Section II. Historical: The Classical Period

YOSHIDA Kazuhiko

[PRELIMINARY TRANSLATION; NOT YET EDITED; NOT FOR QUOTATION]

[TRANSLATED BY PAUL L. SWANSON]

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEYS AND RESEARCH has made great strides in Japan recently, and the remains of what are believed to be the performance of religious rituals have been identified in archaeological sites from the Jōmon, Yayoi, and Kofun periods. As might be expected, these findings indicate that there were beliefs in gods (kami) in the country of Wa 倭 (ancient Japan) before the introduction of Buddhism. Without any textual evidence, however, we have no concrete idea as to how these kami were perceived, the contents of the beliefs in kami, or how the kami were worshipped. It is presumed that these were relatively simple beliefs, and probably there were no systematic doctrines, nor any religious structures that correspond to the shrines (*jinja*) of later times. One could classify these phenomena as one type of the common beliefs in gods that were be found across the east Asian world of ancient times. These beliefs in gods/kami in ancient Japan have been, in later times, taken to be the original form of "Shinto," but at this point in time these phenomena were at a stage that makes them different from what we now call "Shinto." The view that "Shinto" existed as an independent entity before the introduction of Buddhism in the sixth century is untenable today (see TAKATORI 1979, KURODA 1995).

The Introduction of Buddhism

Buddhism was introduced to the land of Wa in about the middle of the sixth century CE. Buddhism is a religion founded in India by a historical figure known as Śākyamuni. What was originally a small band of disciples eventually developed into a large religious order. In the third century BCE the King Aśoka converted to Buddhism and spread the teaching throughout India. From about the first to third centuries CE, a new Buddhist movement called Mahayana Buddhism developed. This movement appealed to the masses and incorporated various local deities as buddhas and bodhisattvas, and thus expanded its influence. Buddhist images also began to be made around this time.

Buddhism, mostly of the Mahayana tradition, was transmitted to China in about the first century CE. At first Buddhism did not fit well into Chinese society, but from around the fourth century many of the Buddhist scriptures were translated into Chinese, and gradually a Chinese form of Buddhism developed. The countries surrounding China were strongly influenced by Chinese culture, including Chinese writing, Confucian teachings, Buddhism, and legal codes. Buddhism was transmitted to the kingdoms on the Korean peninsula at around the fourth or fifth century, and then was transmitted in turn from the Korean kingdom of Paekche to Japan around the middle of the sixth century.

It is important to consider the official records along with the results of archaeological research when examining the transmission of Buddhism to Japan,. The remains of the earliest temples are distributed throughout the Asuka and wider Yamato area in central Japan. The

official records from this period, such as the *Nihon shoki* compiled in 720, state that Buddhism was introduced in 552. The passage that reports the transmission of Buddhism, however, refers to a version of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra* (金光明最勝王経, T no. 665) that was not translated into Chinese until 703, reflecting the fact that much of the information in this record was composed by its editors (see FUJII 1925, INOUE 1961). The year 552 was chosen on the basis of the belief that, according to some calculations, this was the beginning of *mappō*, the degenerate age. In any case it is difficult to accept this dating as a historical fact. On the other hand, a number of records point to the year 538 as the date of transmission. One of these texts, the *Gangō-ji garan engi narabini ruki shizaichō*元興寺伽藍縁起并流記資財帳 (part of the *Gangō-ji engi* manuscripts kept at Daigo-ji) claims to have been compiled in Tenpyō 19 (747) but is probably a much later forgery of the later Heian period, and thus is not a reliable source for the date of transmission (see KIDA 1980). The *Jōgū Shōtoku Hōōteisetsu* 上宮聖徳法王帝説 (extant at Chion-in) also posits the year 538, but this text probably was not compiled until the early Heian period. The oldest document using the date 538 is the *Gangō-ji engi* quoted by Saichō in his *Kenkairon*. This is a different text than the *Gangō-ji garan engi* referred to above, and is not extant. All we know about it is the short part quoted in the *Kenkairon*, and it is presumed to be a history of Gangō-ji from the mid- to late eighth century. Thus it appears that the 538 dating is later even than the *Nihon shoki*, being proposed around the end of the eighth century; this dating also is most likely a hypothesis presented at a later period, and cannot be accepted as historical fact (see YOSHIDA 2001). All that we can say for certain is that the story that Buddhism was transmitted from Paekche during the time of Kinmei was in circulation from around the end of the seventh and into the eighth century, and we have no basis for pinning down a specific date. Thus the exact date for the transmission of Buddhism is not clear, but it may be admitted that it occurred during the time of Kinmei (539–571).

Asuka Buddhism

After the official transmission, the Buddhism of Wa until the early mid-seventh century is now referred to as "Asuka Buddhism" 飛鳥仏教. This was a time when Buddhism was sustained by the political powers of the Wa state, such as the powerful aristocratic families (*ujizoku*)—especially the Soga family—and influential visitors and naturalized immigrants from abroad. The Asuka-dera, built by the Soga family, was the first full-scale temple in Japan (see TSUBOI 1985). The imperial family was more apprehensive about embracing Buddhism, but there were some members—such as Umayado no miko 厩戸王, who established Hōryū-ji—who were exceptions and were active in promoting it. A number of families of immigrant origin, such as the Hata 秦 family, also built Buddhist temples. There are about fifty temple ruins from this period known to us today, centered around Asuka in Yamato and mostly in the Kinai (Kansai) area. It is believed that most of these were family temples of the *ujizoku*. For the most part, Asuka Buddhism could be described as the Buddhism of the *ujizoku*. Another characteristic of this period is that many nuns were active during the early days of Buddhism in Wa, and many temples (*amadera*) were built for nuns.

Who Was "Shōtoku Taishi"?

Any discussion of Asuka Buddhism in the past focused on the figure of Shōtoku Taishi 聖徳太子, who was presented as an outstanding politician as well as a man of culture, who fully understood sophisticated Chinese thought and Buddhist philosophy, created the "Seventeen-article constitution" 憲法十七条, and composed commentaries on three major Buddhist sutras. Contemporary Japanese historians, however, have looked closely at the evidence for these claims, veiled in the mists of legend, and discredited them one after the other as a later

product of the Shōtoku Taishi cult. KUME Kunitake (1988) has claimed that the various stories recorded in the *Shōtoku Taishi denryaku* 聖徳太子伝暦 are not historical facts, and the basic records in the *Nihon shoki*—that he was born in a stable, could predict the future, and so forth—are nothing more than creative fiction. TSUDA Sōkichi (1950) also claimed that many of the accounts in the *Nihon shoki* are not historically accurate, and argued convincingly that the so-called "Seventeen-article constitution" was composed at the time the *Nihon shoki* was compiled. FUJIEDA Akira (1975) compared the commentaries attributed to Shōtoku Taishi with texts discovered at Tun-huang and concluded that these commentaries were composed in China, not by Shōtoku Taishi in Japan. On the basis of these studies, ŌYAMA Seiichi (1998, 1999) has argued that the figure we know of as "Shōtoku Taishi" was created at the time of the compilation of the *Nihon shoki*. Ōyama recognizes the historical existence of Umayado no miko, but recognizes the historicity of only three facts associated with him: his family lineage, date of birth, and his involvement in the construction of the Ikaruga 斑鳩 palace and establishment of the Ikaruga temple (later to become Hōryū-ji). He does not recognize the historicity of any other events associated with Shōtoku Taishi recorded in the *Nihon shoki*, and concludes that they were produced by the editors of this compilation. He also argues that the historical materials at Hōryū-ji—such as the famous inscription on the halo of the Śākyamuni triad in the Kondō of Hōryū-ji, and the inscription on the *Tenjukoku shūchō* 天寿国繍帳 embroidery ("this world is an illusion; only the Buddha is real")—were not composed in the time of Suiko 推古 (592–628) but after the compilation of the *Nihon shoki*, probably by those involved in the Shōtoku Taishi cult around the middle of the eighth century. Ōyama argues that the image we know of as "Shōtoku Taishi" was created in the *Nihon shoki* on the basis of the idealized image of a Chinese sage who combines the three "ways" of Confucious, Buddha, and the Tao. Thus we should consider "Shōtoku Taishi" as a figure created at a later date, and it is a mistake to try to understand the Buddhism of this period in terms of his life and activities.

