of the narrow confines of conventional sectarian history,’ and thus to assess his work ‘in the context of the political, social, and cultural conditions in which the Buddhist community existed in early Heian society.’” The narrative threads of Abé’s book seek to link “such issues as the struggles of the ritsuryō state to consolidate power at the turn of the ninth century . . . and Kūkai’s analysis of the power of mantra when used in a liturgical setting by practitioners who are trained in the esoteric Buddhist theories of the relationships among the material qualities of voice, the creative force of language, and the interdependent nature of all phenomena.” (Abé 1999; Gardiner 2001)² This article investigates the history of the monastery erected from a “cleared site in a scenic forest in the mountains” called Bonshakuji 梵釈寺 (Monastery [devoted to] Brahmā and Śakra [Indra]), where “ten meditation masters renowned for their untainted discipline” (*jūzenji*) were installed with financial support from farmers working 100 *chō* of paddy fields in Ōmi province and 50 households each in Shimotsuke (modern day Tochigi 栃木県) and Echizen (the northern part of present day Fukui 福井県) provinces.

Bonshakuji is an understudied Buddhist monastery in the history of early and medieval Japanese religious history, where rites were performed to specifically venerate one key Mahāyāna scripture, the *Golden Light sūtra* (*Suvarṇabhāṣottama-sūtra*, *Konkōmyōkyō*, *Jin guangming jing* 金光明經, T nos. 663–665). This *sūtra* includes a detailed account of why the Japanese state and Buddhist monks at this monastery should recite, study, and perform rituals to ensure the protection of the state (*chingo kokka* 鎮護国家) and the sovereign as the “wheel turning king” (*cakravartin*, *tenrinō*, *zhuanlun wang* 轉輪王) (de Visser 1935, pp. 226, 605–15; Emmerick 1970; Sagai 2013; Gummer 2015; Radich 2015).³ Bonshakuji was not among the monasteries established after the 741 and 749 edicts by emperor Shōmu 聖武 (701–756, r. 724–749), which decreed that the state would pay for the construction and maintenance of a system of Temples of Bright Golden Light and Four Heavenly Kings to Protect the State (*Konkōmyō shitenno gokoku no tera* 金光明四天王護國之寺), also known as the Kokubunji 國分寺, in each province, and in which the *Golden light sūtra* and three other Mahāyāna scriptures were to be ritually chanted—usually on behalf of the local *kami* (*shinzen dokyō* 神前読經)—to avert natural disasters and calamities (*shōjo saigai* 消除災害) and protect the state; powerful clans (*annei kokka* 安寧国家) were also to be singled out.⁴ The other three *sūtras* include the *Great Perfection of Wisdom* (**Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra*, *Daihannyakyō*, *Da bore jing* 大般若經, T no. 220) and *Lotus* (*Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra*, *Myōhōrengekyō*, *Miaofa lianhua jing* 妙法蓮華經, T no. 262) *sūtras*, and the *Ninnōkyō* 仁王經 (*Ren wang jing*, *Book of Benevolent Kings*, T nos. 245 and 246: *Shinyaku ninnōkyō* (*Xinyi renwang jing*, 新訳仁王經) (de Visser 1935; Orzech 1998; Moerman 2005, 2007; Komine et al. 2015, pp. 372–82; Keyworth 2020).⁵ Although Bonshakuji cannot be compared either in terms of size or fame to any of the other ten state-sanctioned Great Monasteries (*daiji* 大寺)

of the 8th or 9th centuries in Japan, because of the following edict from the fourteenth day of the first lunar month in 835 (Jōwa 承和 2) from *Shoku Nihon kōki* 続日本後紀 (Continued Later Chronicles of Japan, comp. 869, covers 833–850), we know that its library appears to have been second only perhaps to Tōdaiji 東大寺 (Great Eastern Temple) in Nara or Enryakuji 延暦寺 near Kyoto (Lévi et al. 1929).⁶

Emending the edict from last year (Jōwa 1 [834].5.15) (Morita 2010),⁷ today it is ordered that when a set of the manuscript [Buddhist] canon is copied each of the [six] provinces of Sagami (central and western Kanagawa 神奈川県 today), Kazusa (Chiba 千葉県), Shimōsa (part of Chiba and Ibaraki 茨城県), Hitachi (northern Ibaraki), Kamitsuke (alt. Kōzukey, Gunma 群馬県), and Shimotsuke, the copying of the monastic codes (*vinaya*), commentaries [translated into Sinitic from Indic languages] (Mair 1994; Kornicki 2018),⁸ commentaries and sub-commentaries (composed by Chinese, Koreans, and Japanese), hagiographical records, and collected digests or selections must follow the order of the Zhenyuan-era 8 and the Catalog of Bonshakuji (Tokuno 1990; Morita 2010; Funayama 2014; Storch 2014).⁹

《承和二年（八三五）正月庚申【十四】》○庚申。去年有勅。令P 7 0 5 7 相摸。上總。下總。常陸。上野。下野等國。奉寫一切經。今亦貞元并梵釋寺目錄所載律論疏章紀傳集抄。每國均分。令加寫之。(Kuroita 1914–1918, comp. 869)

The Zhenyuan-era catalog is the Tang (618–907) Chinese *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao lu* 貞元新定釋教錄 (Miyabayashi and Ochiai 1998; *Jōgen shinjō shakkyō mokuroku*, Newly Revised Catalog of Buddhist Scriptures, Compiled During the Zhenyuan Era [785–805], T no. 2157, comp. 800), with which scholars believe Kūkai, among others, returned to Japan when he came back from studying in Tang Chang’an (Abé 1999; Akatsuka 2014; Akatsuka 2016).¹⁰ This edict suggests that it very well may not have been Kūkai or even Saichō 最澄 (Dengyō daishi 傳教大師, 767–822, in China 804–805) who first or most notably introduced this catalog to Japan. Instead, it was probably one of the abbots of Bonshakuji named Eichū 永忠 (alt. Yōchū, 743–816), who studied in Tang Chang’an and resided at the famous Ximing monastery 西明寺 between 770–782 or 806; Eichū may have returned from China on the same ship as Kūkai or Saichō or perhaps much earlier (Washio 1996; Groner 1984).¹¹ Eichū probably returned with Saichō because *Nihon kōki* records, on the twenty-third day of the fourth lunar month of 806 (Daitō 大同 1), that Saichō was awarded three ordinands (*tokudonin* 得度人) following his proposal to revise the ordination system, and Eichū was awarded two (Groner 1984).¹² Eichū became the abbot of Bonshakuji by early 806.

In this article I use several premodern sources, including the Six National Histories (*Rikkokushi* 六國史, comp. ca. 720–901), *Engishiki* 延喜式 (Procedures of the Engi-era [901–923], comp. 927, utilized after 967), the first comprehensive history of Buddhism in Japan, Kokan Shiren’s 虎関師鍊 (1278–1347) *Genkō shakusho* 元亨釈書 (Genkō-era [1321–1324] Buddhist History, comp. 1322), and later sources including Shikō’s 志晃 (1662–1720) *Jimon denki horoku* 寺門傳記補錄 (Supplemental Record of the Transmission Record of the Temple Gate Branch, NBZ 86, no. 787), to reveal how Bonshakuji and an older monastery one ridge over on the southeastern slope of Mount Hiei 比叡山 called Sūfukuji 崇福寺 (Monastery [devoted to] Posthumous Happiness) represent an aspect of premodern Japanese religious history in which continuity may be more relevant than change, and an example of the Japanese state-supported network of monasteries where state protection rituals were performed and, particularly, where the study of the *Golden Light Sūtra* was a key component of the curriculum for high-ranking members of the Sōgō and their disciples. First, I briefly address the history of state-sanctioned support for the *Golden Light Sūtra*. I also examine why this scripture, and specifically the translation from Sanskrit into Chinese by Yijing 義淨 (635–713) and his translation team in Tang (618–907) China at the beginning of the 8th century, and the chapter(s) about how the Four Heavenly Kings protect monarchs, played an expanded role within these monasteries and through at least the 12th century. In addition to learning about the curious history of Sūfukuji, Bonshakuji and its lost library, I also examine how and why scholar officials and powerful monastics, particularly those associated with the so-called esoteric (*mikkyō* 密教) Tendai 天台宗 and Shingon 真言宗

temples of Enryakuji 延暦寺 and Miidera 三井寺 (alt. Onjōji 園城寺), and Tōji 東寺 and Daigoji 醍醐寺, respectively, utilized the library of Bonshakuji and old and newly translated state protection (*chingo kokka* 鎮護国家) texts kept there to preserve the early Japanese state-supported Buddhist worldmaking efforts long after that state had become virtually bankrupt (Lévi et al. 1929).¹³ A key comparative question raised in this article concerns how medieval East Asian states—Tang China, Silla Korea (668–935), and Nara- and Heian-era (ca. 710–1185) Japan—used the cosmology specifically outlined in Yijing’s translation of the *Golden Light Sūtra* to construct and maintain both Buddhist and so-called Confucian-styled political, economic, and religious stability during seemingly unmanageable circumstances.

I would be remiss if I did not point out that this article is designed to correct an egregious mistake I made in an article published in 2017 in the *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, where I erroneously named the library where hundreds of rolls of the manuscript Buddhist canon copied in the 12th century for Matsuo (alt. Matsuno’o) shrine (*Matsuo issaikyō* 松尾社一切經) were checked at an “an Ōbaku-shū 黄檗宗 [Zen] temple today in Higashi-Ōmi, located southeast of Ōtsu, in Shiga Prefecture.” (Keyworth 2017, p. 166). The correct location where scribes working for father and son chief shrine priests (*kannushi* 神主) Hata no Chikatō 秦親任 (*kannushi* on 1076.2.20) and Hata no Yorichika 秦頼義 (*kannushi* on 1128.8.12) between 1115–1138, and later Tendai monastics from Enryakuji and Miidera ca. 1139–1165, went to find exemplars to systematically check many of the rolls of the manuscript canon copied for Matsuo shrine is on the southeastern slope of Mount Hiei (*Matsuno’o taisha shiryōshū henshū iinkai* 1977, pp. 230–31).¹⁴ This is the Bonshakuji under investigation here.

The library at Bonshakuji is not only unambiguously mentioned as an exemplary archive in *Shoku Nihon kōki*, but references to it by Saichō, Annen 安然 (ca. 841–889) in his *Shō ajari shingon mikkyō burui sōroku* 諸阿闍梨真言密教部類惣録 (Comprehensive Catalog of the Shingon esoteric teachings of the [eight] ācāryas, T no. 2176, hereafter *Shingon mikkyō sōroku*), and Eichō 永超 (1014–?) in his *Tōiki dentō mokuroku* 東域傳燈目錄 (Catalog of the Transmission of the Torch to the East, comp. ca. 1094, T no. 2183) demonstrate that well before the monastics who copied rolls from it for Matsuo shrine or checked roll 29 of the Tang-era Chinese *Zhenyuan lu* against it for Nanatsudera 七寺 (in Nagoya) in 1176, Bonshakuji was arguably the second-most famous Buddhist library in Japan (Bushelle 2018, pp. 21, 22n.14; Dolce 2011b; Wang 2012, pp. 277–78; Wang 2018, p. 113; Ono 1975).¹⁵ Although it would be historically inaccurate to argue that abbots of Bonshakuji mentioned in the Six National Histories had as profound an impact upon the religious landscape of Japan as either Saichō or Kūkai, there is good reason to argue that Segyō 施暁 (alt. Sekyō, d. 804), Jōtō 常騰 (740–815), and Eichū were not only high-ranking monks in the Sōgō, each of whom earned the rank of Vinaya master (Risshi 律師), Junior Supervisor (*shō sōzu* 少僧都), or Grand Master who Transmits the Torch (*dentō hōshi-i* 傳燈法師位, alt. *dentō hosshi-i*), but they also exerted a lasting impression on the scope of Buddhist learning in Japan (Abé 1999; Adolphson 2000, p. 136; Iwao et al. 1978).¹⁶

2. Provincial Temples, State Protection Buddhism, Chinese “Sounds”, and the *Golden Light Sūtra*

Every coin has two sides. The coin I have in mind represents the history of Japan and religion in Japan in particular, spanning the era between the late 7th century through the 12th centuries. Over many decades, scholars within and outside Japan have written groundbreaking studies of often significant changes over time that are connected to certain pivotal figures and the establishment of novel religious institutions. For example, Paul Groner and Abé Ryūichi, to name just two, introduced a much wider audience to Saichō and Kūkai, respectively, the “founders” of the Tendai and Shingon schools (Groner 1984; Abé 1999). If modern historical analysis is broadly conceived as investigating change and/or continuity over time, then the history of these two figures and their schools of Japanese Buddhism represent the history of change over time. Writing about the transition from the “court-centered society” of the Heian period (794–1221) to the “more tumultuous warrior

administrations” of the Kamakura period (ca. 1185–1333) in Japan, William Bodiford argues for a “middle way between (and thereby avoids some of the pitfalls of) the ‘Kamakura New Buddhism’ and the ‘Exoteric-Esoteric Establishment’ models of medieval Japanese Buddhism.” He goes on to say that “[t]hese two historiographical models each have their unique strengths, but they share a common weakness. They ignore important aspects of monastic Buddhism in medieval Japan.” His chapter in *Buddhist Monasticism in East Asia: Places of Practice* addresses the matter of “monastic institutions as settings for religious life, learning, and ceremony” (Kuroda 1996; Payne 1998; Bodiford 2010, pp. 125–26).¹⁷ This aspect of the history of religion in Japan represents the other side of the proverbial coin: the history of continuity over time.

There can be no doubt that the approach to investigating how certain Buddhist monastics, including Saichō, Kūkai, and others across time and space, transformed the religious landscape of Japan has many merits. But we are certainly missing a great deal if we do not do our best to recover an equally nuanced understanding of the role of continuity in ancient and medieval Japan, spanning the 7th–12th centuries. Looking first at the tail end of this era, Halle O’Neal demonstrates how magnificent examples of the *Great Perfection of Wisdom*, *Lotus*, and *Golden Light sūtras* were written on indigo paper with characters in gold-ink—in the shape of “jeweled pagoda mandalas” from Tanzan shrine 談山社 (in southern Nara prefecture) and Chūsonji 中尊寺 (Hiraizumi 平泉 in northern Honshū), for the latter two *sūtras*—and these represent something remarkable about Japanese material culture (O’Neal 2018, pp. 68–69, 72–77, 104–17; Blair 2015). There is a long and important history of specific veneration of these three Mahāyāna *sūtras* in Chinese translation from as early as the 7th and 8th centuries in Japan, which represents an aspect of Japanese history often excluded from studies that focus on change, rather than continuity over time.