Hakuhō Buddhism

The Buddhism in Japan from the later half of the seventh century to around the time of the transfer of the capital to Heijō-kyō/Nara (710) is called "Hakuhō Buddhism" 白鳳仏教. About a century since its official transmission, Buddhism infiltrated rapidly throughout Japan during this period. In contrast to Asuka Buddhism, which was based on an axis of powerful families (*ujizoku*) in the Yamato region, Hakuhō Buddhism developed among a greater variety of social classes and geographical regions. The Buddhism of the *ujizoku* continued to prosper, and at the same time became actively involved with Buddhism and its promotion, thus laying the foundation for "state Buddhism." In the outlying regions we find Buddhism promoted by powerful regional clans, as well as the beginnings of Buddhism among the common people, with many temples being built throughout the Japanese archipelago.

"State Buddhism" began under the ruler Jomei; that is, he established the Kudara ōdera 百済大寺—the first royal, or "national," temple in Wa—in 639. The ruins of this temple were excavated in 1997 to 1998, revealing a very large site with buildings that must have taken many years to construct. "National" temples were then built one after the other: Kawara-dera 川原寺 and Sūfuku-ji 崇福寺 by Tenchi 天智, and the construction of Yakushi-ji 薬師寺, began by Tenmu and completed under Jitō. The nation's name was changed from Wa to Nippon at the end of the seventh century, and the ruler took on the title of *tennō* ("emperor"). Jitō could thus be considered the first Japanese *tennō*, and she also was the first to complete a Chinese-style capital—the Fujiwara-kyō in Asuka. Kudara ōdera was transferred to Fujiwara-kyō as a national temple and renamed Daikan ōdera 大官大寺; this was joined by Kawara-dera 川原寺 (Gufuku-ji 弘福寺), Yakushi-ji, and the Asuku-dera 飛鳥寺 confiscated from the Soga family (which became Gangō-ji 元興寺).

As for the temples of the *ujizoku*, Soga no Kuranoyamada no Ishikawa no Maro established the Yamada-dera 山田寺, and the Nakatomi (Fujiwara) family the Yamashina-dera 山科寺 (later Kōfuku-ji 興福寺). Excavations on the site of Yamada-dera show that the corridors of the temple building had fallen to the side and remained preserved in the ground. Thus a building constructed in the second half of the seventh century—having collapsed in the first half of the eleventh century—was preserved for us to see. This important discovery revealed much about the temples of the *ujizoku*.

The most important aspect of Buddhism in this period, however, was the construction of many temples in local areas throughout Japan. Over seven hundred sites have been excavated, and further excavations promise to yield even more results. The existence of so many temples from this time period indicate that this was the first construction boom in temples for the Japanese archipelago. The concrete characteristics of these temples can be viewed in local museums around the country, and are available in catalogues published at the time of various exhibitions (e.g, RITTŌ REKISHI MINZOKU HAKUBUTSUKAN 1991, NAGOYA-SHI HAKUBUTSUKAN 1994, GIFU-KEN HAKUBUTSUKAN 1995). The people who constructed these temples were powerful local clan families. Stories concerning the Buddhist faith of these local families and the construction of these temples can be found in collections such as the *Nihon ryōiki* 日本霊異記 (see NAKAMURA 1973) and *Izumo no kuni fudoki* 出雲国風土記.

This period also saw the spread of Buddhism among the "common people." An entry in the oldest extant handwritten copy of a sutra in Japan (the 金剛場陀羅尼経 [*Vajramaṇḍādhāraṇī*], T no. 1345) reports that a certain preacher-monk named Hōrin 宝林 was active in Shiki no kōri志貴評 in the land of Kawachi in 686, and that he had organized a group of "friends" (*chishiki* 知識) to practice the copying of sutras. Shiki no kōri was a progressive area and still within the Kinai area, but this entry indicates that monks were active in propagating Buddhism in such local areas, and that Buddhism had begun to spread among the common people.

The Issue of "State Buddhism"

Buddhism in ancient Japan is often explained in terms of "state Buddhism." This concept has been in use for a long time, including scholars such as TAMAMURO Taijō (1940) and HORI Ichirō (1977), and was a mainstay of post-war scholarship from the 1950s to the 1970s. TAMURA Enchō (1982) argued that state Buddhism began in the Hakuhō period and characterized the developments from Asuka Buddhism to Hakuhō Buddhism as a shift from "*ujizoku* Buddhism to state Buddhism." According to this theory, the state played a central role in the acceptance of Buddhism into Japan, and such a state system was formed by the second half of the seventh century. INOUE Mitsusada (1971), on the other hand, argued that the state Buddhism of ancient Japan should be understood in terms of the legal structure (such as the *ritsuryo* 律令regulations) that regulated such matters. From this perspective, the basic character of state Buddhism can be seen in the laws and regulations promulgated in the legal codes such as the *sōniryo* 僧尼令 (regulations for monks and nuns), *kandosei* 官度制 (regulations for bureaucrats?), and *sōgōsei* 僧綱制 (see YOSHIDA 1995).

Beginning in the 1980s, however, the theories on "state Buddhism" began to be criticized from many different angles, so that it is no longer tenable on its own. In the first place, the term "state Buddhism" itself is too ambiguous, and a close examination of its various aspects reveal numerous problems. The regulations of the *sōniryō*, for example, were mostly disfunctional, so any theory based on the assumption that the letter of the law was reflected in actual practice is untenable. Again, "privately ordained" monks and nuns (*shido sōni* 私度僧尼) were indeed proscribed by law, but in fact they were widely accepted, and were

very active in all areas including the Buddhism of local clan families, among the common people, and even within "state Buddhism" (consider, for example, the case of Kūkai).

What is required is a relativization of "state Buddhism." There is no doubt that in ancient Japan there was a form of "state Buddhism" (see the following section). This was not, however, the total sum of Buddhism during this period. "state Buddhism" was only a part of a greater array of Buddhist activity that included the Buddhism of the imperial court and the aristocratic families, that of the local clan families, and that of the common people, as well as the interaction between these aspects. The shift from Asuka Buddhism to Hakuhō Buddhism, therefore, is not a simple development from "aristocratic *ujizoku* Buddhism" to "state Buddhism," but a more complicated development from "aristocratic Buddhism" to a variety of "Buddhisms" including aristocratic Buddhism, state Buddhism, the Buddhism of the local clan families, and that of the common people (see YOSHIDA 1995).

The view of Buddhism in ancient Japan as merely "state Buddhism" has also served as a basis for presenting a contrast with the new Buddhist movements of the Kamakura era and the medieval period, which are then explained as "Buddhism for the masses" (*minshū bukkyō* 民衆仏教; see, for example HARA 1927 and IENAGA 1947). In this view, the history of Buddhism from ancient to medieval Japan is explained in terms of a shift "from state Buddhism to Buddhism for the masses." The *kenmitsu-taisei* 顕密体制 theory of KURODA Toshio (1975, 1990, and 1994; DOBBINS 1996), however, presents a convincing argument that the real axis of medieval Buddhism was formed by the "old" Buddhist schools of the "exoteric and esoteric" schools (*kenmitsu bukkyō*), so that there was also a mixture of various "Buddhisms" in medieval times as well. In any case, the *kenmitsu-taisei* theory requires a wholesale reevaluation of ancient Japanese Buddhism, not just Buddhism in the medieval period.

Buddhism and the State in Ancient Japan

From the later half of the seventh century, the state adopted policies to actively promote Buddhism, such as the construction of temples and statues, the sponsorship of rituals (*hōe* 法会) and the copying of sutras, and the promotion of monks and nuns. The era of empress Jitō 持統 (690?–697) was a turning point. Jitō sought to establish a state based on Chinese models of legal codes, the construction of a capital, and the compilation of a national history. Religious policy called for a dual religious foundation for a newly reborn Japanese state based on both *jingi*/kami rituals 神祇祭祀 and Buddhism. Japanese myths were created, providing a literary expression for the imperial transmission through a single family lineage. Buddhism was tapped for state rituals based on the *Suvarṇaprabāsa Sutra* to be performed across the country. The state also provided regulations for the ordination of monks and nuns, borrowing the Chinese system for state recognition of ordinands. The number of annual official ordinations (*nenbundosha* 年分度者) was set at ten. The capital (Fujiwara-kyō) established by the empress was lined with splendid state-supported temples such as Yakushi-ji, and she was cremated after her death.

The imperial line of Jitō, continuing with Monmu 文武, Genmei 元明, Genshō 元正, and so forth, all attached great importance to Buddhism. The next emperor Shōmu 聖武 (724–749), in accordance with the wishes of the empress Kōmyō 光明, established Kokubun-ji 国分寺 and Kokubun-ni-ji 国分尼寺 around the country (see TSUNODA 1986–1997), and built the "big Buddha" (*daibutsu*) of Tōdai-ji (see INOUE 1966 and HORIIKE 1980–1982). The Kokubun-ji series of temples was modeled on the Chinese system and built with the advice of Dōji 道慈, a monk who had traveled to China. When the capital was moved from Fujiwara-kyō to Heijō-kyō (Nara) in 710, major temples such as Dai'an-ji 大安寺, Yakushi-ji, and Gangō-ji were transferred to the new capital, the temple holding the *daibutsu* was renamed "Tōdai-ji" 東大寺, and the residence of empress Kōmyō was made into a nunnery and named "Hokke-ji" 法華寺. The empress's daughter, who became the next *tennō* Kōken/Shōtoku 孝謙・称徳 (749–758 and 764–

770), established the temple Saidai-ji 西大寺. In this way the new capital was filled with large, state temples. The copying of the Buddhist canon also was a large-scale state-supported project. The details of this project are recorded in the Shōsō'in documents 正倉院文書, which have received close scrutiny recently (see YAMASHITA 1999). It should also be noted that Shōmu himself was ordained as a monk, the first case of an ordained *tennō* in Japanese history. Shōmu abdicated at around the same time he was ordained, and his daughter Kōken/Shōtoku also abdicated once before becoming a nun, and then later ascended the throne again. This is notable as the only case in Japanese history where a *tennō* reigned while ordained a Buddhist monk/nun (see KATSUURA 2000). The system for regulating the sangha was gradually institutionalized, and in 734 (Tenpyō 6) it was required that anyone to be ordained as an official monk or nun must master two texts: the *Lotus Sutra* and *Suvarṇaprabhāsa Sutra*. It is presumed that this requirement was also influenced by the advice of Dōji.

The imperial line of Jitō came to an end with Kōken/Shōtoku, and shifted to the line of Kōnin 光仁 (770–781) and Kanmu 桓武 (781–806), and the capital also shifted first to Nagaoka and then to Heian (Kyoto). It is often said that the capital was moved in order to avoid the political meddling of the Buddhist establishment, but this theory is no longer accepted. The capital was moved because there was a change in the imperial line. Kanmu performed a *kōten* ritual 郊天祭祀 and announced the change in imperial lines. This Kōnin imperial line also followed a policy promoting Buddhism, establishing major temples in the new capital such as Tō-ji 東寺 and Sai-ji 西寺. Kanmu was a strong supporter of Saichō, and Saga 嵯峨 (809–823) supported Kūkai (see below).

Jingi Rituals and the State in Ancient Japan

At the time of Tenmu and Jitō at the end of the seventh century, the Japanese state developed a series of state religious rituals 神祇祭祀 that were modified but based on such religious rituals current at the time in T'ang China. The Japanese regulations (*ritsuryō*) from this time include a section on "kami-related" matters (*jingiryō* 神祇令), but the contents were prepared on the basis of the T'ang ritual regulations (祠令). The contents of these two codes are identical in many respects, but there are some crucial differences. The twin pillars of the imperial rites in China were the rituals for honoring "heaven" (郊祀) and the rituals for honoring the imperial ancestors (宗廟), and the regulations in general were based on this structure. A comparison of the T'ang regulations and the Japanese *jingiryō* show that the regulations for ritual sacrifices (釈奠) in the T'ang regulations are covered under the "scholarly regulations" (学令) in Japan; that the Japanese regulations do not make a distinction between the ritual honoring of the heavenly deities (祠) and the ritual honoring of earthly deities (祭); that the *jingirei* includes instructions of imperial ascension rituals not included in the Chinese regulations; and that the *jingiryō* includes descriptions of *ōharai* 大祓, a matter that did not exist in the Chinese regulations.

The idea of the "mandate of heaven" 天命, that the person who has the favor of "heaven" ascends the imperial throne, developed early in China. In ancient Japan, however, the acceptance of this idea was shunned because of the implication that the imperial line could be overthrown and replaced. Instead, the idea was produced that the imperial family was in a blood relationship and descended from the gods, and this idea was expressed through the creation of myths. This significant difference was reflected in the respective codes, such as the inclusion of imperial ascension rituals in the *jingiryō*. These imperial ascension rituals consisted of the *sensoshiki* 践祚式 and the *daijōsai* 大嘗祭 accession ceremonies. It was also at this time that Ise Shrine was identified as the place that enshrines the ancestral deities of the imperial family (see HAYAKAWA 1986).

The *jingiryō* prescribed thirteen types of state rituals to be carried out nineteen times in a year. The most important were the rituals of praying for and blessing the crops in the

spring, and the rituals for celebrating the harvest in the fall. The first consisted of an annual festival of prayers (*kinensai/toshigoi no matsuri* 祈年祭), and the latter included the three celebrations of offering fruits from the new harvest: the *shin'jōsai/kan'name no matsuri* 神嘗祭,[1] *ainamesai/ainie no matsuri* 相嘗祭,[2] and the *niinamesai* 新嘗祭.[3] The four celebrations (three types) of the *kinensai*, *niinamesai*, and the *tsukinamisai* 月次祭[4] (twice, once each in the sixth and twelfth months) were called "the four festivals" (*shikasai* 四箇祭), and were considered the most important rituals. All of the most important shrine officials from around the country would gather for a *hanpei* 班幣 offering[5] on these occasions. Also, the *jingiryō* included provisions for the *ōharai* purification ritual which is not found in the T'ang regulations, indicating that state rituals for removing impurity was considered important in Japan (see YAMAMOTO 1992).

It was only a few decades after the promulgation of the *jingiryō*, however, that it was necessary to revise these state rituals. As OKADA Shōji (1994) has shown, new official rituals were introduced one after the other from the last half of the eighth century into the ninth century. These new rituals were lined up along with the *jingiryō* rituals to form the core of state *jingi* rituals. These included local festivals such as the Kasuga matsuri 春日祭, Hirano matsuri 平野祭, Sonokarakami matsuri 園韓神祭, Kamo matsuri 賀茂祭, Matsuo matsuri 松尾祭? Umemiya matsuri 梅宮祭, Ōharano matsuri 大原野祭, Ōmiwa matsuri 大神祭, Taima matsuri 当麻祭, Hiraoka matsuri 平岡祭, Isakawa matsuri 率川祭, Yamashina matsuri 山科祭, and so forth. Eventually the ceremony of the *hanpei* offering was not performed during *jingiryō* rituals, and the significance of this ceremony changed. The newly-established official rituals merged with the evolving *jingiryō* rituals to form the system of state rituals, forming the core of Japanese *jingi* rituals from the beginning of the Heian period to the end of the Muromachi period.