English language readers have been aware of the history of what Bodiford calls “monastic institutions as settings for religious life, learning, and ceremony” or we might simply refer to as mainstream Buddhism since the posthumous publication of Marinus Willem de Visser’s (1875–1930) *Ancient Buddhism in Japan: Sūtras and Ceremonies in Use in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries A.D. and Their History in Later Times* in two volumes in 1935. There, he explains in some detail how the *Great Perfection of Wisdom*, *Lotus*, and *Golden Light sūtras*, as well as the Buddhist canon (*issaikyō* 一切經) as a set, were part and parcel of the Buddhist institution set up and paid for by the nascent Japanese government in the 7th–9th centuries. De Visser presents lists of state-sanctioned Great Temples (*daiji*) where these scriptures were explicitly recited, studied, and rituals with them were performed on behalf of the government. The Six National Histories, *Genkō shakusho*, and *Jimon denki horoku*, corroborate how the Japanese state supported Buddhist monasteries, including the seven or ten Great Temples (Lévi et al. 1929, pp. 704–11).¹⁸ *Shoku Nihongi* 続日本紀 (Continued Chronicles of Japan, comp. 797: roll 31) and *Jimon denki horoku* mention that in 749, empress Kōken 孝謙天皇 (r. 749–758, later as Shōtoku 称徳, r. 764–770), and emperor Kōnin 光仁 (r. 770–781) in 771, included these temples among the ten: Daianji 大安寺, Yakushiji 薬師寺, Tōdaiji, Kōfukuji 興福寺 (the so-called great four in Nara), Shin-Yakushiji 新薬師寺, Gangōji 元興寺, Hōryūji 法隆寺 (to make the great seven temples in Nara), Gufukuji 弘福寺 (another name for Kawaradera 川原寺), Shitennōji 四天王寺 (Osaka), and Sūfukuji, which is located near the city of Ōtsu 大津 in modern Shiga prefecture (Sueki et al. 2014; Buswell and Lopez 2014; Miyake 2015).¹⁹

The Six National Histories contain multiple edicts pertaining to which of the four Mahāyāna scriptures—and the entire set of the manuscript Buddhist canon (*issaikyō*)—were ritually read (*tendoku* 転読) at these Great Temples and at Buddhist temples constructed on behalf of the state in each province (*kokubunji*), also known as Temples of Bright Golden Light and Four Heavenly Kings to Protect the State (*Konkōmyō shitennō gokoku no tera* 金光明四天王護国之寺). Based on the assistance of a digital edition of the Six National Histories, we know, for example, that the *Golden Light Sūtra* and the *Ninnōkyō* were to be “read in all four corners of the kingdom” as early as 676.11.20; during the fifth lunar month of 680, the *Golden Light Sūtra* was recited in the imperial palace and in each of the provinces.

Buddhist monks who staffed imperial residences gave lectures on this *sūtra*.²⁰ The last of six entries in *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀 (Chronicles of Japan, comp. 720, covers up to 697 CE) that concerns imperial patronage of this scripture is from the twelfth lunar month of 696, when it was announced that this *sūtra* was to be read at the end of each year. Noticeably, the *Lotus Sūtra*, which also enjoys a special place in early Japanese Buddhist history, is not mentioned in the *Nihon shoki*. In the *Shoku Nihon shoki* (covers 697–791), however, the *Lotus Sūtra* shows up 23 times; the *Golden Light Sūtra* appears 28 times. There are twelve edicts between 741 and 783 that expound orders concerning the Provincial Temples. However, in roll 29 of the *Nihon kōki* (covers 792–833) for the date 820 (Kōnin 弘仁 11).11.22, we find the official reference to when the name for these Provincial Temples was elaborated to include explicit reference to the *Golden Light Sūtra* (Morita 2006–2007).²¹ The name is reiterated in another edict from *Shoku Nihon kōki* for the date 839 (Jōwa 6).6.28, in which we also learn explicitly that the *Golden Light Sūtra* is read in the so-named Provincial Temples for monks; special lectures on this scripture are also given. Temple(s)—Hokkeji 法華寺 in Nara—where nuns resided were called Kokubunniji 國分尼寺, with the official title of Temples for the Expiation of Sins by means of the *Lotus Sūtra* (*Hokke metsuzai no tera* 法華滅罪之寺) (Morita 2010; Meeks 2010).²² Furthermore, in *Nihon Montoku tennō jitsuroku* 日本文德天皇実録 (Veritable Record of Emperor Montoku [827–858, r. 850–858] of Japan, comp. 897) we find further stipulations about reciting these scriptures in Provincial Temples,²³ and the entry for 859.4.15 in *Nihon sandai jitsuroku* 日本三代実録 (Veritable Record of Three Generations [of Emperors] of Japan, comp. 901, covers 858–887) governs lectures on the *Golden Light* and *Lotus sūtras* at these temples.²⁴ This brief discussion of some of the edicts about the *Golden Light* and *Lotus sūtras* ritually read within Provincial Temples should demonstrate that the world of state protection rites supported by the state did not diminish throughout the 9th century. Of course these are official histories—although certainly not the same as Chinese official histories (*zhengshi* 正史) in scope or reporting of events related to Buddhism—and were compiled on behalf of the imperial court, presumably to be read by future historians, and probably not for consumption by literate members of the Buddhist *samgha*.

“In 806 an edict stipulated that all candidates for ordination should be able to read the *Lotus sūtra* and the *Sūtra of golden light* in ‘Chinese sounds’, but another issued in 869 noted that the Chinese sounds were being neglected.” (Kornicki 2018; Morita 2006–2007, pp. 384–85).²⁵ The decision by the Japanese court in the capital of Heiankyō 平安京 (modern day Kyōto) to compel candidates for Buddhist ordination to learn to read out loud—or more properly chant (*dokuju* 読誦)—these two scriptures in “Chinese sounds” (*Kan’on* 漢音) followed an earlier decree in 792 that required “Han sounds” to be used for the pronunciation of Chinese characters, thereby covering the activities of literate scholars and members of the Buddhist clergy a year later. By “Han sounds,” the decree meant the pronunciation of Chinese in the Tang capital of Chang’an at the time, as opposed to “Wu sounds” (*Go’on* 呉音), which referred to earlier pronunciation guides for reading texts in Sinitic, following pronunciation in China—via Koreans who learned these sounds first and taught them to Japanese during the 5th–6th centuries—primarily from the south, when various capitals were located in the city of Jiankang 建康 (modern day Nanjing 南京; Wu refers to the kingdom during the Spring and Autumn Period in Chinese history 春秋, 771–476 BCE) (Kornicki 2018, p. 76). Edicts preserved in *Nihon kōki* and *Shoku Nihon kōki*, which cover the reigns of emperors Kanmu (r. 781–806; here from 792), Heizei 平城 (773–824, r. 806–809), Saga 嵯峨 (786–842, r. 809–823), Junna 淳和 (ca. 786–840, r. 823–833) and Ninmyō 仁明 (808–850, r. 833–850), respectively, reveal that a pronounced desire on the part of the state to mandate “Chinese learning,” defined by Mirian Bloom Ury as “reading and writing of Chinese and those kinds of knowledge most directly dependent on learned traditions which boasted Chinese roots,” continued through the 9th century, and Buddhism was a prime medium through which “Chinese learning” was promoted (Shively and McCullough 1999, p. 341). On the 20th day of leap month (*urū* 閏) eleven in 792, for example, would-be scholars training in the state Academy (Daigaku-ryō 大學寮) were first instructed to read the Classics out loud using “Chinese sounds” as spoken in the

Tang capital of Chang'an (Morita 2006–2007, vol. 1, p. 41).²⁶ On the 28th day of the fourth lunar month of 793, emperor Kanmu mandated that candidates for Buddhist ordination must have learned these pronunciations in order to receive tonsure (ibid., p. 50).²⁷ His orders must not have been followed to the letter because on the 15th day of the fourth lunar month of 801 (Enryaku 12), we find an edict ordering official monastics to redouble their efforts to pronounce the scriptures read in “Chinese sounds” (ibid., pp. 258–59).²⁸

Efforts on behalf of the court to coerce the use of contemporary pronunciation of court Chinese for Sinitic texts—both secular and Buddhist—appears not to have receded into the 9th century, after the return of the eight [esoteric Buddhist] monks from Japan who visited Tang China (*Nittō hakke* 入唐八家).²⁹ For example, for the date 802.1.7 in *Nihon kōki*, monks representing the Sanron 三論宗 (Madhyamaka) and Hossō 法相宗 (East Asian Yogācāra) schools are encouraged not to limit their practice with “Chinese sounds” (ibid., pp. 304–5).³⁰ The entry for 843.6.11 in *Shoku Nihon kōki* encourages students studying at the state Academy to redouble their efforts (Morita 2010, vol. 2, pp. 111–12),³¹ and the entry for 845.2.20 laments a time in the past when students could not distinguish between the four tones (ibid., pp. 171–72);³² there is a final entry for 850.3.25 which specifies how scholars who cannot correctly pronounce the Classics using “Chinese sounds” need to practice, and often (ibid., pp. 375–76).³³

Learned scholars and members of the Sōgō were urged to “properly” pronounce the Chinese texts they read following Tang pronunciations—including the four tones (Mair and Mei 1991)³⁴—in a quest to emulate the court life and political, social, and religious influence Japanese envoys and monk-pilgrims wrote about when they returned from abroad. Yet most literate Japanese—following Koreans—read these texts using vernacular reading glosses (*kanbun kundoku* 漢文訓読) (Whitman et al. 2010; Whitman 2011, 2015, pp. 162–75).³⁵ Court-supported Buddhist monastics at the Great Temples, which we will see included both Sūfukuji and Bonshakuji, paid special attention to certain texts, and particularly specific sections of the *Golden Light Sūtra*. This scripture exerted an influence upon medieval East Asian governments and the Buddhists they supported to an extent that was surprisingly misunderstood among English-speaking Western scholars who first studied Buddhist literature in Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Chinese.

In his monumental history of Indian Buddhism, first published in 1844 as *Introduction à l'histoire du Bouddhisme indien*, Eugène Burnouf (1801–1852), chair of Sanskrit at the Collège de France, expressed a striking dislike for one of the Mahāyāna Buddhist scriptures he read and translated sections of, which had been dispatched to Paris in 1837 by the British Resident in India and Nepal, Brian Houghton Hodgson (1800–1894). Burnouf writes:

... I commence by design with that which appears the most celebrated of all, at least according to the report of Csoma de Kőrös, that is to say, the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa*. The importance that the Buddhists of the North attach to this work is proved, moreover, by this fact alone: that it is included among the nine dharmas or sacred books of Nepal.

... Such is the content of this book, mediocre and indeed vapid, like the things of which it speaks, despite the great esteem it enjoys among the Buddhists of the North. Certainly, if one compares it to some of the tantras we have in Paris, it will appear superior to them on several points. The magical formulas and superstitious practices occupy much less of a place than in other tantras almost as esteemed. The worship of Śākya and the observation of moral virtues that his teaching aimed to spread are still recommended; Śākya is the main personage and he is still not replaced ... But despite these advantages, how little value this book has for us compared with the legends where the real like of Śākyamuni is recounted, and with to so profound parables of the Lotus of the Good Law!

... [T]his book is so filled with praises of itself made by the Buddha or his listeners, and with the account of the advantages promised to one who studies and reads it, that one searches for it in vain beneath the mass of praise, and one

arrives at the last page, almost without knowing what the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa* is. (Burnouf et al. 2010, pp. 484, 490)

Although Burnouf primarily restricted his remarks to the Sanskrit Buddhist texts he received from Nepal in the early 19th century, by “Buddhists of the North,” Burnouf described what today we call Mahāyāna Buddhism. Csoma de Kőrös (1784–1842) was a Hungarian scholar known today as the founder of Tibetology. Curiously, along with the scripture Burnouf translated into French nearly a decade later (Burnouf et al. 1852), to which he thought the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra*, or more accurately the *Suvarṇabhāṣottama-sūtra* (usually translated into English as the *Sūtra of Golden Light* or “Golden Radiance” (Burnouf et al. 2010, p. 485), was incomparable—namely, the *Lotus sūtra*—the early Japanese government singled out the *Suvarṇabhāṣottama* as the one of two most important Buddhist scriptures to be recited in specific temples to protect the state and in “proper” pronunciation of Chinese in the Tang capital of Chang’an.

The chapter (*parivarta*) from the *Golden Light Sūtra*, alternatively translated into Chinese as the Four Heavenly Kings (*Si tianwang pin* 四天王品, *Shitenno-bin*, nos. 6 or 10) or Four Heavenly Kings Who Protect the Kingdom (*Si tianwang huguo pin* 四天王護國品, *Shitenno gokoku-bin*, no. 13) in the three extant translations of this remarkable scripture, contains what very well may be one of the most important teachings in any Buddhist scripture. The translations ascribed to Dharmakṣema 曇無讖 (ca. 385–433) and his translation team (ca. 414–426: *Jin guangming jing* 金光明經, T no. 663), as well as the slightly expanded, but very close edition attributed to Baogui 寶貴 (n.d.) and perhaps Paramārtha 真諦 (499–569) (Nobel 1944–1950, 1958; Emmerick 1970; Radich 2014, 2015)³⁶ and their translation teams (*Hebu Jin guangming jing* 合部金光明經, T no. 664), differ slightly from the later translation completed by Yijing and his group in 703 (*Jin guangming zuisheng wang jing*, T no. 665) (J. Chen 2004; M. Chen 2015).³⁷ The passage in question is translated by R.E. Emmerick from the Sanskrit as follows:

“Whenever, dear Lord, in future times this excellent *Suvarṇabhāsa*, king of sūtras, will go forth in villages, cities, settlements, districts, lands, royal palaces, and whichever king of men’s region it may reach, whichever king of men, dear Lord, there may be who will exercise sovereignty in accordance with the treatise on kingship (called) ‘Instruction concerning Divine Kings’, who will hear, reverence, honour this excellent *Suvarṇabhāsa*, king of sūtras, and will respect, venerate, reverence, honour those monks, nuns, laymen and laywomen who hold the chief sūtras and will continually listen to the excellent *Suvarṇabhāsa*, king of sūtras, by this flowing water of the hearing of the Law and by the nectar juice of the Law, he will magnify with great might these divine bodies of s four great kings with our armies and retinues and those of the numerous hundreds of thousands of Yakṣas. And he will magnify our brilliance, glory, and splendor. Therefore, we, dear Lord, the four great kings, with our armies and retinues and with numerous hundreds of thousands of Yakṣas, with invisible bodies, now and in the future, wherever we come upon villages, cities, settlements, districts, lands and royal palaces, there is excellent *Suvarṇabhāsa*, king of sūtras, will go forth, and we will give protection, we will give salvation, assistance, defense, escape from punishment, escape from the sword, peace, welfare to their royal palaces, their lands, and their regions. And we will deliver those regions from all fears, oppressions, (and) troubles. And we will turn back foreign enemies.”