The Rejection of Taoism

Taoism, along with Confucianism and Buddhism, is one of the representative religious traditions of China. Throughout the long history of China, these three traditions have at times come in furious conflict, have mutually influenced each other, and at other times have cooperated harmoniously. There are differences of opinion as to how Taoism should be understood and categorized, but it can be described as a fusion of ancient Chinese beliefs in deities, the philosophy of Lao-tzu and Chuang-tzu 老荘思想, concepts of hermit-wizards 神仙思想, and various folk beliefs and customs, evolving further under the influence of Confucianism and Buddhism. Gradually various rituals, institutions, and teachings developed, religious specialists (male 道士 and female 女冠) appeared, and a Taoist religion with its own world view (道観) and religious facilities and activities took form. Eventually Taoist culture—not just Buddhism—was transmitted to Yamato. Many aspects of Taoist culture was accepted into Japan and flourished especially during the reign of Tenmu, in the second half of the seventh century. "Mahito" 真人, one of the so-called "eight-colored titles" 八色の姓 established during this period, and the posthumous title of Tenmu (天渟中瀛真人天皇) are examples of Taoist influence. By the eighth century, however, the situation began to change, and there was a sharp difference of opinion among those at the center of political power as to whether or not Taoism should be accepted. Eventually, after the revolt of Nagaya no ō (長屋王の変) in 729, when the Fujiwara family took the reigns of power, state policy tightened against the

[1] An annual festival during which the emperor offers, at Ise Shrine, sake and food made with rice from the new harvest.
[2] The offering of fresh grain from the new harvest at specifically designated shrines.
[3] The harvest festival and offering of grain from the new harvest at the imperial palace and at shrines throughout Japan. The first *niinamesai* after the ascension of a new emperor is the *daijōsai* 大嘗祭.
[4] A festival celebrated twice a year, on the eleventh day of the sixth and twelfth months, bringing together state officials for prayers.
[5] The offering of a *nusa* 幣 (zig-zag shaped paper) by state officials during a state-supported ritual.

acceptance of Taoism, and envoys to T'ang China were instructed not to bring back any documents related to Taoism. As a result there were no examples of Taoist religious specialists in Japan, and a specifically Taoist world view did not take root. Japan chose a policy to develop its own religious *jingi* rituals and practices that were different from the Taoist tradition in China (see NOGUCHI 1996 and SHINKAWA 1999). IDōji and Gyōki

The two monks who best represent the Nara period are Dōji 道慈 (?–744) and Gyōki 行基 (668–749) (see INOUE 1961 and SAKUMA 1983). Dōji was a monk who supported state Buddhism during the first half of the Nara period who, after returning to Japan after studying Buddhism in T'ang China, received the confidence and support of the Fujiwara family and Nagaya no ō. He was involved in the compilation of the *Nihon shoki*, and wrote many of the entries related to Buddhism, such as the entries on the official transmission of Buddhism, on the early conflict between those who supported and those who rejected the acceptance of Buddhism, on Shōtoku Taishi, on Sōmin 僧旻, and so forth (see YOSHIDA 2002). In addition, his advice was probably crucial in the development of state policies such as the emphasis on the *Lotus Sutra* and *Survarṇaprabhāsa Sutra*, the construction of the Kokubun-ji temple network, and the invitation of vinaya-precept monks from China.

On the other hand there was Gyōki, supported by local clans and the focus of the fervent support of the masses (see INOUE 1959 and 1997, YOSHIDA 1986). He was at first criticized by the central government, but later his social work—such as his role in the construction of bridges, shelters, and lakes—won the trust and support of the government. He cooperated in raising funds for constructing the "big Buddha," and was eventually given the high rank of *daisōjō* 大僧正. Gyōki traveled from town to town spreading the Buddhist teachings, and it is said that he was beloved by the people and was called a bodhisattva. It is also said that he established forty-nine centers of worship in the Kinai area alone (the "forty-nine temples" 四十九院). Finally, there were many women included among his disciples.

Aristocratic Buddhism, Local Clan Buddhism, and the Buddhism of the Masses

The powerful clan families (*ujizoku*) were gradually incorporated as state officials from the end of the seventh and into the eighth century, until they became "aristocrats." Many of them were fervent supporters of Buddhism, but the focus of their activities was the family temple or their own homes. As KATSUURA (2000) has recently clarified, monks and nuns were frequent guests at the homes of the aristocrats, sometime for a short period but often for a much longer period. Those who stayed for a long period took on the character of "family" monks or nuns. Examples include the monks and nuns of the Nagaya no ō family as recorded on the *Nagaya no ōke mokkan* 長屋王家木簡 (wooden strips with notations), the Silla monk Rigan 理願 of the Ōtomo no Yasumaro 大伴安麻呂 family, Enkyo 延慶 of the Fujiwara no Nakamaro 藤原仲麻呂 family, and the nun Shōshō 聖証 of the Fujiwara no Kuzumaro 藤原久須麻呂 family. These monks/nuns would take care of the family's Buddhsit affairs and ceremonies, lead sutra-copying, and teach calligraphy. It has been known that such "family monks" 家僧 (or "family teachers" 家師 ,門師) existed in China, but it is only recently that it was discovered that such figures were also active in Japan in the homes of the aristocrats. It is possible to characterize such famous monks as Genbō 玄昉, Ganjin 鑑真, and Dōkyō 道鏡 as the "family monks" of the imperial family, and that Dōji began his career as a family monk for the Nagaya no ō family. Katsuura argues that Buddhist activity in ancient Japan was not limited to temples, but also had private homes as one of its foundations. This is an important point that has been overlooked by those who would understand the Buddhism of this time only in terms of "official monks" 官僧 and "private monks" 私僧. The homes of the aristocrats often included Buddhist facilities, were adorned with Buddhist images and images, were the site of Buddhist ceremonies, and were often used for the practice of sutra-copying. The sutra-copying of the

Nagaya no ō family, for example, resulted in two famous collections—the Wadōkyō 和銅経 and the Jinkikyō 神亀経—both large-scale copies of the Buddhist canon.

At the local level the clan families, as in previous times, continued to build temples and Buddhist images, welcomed monks and nuns, and sponsored Buddhist ceremonies (see SUZUKI 1994). It is probably safe to assume that, like the aristocratic families of the capital, the local clan families also sponsored and invited monks and nuns to stay at their homes. When a monk from a major temple in the capital would visit a local area, he would often give a lecture on Buddhist teachings. The Buddhist activities in local areas is vividly described in collections of tales such as the *Nihon ryōiki* (see NAKAMURA 1973). One of the fascinating aspects of this collection is that it reveals the Buddhist faith not only of the local clan families but also of the common people, including, for example, stories of how people of a certain village cooperated in constructing a Buddhist place of worship, how two poor fishermen were lost at sea but were saved by chanting "Namu Shakamuni-butsu," how a miner was accidentally caught underground but was saved through his Buddhist faith, how Buddhist ceremonies and sutra-copying were performed in a local setting, and so forth. Buddhist customs, such as performing memorial services a week or seven weeks after a person's death, were widespread among the common people by around the middle of the eighth century. At the major temples in the capital (such as Daian-ji) as well, scenes can be found of a poor women making a visit to the temple, indicating that the state temples were open also to the common people.

It is often said that Buddhism spread to the masses during the Kamakura period, and that the birth of so-called "new Kamakura Buddhism" was the first appearance of "Buddhism for the masses" in Japan. This view, however, is no longer tenable. Buddhist had spread among the masses to a great extent already by the Nara and Heian periods, and can be traced as far back as the Hakuhō period (see YOSHIDA 1995).

Characteristics of Buddhist Faith in Ancient Japan

The characteristics of Buddhist faith in ancient Japan can be known through collections of Buddhist stories such as the *Nihon ryōiki* and *Nihon kanryō* 日本感霊録, inscriptions on Buddhist images (see MŌRI 1985), postscripts on copies of sutras, [6] temple histories (*engi*) and registers, biographies of monks such as the *Enryaku sōroku* 延暦僧録 and *Gyōki nenpu* 行基年譜, and various state documents, histories, and other historical materials.[7] One is struck by how different these practices were from the so-called "orthodox" Buddhism of India. In the past these differences have been explained or understood as the result of the mixture of Buddhism with indigenous religious elements in Japan, or as an expression of a unique Japanese spirituality. If we compare the Buddhist faith of ancient Japan with the contemporaneous situation in China and Korea, however, it is clear that the Buddhist faith of ancient Japan was a direct import from China and Korea. An important task for the future is to scrutinize the historical materials on Buddhism in ancient Japan and compare them carefully with related historical materials from that time in China and Korea, in order to clarify which elements were held in common, as well as identify any differences.

Women and Buddhism

One of the characteristics of Buddhism in ancient Japan is the prominent role of women. The *Nihon shoki* records that the first person in Yamato to take ordination was the daughter of Shiba Tatto 司馬達等, and that she was named Zenshin'ni 善信尼. This passage in the *Nihon*

---

[6] Important recent studies on the copying of sutras and the contents of their postscripts include TANAKA 1973 and 1974, and NARA KOKURITSU HAKUBUTSUKAN 1983.

[7] On stone monument inscriptions see KOKURITSU REKISHI MINZOKU HAKUBUTSUKAN 1997 and ATARASHII KODAISHI NO KAI 1995.

shoki shows indications of embellishment by the editors, but there is no good reason to doubt that her ordination was a historical fact. And in the following years nuns were very active in the Yamato of the seventh century, with the construction of many nunneries such as Sakata-dera 坂田寺 and Toyoura-dera 豊浦寺.

Even after the incorporation of the official regulations concerning Buddhist monks and nuns in the eighth century, the number of nuns continued to be significantly large, and nuns also participated in the official Buddhist ceremonies in the imperial palace. The imperial line at this time consisted of Jitō,* Monmu, Genmei,* Genshō,* Shōmu, and Kōken,* of which the four marked with an asterisk were women. Again, Shōmu's empress Kōmyō was a powerful figure. Many nuns were in positions of influence during this period, and were active in managing and executing Buddhist affairs at the court. The empress Kōmyō was instrumental in having Kokubun-ji built in all parts of the country, a system modeled on that of China. Nuns were also active in areas beyond the Buddhism of the court. Many of the "family clerics" 家僧 that resided in the homes of the aristocrats were in fact nuns. Female religious figures were also active in local areas, receiving the support of local clan families and the common people. The followers of Gyōki included many nuns, and they constructed numerous nunneries.

Another important point is that there were also a large number of women among the lay supporters of Buddhism. In the world of state Buddhism and the Buddhism of the imperial court, there were many women emperors and empresses, as well as other women at the court, who pursued policies that strongly supported Buddhism. Many women in aristocratic circles also supported Buddhism, and historical records reveal that they were active in the production of Buddhist images and paintings, and in sutra copying. The same could be said for local clan families. Stories such as those in the *Nihon ryōiki* show that women were deeply involved in Buddhism. Many women among the common people were also involved in a variety of Buddhist activities (see NISHIGUCHI 1987, TAKAGI 1988).

This situation began to gradually change from the later part of the Nara period and into the early Heian period. With the shift in imperial line to that of Kōnin and Kanmu, the *Naikubu jūzenji* 内供奉十禅師 regulations were introduced in 772 by Kōnin, after which Buddhist affairs at the court were managed by the *jūzenji*, or ten male monks. Later, under Kanmu, a new system of annual ordinands was introduced in 806 on the advice of Saichō. This proved to be a crucial change of policy that established the longterm framework for Buddhism in Japan (see below). This change in policy meant that henceforth the annual ordinands would be assigned according to "school/sect" 宗派, laying the foundation for the sectarianism of Japanese Buddhism. USHIYAMA (1990) argues that this was a turning point in Japanese Buddhism, after which only male ordinands were trained to run the various Buddhist sects. As a result women, for the most part, lost the opportunity to be ordained, and the number of officially ordained women decreased drastically. Many nunneries lost support and were abandoned, and some became temples for male monks. Nuns were thus forced out of involvement in state and court Buddhist affairs, and the focus of their activities shifted to other areas (see KATSUURA 1995 and 2000; YOSHIDA et al., 1999).

The Amalgamation of Kami and Buddhas

The mixture and amalgamation of indigenous deities (kami) and "foreign" buddhas has often been explained and understood in terms of a unique development within the Japanese archipelago as a "Japanese" phenomenon. The usual explanation was that there was conflict between Buddhism and the indigenous kami beliefs and practices (*kami shinkō*) in Yamato when Buddhism was first transmitted to Japan, but eventually the supporters of Buddhism won the day, after which there was a gradual merging of Buddhism and local spirituality, leading eventually to the religious culture known as the "amalgamation of kami and buddhas" (*shin-butsu shūgō* 神仏習合). Tsuji Zennosuke was the first to put together this theory

academically; in an article on "the origin of the *honji-suijaku* theory" 本地垂迹説の起源について first published in 1907 (see TSUJI 1983), he presented an outline of the route supposedly taken by which the idea of the amalgamation of kami and buddhas originated and developed in Japan, eventually giving rise to the theory of the relationship between buddhas and kami as that of "basis" and "traces" (*honji suijaku*). Tsuji's theory has long been accepted as standard. This theory of "internal origin," however, came in for criticism as early as Tsuda Sōkichi, who pointed out that the same phenomena explained as a Japanese amalgamation of kami and buddhas can also be found in the early Chinese biographies of monks 高僧伝 (see reprint in TSUDA 1984). I have followed up on Tsuda's suggestion and concluded that the amalgamation of kami and buddhas in ancient Japan developed through the acceptance of such ideas that were already present in Chinese Buddhism (see YOSHIDA 1996).

The historical documents relating to the amalgamation of kami and buddhas in ancient Japan often state that the kami suffer from "*shintō* recompense" 神道報 due to their heavy "karmic offenses" 罪業, or the kami confess that they became such due to their "karmic destiny" 宿業, or say that they want to escape from the "kami way" (*shintō*) because of the deep suffering that accompanies having a "kami body" 神身, or plead to take refuge in the "three treasures" or "Buddha dharma" of Buddhism in order to be saved from their current suffering and karmic path 業道, reflecting an attitude of wanting to be liberated from being kami (神身離脱). Stories with these elements can be found in the historical documents of shrine-temples (*jingū-ji* 神宮寺) such as Kehi Jingū-ji 気比神宮寺, Wakasa 若狭 Jingū-ji, Tado 多度 Jingūji, and Kaharu 香春 Jingū-ji, as well as in the *Nihon ryōiki*. These stories were understood in the past as indicating that such ideas were unique to Japan. The same type of stories, logic, and vocabulary, however, are also found in Chinese texts such as the *Biographies of Eminent Monks* 高僧伝 and *Further Biographies of Eminent Monks* 続高僧伝. These ideas, and even the vocabulary, were imported into Japan as the result of influence from Chinese Buddhism.