“If there should be another hostile king neighbouring upon that king of men who hears, reverences, honours this excellent *Suvarṇabhāsa*, king of sūtras, and if, dear Lord, this neighbouring hostile king should produce such a thought: ‘I will enter that region with a fourfold army and destroy it,’ then indeed, dear Lord, at that time, at that moment, by the power of the brilliance of that excellent *Suvarṇabhāsa*, king of sūtras, there will arise a conflict between that neighbouring hostile king and other kings. And there will be regional disturbances in his own

regions. There will be fierce troubles with kings, and diseases caused by planets will become manifest in his area . . . We will turn back that foreign army from the very path it has taken. We will bring upon it hundreds of difference distractions, and we will make obstacles so that the foreign army will not be able to enter this region, much less cause destruction to the region.” (Emmerick 1970, pp. 27–28 ³⁸)

Although I have provided this English translation, it should be clear that this scripture unambiguously explains how the this-worldly fruits of Indic conceptions of governance could be reaped by those who supported the recitation and study of specifically *this sūtra*, the “king of sūtras,” and visitors to Tang China learned how the Tang state supported a new translation of it in 703 by Yijing and his team. The Sanron master Dōji 道慈 (ca. 675–744) returned with this new translation in 718, and the 740.5.1 canon copied for empress Kōmyō 光明皇后 (701–760) was copied from the manuscript set of the Chinese Buddhist canon with Yijing’s translation of the *Golden Light Sūtra*, which had been brought to Japan recently from Tang China in 736 by Genbō 玄昉 (d. 746) (Abé 1999, p. 239; Lowe 2014, pp. 222–31; Abe 2013, pp. 155–56; Nara National Museum 2017).³⁹ As I have discussed elsewhere, Japanese Buddhists quickly adopted Yijing’s translation—with special glosses at the end of many rolls—as the undisputed version to be esteemed at Provincial Temples and at the ten Great Temples. Our discussion of how “Chinese sounds” were specified for the recitation of this and several other Buddhist scriptures indicates how the worldview presented in this scripture was second to none. Why else would Kūkai—and many other esoteric Buddhist teachers—have developed specific commentaries explaining how to understand this key Mahāyāna *sūtra* as an esoteric ritual text? (Abé 1999, pp. 239–46)

3. Sūfukuji and Bonshakuji

There is surprising confusion about the history of Sūfukuji, one of the earliest of the ten Great Temples, in some recent English language scholarship. In her otherwise fascinating study of Shinra Myōjin 新羅明神, the tutelary deity of the powerful medieval Jimon 寺門 (Temple Gate) Tendai monastic complex of Onjōji (Miidera) tied to Enchin 円珍 (814–891, in China 853–858), Kim Sujung writes, “Onjōji was founded in 668 as Sūfukuji (also known as Shigaji 志賀寺 and Shigazanji 志賀山寺) and has remained at its current site ever since.” She correctly states that “Sūfukuji was built by Emperor Tenji 天智 (626–672, r. 661–672) when he relocated the capital to Ōmi Ōtsu palace 近江大津宮 briefly from 667–672 in response to the threat of an invasion by the Tang-Silla alliance” ca. 670. (Kim 2019, p. 15) Her book is primarily about Onjōji, which may explain why she seems to have been unaware of the archaeological excavations of three ridges on the southeastern slope of Mount Hiei in 1928, and again in 1938–1940, of the former site of Sūfukuji and Bonshakuji. These temples were located approximately 4.5 km to the north and slightly west of the present site of Onjōji (Ōtsu City Museum of History 2017, pp. 28–29). Following these archaeologists’ findings and many other sources, Donald McCallum writes:

When Tenji moved the court to the new capital in 667, he would have required appropriate temples there, and four temples are particularly important: Anō haiji (穴太廃寺), Minami Shiga haiji (南滋賀廃寺), Sūfukuji, and a predecessor to Onjōji. At Anō haiji, remains from the first half of the seventh century were located, so it was evidently founded at an early stage of Buddhism in Japan; Minami Shiga haiji and the Onjōji predecessor have some tiles dating directly before the establishment of the Ōtsu capital; only Sūfukuji was built at the same time as the capital . . . Finally, the new Sūfukuji was constructed to the northwest of the palace, on the lower slopes of Mt. Hiei . . . Of the four, Sūfukuji is undoubtedly the best known, primarily because of the magnificent reliquary set excavated from the pagoda remains in the late 1920s (McCallum 2009, pp. 190–91).

The reliquary from the pagoda (item no. 202) at Sūfukuji that McCallum mentioned was also highlighted for special consideration in the 2017 exhibition of “National Treasures: Masterpieces of Japan” for the 120th anniversary of Kyoto National Museum (Kyoto National Museum and Mainichi Newspaper 2017, pp. 340, 388). The archaeologists who excavated what experts believe to have been the site of Sūfukuji found the foundation of the

stūpa building (*tō* 塔) on the second ridge of what was once Sūfukuji (Ōtsu City Museum of History 2017, p. 28). In addition to the aforementioned reliquary set (*shari yōki* 舍利容器) from the 7th century—measuring 10.6 by 7.9 by 7.6cm and consisting of a bronze outer box, a gold inner box, and a luminous forest green glass jar with a gold lid—roof tiles and coins dating to 708 were found on the three ridges of what was formerly Sūfukuji at the turn of the 8th century (ibid., pp. 30–34).⁴⁰

Sūfukuji first seems to have consisted of a Maitreya Hall (Mirokudō 弥勒堂) on a northern ridge, a small Golden Hall (Shōkondō 小金堂) and *stūpa* on the middle ridge, and a larger Golden Hall (Kondō 金堂) and Lecture Hall (Kōdō 講堂) on the southern ridge—less than a hundred meters from where archaeologists believe they found the separate remains of another temple called Shigadera (not pronounced Shigaji). Not surprisingly, McCallum must have read his sources carefully when he made the remarks quoted above about the history of Buddhist temples on Tenji’s Ōtsu capital. In a much later composition than any of the Six National Histories or *Genkō shakusho*, *Jimon denki horoku* records that the first Buddhist temple that emperor Tenji had constructed after he moved the capital to Ōmi province was Sūfukuji. *Genkō shakusho*, however, says that another temple, Kawaradera, was constructed in 655, following orders from empress Saimei 齊明 (alt. Kōgyoku 皇極, r. 642–645 and 655–661; see Iwano 1936–1945, p. 342; Kokan and Takuji 2011; Ōtsu City Museum of History 2017, pp. 81–93).⁴¹ The following origin tale in *Jimon denki horoku* is almost certainly embellished, but it nonetheless connects the historical and archaeological records.

During the first spring after emperor Tenji had moved the capital of ancient Japan from Asuka palace to a new palace in the town of Shigatsu in the province of Ōmi, in the third lunar month of 667, he was apparently visited by a golden man in a dream, who told him about a sacred spot where he could have a Buddhist temple built nearby, just to the northwest of the palace. Startled from the dream, he awoke, glanced toward the northwest, and saw a sliver of light coming from the western sky. The next morning, the emperor summoned two Buddhist priests to explain the dream and the auspicious sign. He climbed up into the mountains for approximately 1.2 km (two *ri* 里) before he encountered an *upāsaka* (*ubasoku* 優婆塞) who was reciting scriptures in a small hut at a secluded place. When the emperor inquired where he was, the *upāsaka* told him that this place was where the ancient “immortal” of Mount Sasanami no Nagara 佐佐名実長等山 had buried treasure, but it has never been found. Emperor Tenji had a Buddhist temple called Sūfukuji constructed at this place, with an image of Maitreya Tathāgata installed [in the Maitreya Hall].⁴²

Jimon denki horoku and *Genkō shakusho* also differ slightly about the date of the construction of Sūfukuji: either 667 or during the spring of 668 (Nakamura 2004).⁴³ The next significant historical reference we have for Sūfukuji is from *Shoku Nihongi* 13, and concerns the date 756.8.22. Here, we learn that 100 rolls of “Ōmi court legal documents” 近江朝書法 were given to Sūfukuji. Here, I think we find an important clue about how this library must have been viewed as a vital resource for storing important documents, and probably not merely the *Ōmi Code* (*Ōmiryō* 近江令, comp. 668 in 22 rolls).

For the date 803.10.29 in the *Nihon kōki*, we learn that “It was ordered that at Sūfukuji, which was established by former sovereign [Tenji], Great Teacher (Daihōshi 大法師) Jōtō will temporarily become [chief] administrator of the [part of the temple now known as] Bonshakuji” 丙午。制。崇福寺者、先帝之所建也。宜令梵釋寺別當大法師常騰、兼加檢校 (Morita 2006–2007, vol. 1, p. 296).⁴⁴ Therefore, we now know that Sūfukuji and Bonshakuji are intimately connected. But Sūfukuji continued to be an important monastery because, on 806.4.15 also in *Nihon kōki*, we learn that, “On the 28th day (*shinanoka*) [after emperor Kanmu] died, memorial services were held at Sai (river tributary, where it meets the Katsura river 桂川), Toribe (near Kiyomizudera 清水寺), and Sūfukuji, Saeki Ō (d. 833), Secretary of the Right (Ubyōgo no kami), Lower Fifth Rank, and Kudara no Konishiki Kyōshun (d.u.), Left Guardian Office, Lower Fifth Rank went to meet Itsuki no Himeko (a shrine maiden) in Ise province [at the Saigū 齋宮] (ibid., p. 406).⁴⁵ Memorial services were held again later

the same month at Sūfukuji for the 42nd day (*munanoka*) after [emperor Kenmu's] death on 806.4.29 (*ibid.*, p. 409).⁴⁶

If we return briefly to the edict I began this article with from 795.9.15, and specifically Abé Ryūichi's translation, then he explains in greater detail about how emperor Kanmu established Bonshakuji as follows:

Kanmu presented the erection of Bonshakuji as an establishment in the wilds of a new ritual center where his virtue in patronizing the monastery was to be converted by the priests through their ritual acts into a display of loyalty to the emperor and to the state. In this manner, the nameless mountains and forests in the wilderness were transformed into the landscape of a religiocultural (*sic*) showcase for the rectification of names. In other words, the ritual at Bonshakuji was expected to make visible the benevolent reign of the emperor over land and people as the idea relationship formed between ruler, subjects, and the nation's natural resources (Abé 1999, p. 316).⁴⁷

Yet premodern sources attest to the facts that, sometime between 783 and 792, emperor Kanmu renamed the southern ridge Bonshakuji of what had been called Sūfukuji, when he had images of Brahmā and Śakra (Indra) installed there, presumably in the Golden Hall, and decreed that ten meditation masters would be supported on site.⁴⁸ Therefore, it seems highly likely that the edict Abé considers to be evidence of “an establishment in the wilds of a new ritual center” where the emperor saw that “nameless mountains and forests in the wilderness were transformed into the landscape of a religiocultural (*sic*) showcase for the rectification of names” was probably posturing on behalf of the imperial scribe who wrote this decree for him. *Genkō shakusho* records that Bonshakuji was established [in 786] as a separate temple to promote veneration of the *Golden Light Sūtra* by Segyō, a monk devoted to mountain asceticism and rituals to the Indian gods who protect Buddhism in this seminal Mahāyāna Buddhist scripture (Sango 2015b, pp. 80–95),⁴⁹ and he happened to also have been a disciple of Genbō, who we recall returned from a voyage to China with nearly an entire set of the 5048 rolls of the Kaiyuan 開元-era (713–741) Chinese Buddhist canon in 736 (Iwano 1936–1945, pp. 376–77; Kobayashi 2008, pp. 7, 9; Kokan and Fujita 2011).⁵⁰ It appears that Eichū, who had studied in China for nearly 30 years at Ximing temple in the Tang capital of Chang'an, met Kūkai there, and returned to Japan on the same ship as Saichō, was made abbot of Bonshakuji by emperor Kanmu sometime around 806 (Iwano 1936–1945, pp. 376–77; Kobayashi 2008, p. 260).⁵¹

Perhaps the most interesting and historically relevant event that transpired at Bonshakuji and Sūfukuji happened on the twenty-second day of the fourth lunar month of 815, when emperor Saga is credited with having been the first person in Japan to enjoy what reads like a tea ceremony (Morita 2006–2007, vol. 2, p. 368).⁵²

The emperor set out toward Karasaki in Shiga, Ōmi province, and [his retinue] stopped at Sūfukuji. Greater Supervisor Eichū and [Hossō] Master Gomyō 護命 (750–834), among others, went to meet the emperor's caravan outside the gate. The emperor descended from his palanquin (*koshi*) and ascended the Hall to make offerings to the Buddha [images]. Next, his retinue went to Bonshakuji, where the emperor descended from his palanquin again. The imperial heir (*kotaitei*) and ministers offered poems and exchanged them with one another and the monks. Grand Supervisor Eichū offered the emperor some tea decocted with his own hand. Then the retinue went to Lake [Biwa 琵琶] where they embarked on an imperial boat . . .

幸近江國滋賀韓埼。便過崇福寺。大僧都永忠。護命法師等。率衆僧奉迎於門外。皇帝降輿。升堂禮佛。更過梵釋寺。停輿賦詩。皇太弟及群臣奉和者衆。大僧都永忠手自煎茶奉御。施御被。即御船泛湖。國司奏風俗歌舞。五位已上并掾以下賜衣被。史生以下郡司以上賜綿有差。

This episode is repeated rather frequently in books about the history of tea in Japan. For our purposes, what is most remarkable is that emperor Saga's entourage went to Sūfukuji and Bonshakuji, probably to express official gratitude for the role these temples played in memorializing his father's death.