Thus it is proper to say that the concepts of the amalgamation of kami and buddhas in Japan were introduced and implanted from Chinese Buddhism. It is likely that monks who had traveled to and studied in China, and had a good understanding of the amalgamation of deities and buddhas in China—such as Dōji, Saichō, and Kūkai—transmitted this way of thinking to Japan.

Saichō and Kūkai

The monks who best represent Buddhism in the early Heian period are Saichō 最澄 (767–822) and Kūkai 空海 (774–835). These two were deeply involved in the management of state Buddhism and made important contributions in this regard, but in addition had a definitive influence on the later development of Buddhism in Japan. The new Buddhist system that was formed around them defined the Buddhism of the Heian and Kamakura periods.

Saichō was born Mitsu no Obito Hirono 三津首広野. The Mitsu family was a clan of Chinese immigrant descent in the Shiga area of Ōmi province. His father Momoe 百枝 used his private home as a Buddhist temple and was diligent in worshipping the buddhas and chanting sutras. Hirano entered the local Ōmi Kokubun-ji and became the disciple of a monk named Gyōhyō 行表 when he was eleven years old, took the tonsure 得度 at the age of fourteen, and was fully ordained as a monk at the age of nineteen. Saichō entered Mt. Hiei and performed mountain ascetic practices for twelve years, and was appointed one of the ten official ordinands (*jūzenji*) for the year 797, at which time he descended from the mountain and served the court of emperor Kanmu. Doctrinally he focused on the *Lotus Sutra*, and showed an interest in the Chinese T'ien-t'ai 天台 tradition. He traveled to T'ang China in 804, climbed Mt. T'ien-t'ai and visited various temples there (including the head temple Kuo-ch'ing ssu 国清寺), and received the transmission of the T'ien-t'ai tradition. He returned to Japan in 805, also receiving a transmission in the new esoteric Buddhist tradition along the

way. In 806, Saichō's proposal—with the endorsement of Gomyō 護命 of Gangō-ji—to assign the annual ordinands according to school/sect was approved, thus introducing an importance change in the official system regulating Buddhism. This was a turning point in the development of sectarian Buddhism in Japan. It also marked the official founding of the Tendai school, for which two ordinands were to be appointed annually. One of these was to focus on Tendai proper (止観業) but the other was to focus on the esoteric tradition (遮那業). Saicho was involved in a doctrinal debate with the Hossō monk Tokuitsu 徳一 from 817 to 821, during which he composed works such as *Shō kenjitsu ron* 照権実論, *Shugo kokkai ron* 守護国界論, *Ketsu kenjitsu ron* 決権実論, and *Hokke shūku* 法華秀句. In his later years Saichō focused on establishing a new ordination platform on Mt. Hiei, composing works such as *Kenkai ron* 賢戒論. Saichō portrayed the regimen of precepts kept in Japan until that time as inferior "Hīnayāna" precepts, and asked the government to approve the establishment of a new ordination platform on Mt. Hiei based on "Mahāyāna" precepts. This proposal met strong opposition from the Nara Buddhist establishment, and was approved only after Saichō's death. The Mahāyāna precepts promoted by Saichō were based on the *Bonmō-kyō* (*Fan wang ching* 梵網経, a Chinese apocryphon; T 24, no. 1484), but the idea of basing ordination on these precepts was an original idea of Saichō, not found in India or China. Saichō's view of the precepts had an enormous influence on Buddhism in Japan, and opened the door for an increasing neglect of the precepts. Saichō's official biography is found in the *Eizan Daishi den* 叡山大師伝, by his disciple Shinchu 真忠 (or Ninchu 仁忠) (see SONODA 1974 and 1981, SAEKI 1992).

Kūkai was born Saeki no Atai 佐伯直, in the home of a local clan family in the Tada area of Sanuki province. He first studied Confucianism at university, but then became interested in Buddhism, and practiced mountain asceticism in the provinces of Awa and Tosa. At this time he was a "privately-ordained" monk (*shidoso* 私度僧). It is said that he composed a treatise "on the three teachings" (of Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism) at this time. He traveled to T'ang China in 804; just before leaving he received official ordination. In T'ang he learned the esoteric teachings of Shingon 真言 Buddhism under Hui-kuo 恵果, which he transmitted to Japan upon his return in 806. He then spread esoteric Buddhism throughout Japan, introducing faith in Mahāvairocana (Dainichi). The emperor Saga took and interest in Kūkai and supported his work. In 822 Kūkai was appointed to perform ceremonies "for the protection of the country," and in the next year he was given control over the important Kyoto temple Tō-ji 東寺, which became an important center for esoteric Buddhism. He was appointed Shōsōzu 小僧都 in 824, and Daisōzu 大僧都 in 827. He retreated to the mountain center on Kongōbu-ji 金剛峰寺 on Mt. Kōya 高野山 in 832, and passed away in 835. His major works include *Ben kenmitsu nikyō ron* 弁顕密二教論 in which he discusses the comparative ranking of exoteric and esoteric Buddhism, the *Himitsu mandala jūjūshin ron* 秘密曼荼羅十住心論 in which he argues for the superiority of Shingon Buddhism, and the poetry collection *Shōryōshū* 性霊集 in ten volumes (see TAKAGI 1997).

The Formation of Sectarianism—The "Eight Schools" System

Sectarianism in Japanese Buddhism, as mentioned above, received a major impetus in Enryaku 25 (806) with the implementation of a new ordination system. This revised system was proposed by Saichō, with the endorsement of Nara monks such as Gomyō, and approved by the government. The revision called for assigning a specific number of annual ordinands to each of the seven schools of Buddhism: the "six schools" (but actually only four schools) in Nara and the new Tendai school. This system of annual ordinands began in the tenth year of Jitō (696) by officially sanctioning ten annual ordinands. At this early date there were no distinct "schools," and thus the ordinands were not assigned to any specific tradition. The Enryaku-period revision, however, incorporated the concept of "schools" (*shūha*) and assigned three ordinands to each of the Hossō 法相 and Sanron 三論 (which included the Kusha 倶舎

and Jōjitsu 成実) schools, and two each to the Kegon 華厳, Ritsu 律, and Tendai 天台 schools, increasing the total annual ordinands to twelve. As a result, the state officially recognized seven independent "schools," leading to the development of sectarianism. A bit later, on the twenty-third day of the first month in Jōwa 2 (835), the government approved an additional three ordinands to be assigned annually to the Shingon school, thus raising to eight the number of officially recognized schools. Thus arose the system of "eight schools" (*hasshū* 八宗) which dominated the religious world of the Heian and Kamakura periods.

The early sprouts of this sectarianism actually began to germinate a bit earlier. Documents in the *Shōsō'in* documents from the middle of the eighth century already contain references to groups with the term *shū* (衆 or 宗). In this context, however, as SONODA Kōyū (1981) and SONE Masato (2000) have pointed out, these terms refer to academic schools or groups that were quite different from the sectarian "schools" of the Heian and Kamakura periods and continuing to our contemporary times. During the Nara period, monks of different "schools" lived in the same temple, worshipped the same buddha, and chanted the same sutras. There was little sense of doctrinal or exclusivist sectarianism. The term *shū* began to take on sectarian connotations from the middle of the eighth century, but these were preliminary developments, and the definitive point in the birth of true sectarianism was the new system of ordinands introduced in 806. After this point, anyone who took the path of an official monk had to follow this system and become ordained as a monk of one of the officially recognized "schools," at the ordination platform associated with that school. The phrase "the six schools of Nara" (*nanto rokushū* 南都六宗) is often used; however, this is not a phrase from the Nara period but has real referents only with the adoption of this revised system in 806. SONE (2000) argues that it was only after this time that each "school" decided on identifying their own "orthodox" Chinese founder and their basic texts. leading to the formation of sectarian doctrine (*shūgi* 宗義) and sectarian studies (*shūgaku* 宗学). Eventually sectarian temples were also founded.

In Tenchō 7 (830), emperor Junna？？ decreed that each school submit a description of their teachings (*Tenchō roppon shūsho* 天長六本宗書), and a representative of each school prepared a report on the doctrinal characteristics and historical development of their own tradition. The six documents that were submitted were the *Daijō Hossō kenshin sho* 大乗法相研神章 by Gomyō, the *Daijō Sanron daigi sho* 大乗三論大義鈔 by Gen'ei 玄叡, the *Kegon-shū ichijō kaishin ron* 華厳宗一乗開心 by Fuki 普機, the *Kairitsu denrai ki* 戒律伝来記 by Buan 豊安, the *Tendai hokkeshūgi shū* 天台法華宗義集 by Gishin 義真, and the *Himitsu mandala jūjūshin ron* by Kūkai. There was little of what could be called "Buddhist doctrinal studies" (*bukkyō kyōgaku* 仏教教学) in Japan in the sixth and seventh centuries, and it was only in the middle of the eighth century that doctrinal studies by some scholar-monks begin to appear, but they were few and far between, and their arguments still not mature. Once we get into the ninth century, however, doctrinal studies were promoted and kept pace with the formation of sectarianism, and the study and debate of Buddhist thought, as well as the production of doctrinal treatises, became prominent.

The Periodization of Japanese Religious History

In dividing the history of Japanese religion into periods, the rise of the new Buddhist movements in the Kamakura period is often presented as a epochal development. The figures who appeared in the Kamakura period—Hōnen 法然, Shinran 親鸞, Eisai 栄西, Dōgen 道元, Nichiren 日蓮, Ippen 一遍—are considered to be different from those who came before, presenting teachings that were selective and easy to understand and practice, and that Buddhism spread among the common people and the warrior caste as never before. In contrast to the Buddhism of the state and the aristocrats, it was said, this new Buddhism offered salvation for the common people. This was called a "new Buddhism" that reformed

the Buddhism of old. Today, however, this interpretation should be called "the theory on Kamakura new Buddhism" (*Kamakura shin-bukkyō ron* 鎌倉新仏教論), a theory that began among intellectuals of the Meiji period and the early scholars of modern historiography. As ŌSUMI Kazuo (1975) has pointed out, the theories of Hara Katsurō 原勝郎 (the founder of the study of medieval history in Japan) compared the formation of new movements in the Kamakura period with the European Protestant reformation (see HARA 1911 and 1927), and subsequent studies in this area were greatly influenced by this idea. The discussion of Kamakura new Buddhism in terms of a "religious reformation" was standard for most historians almost to the end of the 20th century, and the history of medieval Japanese Buddhism was usually presented with the new Kamakura movements at the center of discussion.

This interpretation, however, is more and more perceived by Japanese historians as a theory of the past. KURODA Toshio proposed his theory of the "system of exoteric and esoteric [Buddhist power structures]" (*kenmitsu taisei ron* 顕密体制論) in 1975, and this theory has had a decisive influence on our view of medieval history, society, and religion. The most important point of Kuroda's theory is that the "new" Kamakura movements had not spread very much at all during the Kamakura period, and it was still the "old" Buddhism of the exoteric/esoteric schools (*kenmitsu bukkyō* 顕密仏教) that were the dominant influence on the state and society in general. Scholars of the later medieval and modern period have also proposed that the "new" Buddhist movements were not very influential during the Kamakura period but only began to spread and permeate society in the later medieval and early modern period. This "new Buddhism" began to permeate society and the common people along with the formation of the *ie*? as a dominant social unit around the fifteenth century, along with the development of "funerary Buddhism" (*sōshiki [sōsai] bukkyō* 葬式 [葬祭]仏教). At the same time, studies of ancient Buddhism (as discussed above) have shown that Buddhism had already spread to a great extent in local areas and among the common people from ancient times. Thus it must be said that the "theory on Kamakura new Buddhism," as understood for many years, is no longer tenable.

If we were to summarize the findings of recent scholarship, it must be said that the two major times of epochal change for Japanese Buddhism occurred in the ninth century and in the fifteenth century. As explained above, the ninth century saw the development of sectarianism in Japanese Buddhism, and was the time in which the structure of the "eight schools system" was developed. It was also at this time that the system of regulations for official monks and religious ranks was established. Again, the incorporation of Buddhist rituals—such as the Gosai-e 御斎会, the Yuima-e 維摩会, and Saishō-e 最勝会— as state ceremonies was established at this time, and were managed and performed by the monks of the eight exoteric-esoteric schools. The amalgamation of kami and buddhas also began at around the middle of the eighth century, and permeated society in the Heian period. At first the idea of the kami wanting to escape their current state, and then the idea of the buddhas as the "basic ground" with the kami as their "phenomenal traces," were imported from China, and eventually evolved into the *honji-suijaku* 本地垂迹 theory, which functioned as a way to combine the kami with the buddhas and bodhisattvas of Buddhism. As a result, temples and shrines were established together, or next to each other, and functioned as a unit in providing religious services. Thus it was during the ninth century that the basic structure was created for religion in Japan, continuing through the Heian and Kamakura periods and up to the fifteenth century.

REFERENCES

ATARASHII KODAISHI NO KAI 新しい古代史の会

1999 *Azuma no kuni sekibun no kodaishi* 東国石文の古代史, Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan.

DOBBINS, James C., ed.

1996 "The Legacy of Kuroda Toshio," special issue of *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 23/3–4.

FUJIEDA Akira 藤枝晃

1975 *Shōmangyō gishō* 勝鬘経義疏, *Nihon Shisō Taikei* 2, *Shōtoku Taishi shū* 聖徳太子集; Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.

FUJII Kenkō 藤井顕孝

1925 "Kinmei-ki no bukkyō denrai no kiji ni tsuite" 欽明紀の仏教伝来の記事について, *Shigaku zasshi* 38/8: 71–74.

FUKUYAMA Toshio 福山敏男

1968 *Nihon kenchiku-shi kenkyū* 日本建築史研究, Tokyo: Bokusui Shobō.

GIFU-KEN HAKUBUTSUKAN 岐阜県博物館

1995 *Mino, Hida no kodaishi hakkutsu* 美濃・飛騨の古代発掘, Gifu.

HARA Katsurō 原勝郎

1927 "Tōzai no shūkyō kaikaku" 東西の宗教改革, in *Nihon chūseishi no kenkyū* 日本の中世史の研究, Tokyo: Dōbunkan.

HAYAKAWA Shōhachi 早川庄八

1986 "Ritsuryō to tennō" 律令と天皇, in *Nihon kodai kanryōsei no kenkyū* 日本古代官僚制の研究, Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.

HORI Ichirō 堀一郎

1977 *Kodai bunka to bukkyō* 古代文化と仏教, Tokyo: Miraisha.

HORIIKE Shunpō 堀池春峰

1980–1982 *Nanbu bukkyōshi no kenkyū* 南部仏教史の研究, Kyoto: Hōzōkan.

IENAGA Saburō 家永三郎

1947 *Chūsei bukkyō shisōshi kenkyū* 中世仏教思想史研究, Kyoto: Hōzōkan.

INOUE Kaoru 井上薫

1959 *Gyōki* 行基, Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan.

1961 *Nihon kodai no seiji to shūkyō* 日本古代の政治と宗教, Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan.

1966 *Nara-chō bukkyō shi no kenkyū* 奈良朝仏教史の研究, Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan.

INOUE Kaoru, ed.

1997 *Gyōki jiten* 行基事典tTokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai.

INOUE Mitsusada 井上光貞

1971 *Nihon kodai no kokka to bukkyō* 日本古代の国家と仏教, Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.

KATSUURA Reiko 勝浦令子I1995 *Onna no shinjin* 女の信心, Tokyo: Heibonsha.