Other edicts in the National Histories, from 819.9.10 (Morita 2006–2007, vol. 3, p. 76),⁵³ 837.4.25 (Morita 2010, vol. 1, pp. 227–28),⁵⁴ 849.10.23 (ibid., vol. 2, p. 347),⁵⁵ and 850.2.5 (ibid., vol. 2, p. 366),⁵⁶ demonstrate how both Sūfukuji and Bonshakuji continued to receive commensurate support and attention from the state. These monasteries were included in the following edict dated 856.6.14 in *Nihon Montoku tennō jitsuroku*, which confirms continued support from the state:⁵⁷

On the day when Junior Fifth Rank, Upper Grade, Ason Yoshibuchi was made [head] imperial attendant (*ōtoneri-tō*), 265 monks from the 14 monasteries of Tōji and Saiji (in the capital) and Enryakuji, Sūfukuji, Bonshakuji, [Shi]tennō[ji], Tōdai[ji], Kōfuku[ji], Gangō[ji], Daian[ji], Yakushi[ji], Saidai[ji], Hōryū[ji], Shin-Yakushi[ji] were “invited” to revolve-read the [whole manuscript Buddhist] canon three times over seven days. Different messengers of Fifth Rank were dispatched to each monastery [to issue this proclamation]. 從五位上在原朝臣善淵爲大舍人頭。』是日。請名僧二百六十五人於東西寺及延曆。崇福。梵釋。天王。東大。興福。元興。大安。藥師。西大。法隆。新藥師等十四箇寺。讀所寫一切經各三遍。限七日訖。每寺差五位一人爲勅使。

For the date 863.7.7 in *Nihon sandai jitsuroku* we also learn how, although somewhat depleted in comparison with larger, still much better-known monasteries, these two monasteries continued to receive specific support as follows:

It was decreed that 1000 *kan* in new coins were to be given to the Great Temples for repairs of various items (e.g., ritual implements). The empress consort (Chūgū) received 1000 iron bars for similar items. [Similarly,] Tōdaiji, Kōfukuji, Gangōji, Daianji, Yakushiji, and Saidaiji each received 100 *kan* (in coins), and 100 iron bars. Enryakuji and Shin-Yakushiji each received 30 *kan* (of coins). Touradera, Hongangōji, [Tō]shōdaiji (all in Nara), and [Shi]tennō[ji] (in Osaka), Sūfukuji, and Chishikiji (also in Osaka) each received 20 *kan* (of coins). Bonshakuji and Saitō’in on Mount Hiei, Tōji, and Saiji each received 15 *kan* (of coins) and 15 iron bars. 勅以新錢一千貫文。施入諸大寺。充修理料。中宮鐵一千廷加充同料。東大寺。興福寺。元興寺。大安寺。藥師寺。西大寺各錢百貫。鐵百廷。延曆寺。新藥師寺各錢卅貫。鐵卅廷。豐浦寺。本元興寺。招提寺。天王寺。崇福寺。知識寺各錢廿貫。鐵廿廷。梵釋寺。比叡西塔院。東寺。西寺各錢十五貫。鐵十五廷。

On the second day of the third leap month in 866, we see evidence of how these two temples played key roles in rituals to support continued state protection rites. A great fire had erupted in the capital on leap month (*uruziki* or *jungetsu* 閏月) 3.10 in 866 that spread to both the Shōran 翔鸞樓 and the Seihō 栖鳳樓 towers, which lay to the southwest and southeast of the Ōten gate and lasted 22 days. Monastics from these two temples were called in to assuage this calamity as follows:⁵⁸

On the day when one hundred officials met in front of the Kaishō gate to address the fire that had burned the Ōten gate 20 monks were summoned to Sūfukuji to revolve-read the **Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra* for seven days; ten monks were summoned to Bonshakuji to perform the *Secret ritual of the Four Kings* (*Shiten hihō*) for seven days. The purpose was to ward off catastrophes ... 會百官。大於會昌門前。以應天門火也。』是日。於崇福寺。請廿僧。限以七日。轉讀大般若經。於梵釋寺。請十僧修四王秘法。限七日訖。並以消災變也。』以河守從五位下菅野朝臣豐持。爲修理知識寺佛像別當。

This entry from *Sandai jitsu roku* may even suggest that, during the first century after the disciples of Kūkai and Saichō, among others, began to teach how to utilize so-called esoteric Buddhist ritual practices, monks at Bonshakuji may have been well aware of these rituals, and perhaps they were even renowned for their ritual knowledge. It is equally possible that the “secret rituals to the Four Heavenly Kings” may have more to do with the rituals taught in the *Golden Light Sūtra* and *Ninnōkyō*, which certainly antedate the arrival and distribution in Japan of esoteric Buddhist practices (Dolce 2011a, 2014; Groner 2002).⁵⁹ The final entry under consideration here is from 866.4.5, when in sixteen monasteries near the capital and at Bonshakuji and Sūfukuji temples in Ōmi province, the

Vajracchedīka (*Kongōkyō*, *Jin'gang jing*, *Diamond*, T no. 235–237) and *Heart* (*Shingyō*, *Xinjing*, *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdaya*, T no. 251) *sūtras* are to be revolve-read for a limit of three days 五日己卯。於近京十六箇寺及近江國梵釋寺。崇福寺等。限以三日。轉讀金剛般若經。般若心經。

4. The Library and Scholar Monks at Bonshakuji

There are several entries about Bonshakuji in *Nihon kōki* that reveal how prominent Bonshakuji must have been during the 9th century. The most famous one discussed above concerns how Eichū evidently not only personally prepared tea for emperor Saga in 815, which signs in the area today suggest he had grown in fields near the temple, and another for 803 provides an alternative figure than Segyō as an abbot before Eichū: a Hossō expert on monastic codes named Jōtō, who studied at Daianji and Kōfukuji before teaching at Saidaiji in Nara, was made temporary abbot of Bonshakuji and perhaps Sūfukuji as well on 803.10.29 (Morita 2006–2007, vol. 1, p. 296).⁶⁰ It is difficult to determine if either Bonshakuji or Sūfukuji had any official sectarian affiliation at this time; our sources tell us that both Eichū and Jōtō were officially appointed monks (*sōzu*). In *Shoku nihon kōki* for the date 835.1.14 we already found evidence of widespread adoption of the catalogs from Bonshakuji and *Zhenyuan lu*. Eichū's shipmate on the return from China, the Tendai patriarch Saichō, mentions the catalog of Bonshakuji in his *Shugo kokkai shō* 守護國界章 (ca. 818) (Kobayashi 2008, pp. 24–25).⁶¹ It seems that because neither *Genkō shakusho* nor *Jimon denki horoku* mention an imperial edict to establish the *Zhenyuan lu* and Bonshakuji catalog to inventory the canon, rather than the slightly earlier *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄 (Catalog of Śākyamuni's Teachings), Compiled During the Kaiyuan Era [713–741], T no. 2154, comp. 730, and specifically the catalog from Bonshakuji, either this information was too well-known to Kokan Shiren and Shikō for them to have thought to bring it up, or this is a case of embellishment on the part of an eminent Fujiwara regent-cum-historiographer who supervised the compilation of the *Shoku Nihon kōki* (Storch 2014; Wu 2016).⁶²

Even if Fujiwara no Yoshifusa's 藤原良房 (804–872) *Shoku Nihon kōki* might contain more legend than fact, there is another entry from 850.2.5 that connects Bonshakuji specifically with Matsuo and Kamo 鴨 shrines in the capital. When emperor Ninmyō 仁明 (808–850, r. 833–850) was extremely ill and on his deathbed at the age of 41, the crown prince and influential ministers were summoned to his bedside. After offerings of cloth and robes were prepared for monastics at all the temples, scriptures were recited on his behalf. Six horses were presented from the imperial stables of the Left and Right to the *kami* of Upper and Lower Kamo and Matsuo shrines. Excluding only a single parrot (*oumu* 鸚鵡), all imperial horses, hounds, and caged birds were set free. A proclamation was announced not to slaughter any animals in Ōmi, which caused the monks at Bonshakuji to perform rituals on behalf of the emperor's longevity; ten monks were summoned from Bonshakuji to perform *kaji* 加持 (*adhiṣṭhāna*, rituals for blessings or empowerment, probably not esoteric at this early stage) just outside the emperor's *misu* 簾 or *sudare*.⁶³ Therefore, it would appear that by the mid-9th century, the canon of Bonshakuji and monks from this temple were comparatively well-known. Coupled with *Engishiki* that records how copying and distributing the Buddhist canon in Chinese was widespread only half a century later, we may assume that the fame of Bonshakuji, in particular, must have spread to the monastics who were supported by aristocrats at shrine-temple multiplexes including, but not limited to, Ise 伊勢, Iwashimizu 石清水 [Hachimangū 八幡宮], Kamo 賀茂 (alt. 鴨), Matsuo 松尾, Hirano 平野, Fushimi 伏見 [Inari 稻荷], and Kasuga 春 (the only one in Nara, and not Kyoto). This list is by no means extensive: archaeological and material cultural evidence from the Heian period confirms that wealthy shrine-temple multiplexes such as Atsuta 熱田 in Owari 尾張 (Nagoya), the shrine-temple multiplex the Nanatsudera canon was copied for, for example, may have enjoyed even greater patronage than the sites in either Kyoto or Nara (Keyworth 2016).⁶⁴

Beyond the edict of 835.1.14 regarding the use of the *Zhenyuan lu* and Bonshakuji catalog for ordering the manuscript Buddhist canons copied for several eastern provinces, we also find evidence of later scholars using this library as an important archive. For exam-

ple, in his *Shingon mikkyō sōroku*, Annen cross checked numerous texts with copies in the libraries of Shūei's 宗叡 (809–884; China 862–865) temple of Engakuji 円覺寺 (Mizuoyamadera 水尾山寺, not to be confused with the Zen temple in Kamakura) and Bonshakuji (von Verschuer 1985; Kornicki 2001, pp. 285–87, 367–416; Yoritomi 2009).⁶⁵ In his *Tōiki dentō mokuroku*, compiled by 1094, Eichō mentions not only the Bonshakuji catalog (*Bonshakuji roku*), but also eleven commentaries by Jōtō of Bonshakuji, including several prepared as lecture notes (*kōron* 講論) used for debate (*rongi* 論義) preparation.⁶⁶ Yet this may not be the last time we learn of the distinction awarded to the library of Bonshakuji because the copy of the *Zhenyuan lu* kept at Nanatsudera has a colophon that reveals how the scribe who copied several rolls simultaneously checked an edition from the scriptures in gold characters at Hosshōji 法勝寺, Fushimi shrine 伏見神, and Bonshakuji (Nanatsudera issaikyō hozonkai 1988, pp. 202–3; Ochiai Toshinori et al. 1991; Ōtsuka 2009; Blair 2013, p. 10; Abe 2013, pp. 177–90, 287–304).⁶⁷ Moving into the 13th and 14th centuries, we know that copies of various catalogs of commentaries and sub-commentaries kept at monastic libraries in Nara, long after Sūfukuji seems to have been virtually abandoned or simply folded into the status of Bonshakuji as a branch temple of Onjōji before 1280, but before they were destroyed by sectarian warfare by Tendai monastics, were copied and preserved at Kitanosan Shinpukuji Hōshōin 北野山真福寺宝生院 (Ōsu [Kannon] bunko 大須 [観音] 文庫 in Nagoya). We have rare editions of Annen's *Shingon mikkyō sōroku* and *Risshū shōsho* 律宗章疏 (Commentaries of the Vinaya School, T no. 2182), *Kaigenroku zuiyōshō* 開元録随要抄 (Essentials of the Kaiyuan Record), and *Amidabutsu kyōron hei shōsho* 阿弥陀仏経並章疏 (Catalog of Commentaries to the Amitābha Sūtra(s) and Commentaries), which attest to the lasting significance of the world of exegetical study required by the official monastics who served as abbots at Bonshakuji, and must have played essential roles in creating such an enduring and important library (Ochiai 2005).

5. Conclusions

Bonshakuji and Sūfukuji are geographically quite distinct from the Great Temples in Nara or Kyoto typically associated with officially sanctioned state protection Buddhism in early and medieval Japan. The Six National Histories, as well as *Genkō shakusho* and the later *Jimon denki horoku*, divulge how these two temples situated on the southeastern slope of Mount Hiei were once among the most important Buddhist monasteries in Japan. Eminent scholar-monks and students who studied abroad in Chinese monasteries were made abbots at these temples, and they, in turn, contributed to creating what became one of the most famous libraries in Japan before the 13th century. They were among the monasteries where the *Golden Light Sūtra*, in particular, with its specific rites to protect the state by worshipping this, the “king of sūtras,” was studied and ritually recited; rites to it were followed on behalf of the state both before and after the introduction of esoteric Buddhist teachings from the continent. Without the history of Bonshakuji and Sūfukuji, the narrative of how the nascent Japanese state supported this religion and how it was promoted by scholars and Buddhist monastics would be incomplete. This aspect of Japanese Buddhist history is every bit as relevant to the later history of religion in Japan as is the study of Kūkai's esoteric Buddhism, so-called Kamakura “New Buddhism,” and perhaps even more so because the state continued to exert influence upon monastics for centuries through sponsorship of debates (*rongi*) (Sango 2012, 2015a, 2015b; Kusunoki 2018; Kusunoki et al. 2020).⁶⁸

Funding: This research is supported by a Partnership Grant from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC; frogbear.org).

Acknowledgments: I would like to thank Ochiai Toshinori, director of the Research Institute for Old Japanese Manuscripts at the ICPBS in Tokyo, for making it possible to access the digital archives at the ICPBS library. Titles in Japanese and [reconstructed] Sanskrit in Taishō canon follow Demiéville et al., *Répertoire du canon bouddhique sino-japonais*; Lancaster Park, eds., *The Korean Buddhist Canon: A Descriptive Catalogue*, (see Lancaster and Park 1979).

Conflicts of Interest: The author declares no conflict of interest.

Notes

- ¹ Abé, *The Weaving of Mantra*, 315. I provide the Sinitic characters from *Nihon kōki* 4, Morita Tei, *Nihon kōki jō chū ge: Zen gendai goyaku*, 90–91. Unless otherwise indicated and in cases where translations do not exist into modern Japanese, references to the Six National Histories are from Kuroita Katsumi, *Kokushi taikēi Rikkokushi: Nihon kōki Shoku Nihon kōki, Montoku jitsuroku* (文), National Diet Digital Collections and for convenience, the digital versions available at: <http://www.kikuchi2.com/sheet/rikkoku.html>, accessed 1 July 2021. On the Six National Histories, see Sakamoto Tarō, *The Six National Histories of Japan*, and chap. 5, “Chinese learning and intellectual life” by Ury in Shively and McCullough, eds., *The Cambridge History of Japan*, Vol. 2, *Heian Japan*, 341–389. It is well known that portions of these Histories have been reconstructed using *Ruiju kokushi* 類聚國史 (National Histories according to Categories), compiled by Sugawara no Michizane 菅原道真 (845–903) in 892; on Michizane, see Borgen, *Sugawara no Michizane and the Early Heian Court*.
- ² Gardiner, “Review of *The Weaving of Mantra: Kūkai and the Construction of Esoteric Buddhist Discourse*”, pp. 476–77. See (Abé 1999), *The Weaving of Mantra*, pp. 5, 359.
- ³ Emmerick, *Sūtra of Golden Light*, xiii. Following Nobel, Emmerick deduced that the *pra* in *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama* had been added in later Tibetan translations; the Khotanese and “Central Asian Sanskrit manuscripts [and] renders it probable that *Suvarṇabhāsottama* was the original form of the name.” See also Radich, “On the Sources, Style and Authorship of Chapters of the Synoptic *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra* T 664 Ascribed to Paramārtha (Part1)”; “Tibetan Evidence for the Sources of Chapters of the Synoptic *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtra* T664 Ascribed to Paramārtha”; Gummer, “*Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra*.” See “*Chingo kokka* 鎮護國家” and “*Chinju* 鎮守” in Lévi et al., *Hōbōgirin*, 322–327. Cf. de Visser, *Ancient Buddhism in Japan*, pp. 226, 605–15.
- ⁴ *Shoku Nihongi* 続日本紀 (Continued Chronicle of Japan, comp. 797) for [Tenpyō 天平 13] 741.1.15 and [Tenpyō Shōhō 天平勝寶] 749.5.15 and 749.5.20 for specific edicts in chronological order. Cf. de Visser, *Ancient Buddhism in Japan*, pp. 37, 446–57.
- ⁵ The relevant sections of the *Golden Light sūtra* and *Ninnōkyō* scriptures are: *Ninnōkyō* (see T nos. 245.8.829c29–830a4 [chap. 2] and 246.8.834c25 [chap. 1]) or *Konkōmyōkyō* (see T nos. 663.16.341b13–c3 [chap. 2]; 664.16.382c3–21 [chap. 5], and 665.427c6–27 [chap. 6]). Not only does de Visser pay ample attention to matters of “state protection” Buddhism (*Chingo kokka*), but he provides the most thorough summary in English of the history of offerings of *issaikyō* [in Japan] from 651 to 1323; *Ancient Buddhism in Japan*, pp. 226, 605–15. On ritual readings of the **Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra*, see Sagai Tatsuru, *Shinbutsu shūgō no rekishi to girei kukan*, pp. 139–42; Abe Yasurō, *Chūsei Nihon no shūkyō tekusuto taikēi* 中, 430–450 and 196–198; George A. Keyworth, “On Xuanzang and Manuscripts of the **Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra* at Dunhuang and in Early Japanese Buddhism.” The precedent for ritual readings of this large compendium in Japan comes from a hagiographical biography of Xuanzang, *Da Cien sanzang fashi zhuan* 大慈恩三藏法師傳 (Z no. 1192) 10, T no. 2053.50.276b5–22, which says that a special lecture was delivered on this scripture and it was read at a ceremony on 663.10. Cf. Komine Michihiko, Katsuzaki Yūgen, and Watanabe Shōgo, *Hannyakyō taizen*, 372–382. See below for discussion of ritual readings of the canon (*issaikyō*) or *Issaikyō-e* 一切經会, see Blair, “Rites and Rule: Kiyomori at Itsukushima and Fukuhara,” 6; *Real and Imagined: The Peak of Gold in Heian Japan*, chap.1.2 and 1.3. See also Moerman, *Localizing Paradise*, chap.4 cited in Blair, and “The Archaeology of Anxiety: An Underground History of Heian Religion.” On the *Renwang jing* (*Ninnōkyō*) in China, see Orzech, *Politics and Transcendent Wisdom*. See below for the *Konkōmyōkō*. “State” in “state protection” Buddhism remains a problematical term, not only because of the European context for “state” (Peace of Westphalia, 1648) in English, but also because *kuni* (*guo*) may not have meant a “state” in premodern Japan or China. In Nara or Heian Japan, for example, *kuni* meant something much closer to the meaning of a province.
- ⁶ On Great Temples in Japan, see “*Daiji*,” Lévi et al., *Hōbōgirin*, pp. 704–11.
- ⁷ *Shoku Nihon kōki* 3, 834.5.15 in Morita Tei, *Shoku Nihon kōki*, 99–101. This edict expected the copying to be finished by the ninth lunar month of the following year.
- ⁸ On “Sinitic,” rather than Literary or Classical Chinese, see Mair, “Buddhism and the Rise of the Written Vernacular in East Asia: The Making of National Languages,” and Kornicki, *Languages, Scripts, and Chinese Texts in East Asia*, pp. 19–21.
- ⁹ *Shoku Nihon kōki* 4, 835.1.14 in Morita Tei, *Shoku Nihon kōki*, 125, 128–129. This edict is also mentioned in Xiang Wang, “Reconstructing Ximing Monastery: History, Imagination and Scholarship in Medieval Chinese Buddhism,” 277–278; Ōtsu City Museum of History, *Ōtsu no miyako to Hakuhō jūin: Ōtsu no miyako sento 1350 nen kinen kikakuten*, 151–152; Xiang Wang, “From Serindia to Japan: A Sketch of the Buddhist Library of Ximing Monastery in the Eighth-Century Chang’an,” 113. Wang cites Ono Katsutoshi, “Chōan no Saimyōji to nittō guhōsō.” I translate 律, 論, 疏章, 紀傳, and 集抄 as the *vinaya* (*ritsu*), *śāstras* (*ron*), *shōshō* (commentaries and sub-commentaries by East Asian exegetes), chronological histories or hagiographical collections (*kiden*) and collected digests (*shūshō*). On the significance of these digests (*shōkyō*, *chaojing* 抄經), see Tokuno, “The Evaluation of Indigenous Scriptures in Chinese Buddhist Bibliographical Catalogues,” 39; Storch, *The History of Chinese Buddhist Bibliography*; Funayama Tōru, *Butten wa dou kanyaku sareta no ka: suutora ga kyōten ni naru toki*.
- ¹⁰ On Kūkai and the *Zhenyuan lu*, see (Abé 1999), *The Weaving of Mantra*, 117–118. Kūkai’s [Go] *Shōrai mokuroku* [御]請来目錄 (Catalog of Imported Items, T no. 2161) almost perfectly follows the order of the *Zhenyuan lu*; see (Akatsuka 2016), “Amanosan Kongōjizō no shōraikyō ni tsuite”; “*Shōrai mokuroku* to mikkyō kyōki to no kankei: Amanosan Kongōji shōgyō o chūshin ni.”

- 11 On Eichū, see Washio Junkei, ed. *Nihon Bukke jinmei*, 66; Groner, *Saichō: The Establishment of the Japanese Tendai School*, 69–70; “Yōchū” in Kokan Shiren (1278–1346) and Fujita Takuji, *Kundoku Genkō shakusho*, II:280–281.
- 12 On Saichō petition to be allowed ordinands, see Groner, *Saichō: The Establishment of the Japanese Tendai School*, 69–70.
- 13 See “Chingo kokka 鎮護國家” and “Chinju 鎮守” in Lévi et al., *Hōbōgirin*, pp. 322–27. Cf. de Visser, *Ancient Buddhism in Japan*, 226, 605–615.
- 14 On the dates for these Matsuo shrine priests, see Matsuno’o taisha shiryōshū henshū iinkai, *Matsuno’o Taisha shiryōshū: Monjo hen*, 230–231.
- 15 Brief mention of Bonshakuji can be found in Bushelle, “Mountain Buddhism and the Emergence of a Buddhist Cosmic Imaginary in Ancient Japan,” 21, 22n.14; Wang, “Reconstructing Ximing Monastery: History, Imagination and Scholarship in Medieval Chinese Buddhism,” 277–278; “From Serindia to Japan: A Sketch of the Buddhist Library of Ximing Monastery in the Eighth-Century Chang’an,” 113. Wang cites Ono Katsutoshi, “Chōan no Saimyōji to nittō guhōsō.” See below for examples of these important references to Bonshakuji in premodern sources.
- 16 On the Sōgō and these titles, see Abé, *The Weaving of Mantra*; Adolphson, *The Gates of Power: Monks, Courtiers, and Warriors in Premodern Japan*, 136. Dentō dai-hōshi-i ou Dentō dai-hosshi-i “ in *Dictionnaire historique du Japon*, ed. Maison franco-Japonaise (Tokyo: Librairie Kinokuniya, 1978).
- 17 Bodiford, “The Monastic Institution in Medieval Japan: The Insider’s View,” pp. 125–26. The two academic poles Bodiford mentions are best represented by Payne, ed. *Re-visioning “Kamakura” Buddhism*, on the one hand, and Toshio Kuroda, “The Development of the Kenmitsu System As Japan’s Medieval Orthodoxy,” on the other hand.
- 18 On Great Temples in Japan, see “Daiji,” Lévi et al., *Hōbōgirin*, pp. 704–11.
- 19 *Jimon denki horoku* 6, NBZ 787.86.145b–148a contains a brief history of Sūfukuji called *Sūfukuji engi fu sangō* 崇福寺縁起付山号 (Chronicle of the Origins of Sūfukuji and the Naming of the Temple). On the dating of Shikō’s compilation, see Miyake Hitoshi, “Shugendō no kyōten keisei to Tendaishū,” 33. *Jimon denki horoku* 6, NBZ 787.86.146b quotes from *Shoku Nihongi*; partially trans. in de Visser, *Ancient Buddhism in Japan*, 38–42. *Genkō shakusho* 23 cites the same section of *Jimon denki horoku* has a slightly different list and order, which may have been more authoritative: Daianji, Gangōji, Gufukuji (Kawaradera), Yakushiji [4], Shitenōji, Kōfukuji, Hōryūji, Sūfukuji, Tōdaiji, and Saidaiji 西大寺. On Kawaradera, see McCallum, *The Four Great Temples*, 156–200. These temples represent what scholars often refer to as the six schools of Buddhism associated with Buddhist monasteries in Nara (Nanto rokushū 南都六宗). These schools are: (1) East Asian Yogācāra (Hossōshū 法相宗) at Kōfukuji 興福寺 and Yakushiji 薬師寺, (2) Jōjitsushū 成実宗 for the study of the *Tatvasiddhi-sāstra* (alt. *Satyasiddhi-sāstra*, *Chengshi lun*, *Jōjitsuron* 成實論, T no. 1646) at Gangōji 元興寺 and Daianji 大安寺, (3) Kegonshū 華嚴宗 for study of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* (*Huayan jing*, *Kegongyō* 華嚴經, T nos. 278–279) at Tōdaiji 東大寺, (4) Kushashū 俱舍宗 for the study of the *Abhidharmakośa-sāstra* [and related] Indian treatises translated into Chinese (*Jushe lun*, *Kusharon* 俱舍論, T. nos. 1558–1563) also at Gangōji and Daianji, (5) Risshū 律宗 or study of the Vinaya texts and rituals at Tōshōdaiji 唐招提寺, and (6) East Asian Madhyamaka (Sanronshū 三論宗) focusing on the study of three treatises translated into Chinese by the famous Kumārajīva 鳩摩羅什 (344–413): (a) *Madhyamaka-sāstra* (*Zhonglun*, *Chūron* 中論, T no. 1564), (b) *Dvādaśanikāya-sāstra* (*Shiermen lun*, *Jūnimonron* 十二門論, T no. 1568), and (c) *Śata-sāstra* (*Bai lun*, *Hyakuron* 百論, T no. 1569). Sanron teachings were initially at Gangōji and Daianji, but later at Tōdaiji. There are many resources on this topic, including Buswell et al., eds., *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism*; Sueki Fumihiko, Shimoda Masahiro, and Horiuchi Shinji, eds., *Bukkyō no jiten*. There is a long and important history in China of what Forte calls “grands-monastères qui avait été fondé exprès pour son Bonheur-posthume” (great-monasteries founded expressly for his posthumous Happiness) of members of the royal clan. See “Daiji” in Lévi et al., *Hōbōgirin*, VI: 684–686. It is important to note that in Chang’an there was a Da Chongfusi 大崇福寺; *ibid.*, pp. 693–95.
- 20 *Nihon shoki* for [Tenmu tennō 5 天武天皇五年] 676.11.20 and [Tenmu tennō 9] 680.5.
- 21 *Nihon kōki* 29 for 820.11.22 in Morita Tei 森田悌, *Nihon kōki*, III:98.
- 22 *Shoku Nihon kōki* 8, 839.6.28 in *ibid.* The relevant text reads as follows: 丁丑。勅。國分二寺。建立自遠。一則名為金光明護國寺。一則號為法華滅罪寺。先帝救世利物之法。遠傳不朽者也。而頃年僧寺安居之會。獨講最勝王經。尼寺滅罪之場。無說法華妙典。所設法藏。用有不同。是忍而不行。恐修善闕如。宜令五畿內七道諸國。安居之會。先於僧寺講最勝王經。次於尼寺講法華經。所願無二無三之勝理。開示國家。除災植福之大善。廣被衆庶。』是夜。有赤氣。方二丈。從坤方來。至紫宸殿之上。去地廿許丈。光如炬火。須臾而滅。 On Hokkeji, see Meeks, *Hokkeji and the Reemergence of Female Monastic Orders in Premodern Japan*.
- 23 *Nihon Montoku tennō jitsuroku* 8 for 856 (Saikō 齋衡).9.13.
- 24 *Nihon sandai jitsuroku* 2 859 (Jōgan 貞觀 1).4.18.
- 25 Kornicki, *Languages, Scripts, and Chinese Texts in East Asia*, 77. Cf. *Nihon kōki* 日本後紀 13, for 806.1.26 in Morita Tei 森田悌, *Nihon kōki*, I: 384–385. The relevant portion of this entry reads: 讀法華金光明二部經。漢音及訓。
- 26 *Nihon kōki* 1 for 792.閏11.20, see Morita Tei 森田悌, *Nihon kōki*, I:41. The edict reads: 勅。明經之徒、不可習音。發聲誦讀。既致訛謬。熟習漢音。
- 27 *Nihon kōki* 2 for 793.4.28, see *ibid.*, I:50.. The edict reads: 制。自今以後、年分度者、非習漢音、勿令得度。
- 28 *Nihon kōki* 9 for 801.4.15, see *ibid.*, I:258–259..The relevant text reads as follows: 延曆二十年（八〇一）四月丙午【十五】〇丙午。勅。前年有制、年分度者、令取幼童、頗習二經之音、未聞三條之趣。苟避課役、纔恭緇徒、還棄戒珠、頓廢學行。自今

以後、年分度者、宜於年卅五已上、操履已定、智行可崇、兼習漢音、堪爲僧者、爲之。每年十二月以前、僧綱・所司、請有業者、相對簡試、所習經論、惣試大義十條、取通五以上者、至期令度。受戒之日、更加審試、通八以上、令得受戒者。而今性有敏鈍、或有早晚。局以性年、恐失英彥。復三論・法相、義宗殊途、彼此指揮、理須粗辨。自今以後、聽取年廿已上者。其簡試之日、令辨二宗之別、受戒之時、勿勞更加審試。自余條例、一依前制。

²⁹ The eight [esoteric Buddhist] monk-pilgrims to Tang China are Saichō, Kūkai, Ennin (Jikaku daishi 慈覺大師, 794–864; China 838–847), Jōgyō 常曉 (d. 867; 838–839), Engyō 円行 (799–852; China 838–839), Eun 恵運 (798–869; China 842–847), 円珍 (Chishō daishi 智証大師, 814–891, in China 853–858), and Shūei 宗叡 (809–884; China 862–865).

³⁰ *Nihon kōki* 12 for 804.1.7, see Morita Tei 森田悌, *Nihon kōki*, I:304–305. The relevant text reads as follows: 勅。眞如妙理。一味無二。然三論・法相。兩宗菩薩。目擊相諍。蓋欲令後代學者。以競此理。各深其業歟。如聞。諸寺學生。就三論者少。趣法相者多。遂使阿黨凌奪。其道疎淺。宜年分度者。每年宗別五人爲定。若當年無堪業者。闕而莫填。不得以此宗人。補彼宗數。但令二宗學生。兼讀諸經并疏。法華・最勝。依舊爲同業。華嚴・涅槃。各爲一業。經論通熟。乃以爲得。雖讀諸論。若不讀經者。亦不得度。其廣涉經論。習義殊高者。勿限漢音。自今以後。永爲恒例。

³¹ *Nihon kōki* 13, for 843.6.11, see *Shoku Nihon kōki*, II:111–112.

³² *Nihon kōki* 15, for 845.2.2, see *ibid.*, II: 171–172.

³³ *Nihon kōki* 20, for 850.3.25, see *ibid.*, II: 375–376.

³⁴ On the development of tones in Middle Chinese, see Mair and Mei, “The Sanskrit Origins of Recent Style Prosody.”

³⁵ On vernacular reading glosses to Buddhist texts from China written in Sinitic in Korea and especially Japan, see Whitman et al., “Toward an international vocabulary for research on vernacular readings of Chinese texts (漢文訓讀 Hanwen Xundu);” “The ubiquity of the gloss;” “Raten-go kyōten no dokuhō to butten no kundoku, pp. 162–75.

³⁶ For detailed analysis of Chinese and Tibetan translations of the *Sūtra of Golden Light*, see Johannes Nobel, *Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra: Das Goldglanz-Sūtra, ein Sanskrittext des Mahāyāna-Buddhismus: I-tsing’s chinesische Version und ihre Übersetzung, I: I-tsing’s chinesische Version; Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra: das Goldganzsūtra; ein Sanskrittext des Mahāyāna-buddhismus; die tibetischen Übersetzungen mit einem Wörterbuch herausgegeben von Johannes Nobel*; Emmerick, *Sūtra of Golden Light: Being a Translation of the Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra*, 27; Radich, “On the Sources, Style and Authorship of Chapters of the Synoptic *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra* T 664 Ascribed to Paramārtha (Part1);” “Tibetan Evidence for the Sources of Chapters of the Synoptic *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtra* T664 Ascribed to Paramārtha.” In particular, Radich draws the reader’s attention to the existence of a preface to *Hebu Jin guangming jing* preserved in the Shōgozō 聖語藏 (DVD no. 95, no. 1531, 538, 120 Jin guangming jing) with an otherwise lost preface by Sengyin 僧隱 (d.u.), which suggests that Paramārtha may have translated a now lost version of this scripture.

³⁷ Jinhua Chen, “Another Look at Tang Zhongzong’s (r. 684, 705–710) Preface to Yijing’s (635–713) Translations: With a Special Reference to Its Date” and Chen Ming, “Vinaya works translated by Yijing and their circulation: Manuscripts excavated at Dunhuang and Central Asia” provide detailed discussion of nearly all of Yijing’s translation activities.

³⁸ Emmerick, *Sūtra of Golden Light: Being a Translation of the Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra*, pp. 27, 27–28. Cf. *Jin guangming jing* 2, T no. 663, 16: 341b13–c03; *Hebu Jin guangming jing* 5, T no. 664, 16: 382c03–c21; and *Jin guangming zuisheng wang jing* 6, T no. 665, 16: 427c07–27.

³⁹ Abé, *The Weaving of Mantra*, 239. On the 5/1 canon that immediately preceded Genbō’s return from China, see Lowe, “Contingent and Contested: Preliminary Remarks on Buddhist Catalogs and Canons in Early Japan,” 222–231; Abe Yasurō, *Chūsei Nihon no shūkyō tekusuto taikei*, 155–156. Perhaps as many as 6500 scrolls cited in Lowe, “Contingent and Contested,” 231. Rare examples from this canon have been preserved in the Shōsōin; see no. 57 *Bussetsu bosatsuzō kyō* 仏説菩薩藏經 (subsequently only in *Daihōshakkyō* 大寶積經, Z no. 32, T no. 310) dated 740.5.1 with a long colophon describing the contents of the 5/1 project—including the phrase *issaikyō*—in Nara National Museum, *The 69th Annual Exhibition of Shōsō-in Treasures*, pp. 114–15.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 30–34. See also *Shoki Nihongi* [Tenpyō Shōhō 8] 756.8.4 and [Hōki 宝龜 2] 771.8.26.

⁴¹ *Genkō shakusho* 21 NBZ 470.62.177a–b and Iwano Masao 岩野真雄, ed. *Kokuyaku issaikyō: Wa-Kan senjutsubu* 國譯一切經—和漢撰述部 (Japanese translations of the [Buddhist] scriptures: Selected Works from Chinese and Japanese Authors), 66 vols. (Tokyo: Daitō shuppansa, Iwano 1936–1945), 20: 342. On archaeological remains from Kawaradera, see Ōtsu City Museum of History, *Ōtsu no miyako to Hakuho jūin*, 81–93.

⁴² *Jimon denki horoku* 6, NBZ 787.86.145b–146a.

⁴³ Cf. “Sūfukuji” in Nakamura Hajime, *Iwanami Bukkyō jiten*, CD-ROM-ban.

⁴⁴ *Nihon kōki* 11, for 803.10.29, see Morita Tei, *Nihon kōki*, I: 296.

⁴⁵ *Nihon kōki* 13, for 806.4.15, see *ibid.*, I: 406.

⁴⁶ *Nihon kōki* 13, for 806.4.29, see *ibid.*, I: 409.

⁴⁷ Abé, *The Weaving of Mantra*, xv, 316. Abé also tells how on 813.1.3, Kūkai composed for Eichū of Bonshakuji a letter to the court requesting Eichū’s resignation from the post of *shō sōzu* at the Sōgō.

⁴⁸ *Jimon denki horoku* 6, NBZ 787.86.147c offers 783; 786 from *Shoku Nihongi* 38, and 792 from *Genkō shakusho* 23.

⁴⁹ Sango, *The Halo of Golden Light*, 80–95 draws our attention to the New Year’s Assembly (*misai-e* 御齋会) in Heian Japan at which the Yijing’s translation of the *Golden Light sūtra* was recited in the Daigokuden 大極殿; after the mid-10th century, the Kichijō 吉祥天 (Śrīmahādevī or Lakṣmī) repentance ritual from chapter seventeen (roll 8) was the focus. By 1105, however, senior nobles

had failed to appear because they attended the New Year's Assembly (*jun misai-e* 准御齋会) at Retired Emperor Shirakawa 白河 (1053–1129, r. 1073–1087) Hosshōji 法勝寺 instead. An alternative new year assemblies had been held by Fujiwara no Michinaga 藤原道長 (966–1028) at Hōjōji 法成寺 in 1021, but by 1105 there were twelve separate alternate new year assemblies; Sango closely examines the conflicting ritual schedules between 1111 and 1130, which ended with the death of Shirakawa.

50 *Genkō shakusho* 22 NBZ 470.62.188c–189c–b and Iwano Masao 岩野真雄, *Kokuyaku issaikyō: Wa-Kan senjutsubu*, 20: 376–77, Kobayashi Sūjin, “Segyō to Bonshakuji,” p. 7, 9.

51 *Genkō shakusho* 16 NBZ 470.62.149b–c and Iwano Masao, *Kokuyaku issaikyō: Wa-Kan senjutsubu*, 19:260.

52 *Nihon kōki* 24, for 815.4.22, see Morita Tei, *Nihon kōki*, II: 368.

53 On Sūfukuji; *Nihon kōki* 27, for 819.9.10, see *ibid.*, III: 76.

54 *Shoku Nihon kōki* 6, for 837.4.25, see Morita Tei, *Shoku Nihon kōki*, I: 227–28.

55 *Shoku Nihon kōki* 19, for 849.10.23, see *ibid.*, II: 347.

56 *Shoku Nihon kōki* 20, for 850.2.5, see *ibid.*, II: 366.

57 Cited in *Jimon denki horoku* 6, NBZ 787.86.147a.

58 Also cited in *Jimon denki horoku* 6, NBZ 787.86.147a.

59 On so-called esoteric Buddhism in the Tendai tradition in Heian Japan, see Dolce, “64. Taimitsu: The Esoteric Buddhism of the Tendai School.” Although Dolce, “Shinbutsu shūgō o saikō suru tamme ni” addresses some of the issues raised in this article, including *kami* worship and Tendai Buddhist ritual discourse, her emphasis upon esotericism is markedly different. For context, see also Groner, *Ryōgen and Mount Hiei: Japanese Tendai in the Tenth Century*.

60 *Nihon kōki* 11, for 803.10.29, see Morita Tei, *Nihon kōki*, I: 296.

61 T no. 2362.74.165a29–b19. Kobayashi Sūjin, “Segyō to Bonshakuji,” pp. 24–25.

62 It is still widely believed that on the continent, instead of the *Zhenyuan lu*, canons followed the *Kaiyuan lu* (comp. 730). Tokuno, “Evaluation of Indigenous Scriptures,” 52 says the *Kaiyuan lu* “is generally regarded as the single most important bibliographical catalogue in terms of the role it played in the history of East Asian Buddhist canonical publications.” She adds: “The content and organization of all successive canons from the late-Tang period [ninth through tenth centuries] on were based on this catalogue . . . ; especially significant is its influence on the printed editions of the canon . . . since these became the basis for later canons produced not only in China but also elsewhere in East Asia.” *Ibid.*, 52–53, 71n.97&98; Storch, *The History of Chinese Buddhist Bibliography*, 116, 128–129; Jiang Wu, “From the ‘Cult of the Book’ to the ‘Cult of the Canon.’” Tokuno cites an entry in the thirteenth-century *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀 40, which says that, “The 5048 rolls [that the catalog contained] became the established number for the canon”: T no. 2035.49.374c3–5. She also points out that the *Xu Zhenyuan shijiao lu* 續貞元釋教錄 says *Kaiyuan lu* circulated widely and continued to do so during the four courts of emperors Xuanzong 玄宗 (r. 712–756), Suzong 肅宗 (r. 756–762), Daizong 代宗 (r. 762–779), and Dezong 德宗 (r. 779–805): T no. 2158.55.1048.a23–26. There is an edition of the *Kaiyuan lu* from Nanatsudera copied from a manuscript dated to 735 (Tenpyō 天平 7) and brought back to Japan by Genbō with 1046 titles in 5048 rolls, in contrast to the Taishō edition with 1076 titles in the same number of rolls.

63 *Shoku nihon kōgi* 20 Kashō 嘉祥 3.2.5.

64 For citations to the productive field of historical research in Japanese about these shrine-temple multiplexes and scriptures that were copied and recited at state-sponsored temples, see Keyworth, “Apocryphal Chinese books in the Buddhist canon at Matsuo Shintō shrine.”

65 See von Verschuer, *Les Relations Officielles du Japon avec la Chine aux VIIIe et IXe Siècles*; Yoritomi Motohiro, *Nicchū o musunda Bukkyōsō: hatō o koete kesshi no tokai*. On these catalogs, private catalogs, and libraries in early and medieval Japan, see Kornicki, *The Book in Japan*, 285–287, 367–416.

66 T no. 2183.55.1150c15, 1156c19, 1156c22, 1160c26, 1164c19 (with respect to the Tōji scriptures), and 1165a05.

67 Nanatsudera issaikyō hozonkai, *Owari shiryō Nanatsudera issaikyō mokuroku*, 202–203; Toshinori Ochiai et al., *The Manuscripts of Nanatsu-dera: A Recently Discovered Treasure-house in Downtown Nagoya* and Ōtsuka Norihiro, “Issaikyō shosha to butten mokuroku: Aichiken Shinshiroshi Tokunji zō Heian koshakyō no bunseki kara.” According to Blair, Shirakawa had Hosshōji constructed as an imperially vowed temple (*goganji* 御願寺) and the gold-character canon copied for it to challenge an institutional, ritual process that commenced during the eighth century when regents from the Fujiwara clan sponsored copying—and having scriptures recited—for their clan temples and shrine. The most notable Fujiwara temple is, of course, Kōfukuji with Kasuga shrine in Nara; from 969 until the beginning of the twelfth century, when Shirakawa sponsored the Hosshōji canon, Mount Kimpusen 金峰山, a sacred mountain in the Kii 紀伊 peninsula approximately 50km south of Nara, functioned as the Fujiwara regents’ “signature site.” It is no coincidence that scripture and canon copying projects sponsored by the Fujiwara family reached a pinnacle with the most powerful Fujiwara regent, Fujiwara no Michinaga 藤原道長 (966–1028), who had overseen the construction of his own lavish temple in Kyoto, Hōjōji 法成寺, which Shirakawa sought to accede with Hosshōji. Blair points out that, by 1018, Michinaga had acquired the copy of the *Kaibaozang* 開寶藏 (comp. 983) Chōnen 周然 (938–1016; in China 983–986) had brought back to Japan for Tōdaiji in Nara. See Blair, “Rites and Rule: Kiyomori at Itsukushima and Fukuhara,” 10; Abe Yasurō, *Chūsei Nihon no shūkyō tekusuto taikai*, 177–190, 287–304.

- 68 Sango, “Buddhist Debate and the Production and Transmission of Shōgyō in Medieval Japan”; *The Halo of Golden Light*; “Buddhist Debate in Medieval Japan”; Kusunoki Junshō, ed. *Nantogaku, Hokureigaku no sekai: Hōe to Butsudō*; Kusunoki Junshō, Noro Sei, and Kameyama Takahiko, eds., *Nihon Bukkyō to rōngi*. usetsu Chūgoku bunka hyakka 図説中国文化百華 08. Tokyo: Nōsan Gyoson bunkakyōkai, 2009.

Primary Sources

- Takakusu, Junjirō 高楠順次郎 and Mochizuki Shinkō 望月信亨, eds. 1912–1922. *Dai Nihon Bukkyō zensho* 大日本仏教全書 [Complete Buddhist Works of Japan] 150 vols. Tokyo: Bussho kankōkai. All references are to the rpt. ed., 100 vols. Suzuki Gakujutsu Zaidan 鈴木学術財団 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1970–73). Abbreviated as NBZ.
- Maeda Eun 前田慧雲 and Nakano Tatsue 中野達慧, eds. 1905–1912. *Rpt. Ed. Dai Nihon zokuzōkyō* 大日本續藏經 [Supplement to the (Kyoto Manjiban 卅版) edition of the Buddhist Canon] 150 vols. Kyoto: Zōkyō shoin. *Xinbian wanzi xu zangjing* 新編卅字續藏經 Chinese reprint ed. Taipei: Xinwenfeng. Rpt., Chinese Buddhist Electronic Texts Association 中華電子佛典協會. CBETA Electronic Tripiṭaka Collection 電子佛典集成. Taipei: 1998–2019. Available online: <http://cbetaonline.dila.edu.tw/> (accessed on 5 August 2021). Abbreviated as XZJ.
- Takakusu, Junjirō 高楠順次郎 and Kaigyoku Watanabe 渡邊海旭, eds. 1924–32. *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經 [Taishō Era Edition of the Sino-Japanese Buddhist Canon] 100 vols. Tokyo: Taishō issaikyō kankōkai 大正一切經刊行會. Rpt., Chinese Buddhist Electronic Texts Association 中華電子佛典協會, Rpt., Chinese Buddhist Electronic Texts Association 中華電子佛典協會, CBETA Electronic Tripiṭaka Collection 電子佛典集成, Taipei: 1998–2019. Available online: <http://cbetaonline.dila.edu.tw/>; the SAT Daizōkyō Database: <http://21dzk.l.u-tokyo.ac.jp/SAT2018/master30.php> (accessed on 5 August 2021). Abbreviated as T.
- Yuanzhao 圓照 (d.u.), ca. 799/800. *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* 貞元新定釋教目錄 [Newly Revised Catalogue of Buddhist Scriptures made during the Zhenyuan-era, T. 2157], comp. Nos. follow the Nanatsudera MS in Miyabayashi Akihiko 宮林昭彦 and Ochiai Toshinori 落合俊典. *Jōgen shinjō shakkyō mokuroku kandai* pp. 29–30 and Gakujutsu Furontia jikkō iinkai 學術フロンティア実行委員会, ed. *Nihon genson hasshu issaikyō taishō mokuroku tsuke Tonkō Bukkyō bunken* 日本現存八種一切經対照目録 [付] 敦煌仏教文献 [Catalogue Comparing Eight Buddhist Canons Currently Available in Japan with Buddhist literature from Dunhuang], rather than T no. 2157. See (Gakujutsu Furontia jikkō iinkai 2006). Abbreviated as Z.

Published Sources

- Abe, Yasurō 阿部泰郎. 2013. *Chūsei Nihon no Shūkyō Tekusuto taikai* 中世日本宗教テキスト体系 [The System of Medieval Japanese Religious Texts]. Nagoya: Nagoya Daigaku Shuppankai.
- Abé, Ryuichi. 1999. *The Weaving of Mantra: Kūkai and the Construction of Esoteric Buddhist Discourse*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Adolphson, Mikael. 2000. *The Gates of Power: Monks, Courtiers, and Warriors in Premodern Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Akatsuka, Yūdō 赤塚祐道. 2014. Amanosan Kongōjizō no shōraikyō ni tsuite 天野山金剛寺蔵の請来経について [On the Catalogs of Imported Items in the Library of Amanosan Kongōji]. *Heian Bukkyō Gakkai Nenpō* 平安仏教学会年報 [Annual Report of the Association for the Study of Heian Buddhist Studies] 8: 75–97.
- Akatsuka, Yūdō 赤塚祐道. 2016. Shōrai mokuroku to mikkyō kyōki to no kankei: Amanosan Kongōji shōgyō o chūshin ni [請来目録]と密教経軌との関係—天野山金剛寺聖教を中心に— [The Relationship between Catalogs of Imported Items and Esoteric Texts: Focusing on the Collection at Amanosan Kongōji]. *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度学仏教学研究 [Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies] 64: 547–50. [CrossRef]
- Blair, Heather. 2013. Rites and Rule: Kiyomori at Itsukushima and Fukuhara. *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 73: 1–42. [CrossRef]
- Blair, Heather. 2015. *Real and Imagined: The Peak of Gold in Heian Japan*. Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center.
- Bodiford, William. 2010. The Monastic Institution in Medieval Japan: The Insider's View. In *Buddhist Monasticism in East Asia: Places of Practice*. Edited by James A. Benn, Lori Meeks and James Robson. Oxford and New York: Routledge, pp. 125–47.
- Borgen, Robert. 1986. *Sugawara no Michizane and the Early Heian Court*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Burnouf, Eugène, Jules Mohl, and Théodore Pavie. 1852. *Le Lotus de la Bonne Loi (Saddharmapuṇḍarīka), traduit du sanscrit, accompagné d'un commentaire et de vingt et un mémoires relatifs au Bouddhisme par M.E. Burnouf*. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale.
- Burnouf, Eugène, Katia Buffetrille, and Donald S. Lopez Jr. 2010. Introduction to the History of Indian Buddhism. In *Buddhism and Modernity*. Edited by Donald S. Lopez Jr. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Bushelle, Ethan. 2018. Mountain Buddhism and the Emergence of a Buddhist Cosmic Imaginary in Ancient Japan. *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 45: 1–36. [CrossRef]
- Buswell, Robert E., Jr., and Donald S. Lopez Jr. 2014. *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Chen, Jinhua 陳金華. 2004. Another Look at Tang Zhongzong's (r. 684, 705–10) Preface to Yijing's (635–713) Translations: With a Special Reference to Its Date. *Indogaku tetsugaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* インド哲学仏教学研究 [Studies in Indian Philosophy and Buddhism] 11: 3–27.
- Chen, Ming 陳明. 2015. Vinaya works translated by Yijing and their circulation: Manuscripts excavated at Dunhuang and Central Asia. *Studies in Chinese Religion* 1: 229–68. [CrossRef]
- de Visser, M. W. 1935. *Ancient Buddhism in Japan: Sutras and Commentaries in Use in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries A.D. and their History in Later Times*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, vol. 2.

- Demiéville, Paul, Hubert Durt, Anna K. Seidel, and Académie des Inscriptions & Belles-Lettres (France). 1978. *Répertoire du canon bouddhique sino-japonais, édition de Taishō (Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō): [Fascicule annexe du Hōbōgirin]*. Éd. rev. et augm. Paris: Librairie d’Amérique et d’Orient.
- Dolce, Lucia. 2011a. 64. Taimitsu: The Esoteric Buddhism of the Tendai School. In *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*. Handbook of Oriental Studies. Edited by Charles D. Orzech. Leiden: Brill, pp. 744–67.
- Dolce, Lucia. 2011b. 65. Godai’in Annen. In *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*. Edited by Charles D. Orzech. Leiden: Brill, pp. 768–75.
- Dolce, Lucia. 2014. Shinbutsu shūgō o saikō suru tamme ni [神仏習合]を再考するために [Revisiting the Concept of kami-buddha Combination: Issues and Perspectives]. In *Shinbutsu shūgō saikō [神仏習合] 再考 [Revisiting the Concept of kami-buddha Combination]*. Edited by Lucia Dolce and Mitsuhashi Tadashi 三橋正. Tokyo: Bensei shuppan, pp. 5–26.
- Emmerick, R. E. 1970. Sūtra of Golden Light: Being a Translation of the Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra. In *Sacred Books of the Buddhists*, 3rd rev. ed. London: Pali Text Society, 2001 ed. London: Luzac, vol. 27.
- Funayama, Tōru 船山徹. 2014. *Butten wa dou Kanyaku Sareta no ka: Suutora ga kyōTen ni Naru Toki 仏典はどう漢訳されたのか—スートラが経典になるとき [Making Sūtras into ‘Classics’ [jingdian]: How Buddhist Scriptures Were Translated into Chinese]*. Tokyo: Iwanami shoten.
- Gakujutsu Furontia jikkō iinkai 学術フロンティア実行委員会, ed. 2006. *Nihon Genson Hasshu Issaikyō Taishō Mokuroku Tsuke Tonkō Bukkyō Bunken 日本現存八種一切経対照目録 [付] 敦煌仏教文献 [Catalogue Comparing Eight Buddhist Canons Currently Available in Japan with Buddhist literature from Dunhuang]*. Tokyo: Kokusai Bukkyōgaku daigakuin daigaku.
- Gardiner, David L. 2001. Review of The Weaving of Mantra: Kūkai and the Construction of Esoteric Buddhist Discourse. *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 69: 475–79. [CrossRef]
- Groner, Paul. 1984. *Saichō: The Establishment of the Japanese Tendai School*. Berkeley Buddhist Studies Series 7. Berkeley: Institute of Buddhist Studies.
- Groner, Paul. 2002. *Ryōgen and Mount Hiei: Japanese Tendai in the Tenth Century*. Kuroda Institute Studies in East Asian Buddhism no. 15. Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press.
- Gummer, Natalie D. 2015. Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra. In *Brill’s Encyclopedia of Buddhism, Volume One: Literature and Languages*. Edited by Jonathan Silk, Oskar von Hinüber and Vincent Eltschinger. Leiden: Brill, pp. 249–60.
- Iwano, Masao 岩野真雄, ed. 1936–1945. *Kokuyaku issaikyō: Wa-Kan senjutsubu 國譯一切経—和漢撰述部 [Japanese translations of the [Buddhist] scriptures: Selected Works from Chinese and Japanese Authors]*. Tokyo: Daitō shuppansa, 66 vols.
- Iwao, Seiichi, Tarō Sakamoto, Keigo Hōgetsu, Itsuji Yoshikawa, Terukazu Akiyama, Shōkichi Iyanaga, Hidechi Matsubara, and Shizue Kanazawa. 1978. 136. Dentō dai-hōshi-i ou Dentō dai-hōshi-i 伝灯大法師位 [Great Masters who Transmit the Lamp of the Dharma]. In *Dictionnaire historique du Japon*. Edited by Maison Franco-japonaise. Tokyo: Librairie Kinokuniya, p. 78.
- Keyworth, George A. 2016. Apocryphal Chinese books in the Buddhist canon at Matsuo Shintō shrine. *Studies in Chinese Religions* 2: 1–34. [CrossRef]
- Keyworth, George A. 2017. Copying for the Kami: On the Manuscript Set of the Buddhist Canon held by Matsuno’o Shrine. *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 44: 161–90. [CrossRef]
- Keyworth, George A. 2020. On Xuanzang and Manuscripts of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra at Dunhuang and in Early Japanese Buddhism. *Hualin International Journal of Buddhist Studies* 3: 256–314. [CrossRef]
- Kim, Sujung. 2019. *Shinra Myōjin and Buddhist Networks of the East Asian “Mediterranean”*, Pbk. ed., 2020 ed. Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press.
- Kobayashi, Sūjin 小林崇仁. 2008. Segyō to Bonshakuji 施暁と梵釈寺 [Segyō and Bonshakuji]. *Rengeji Bukkyō kenkyūjo kiyō 蓮華寺佛教研究所紀要 [Research Report of Renge Temple]* 1: 1–40.
- Kokan, Shiren 虎関師錬, and Takuji Fujita 藤田琢司. 2011. *Kundoku Genkō shakusho 訓読元亨釈書 [Japanese reading of Kokan Shiren’s Buddhist History of the Genkō Era [1321–1324]]*. Kyoto: Zen bunka kenkyūjo.
- Komine, Michihiko 小峰未彌彦, Yūgen Katsuzaki 勝崎祐彦, and Shōgo Watanabe 渡辺章悟. 2015. *Hannyakyo taizen 般若経大全 [Encyclopedia of Prajñāpāramitā Scriptures]*. Tokyo: Shunjūsha.
- Kornicki, Peter Francis. 2018. *Languages, Scripts, and Chinese Texts in East Asia*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.
- Kornicki, Peter. 2001. *The Book in Japan: A Cultural History from the Beginnings to the Nineteenth Century*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1998. Honolulu: University of Hawai’i.
- Kuroda, Toshio. 1996. The Development of the Kenmitsu System As Japan’s Medieval Orthodoxy. *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 23: 233–71. [CrossRef]
- Kuroita, Katsumi 黒板勝美. 1914–1918. *Kokushi taikēi Rikkokushi: Nihon kōki, Shoku Nihon kōki, Montoku jitsuroku 國史大系六國史: 日本後紀, 續日本後紀, 文徳實錄 [Supplementary Compendium of Japanese History: Six National Histories, Later Chronicles of Japan; Later Chronicles of Japan Continued; Veritable Records of Emperor Montoku]*. Tokyo: Keizai zasshisha 經濟雜誌社 [National Diet Digital Collections].
- Kusunoki, Junshō 楠淳澄, ed. 2018. Nantogaku, Hokureigaku no sekai: Hōe to Butsudō 南都学北嶺学の世界 法会と仏道 [The World of Scholasticism in Nara Temples and Mount Hiei: Buddhist Assemblies and the Buddhist Path]. In *Ryūkoku daigaku Ajia Bukkyō kenkyū sōsho 龍谷大学アジア仏教研究叢書 [Ryūkoku University Research Center for Buddhist Cultures in Asia Monograph Series]*. Kyoto: Hōzōkan, no. 6.

- Kusunoki, Junshō 楠淳澄, Sei Noro 野呂靖, and Takahiko Kameyama 亀山隆彦, eds. 2020. *Nihon Bukkyō to rōgi* 日本仏教と論義 [Japanese Buddhism and Debates]. In *Ryūkoku daigaku Ajia Bukkyō kenkyū sōsho* 龍谷大学アジア仏教研究叢書 [Ryūkoku University Research Center for Buddhist Cultures in Asia Monograph Series]. Kyoto: Hōzōkan, no. 13.
- Lancaster, Lewis R., and Sung-bae Park, eds. 1979. *The Korean Buddhist Canon: A Descriptive Catalogue*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Lévi, Sylvain, Junjirō Takakusu 高楠順次郎, Paul Demiéville, Kaikyoku Watanabe 渡辺海旭, Fondation Ōtani et Wada, Tokyo Imperial Academy, and Taishō shinshu Daizōkyō 大正新脩大藏經. 1929. *Hōbōgirin: Dictionnaire encyclopédique de bouddhisme d'après les sources chinoises et japonaises* 法寶義林: 1 (1929), 2 (1930), 3 (1937), 4 (1967), 5 (1979), 6 (1983), 7 (1994), 8 (2003), 9 (nd) vols. Tokyo: Maison franco-japonaise.
- Lowe, Bryan. 2014. Contingent and Contested: Preliminary Remarks on Buddhist Catalogs and Canons in Early Japan. *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 41: 221–53. [CrossRef]
- Mair, V. H., and T. L. Mei. 1991. The Sanskrit Origins of Recent Style Prosody. *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 51: 375–470. [CrossRef]
- Mair, Victor H. 1994. Buddhism and the Rise of the Written Vernacular in East Asia: The making of National Languages. *Journal of Asian Studies* 53: 707–51. [CrossRef]
- Matsuno'o taisha shiryōshū henshū iinkai 松尾大社史料集編集委員会. 1977. *Matsuno'o Taisha shiryōshū: Monjo hen* 松尾大社史料集: 文書編 [Collected Historical Documents from Matsuo Shrine: Documents]. Tokyo: Hatsubaijo Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 4 vols, vol. 1.
- McCallum, Donald F. 2009. *The Four Great Temples: Buddhist Archaeology, Architecture, and Icons of Seventh-Century Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Meeks, Lori. 2010. *Hokkeji and the Reemergence of Female Monastic Orders in Premodern Japan*. Studies in East Asian Buddhism. Edited by Institute Kuroda. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Miyabayashi, Akihiko 宮林昭彦, and Toshinori Ochiai 落合俊典. 1998. Jōgen shinjō shakkyō mokuroku kandai 貞元新定釋教目錄卷第29 30 [Rolls 29–30 of the Revised Catalog to the Buddhist Canon Compiled During the Zhenyuan Era]. In *Chūgoku Nihon kyōten shōsho mokuroku* 中國-日本經典章疏目錄 [Catalogues of Scriptures and their Commentaries in China and Japan]. Edited by Makita Tairyō 牧田諦亮, Antonino Forte, Miyabayashi Akihiko 宮林昭彦, Ochiai Toshinori 落合俊典, Saitō Takanobu 齊藤隆信, Miyazaki Kenji 宮崎健司, Kajiura Susumu 梶浦晋, Ōuchi Fumio 大内文雄 and Gregor Paul. Nanatsudera koitsu kyōten kenkyū sōsho 七寺古逸經典叢書 [The Long Hidden Scriptures of Nanatsudera, Research Series]. Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha, pp. 59–128.
- Miyake, Hitoshi 宮家準. 2015. Shugendō no kyōten keisei to Tendaishū 修験道の教典形成と天台宗 [On the Formation of Shugendō Scriptures and the Tendai Tradition]. *Tōkyō daigaku shūkyōgaku nenpō* 東京大学宗教学年報 [Annual Report of Religious Studies at the University of Tokyo] 32: 21–38.
- Moerman, D. Max. 2005. *Localizing Paradise: Kumano Pilgrimage and the Religious landscape of Premodern Japan*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Moerman, D. Max. 2007. The Archaeology of Anxiety: An Underground History of Heian Religion. In *Heian Japan, Centers and Peripheries*. Edited by Mikael S. Adolphson, Edward Kamens and Stacie Matsumoto. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, pp. 245–71.
- Morita, Tei 森田悌. 2006–2007. *Nihon kōki jō-chū-ge: Zen gendai goyaku* 日本後紀 上-中-下: 全現代語訳 [Later Chronicle of Japan: Vols. 1–3, Complete Modern (Japanese) Translation]. In *Kōdansha gakujiutsu bunko* 講談社学術文庫 [Academic Library, Kōdansha Limited]. Tokyo: Kōdansha, nos. 1787–1788–1789.
- Morita, Tei 森田悌. 2010. *Shoku Nihon kōki jō - ge: Zen gendai goyaku* 続日本後紀 上-下: 全現代語訳 [Later Chronicle of Japan, Continued First and Second vols., Complete Modern (Japanese) Translation]. In *Kōdansha gakujiutsu bunko* 講談社学術文庫 [Academic Library, Kōdansha Limited]. Edited by Noma Shōichi 野間省一. Tokyo: Kōdansha, nos. 2014–2015.
- Kyoto National Museum, and Mainichi Newspaper, eds. 2017. *Kyoto National Museum 120th Anniversary Commemorative Special Exhibition, National Treasures: Masterpieces of Japan*. Kyoto: Nissha Printing Company.
- Nakamura, Hajime 中村元. 2004. *Iwanami Bukkyō jiten, CD-ROM-ban* 岩波仏教辞典 CD-ROM 版 [The Iwanami Dictionary of Buddhism, CD-ROM ed.], 2nd ed. Edited by Nakamura Hajime 中村元, Fukunaga Mitsui 福永光司, Tamura Yoshirō 田村芳朗, Konno Tōru 今野達 and Sueki Fumihiko 末本文美士. Tokyo: Iwanami shoten.
- Nanatsudera issaikyō hozonkai 七寺一切経保存会 [Society to Preserve the Nanatsudera Manuscript Buddhist Canon]. 1988. *Owari shiryō Nanatsudera issaikyō mokuroku* 尾張史料七寺一切経目録 [Catalog of the Natsudera scriptures]. Nagoya: Nanatsudera issaikyō hozonkai 七寺一切経保存会.
- Nara National Museum. 2017. 第69回正倉院展 [The 69th Annual Exhibition of Shōsō-in Treasures]. Tenri: Live Art Books.
- Nobel, Johannes. 1944–1950. *Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra: Das Goldganzsūtra; ein Sanskrittext des Mahāyāna-buddhismus; die tibetischen Übersetzungen mit einem Wörterbuch herausgegeben von Johannes Nobel* [Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra: The Sūtra of Golden Light; a Sanskrit text of Mahāyāna Buddhism; translating Tibetan with a dictionary edited by Johannes Nobel]. Leiden and Stuttgart: E.J. Brill and W. Kohlhammer.
- Nobel, Johannes. 1958. *Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra: Das Goldglanz-Sūtra, ein Sanskrittext des Mahāyāna-Buddhismus: I-tsing's chinesische Version und ihre Übersetzung, I: I-tsing's chinesische Version* [Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra: The Golden Light Sūtra, a Sanskrit Text of Mahāyāna Buddhism: I-tsing's Chinese Version and its Translation, I: I-tsing's Chinese Version]. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- O'Neal, Halle. 2018. Word Embodied: The Jeweled Pagoda Maṇḍalas in Japanese Buddhist Art. In *Harvard East Asian Monographs* 412. Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center.

- Ochiai, Toshinori 落合俊典. 2005. Risshū shōsho Kaigenroku zuiyōshō (gidai) Amidabutsu kyōron hei shōsho kaidai [律宗章疏] [開元録随要抄] (擬題) [阿弥陀仏經並章疏] 開題 [Guide to the Commentaries of the Vinaya School, (dubious) Essentials of the Kaiyuan Record, and Catalog of Commentaries to the Amitābha Sūtra(s) Commentaries]. In *Shinpukuji komokurokushū 2* 真福寺古目録集 二 [Volume 1, Series 2: Old Catalogs from Shinpukuji 2]. Edited by Abe Yasurō 阿部泰郎 and Yamazaki Makoto 山崎誠. Kyoto: Rinsen shoten, pp. 618–33.
- Ochiai Toshinori, Antonino Forte, Tairyō Makita, and Silvio Vita. 1991. *The Manuscripts of Nanatsu-dera: A Recently Discovered Treasure-house in Downtown Nagoya*. Kyoto: Istituto Italiano di Cultura Scuola di Studi sull'Asia Orientale.
- Ono, Katsutoshi 小野勝年. 1975. Chōan no Saimyōji to nittō guhōsō 長安の西明寺と入唐求法僧 [Chang'an's Ximing monastery and [Japanese] Monks who went to Tang China in Search of the Dharma]. *Bukkyō shigaku kenkyū* 仏教史學研究 [Studies in the History of Buddhism] 17: 1–19.
- Orzech, Charles D. 1998. *Politics and Transcendent Wisdom: The Scripture for Humane Kings in the Creation of Chinese Buddhism*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Ōtsu City Museum of History. 2017. Ōtsu no miyako to Hakuho jūin: Ōtsu no miyako sento 1350 nen kinen kikakuten 大津の都と白鳳寺院—大津京遷都一三五〇年記念企画展 [The Capital of Ōtsu and Temples from the Hakuho Period: Special exhibition to commemorate 1350 years since the capital was relocated from Ōtsu]. Ōtsu City: Ōtsu City Museum of History 大津歴史博物館 by EINS アインズ.
- Ōtsuka, Norihiro 大塚紀弘. 2009. Issaikyō shosha to butten mokuroku: Aichiken Shinshiroshi Tokunji zō Heian koshakyō no bunseki kara 一切経写写と仏典目録—愛知県新城市徳運寺蔵平安古写経の分析から— [Catalog of Buddhist Scriptures Copied in a Heian-Era Buddhist Canon from Tokunji in Aichi Prefecture, Shinshiro City]. In *Tokuunji no ko shakyō: Aichiken Shinshiroshi Tokunji ko shakyō chōsa hōkoku-sho* 徳運寺の古寫經: 愛知県新城市徳運寺古寫經調査報告書 [Old manuscripts of the Tokunji temple: Investigation report of the Old manuscripts at the Tokunji temple in the city of Shinshiro, Aichiken Prefecture]. Edited by Kokusai Bukkyōgaku daigakuin daigaku gakujutsu furonntia Jikkō iinkai 国際仏教学大学院大学学術フロンティア実行委員会 [International College for Postgraduate Buddhist Studies Academic Frontier Project Executive Committee]. Tokyo: Kokusai Bukkyōgaku daigakuin daigaku gakujutsu furonntia jikkō 国際仏教学大学院大学学術フロンティア実行 [International College for Postgraduate Buddhist Studies Academic Frontier Project Publication], pp. 35–54.
- Payne, Richard Karl, ed. 1998. *Re-visioning "Kamakura" Buddhism*. Studies in East Asian Buddhism. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, no. 11.
- Radich, Michael. 2014. On the Sources, Style and Authorship of Chapters of the Synoptic *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra* T 664 Ascribed to Paramārtha (Part1). *Annual Report of The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University* 17: 207–44.
- Radich, Michael. 2015. Tibetan Evidence for the Sources of Chapters of the Synoptic *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtra* T664 Ascribed to Paramārtha. *Buddhist Studies Review* 32: 245–70. [CrossRef]
- Sagai, Tatsuru 嵯峨井建. 2013. *Shinbutsu shūgō no rekishi to girei kūkan* 神仏習合の歴史と儀礼空間 [History of Shintō-Buddhist Syncretism and Ritual Space]. Kyoto: Shibunkaku.
- Sakamoto, Tarō. 1991. *The Six National Histories of Japan*. Translated by John. S. Brownlee. Vancouver and Tokyo: University of British Columbia Press and University of Tokyo Press.
- Sango, Asuka. 2012. Buddhist Debate and the Production and Transmission of Shōgyō in Medieval Japan. *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 39: 241–73. [CrossRef]
- Sango, Asuka. 2015a. Buddhist Debate in Medieval Japan. *Religion Compass* 9: 216–25. [CrossRef]
- Sango, Asuka. 2015b. *The Halo of Golden Light: Imperial Authority and Buddhist Ritual in Heian Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Shively, Donald H., and William H. McCullough, eds. 1999. *The Cambridge History of Japan, Vol. 2, Heian Japan*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Storch, Tanya. 2014. *The History of Chinese Buddhist Bibliography: Censorship and Transformation of the Tripitaka*. Amherst: Cambria Press.
- Sueki, Fumihiko 末木文美士, Masahiro Shimoda 下田正弘, and Shinji Horiuchi 堀内伸二, eds. 2014. *Bukkyō no jiten* 仏教の事典 [Encyclopedia of Buddhism]. Tokyo: Asakura shoten.
- Tokuno, Kyoko. 1990. The Evaluation of Indigenous Scriptures in Chinese Buddhist Bibliographical Catalogues. In *Chinese Buddhist apocrypha*. Edited by Robert E. Buswell Jr. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, pp. 31–74.
- von Verschuer, Charlotte. 1985. *Les Relations Officielles du Japon avec la Chine aux VIIIe et IXe siècles* 八～九世紀の日中関係 [Relations Between Japan and China during the 8th–9th centuries]. Genève and Paris: Librairie Droz.
- Wang, Xiang. 2012. *Reconstructing Ximing Monastery: History, Imagination and Scholarship in Medieval Chinese Buddhism*. Stanford: Stanford University.
- Wang, Xiang. 2018. From Serindia to Japan: A Sketch of the Buddhist Library of Ximing Monastery in the Eighth-Century Chang'an. In *Silk Road to Belt Road: Reinventing Past and Shaping the Future*. Edited by Md. Nazrul Islam. Singapore: Springer, pp. 105–17.
- Washio, Junkei 鷺尾順敬, ed. 1996. *Nihon Bukke jinmei jisho* 日本佛家人名辞書 [Biographical Dictionary of Famous Japanese Buddhists]. 1903 Azuma shuppan 東出版 Reprint. Tokyo: Kōyūkan 交融館.
- Whitman, John. B., Miyoung Oh, Jinho Park, Valerio Luigi Alberizzi, Masayuki Tsukimoto, Teiji Kosukegawa, and Tomokazu Takada. 2010. Toward an international vocabulary for research on vernacular readings of Chinese texts (漢文訓讀 Hanwen Xundu). *Scripta (International Journal of Writing Systems, The Hunmin jeongeum Society, Korea)* 2: 61–83.

- Whitman, John B. 2011. The ubiquity of the gloss. *Scripta (International Journal of Writing Systems, The Hunmin jeongeum Society, Korea)* 3: 95–121.
- Whitman, John B. 2015. Raten-go kyōten no dokuhō to butten no kundoku ラテン語經典の読法と仏典の訓読 [The reading of sacred texts in Latin and vernacular reading of Buddhist texts]. In *Bukkyō bunmei no tenkai to hyōgen: Moji, gengo, zōkei to shisō* 仏教文明の転回と表現: 文字 言語 造形と思想 [*Buddhism as Movement and Expression of Civilization: Philosophy, Fabrications, Language and Writing*]. Edited by Shinkawa Tokio 新川登亀男. Tokyo: Bensei shuppansha, pp. 105–44.
- Wu, Jiang. 2016. From the “Cult of the Book” to the “Cult of the Canon”: A Neglected Tradition in Chinese Buddhism. In *Spreading the Buddha’s Word in East Asia: The Formation and Transformation of the Chinese Buddhist Canon*. Edited by Jiang Wu and Lucille Chia. New York: Columbia University Press, pp. 46–78.
- Yoritomi, Motohiro 頼富本宏. 2009. *Nicchū o musunda Bukkyōsō: Hatō o koete kesshi no tokai* 日中を結んだ仏教僧: 波濤を超えて決死の渡海 [*Connections between Chinese and Japanese Buddhist Monks who Crossed the Surging Sea Prepared for Death*]. Tokyo: Nōsan Gyoson bunkakyōkai 農山漁村文化協会.