2000 *Nihon kodai no sōni to shakai* 日本古代の僧尼と社会, Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan.

KIDA Sadakichi 喜田貞吉

1980 "Daigo-ji-hon *Shoji engishū* shoshū 'Gangō-ji engi' ni tsuite" 醍醐寺本『諸寺縁起集』所収「元興寺縁起」について, in Kida Sadakichi Chosakushū喜田貞吉著作集6, *Nara jidai no ji'in* 奈良時代の寺院, Tokyo: Heibonsha.

KOKURITSU REKISHI MINZOKU HAKUBUTSUKAN ZUROKU 国立歴史民俗博物館図録

1997 *Kodai no ishibumi* 古代の碑, Chiba.

KUME Kunitake 久米邦武

1988 *Shōtoku Taishi kenkyū* 聖徳太子の研究, Kume Kunitake Rekishi Chosakushū 久米邦武歴史著作集, Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan.

KURODA Toshio 黒田俊雄

1975 *Nihon chūsei no kokka to shūkyō* 日本中世の国家と宗教, Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.

1990 *Nihon chūsei no shakai to shūkyō* 日本中世の社会と宗教, Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.

1994 *Kenmitsu taiseiron* 顕密体制論, *Kuroda Toshio Chosakushū* 2, Kyoto: Hōzōkan.

1995 *Shinkoku shisō to senju nenbutsu* 神国思想と専修念仏, *Kuroda Toshio Chosakushū* 4, Kyoto: Hōzōkan.

MŌRI Hisashi 毛利久, ed.

1985 *Zōzō meiki shūsei* 造像銘記集成, Tokyo: Tōkyōdō Shuppan.

NAGOYA-SHI HAKUBUTSUKAN 名古屋市博物館

1994 *Hakkutsu sareta Tōkai no kodai* 発掘された東海の古代 , Nagoya: Nagoya-shi Hakubutsukan.

NAKAMURA, Kyōko Motomochi, trans.

1973 *Miraculous Stories from the Japanese Buddhist Tradition: The Nihon ryōiki of the Monk Kyōkai*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

NARA KOKURITSU HAKUBUTSUKAN 奈良国立博物館, ed.

1983 *Nara-chō shakyō* 奈良朝写経, Tokyo: Tōkyō Bijutsu.

NISHIGUCHI Junko 西口順子

1987 *Onna no chikara* 女の力. Tokyo: Heibonsha.

NOGUCHI Tetsurō 野口鐵郎, ed.

1996 *Senshū dōkyō to nihonjin* 選集道教と日本人, volumes 1 and 2, Tokyo: Yūzankaku.

OKADA Shōji 岡田荘司

1994 *Heian jidai no kokka to saishi* 平安時代の国家と祭祀, Tokyo: Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai.

ŌSUMI Kazuo 大隅和雄

1975 *Kamakura bukkyō to sono kakushin undō* 鎌倉仏教とその革新運動, Iwanami Kōza "Nihon Rekishi" 5, Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.

ŌYAMA Seiichi 大山誠一

1998 *Nagaya ōke mokkan to kinsekibun* 長屋王家木簡と金石文, Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan.

1999 *"Shōtoku Taishi" no tanjō* <聖徳太子>の誕生, Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan.

RITTŌ REKISHI MINZOKU HAKUBUTSUKAN 栗東歴史民俗博物館

1991 *Konan no kodai ji'in* 湖南の古代寺院 , Shiga: Rittō Rekishi Minzoku Hakubutsukan.

SAEKI Arikiyo 佐伯有清

1992 *Dengyō Daishi den no kenkyū* 伝教大師伝の研究, Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan.

SAKUMA Ryū 佐久間竜

1983 *Nihon kodai shōden no kenkyū* 日本古代僧伝の研究, Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan.

SHINKAWA Tokio 新川登亀男

1999 *Dōkyō o meguru kōbō* 道教をめぐる攻防, Tokyo: Daishūkan Shoten.

SONE Masato 曽根正人

2000 *Kodai bukkyōkai to ōchō shakai* 古代仏教界と王朝社会, Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan.

SONODA Kōyū 薗田香融, ed.

1974 *Saichō* 最澄, *Nihon Shisō Taikei* 4, Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten

1981 *Heian bukkyō no kenkyū* 平安仏教の研究, Kyoto: Hōzōkan.

SUZUKI Keiji 鈴木景二

1994 "Tohikan kōtsū to zeichi chitsujo" 都鄙間交通と在地秩序, *Nihon-shi kenkyū* 379 : 34–59.

TAKAGI Yutaka 高木豊

1988 *Bukkyō no naka no nyonin* 仏教のなかの女人, Tokyo: Heibonsha.

TAKAGI Shingen 高木訷元

1997 *Kūkai* 空海, Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan.

TAKATORI Masao 高取正男

1979 *Shintō no seiritsu* 神道の成立, Tokyo: Heibonsha.

TAMAMURO Taijō 圭室諦成

1940 *Nihon bukkyōshi gaisetsu* 日本仏教史概説, Tokyo: Risōsha.

TAMURA Enchō 田村圓澄

1982 *Kokka bukkyō no seiritsu katei* 国家仏教の成立過程, *Nihon bukkyōshi, Asuka jidai* 日本仏教史飛鳥時代, Kyoto: Hōzōkan.

TANAKA Kaidō 田中塊堂

1973 *Nihon koshakyō genzon mokuroku* 日本古写経現存目録, Kyoto: Shibunkan.

1974 *Nihon shakyō sōkan* 日本写経綜鑑, Kyoto: Shibunkan.

TSUBOI Kiyotari 坪井清足

1985 *Asuka no tera to kokubunji* 飛鳥の寺と国分寺, Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.

TSUDA Sōkichi 津田左右吉

1950 *Nihon koten no kenkyū* 日本古典の研究, Tokyo, Iwanami Shoten.

1964 *Nihon no shintō* 日本の神道, *Tsuda Sōkichi Chosakushū* 9, Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.

TSUJI Zennosuke 辻善之助

1983 *Nihon bukkyō-shi kenkyū* 日本仏教史研究, vol. 1, Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.

TSUNODA Bun'ei 角田文衛

1986–1997 *Shinshū Kokubun-ji no kenkyū* 新修国分寺の研究, 7 volumes, Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan.

USHIYAMA Yoshiyuki 牛山佳幸

1990 *Kodai chūsei ji'in soshiki no kenkyū* 古代中世寺院組織の研究, Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan.

YAMAMOTO Kōji 山本幸二

1992 *Kegare to ōbarae* 穢と大祓, Tokyo: Heibonsha.

YAMASHITA Yumi 山下有美

1999 *Shōsō'in monjo to shakyōsho no kenkyū* 正倉院文書と写経所の研究, Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan.

YOSHIDA Kazuhiko 吉田一彦

1995 *Nihon kodai shakai to bukkyō* 日本古代社会と仏教, Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan.

1996 "Tado Jinkan-ji to shinbutsu shūgō" 多度神宮寺と神仏習合, in *Ise-wan to kodai no Tōkai* 伊勢湾と古代の東海, Umemura Takashi, ed., Tokyo: Meicho Shuppan.

2001 "*Gangō-ji engi* o meguru shomondai" 『元興寺縁起』をめぐる諸問題, *Kodai* 110: 267–88.

2002 "Nihon shoki to Dōji" 日本書記と道慈, in *Shōtoku Taishi no jitsuzō to genzō* 聖徳太子の実像と幻像. Tokyo: Daiwa Shobō.

YOSHIDA Kazuhiko, KATSUURA Reiko, and NISHIGUCHI Junko, eds.

1999 *Nihonshi no naka no jyosei to bukkyō* 日本史の中の女性と仏教, Kyoto: Hōzōkan.

YOSHIDA Yasuo 吉田靖雄

1986 *Gyōki to ritsuryō kokka* 行基と律令国家, Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan.