

RAIYU AND SHINGI SHINGON SECTARIAN HISTORY

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## Abstract

Over the last decade, scholars ordained in the Chisan and Buzan Sects of Japanese Esoteric Buddhism have been reassessing the origin of their sects' doctrine and locating its source in the life and thought of the scholar-priest Raiyu (1226 – 1304). Raiyu was the author of the *kaji*-body theory, an interpretation of the dharma-body as represented in the *Dainichi kyō*, which later became the primary doctrine of the Shingi, or New Interpretation, Shingon School. Although this Shingi theory dates back to Raiyu, the legal establishment of the Shingi sects occurred only recently. The two main sects of Shingi, Chisan and Buzan, emerged as independent sects as a result of the 1951 Religious Judicial Persons Law. This thesis examines recent scholarship on Raiyu in order to demonstrate the role this scholarship plays in authenticating doctrine. Doctrine is not static, but mutable and can change through interpretation and discourse. This thesis argues that, as a result of institutional disunion, recent Shingi Shingon sectarian scholarship serves the function of identifying and clarifying this doctrine.

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## **Conventions**

Due to the fact that most of the sources for this thesis rely heavily on the use of technical terminology, I have attempted to present the material in a systematic format that includes Sino-Japanese characters when necessary but without sacrificing the readability of the prose. The first usage of a technical term in each chapter is followed by its corresponding character or character-compound. I have omitted characters in the body of the thesis for proper nouns including names of individuals, groups, places, and texts except when an explanation of the title of a text or name is warranted. I have also avoided using characters in the front matter of the thesis for aesthetic purposes. A comprehensive glossary of terms, names, locations, and texts along with their corresponding characters and Japanese reading in Romanized form can be found in the appendix.

I have included the dates for historical figures discussed in the body of the thesis whenever possible. When no dates are available or if I have been unable to find reliable dates, I have noted such with the abbreviation “n.d.” for no dates. I have not listed dates

for the names of contemporary scholars – i.e., those scholars who are still active in academia.

Furthermore, since this study focuses on the scholarship of Japanese Buddhist scholars, I have used the Japanese reading of all technical terms and names of historical figures. In the case of Chinese and Indian names, I first give the Japanese reading followed by the Chinese or Sanskrit reading in parentheses and thereafter only give the Japanese. I also note the Sanskrit origin for some technical terms in which an analysis of the Sanskrit might elucidate the meaning of the term.

All modern and contemporary Japanese names appear in the Japanese format of surname followed by given name. In cases where the author has published in English with her or his name in the reverse order, I have maintained this format. Titles for Japanese language sources in the notes and the works cited section remain untranslated unless the author has previously translated them. I have translated titles of modern and contemporary publications when mentioned in the body of the text.

I have translated the Japanese term *jidai* as period with the exception of Imperial reigns, which I have labeled as era in order to avoid confusion. Therefore, the time periods used in the thesis are as follows: Heian period (794 –1185), Kamakura period (1185 – 1333), Muromachi period (1333 – 1568), Azuchi-Momoyama period (1568 –

1603), Edo period (1603 – 1868), modern period (1868 – 1951) – including the Meiji, Taisho, and early Showa eras, and contemporary period (1951 – present) – including the latter Showa and current Heisei eras. Although the distinction between the modern and contemporary periods is highly debatable, I have chosen 1951 – the year in which the Religious Judicial Persons Law (*shūkyō hōjin hō*) was enacted – as a watershed.

## **Introduction: Shingi Shingon Scholarship and the Search for Doctrinal Identity**

Doctrine is the affirmation of a particular teaching, maxim, or creed as true. The Japanese equivalent of the word doctrine, *kyōri* 教理 or *kyōgi* 教義, similarly refers to the assertion of a specific teaching. The term *kyōgaku* 教学 means doctrine as well, but additionally conveys the study and postulation of a given doctrine. Groups that make such affirmations are clarifying the ideas, beliefs, and practices of the group. Thus, by its very nature doctrine is divisive, a tool to separate true from false, orthodox from heterodox, and one group from another. Likewise, the term sect denotes differentiation between two or more groups that despite having the same or similar origin, over time have become distinctly separate. Therefore, sectarian doctrine signifies the recognition of institutional and ideological differences between two or more groups that share a common historical and conceptual background.

Studies on doctrine in the Shingon School of Japanese Esoteric Buddhism have largely centered on the doctrines and institutional history that separate the Shingon School from other schools of Buddhism in Japan. However, the doctrines and histories

exclusive to the modern sects making up the Shingon School have received little attention from non-sectarian scholars despite the fact that there are more sects of Shingon than any other school of Buddhism in contemporary Japan.

According to the Agency of Cultural Affairs (*bunkachō* 文化庁), the Chisan and Buzan Shingon Sects are the second and third largest of the forty-six Buddhist sects affiliated with the Shingon School and together they make up forty-four percent of all Shingon temples in Japan. Chisan and Buzan belong to a trio of Shingon sects that refer to themselves collectively as the Shingi Shingon School. Of these three sects, Chisan and Buzan are the largest, with a total of 2,853 and 2,632 affiliated temples respectively. The third sect, the Shingi Shingon Sect, consists primarily of the Daidenbōin temple-complex on Mt. Negoro in western Wakayama Prefecture.<sup>1</sup>

In 2003, the Shingi Shingon sects held a joint ceremony commemorating the seven hundredth memorial of the death of the Kamakura-period scholar-priest Raiyu (1226 – 1304). As both a precursor to and result of this event, scholars in both the Chisan and Buzan Sects published works centering on the life and thought of Raiyu. In these works, Shingi scholars state that Raiyu and his interpretation of Shingon doctrine have played a preeminent role in the history of their school. Prior Shingi scholarship has focused on Kakuban (1095 – 1140), whom the contemporary Shingi sects revere

alongside Kūkai (774 – 835) as a founder. Like all sects of Shingon, the Shingi sects honor Kūkai as the founder (*shūsō* 宗祖) of the Shingon School. The Shingi sects, however, also acknowledge Kakuban as a founder (*kaisō* 開祖) of the Shingi institution that began when he established the Daidenbōin temple-complex and the *Denbōe* 伝法会 – an assembly for the discussion of esoteric Buddhist doctrine – on Mt. Kōya and Mt. Negoro.

In addition to Kūkai and Kakuban as institutional founders, these recent publications by Chisan and Buzan scholars proclaim Raiyu to be a doctrinal founder in the Shingi School. Raiyu was the author of the *kajishinsetsu* 加持身説法, or *kaji*-body theory, which was an interpretation of the dharma-body (*hosshin* 法身) as represented in the *Dainichi kyō* – one of the primary sutras in the Shingon School. The *kaji*-body theory is the quintessential doctrine of the Shingi sects; thus, scholars conclude, Raiyu was the doctrinal founder of Shingi (*Shingi kyōgaku no so* 新義教学の祖).

Although the doctrine that is definitive of the Shingi sects originated in the late Kamakura period, Chisan and Buzan did not become independent sects until after the enactment of the Religious Judicial Persons Law (*shūkyō hōjin hō* 宗教法人法) in 1951. The drafting of the Religious Judicial Persons Law began during the occupation of allied forces in order to provide religious organizations (*shūkyō dantai* 宗教団体) with the

status of a judicial person, which legally protected them from government persecution. The law also allowed a religious organization to declare itself a sect and define its own doctrine. Because the purpose of the law was to protect religious freedoms by recognizing religious organizations as legal entities, it required such organizations to define themselves in terms of institution, doctrine, and practice.<sup>2</sup>

Prior to the enactment of the law, the current Shingi sects had been subordinate to other sects of Shingon or forced into a consortium of sects in the modern period. The new law permitted the Chisan and Buzan Sects to declare themselves independent for the first time, but also required them to define the institutions, doctrines, and practices that set them apart from other Shingon sects in order to justify their status as religious judicial persons. The Chisan and Buzan Sects could point to a long established institutional history beginning with Kakuban and the Daidenbōin, the medieval monastic center on Mt. Negoro, and their own head temples of the Chishakuin and Hasedera. Also, the *kaji*-body doctrine had been a standard of the Shingi School since the Muromachi period and inevitably became the official doctrine of the new Shingi sects. Religious practice was the distinguishing characteristic between Chisan and Buzan, which, despite adhering to the same doctrine, developed different ritual lineages. Therefore as a result of the Religious Judicial Persons Law, a distinction can be made between the Shingi School –

those religious organizations with a shared institutional origin and doctrine – and Shingi sects – the legally defined organizations.

In light of this new law and the institutional restructuring that followed, Shingi sectarian scholars not only continued to research Shingon history and doctrine but also began to discern the qualities that differentiate the Shingi sects from other sects of Shingon. Although Raiyu's *kaji*-body theory was the official doctrine of the Chisan and Buzan Sects, little academic attention had been given to the subject. Even in the extensive sectarian histories of the early twentieth century, Raiyu and the *kaji*-body theory were rarely mentioned in more than a brief section on late Kamakura-period doctrine. Kūkai and Kakuban had been the primary focus of sectarian scholarship and the life and thought Raiyu – upon which the sects based their doctrinal statements as independent sects – had yet to be thoroughly investigated.

Recent publications by Shingi scholars that elevate Raiyu to the status of doctrinal founder are a response to the legal requirements of the Religious Judicial Persons Law, which required sects to define themselves not just as an institution but also as a religious institution consisting of a unique doctrine and practice. According to recent Shingi sectarian publications, Raiyu's new interpretation of the dharma-body as represented in the *Dainichi kyō* is the definitive doctrine of Shingi.



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**Notes:**

<sup>1</sup> The Kōyasan Sect is the largest sect of Shingon with 3,487 temples to Chisan's 2,853 and Buzan's 2,632. The most recent survey I could find that included details about each sect was from 1996: See, *Nihon no bukkō shūha* 「日本の仏教宗派」 (Tokyo: Bukkyō Dendō Kyōkai, 1997), 139. Stephen Covell also cites this data, but provides slightly different numbers for Chisan and Buzan – 2,858 and 2,636 respectively: See, Stephen G. Covell, *Japanese Temple Buddhism: Worldliness in a Religion of Renunciation* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i, 2005), 5.

<sup>2</sup> For more on the reasons for implementing the Religious Judicial Persons Law, see Trevor Astley, "New Religions," in *Nanzan Guide to Japanese Religions*, ed. Paul L. Swanson and Clark Chilson (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006), 102.

## Chapter One: The Institutional History of the Shingi Sects

The term Shingi 新義 literally means new interpretation and stands in opposition to the term Kogi 古義, meaning old interpretation. This new interpretation signifies the response of Raiyu (1226 – 1304) to a debate that arose in the Kamakura period over the form of the dharma-body that expounded the *Dainichi kyō*, one of the primary texts of the Shingon School. In the Muromachi period, scholar-priests associated with the temple-complex on Mt. Negoro advanced this theory, which became known as *kajishinsetsu* 加持身説. Located in present-day Wakayama Prefecture, the Mt. Negoro temple-complex was founded by Kakuban (1095 – 1143) in 1140 when he relocated the Daidenbōin from Mt. Kōya to escape the ongoing confrontations with rival temples on the mountain. Mt. Negoro was the seat of the Shingi School until Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536/37 – 1598) destroyed the temple-complex in 1585.

The sacking of Mt. Negoro marked the end of the mountain as a powerful monastic center; however, it was not the end of the Shingi Shingon School. In fact, the term Shingi used to denote the school of Shingon prominent on Mt. Negoro did not come into existence for almost a century after its destruction. Previously, the school had

simply been referred to as Negoroji (a collective term for the temples on the mountain) and its doctrine as Negoro *kyōgaku* 教学 (doctrine). The Shingi Shingon School is not a singular, monolithic institution that has existed since the time of Kakuban. On the contrary, the Shingi Shingon School is a complex institutional identity consisting of a combination of historical figures, locations, doctrines, and sectarian bifurcation. The most recent stage of the development of the Shingi Shingon School is the legal recognition of the Shingi sects as independent religious organizations via the enactment of the Religious Judicial Persons Law of 1951.

### **Kakuban and the Establishment of the Daidenbōin**

Before his death in 835, Kūkai attempted to organize an assembly for the discussion of esoteric Buddhist doctrine. His disciples Jichie (786 – 847) and Shinzen (804 – 891) continued this effort by initiating a lecture series (*dangi* 談義) at Tōji and Mt. Kōya, which they dubbed the *Denbōe* 伝法会 – Assembly for the Transmission of the Dharma. The *Denbō ni e shiki moku*, an apocryphal account of the assembly that was attributed to Shinzen, describes the assembly as consisting of two parts. First, during the third month, novice priests would copy and study texts and then in the fifth month they would be questioned about the contents of the texts. However, since no other documentation remains, the actual proceedings and the specific texts studied for the

assembly are unknown. Whatever this biannual event consisted of, it fell out of practice after the death of Shinzen.<sup>1</sup>

At the beginning of the twelfth century, Kanjo (1052 – 1125), the head of Ninnaji, and Saisen (1025 – 1115), one of the earliest scholars to write on the works of Kūkai, reinstated the *Denbōe* at Kanjo's temple in the capital. Kanjo and Saisen were part of a movement to restore the Shingon School after a steady decline in the eleventh century. Kanjo was renowned for his performance of rituals for the protection of the imperial family (*chingo kokka* 鎮護国家), providing him with the financial support needed to organize the *Denbōe* as well as launch several building projects such as the restoration of Kūkai's mausoleum on Mt. Kōya. Saisen was the first scholar-priest to assemble a collection of Kūkai's works, the *Rei shō shū*, and was the first to write commentaries on a number of Buddhist texts including the *Rishu kyō* upon which he gave the first *Denbōe* lecture in 1109.<sup>2</sup>

Kakuban, inheriting both the tradition of the assembly on doctrine and close imperial connections from his masters, sought to reinstitute the *Denbōe* on Mt. Kōya. He believed it was Kūkai's last wish that such a tradition of doctrinal transmission be upheld and, in part due to the influence of Saisen, Kakuban viewed the works of Kūkai to be the core of Shingon doctrine.<sup>3</sup>

In 1132, under the patronage of Retired-Emperor Toba (1103 – 1156), Kakuban completed the construction of the Daidenbōin on Mt. Kōya and, after a two and half-century hiatus, the *Denbōe* was once again performed twice a year on the mountain. For the first series of lectures, Kakuban spoke on Kūkai's *Ben ken mitsu nikyō ron* as well as on the interpretation of *mikkyō* doctrine by Tendai scholar-priests such as Annen (841 – circa 915). The assembly drew a number of priests to the new temple and as the number of participants increased so did the wealth of the Daidenbōin. In less than a decade, Kakuban's temple became one of the largest on Mt. Kōya.<sup>4</sup>

However, the success of Kakuban's *Denbōe* on Mt. Kōya was short lived. Competition for political influence in the capital and disagreements over land-holdings (*shōen* 莊園), led to a conflict between the Daidenbōin and the Mt. Kōya leadership at Kongōbuji. After several altercations, some of which even escalated into violence, Kakuban and his faction of priests fled the mountain in 1140. Again with the support of Retired-Emperor Toba, Kakuban erected a new Daidenbōin on Mt. Negoro to the north of Mt. Kōya. Kakuban died on Mt. Negoro three years later.<sup>5</sup>

Kakuban has been given the status of the institutional founder of the Shingi School for having established the Daidenbōin on Mt. Kōya where he revived Kūkai's *Denbōe* and for founding the temple-complex on Mt. Negoro. These endeavors later

earned him the posthumous title of Kōgyō Daishi 興教大師, or the reviver of the teachings. Kakuban's contribution to the Shingi School and to Shingon in general was the creation of a forum for studying the works of Kūkai and other texts related to Shingon doctrine. However, he did not posit a new interpretation of this doctrine, or at least not new enough to warrant a new branch of the Shingon School. It was not until the end of the next century that a specific Shingi doctrine, the new interpretation of the *kaji*-body of the dharma-body, developed within the context of Kakuban's institutions of the Daidenbōin and the *Denbōe*.<sup>6</sup>

### **The Move to Mt. Negoro**

Shortly after Kakuban's death, the Daidenbōin priests were ordered to return to their temple on Mt. Kōya. The previous conflict that had triggered Kakuban's departure from the mountain temporarily subsided, but gradually tensions between the Daidenbōin and other temples on Mt. Kōya rematerialized. In 1162, the *mokiri sōdō* 裳切騒動 (Tearing of the Garment Incident) reignited the Kongōbuji and Daidenbōin rivalry, which escalated into violence, destruction, and murder.

During an annual ceremony held on the first month of the year, the Daidenbōin priests wore colored-silk robes. However, it had been the custom on Mt. Kōya to wear black robes during this particular event. The Kongōbuji priests were outraged. At the

next ceremonial event, a Kongōbuji priest demonstrated his disgust by tearing the silk robe off of one of his Daidenbōin rivals and throwing it to the ground. According to the Mt. Kōya record of the incident, an angered member of the Daidenbōin retaliated by murdering the Kongōbuji priest. It is unclear whether or not the killing was intentional or occurred during the skirmish following the disrobing. Whichever the case, the *mokiri sōdō* launched a series of conflicts between the two temples. By 1175, both sides were employing armed combatants to defend against the other. The Daidenbōin found itself on the losing end of the conflict when the temple was burned to ground in 1242 after an unsuccessful assault on Kongōbuji a few months prior.<sup>7</sup>

During this century of strife, Kakuban's *Denbōe* fell by the wayside until 1272 when Raiyu was appointed the new headmaster of the Daidenbōin. Like Kakuban, Raiyu had studied at Ninnaji, which had continued its own version of the *Denbōe*, as well as the multifarious series of lectures at Daigoji and Kōfukuji in Nara. He attempted to restore the Daidenbōin and revive the *Denbōe* on Mt. Kōya, but in doing so instigated another conflict with Kongōbuji. The *ooyuya sōdō* 大湯屋騒動 (Great Bathhouse Incident) of 1286 ensued when Kongōbuji priests voiced their opposition to the construction of a new bathhouse for the Daidenbōin priests. Apparently, the size and location of the bathhouse were deemed inappropriate and the dispute ultimately resulted in the bathhouse's

destruction. Instead of retaliating, Raiyu decided to try a different solution. Following the example of Kakuban almost a century and half earlier, Raiyu and the Daidenbōin priests left Mt. Kōya for Mt. Negoro. This time, however, the move was permanent.<sup>8</sup>

Tomabechi Seiichi in his article “Kōyasan daidenbōin no rekishi – Kongōbuji to daidenbōin no tairitsu wo chūshin ni (The History of the Mt. Kōya Daidenbōin – Centering on the Kongōbuji and Daidenbōin Conflict)” in *Raiyu: Sono shōgai to shisō* published in 2000, argues that the seeds of a distinctly Shingi School of Shingon took root with Raiyu’s 1288 exodus from Mt. Kōya. On Mt. Negoro, Raiyu and the Daidenbōin priests developed a system for the study of doctrine (*ryūgi* 堅義) that later became the platform for creating of a distinctly Shingi doctrine (*kyōgaku*). Raiyu’s theory of the *kaji*-body became the core of this program and the distinguishing doctrine between Shingi and Kogi Shingon. Furthermore, Raiyu created his own dharma lineage (*hōryū* 法流) on Mt. Negoro, the *Chūshōin ryū* 中性院流, which later became a source of contention between the two main branches of Shingi.<sup>9</sup>

### **The Destruction of Negoroji**

After Raiyu relocated the Daidenbōin from Mt. Kōya in 1288, Mt. Negoro grew into one of the largest and most powerful temple-complexes in medieval Japan. However, in 1585 the three hundred year period of Shingi Shingon monastic training on



Mt. Negoro came to an end when the temples were burned to the ground by the warlord Toyotomi Hideyoshi. Documents from this time period are sparse, but apparently, just as his predecessor Oda Nobunaga (1532 – 1582) had destroyed the Tendai temple-complex on Mt. Hiei fourteen years earlier, Hideyoshi razed the temples on Mt. Negoro in order to pacify and subdue the band of militant priests (*sōhei* 僧兵) residing on the mountain. Over the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Negoro formed an army to protect the mountain and its landholdings from marauding warlords. Despite having amassed an army of approximately six thousand warriors, Negoro was no match for Hideyoshi's ten thousand horsemen.<sup>10</sup>

Besides warriors, there were also scholar-priests (*gakuryo* 学侶) as well as administrators (*gyōnin* 行人) residing on the mountain at the time of its destruction. It is unclear how many of these noncombatant Negoro priests and clerks escaped the slaughter, but at least two high ranking priests – Senyo (1530 – 1604) and Genyu (1529 – 1605) – managed to survive the sacking of Negoro, thus preventing the extinction of Raiyu's ritual and doctrinal lineage.<sup>11</sup>

Senyo had been abbot (*nōke* 能化) of the Koikebō, one of the temples making up the temple-complex of Negoroji, and was one of the highest-ranking priests on the mountain at the time. He first fled to the village of Izumi to the north of Mt. Negoro

where he rendezvoused with his disciples Nichiyo (1556 – 1640) and Yūgi (1546 – 1618) before traveling south to Mt. Kōya. After a couple of years on the run, however, fortunes changed for Senyo.

Sponsoring a slue of engineering projects throughout the Yamato Plain, Toyotomi Hidenaga (1540 – 1591) – Hideyoshi’s half brother and top general – sought to renovate Hasedera, a temple just to the north of the old Nara capital. Having recently lost his temple on Mt. Negoro and in need of a location to resurrect his lineage, Senyo managed to find favor with the warlord and was appointed the head of Hasedera. By the end of 1587, just two years after the destruction of Mt. Negoro, Hidenaga had the emperor bestow the title of *sōjō* 僧正, or reverent priest, on Senyo. The following year Hasedera began making renovations with Senyo leading the project. This event marked the beginning of the Hasedera-Koikebō branch of the Shingi School.<sup>12</sup>

The irony of Senyo’s acquisition of Hasedera from the brother of the very person who destroyed his temple in the first place is an example of how quickly power relations shifted in late sixteenth-century Japan. Being demoted from the position of one of the wealthiest landowners in Kii Province to a band of fugitives, Senyo’s cloister of priests at Koikebō endured to become the sole possessor of the authoritative transmission of Raiyu’s Chūshōin lineage.

Genyu also benefited from this volatile political climate, although he had to wait until the demise of the Toyotomi. On the eve of Hideyoshi's attack on Mt. Negoro, Genyu, like his Koikebō counterpart Senyo, fled the mountain first taking refuge in the nearby village of Kitano and then joining Senyo on Mt. Kōya. Sources are unclear as to what Genyu did next, but he apparently spent a considerable amount of time at Daigoji in southern Kyoto. Finally with the defeat of the Toyotomi by Tokugawa Ieyasu (1543 – 1616) at the battle of Sekigahara in 1600, Genyu emerged from hiding and with permission of the Ieyasu founded a new Chishakuin near the foot of Higashi Mountain in southeastern Kyoto.<sup>13</sup>

With the founding of these new locations for the Hasedera-Koikebō and Chishakuin came both a physical and political gap between the two Shingi branches. Senyo was the highest-ranking priest in Raiyu's Chūshōin lineage who survived the destruction of Negoro, thus making him the head of the former Negoro School. However shortly after his death, debate arose as to who would be in charge of this lineage and become *nōke* of the Koikebō at Hasedera.

Senyo passed on the title of *nōke* to Shōjō (d. 1609), who only lived five years longer than Senyo. Upon Shōjō's death, there was a power-struggle between the two highest-ranking priests at the Koikebō, Kūkyō (n.d.) and Kuge (n.d.), over who would

become the next *nōke*. Eventually the conflict ended with Kuge and Nichiyo, Senyo's disciple who followed him from Mt. Negoro, leaving the Koikebō and joining the Chishakuin. With them they took the dharma lineage of Raiyu's Chūshōin line. This split between the two Shingi centers at the Chishakuin and Hasedera-Koikebō marked the beginning of a sectarian division between the Chisan and Buzan Sects.<sup>14</sup>

### **The Beginning of Shingi Sectarianism**

The term Shingi first appeared in a 1665 document called the *Ken mon zui hitsu*. Co-authored by Unshō (1614 – 1693) of the Chishakuin and Kaiju (1614 – 1666) of Hasedera-Koikebō, the document attempted to explain the fundamental distinctions between the Shingon School on Mt. Kōya and their own Mt. Negoro School to the then newly formed office of Temple and Shrine Affairs (*jisha bugyō* 寺社奉行). They write, “Regarding the theoretical aspect of the teachings (*kyōso* 教相), the Kōya lineage is called Kogi and the Negoro lineage is called Shingi. Regarding the practical aspect of the teachings (*jisō* 事相), this completely depends on the main temple (*honji* 本寺).”<sup>15</sup>

This plea for independence from Mt. Kōya was a reaction to the implementation of the *jiin hatto* 寺院法度 in the early seventeenth century. First instituted by Tokugawa Ieyasu in 1601, these laws restructured the administrative body of Buddhist institutions, forcing them to organize into the *honmatsu seido* 本末制度, or head-branch system. This

system required the clergy to study and practice under a single sect and required all temples to be positioned within the hierarchy of one of the recognized head temples. Another set of laws issued in 1665 by Tokugawa Ietsuna (1641 – 1680), the same year Unshō and Kaiju wrote to the Bakufu, was aimed at enforcing monastic rules among the clergy. Specifically, the laws dictated that priests must only study the rituals of their own sect, the abbot of a temple must be knowledgeable of ritual procedures, clergy who break the laws of the state are subject to punishment by the state, and the control of temple expenditures and repairs be governed by the state.<sup>16</sup>

The *jiin hatto* of the Shingon Sect (*shingon shūshō hatto* 真言宗諸法度) issued in 1615 required all Shingon temples to organize into a single sectarian hierarchy. Shingon temples were permitted to align themselves with one of the four main temples in Kyoto based on their interpretations of practice (*jisō*). These four temples – Daigoji, Ninnaji, Takaosan, and Tōji – constituted the orthodox Hirosawa and Ono ritual lineages. Although Negoroji housed an array of ritual lineages many of which were combinations or deviations of these two orthodoxies, the Chishakuin and Hasedera-Koikebō had to select one of the lineages and align themselves with its respective temple. The Chishakuin chose the Ono ritual lineage and became a branch temple of Daigoji and

Hasedera-Koikebō chose the Hirosawa ritual lineage and fell under the domain of Ninnaji.<sup>17</sup>

The Tokugawa Bakufu was less accommodating regarding interpretations of doctrine (*kyōso*), however, and forced all Shingon temples to comply with the *honji* of Mt. Kōya. One possible reason for Mt. Kōya's dominance as the seat of Shingon doctrine was that the Negoro branches at the Chishakuin and Hasedera-Koikebō were still in the process of reorganizing their systems of doctrine after the destruction of Mt. Negoro. Therefore, a united Shingi interpretation of doctrine did not yet exist by the time of the *jiin hatto* of the Shingon Sect.<sup>18</sup>

Whatever the reason for a specific Negoro doctrine not having been recognized along with that of Mt. Kōya, Unshō and Kaiju's petition indicates that by 1665 the Chishakuin and Hasedera-Koikebō came to identify themselves with the term Shingi, which as the petition stated, was an interpretation of doctrine distinct from that of the Kogi interpretation advocated on Mt. Kōya. Despite their plea, the petition failed to convince the Bakufu to reorganize the Shingon temples. The two branches of the Shingi School remained under the domain of Kogi temples until the dismantling of the Bakufu.

## The Beginning of the Modern Shingi Sects

Buddhism had benefited from the support of the government for most of its history in Japan. Although the influence of Buddhist institutions began to wane by the end of the Edo period, the *honmatsu* system was still bolstered by the Bakufu. However in the early Meiji era, Buddhism became the target of political reformers, who viewed Buddhist institutions as anachronistic and associated them with the Tokugawa Bakufu. These reformers depicted Buddhism as an irrational religion and called for the replacement of Buddhism with a modern and rational system that guided the morality of the nation.<sup>19</sup>

Such declarations led to the Meiji government policy of *shinbutsu bunri* 神仏分離, or the separating of kami and buddhas, which called for the dissociation of shrines and temples. Until the Meiji era, temples and shrines had often co-existed on the same site. The separation of the two sites and the construction and promotion of Shinto as an ancient Japanese institution prompted the persecution of Buddhism (*haibutsu kishaku* 廃仏毀釈).<sup>20</sup>

Based on information from the pan-Shingon newsletter *Rokudaishinpō*, it is apparent that the Shingi School was still trying to achieve administrative independence from the Kogi Schools as recently as the early twentieth century. The *Rokudaishinpō*

was founded in 1890 as a bulletin for discussing the state of the Shingon School in the aftermath of the early Meiji persecution of Buddhism and is a record of the Shingon sectarian developments during the Meiji, Taisho, and Showa eras.<sup>21</sup>

According to newsletters published from 1892 to 1893, the Shingon School had begun to break into factions since the end of the *honmatsu* system. However, in response to the Meiji government's restrictions on the number of Buddhist institutions, there was a movement in Shingon to consolidate these factions into one sect (*ichishū* 一宗). However, a balance could not be struck between the Shingi and Kogi factions and, according to the *Rokudaishinpō*, the priests of both sides became more and more restive in an effort to agree upon a single Shingon doctrine. Finally, the hope of becoming one unified Shingon School was abandoned.<sup>22</sup>

This factionalism was most fierce at Daigoji. The Daigoji temple-complex was made up of temples and cloisters that doctrinally and ritually identified with both the Shingi and Kogi Schools. However, members of the Shingi branch (*Shingi ha giin* 新義派議員) of the Shingon School were still under the jurisdiction of the Kogi factions at Daigoji during most of the early Meiji era.<sup>23</sup>

The Chishakuin and Hasedera-Koikebō used the institutional changes of the Meiji era to break their affiliations with Mt. Kōya and the main temples (*honji*) in Kyoto. The



*Rokudaishinpō* also notes that the Shingi factions began discussion on the prospect of becoming an independent sect as early as 1886 and the following year began to petition the Bureau of Shrines and Temples (*shajikyoku* 社寺局) to be considered a separate institution from Kogi. However, it was not until 1900 with the creation of the Bureau of Religions (*shūkyōkyoku* 宗教局) that official permission was granted for the Kogi and Shingi factions to finally become separate Shingon institutions.<sup>24</sup>

The bureau had previously been a part of the Bureau of Shrines and Temples, which was established in 1877 as an office within the newly formed Home Ministry (*naimushō* 内務省). By 1886, however, the office split into two branches: one governing shrines and the other temples. This division became concrete in April of 1900 when the Bureau of Shrines and Temples was permanently closed and the Bureau of Shrines (*jinkyōkyoku* 神社局) and Bureau of Religions were formed.<sup>25</sup>

The separation of the bureaus governing shrines and temples came as a part of a nation-wide movement to increase shrine authority over rites such as funerals. As the administrator of shrines, particularly shrines associated with the imperial family, the Bureau of Shrines became one of the most powerful bureaus in the Home Ministry. For Buddhist institutions, this increase in the bureaucratic power of shrines was perceived as a threat to their control over funerals and other local rituals. Furthermore, under the

domain of the Bureau of Religions, Buddhism was placed into the same category as New Religions and Christianity, both of which government officials regarded with suspicion. Thus, the purpose of the Bureau of Religions was to monitor and control religious institutions, including Buddhist institutions.<sup>26</sup>

The separation of Shingi and Kogi institutions within the Shingon Sect was an example of the bureau's approach to controlling Buddhist sects in the late Meiji era. The failure to unite as one sect threatened the possibility of sectarian infighting, which the bureau desperately wanted to avoid. Separating the two factions within the Shingon Sect was a precautionary administrative decision that allowed the government to control the clergy by dictating institutional affiliation.

After 1900, the Shingi institutions with head temples at the Chishakuin in Kyoto and Hasedera in Nara become known collectively as the *Chibu ryōsan ha* 智豊両山派 (Chisan-Buzan Dual Mountain Branch) of the Shingon Sect. The Shingi institutions retained this title until 1947, when the priests at the Daidenbōin on Mt. Negoro petitioned the United States occupation government to be independent of the other Shingi institutions.<sup>27</sup>

The Buzan faction of the *chibu ryōsan ha* headquartered at Hasedera adamantly protested the request. The priests at Hasedera complained that the loss of the Shingi

name and affiliation with Negoro would put an end to the Shingi Shingon School that had begun on Mt. Negoro and later transferred to Hasedera-Koikebō and the Chishakuin. The Chisan headquarters at the Chishakuin originally supported Hasedera's plea, but were soon forced to focus their efforts elsewhere after a fire destroyed the main part of the temple.<sup>28</sup>

Nonetheless, the priests at the Daidenbōin managed to declare themselves independent from the *chibu ryōsan ha*, a maneuver that created hostility between Buzan and Negoro for several decades. This split between the Daidenbōin and *chibu ryōsan ha* in Kyoto and Nara was just a precursor to the restructuring caused by the Religious Judicial Persons Law a few years later.<sup>29</sup>

### **The Religious Judicial Persons Law and the Contemporary Shingi Sects**

The Religious Judicial Persons Law was the beginning of the current form of Buddhist sects in contemporary Japan. Enacted in April of 1951, the law was drafted during the occupation of allied powers by the Ministry of Education and the Civil Information and Education Section. It went unchanged until 1995, when, as a result of members of Aum Shinrikyō releasing sarin gas on a Tokyo subway, the Diet passed an amendment giving authorities more power to check the finances of religious organizations.<sup>30</sup>

The law was enacted for three main reasons. First, it was designed to protect the freedom of religion and give religious organizations legal status. The legislation of religion prior to the end of the war sought to monitor, control, and even suppress religious organizations that the government thought to be a hindrance to their authority. Under the 1951 law, religious organizations were allowed to obtain legal status as a judicial person and, therefore, could legally defend themselves against government intrusion.<sup>31</sup>

The second purpose of the law was to organize the plethora of New Religious Organizations that rose in popularity after the war. Although pre-war laws governing religion were null at the end of the war, several religious organizations demanded that there be some sort of regulation on religion. Shinto and Buddhist institutions were especially adamant about the need to regulate religious organizations since they had the most to lose by increased support for New Religious Organizations and the breakdown of the hierarchy created by the Bureau of Shrines and Bureau of Religions.<sup>32</sup>

Finally, the law established a definition of a religious organization. Section One, Article Two defines a religious organization as, “an organization that exists for the purpose of propagating a doctrine (*kyōgi* 教義), conducting rites (*gishiki* 儀式), and the training and cultivating of adherents (*shinja wo kyōke ikusei suru* 信者を教化育成す

る。” The article also states that this definition of a religious organization encompasses locations of religious practice such as shrines (*jinja* 神社), temples (*jiin* 寺院), churches (*kyōkai* 教会) and training centers (*shūdōin* 修道院) as well as organizations such as denominations (*kyōha* 教派), sects (*shūha* 宗派), organizations based on teachings (*kyōdan* 教団), churches (*kyōkai*), and religious orders (*shudōkai* 修道会).<sup>33</sup>

Legislators were intentionally vague on the meaning of these terms in an effort to be as inclusive as possible with its definition of a religious organization. An organization had the freedom to declare itself a religious organization under any of these categories and claim tax-exempt status if it could demonstrate that they had a doctrine, set of rituals, and group of trainees or followers that were a part of a defined institution. When granted the status of a religious judicial person, a religious organization could categorize itself any way it wished, as opposed to previous legislation which defined religious organizations in order to fit government mandated categories.

The Religious Judicial Persons Law drastically affected the structure of Buddhist institutions, which resulted in the formation of the contemporary Buddhist sects. The law decentralized administrative authority by allowing temples and subgroups to declare themselves independent. It also required temples and sects to create bylaws defining the relationship of members to the temple and temples to the sect. As a result, the degree of

control members have in the running of the temple varies. Likewise, the level of authority a temple had within a sect is relative to the bylaws of the sect. Most large Buddhist institutions that existed before the war chose to certify themselves as sects (*shūha*). However, individual temples or cloisters of temples could certify themselves as a temple (*jiin*) and still be under the administration of a sect.

In order to become a sect or be a registered temple within a sect, Buddhist institutions had to meet three criteria. First, the members of the sect had to share a common doctrine, conduct rituals, and share a membership of followers or clergy. The law did not specify a minimum number of members, so legally the size of the sect was irrelevant to its status as a religious judicial person. The second criteria required the production of a public announcement system. If the temple or sect plans to make changes in the organization, such as changing the name or amalgamating with another organization, the members of the organization must be informed. Such announcements also included records of the organization's finances. This required temples to keep records of income and expenditures, which they had not had to do prior to the enactment of the law.

The third criteria required the designation of a responsible officer position. This position consisted of a minimum of three people who act as the board of directors for the

organization and oversee all non-religious aspects of the temple or sect. In the case of an individual temple, the head priest is usually the chief responsible officer. Buddhist sects, or the conglomerate of temples that make up a sect, have a board of responsible officers that usually consist of high-ranking temple heads.<sup>34</sup>

In May of 1952, the *Rokudaishinpō* published an explanation of the new law. What followed was the creation of a score of Shingon sects. In the November issue of the newsletter the Kōyasan Shingon Sect announced its status as a religious judicial person. In February of the following year, the Chisan Sect (formerly a part of the *chi bu ryōsan* Branch) and the Omuro Sect centered at Ninnaji made the same announcement followed in April by the Daigo Sect, the Tōji Sect (officially known as Kyōōgokokuji Sect), and the Yamashina Sect. The Daidenbōin also declared itself a sect (the Shingi Shingon Sect) and the Buzan Sect was recognized as an independent sect as well.<sup>35</sup>

## **Conclusion**

As an institution, Shingi scholars posit that the Shingi Shingon School began with the establishment of the Daidenbōin and *Denbōe* on Mt. Kōya and Mt. Negoro. Kakuban, as the creator and first leader of this institution, is revered as the institutional founder of Shingi. However, the doctrinal component of the school, the new interpretation from which the school takes its name, was not an innovation of Kakuban.

Shingi doctrine developed in the Muromachi period when scholar-priests cloistered at the monastic center atop Mt. Negoro adopted Raiyu's *kaji*-body theory as their principle doctrine.

This duality of an institutional founder and a doctrinal founder complies with the requirements set forth by the Religious Judicial Persons Law that demands a religious organization to define itself in terms of institution, doctrine, and practice in order to be recognized as a religious judicial person. The Chisan and Buzan Sects have similar roots in the Daidenbōin and *Denbōe* institutions founded by Kakuban and, likewise, both adhered to Raiyu's *kaji*-body theory as a primary doctrine. The differences between the two sects are their ritual practices that developed separately at the Chishakuin and Hasedera in the Edo period. Therefore, the figures of Kakuban and Raiyu represent an institutional and doctrinal identity for the Shingi Shingon School, but the differences in ritual practice defines Chisan and Buzan as separate sects.

The influence of this legal definition of sect can be seen in the recent scholarship of Shingi sectarian scholars. Shingi scholarship of the early and mid-twentieth century focused on the figure of Kakuban as the institutional founder of Shingi, but little research had been done on the doctrinal component of the Shingi School. Recent publications on Raiyu and his *kaji*-body theory attempt to address this lacuna in sectarian scholarship.



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## Notes:

<sup>1</sup> Tomabechei Seiichi notes that at least by the time of Kakuban in the twelfth century the *Denbō nie shikimoku* 伝法二会式目 was considered authentic. For more on the *Denbōe*, see, Tomabechei Seiichi 苦米地誠一, “Kōyasan daidenbōin no rekishi – Kongōbuji to daidenbōin no tairitsu wo chūshin ni – 「高野山大伝法院の歴史—金剛峰寺と大伝法院の対立を中心に—」,” in *Raiyu: sono shōgai to shisō* 「頼瑜: その生涯と思想」, ed. Fukuda Ryōsei 福田亮成 (Tokyo: Chisan Denbōin, 2000), 34; Tomabechei Seiichi, “Heian jidai ni okeru rongi 「平安時代における論議」,” in *Chisan no rongi: Denbōdaie to fuyu hōonkō* 「智山の論議: 伝法大会と冬報恩講」, ed. Chisan Denbōin 智山伝法院 (Tokyo: Chisan Denbōin, 2005), 15; Ryūichi Abe, *From Kūkai to Kakuban: A Study of Shingon Buddhist Dharma Transmission* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Dissertation Services, 1991), 271.

<sup>2</sup> The full title of the *Rishu kyō* 理趣經 is *Kongōchō yuga hannya kyō* 金剛頂瑜伽般若經, which is a part of the *Dai hannya haramitsu kyō* 大般若波羅密經: see, *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 8: 241. Portions of the sutra were often recited during rituals, but until Saisen was never considered an esoteric Buddhist text: see, Hendrik van der Veere, *A Study into the Thought of Kōgyō Daishi Kakuban* (Leiden, Netherlands: Hotei Publishing, 2000), 21-22.

<sup>3</sup> Abe discusses Kakuban’s goal of reinstating the *Denbōe* on Mt. Kōya: see Ryūichi Abe, 316 and 323. In his Edo-period sectarian history, the *Ketsu mō shū* 「結網集」, Unshō states that at the age of twenty Kakuban had a dream wherein Kūkai appeared before him and beckoned him to come to “my mountain.” Thus, Unshō claimed that Kakuban was summoned by Kūkai to relocate to Mt. Kōya and reinstate the *Denbōe*: see, Unshō 運徹, *Ketsu mō shū* 「結網集」, vol. 106, *Dai nihon bukkyō zensho* 「大日本仏教全書」 (Tokyo: Meichofu Kyū Kai, 1979), 372.

<sup>4</sup> Abe discusses the immediate political and financial success of Kakuban’s Daidenbōin: see, Ryūichi Abe, 324-325.

<sup>5</sup> Tomabechei explains the reasons behind Kakuban’s exodus from Mt. Kōya: see, Tomabechei (2000), 15-18. Adolphson explains the political rivalry between the Daidenbōin and Kongōbuji in detail: see, Mikael S. Adolphson, *The Teeth and Claws of the Buddha: Monastic Warriors and Sōhei in Japanese History* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2007), 39.

<sup>6</sup> Unshō succeeded in convincing Emperor Higashiyama (1675 – 1710) to award Kakuban the title of Kōgyō Daishi, or the Great Teacher Who Revived the Teachings, in 1690. Kakuban died in 1140, thus five and a half centuries had passed before Kakuban was given the title. The date of 1690 is found in Honda Ryūnin 本多隆仁, “Raiyu sōjō to shingi shingon kyōgaku 「頼瑜僧正と真義真言教学」,” in *Raiyu: Sono shōgai to shisō* 「頼瑜: その生涯と思想」, ed. Fukuda Ryōsei 福田亮成 (Tokyo: Chisan Denbōin, 2000), 113.

<sup>7</sup> For more on the *mokiri sōdō*, see Tomabechei (2000), 39-40. Adolphson, 39.

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<sup>8</sup> Kobayashi Jōten discusses the Great Bathhouse Incident in Kobayashi Jōten 小林靖典, “Raiyu no shōgai 「頼瑡の生涯」,” in *Raiyu: sono shōgai to shisō* 「頼瑡: その生涯と思想」, ed. Fukuda Ryōsei 福田亮成 (Tokyo: Chisan Denbōin, 2000), 66-68.

<sup>9</sup> Tomabechi (2000), 15.

<sup>10</sup> Most sectarian histories brush over this event, simply noting the destruction of Mt. Negoro in 1585. The account given above based on the overview found in Saito Akitoshi 齊藤昭俊 and Naruse Yoshinori 成瀬良徳, eds. *Nihon bukkyō shūha jiten* 「日本仏教宗派事典」 (Tokyo: Shin Jinbutsu Ōraisha, 1988), 173-174.

<sup>11</sup> By the late Muromachi period, residents of both Mt. Kōya and Mt. Negoro consisted of a balance between scholar-priests and administrators. Prior to this time, these two groups did not interact within the larger temples signifying a shift in the administrative structure of the temples in the late Kamakura and Muromachi periods. Interactions between these two groups often resulted in conflict: see, *Nihon rekishi dai kei* 「日本歴史大系第二：中世」 (Tokyo: Yamakawa, 1985), 794. The term *gyōnin* can also refer to ascetics.

<sup>12</sup> This account of Senyo’s acquisition of Hasedera is found in Hayashi Ryōshō 林亮勝, *Hasadera koikebō nōke retsuden* 「長谷寺小池坊能化列伝」 (Tokyo: Ningensha, 2004), 14-15. Hidenaga’s rebuilding of the Hasedera was common during the late sixteenth century. Hideyoshi made a considerable effort to rebuild temples in and around Kyoto that he and Oda Nobunaga had destroyed in their efforts to seize control of the temples and their landholdings. For more on the conflict between Negoroji and Hideyoshi, see Neil McMullin, *Buddhism and the State in Sixteenth-Century Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 237-238. According to Miura Akio’s account of Negoro’s destruction, Hidenaga not only participated in the sacking of the mountain, but also was the chief strategists of the attack. See, Miura Akio 三浦章夫, *Mikkyō tsūshi* 「密教通史」 (Tokyo: Kōtokusha, 1940), 147.

<sup>13</sup> According to Fukuda’s account of the sacking of Negoro, Genyu and Senyo both fled to Mt. Kōya and then to Daigoji: see, Fukuda Ryōsei 福田亮成, *Shingi shingon no kyōfū: Raiyu sōjō to genyū sōjō* 「新義真言の教風：頼瑡僧正と玄宥僧正」 (Tokyo: Nonburi, 2003), 60. However according to Hayashi, different sources claim Senyo was on Mt. Kōya, at Daigoji, and in Izumi all at the same time: see, Hayashi, 14. Furthermore, the *Mikkyō jiten* states that Hideyoshi sent Genyu to Daigoji and ordered him to stay there: see, Sawa Ryūken 佐和隆研, ed. *Mikkyō jiten* 「密教辞典」 (Kyoto: Hōzō Kan, 1975), 176. Aligning themselves with the Tokugawa regime not only had the immediate benefit of official support to build a new head temple in Kyoto, but also gave the Chishakuin and Hasedera dominance over the Kantō area when Tokugawa set up his capital in Edo. For this reason, most Shingon temples in the Kantō area today belong to the Chisan and Buzan Sects.

<sup>14</sup> The dharma lineage is symbolized in the form of a black basket (*kurokago* 黒籠) containing a document allegedly written by Kakuban that only the *nōke* of the Chūshōin lineage is allowed to read. In

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response to Kūkyō's appointment of Yūgi, another priest who fled Negoro with Senyo and Nichiyo, to the position of *nōke* of the Koikebō, Kuge took the basket and fled to the Chishakuin: see, Utaka Yoshiaki 宇高良哲, "Kinsei shiki no hasedera to chishakuin – tokuni chūshōinryū no hōryū sōshō wo chūshinni 「近世初期の長谷寺と智積院 特に中性院流の法流相承を中心に」 (Hasedera and Chishakuin in Early Modern Times)," *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies* 「印度学仏教学研究」 22, no. 1 (December 1973): 170-172.

<sup>15</sup> Sakaki explains this letter in Sakaki Yoshitaka 榊義孝, *Shingi kyōgaku no sō raiyu sōjō nyūmon* 「新義教学の祖頼瑜僧正入門」 (Tokyo: Nonbun, 2003), 28.

<sup>16</sup> Richard Jaffe discusses the details of the *jiin hatto* and the effect they had on the priesthood in Richard Jaffe, *Neither Monk Nor Layman: Clerical Marriage in Modern Japanese Buddhism* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2001), 18-19.

<sup>17</sup> This overview of the *jiin hatto* for the Shingon Sect is from Sakamoto Masahito 坂本正仁, "Shingon shūshō hatto' to shingon go ka honji no seiritsu ni tsuite – kinsei shoki shingonshū shi no ichi gawa men 「〈真言宗諸法度〉と真言五箇本寺の成立について-近世初期真言宗史の一側面」 (Shingon-shū-hatto [by laws] and Shingon-Gokanhonji [The Five Head Temples] – An Aspect of the Shingon-school in the Early Edo Period)," *Taishō Daigaku Daigakuin Kenkyū Ronshū* 「大正大学大学院研究論集」 3 (1979): 293. Although the *jiin hatto* mandated that Shingon temples officially align their practices and doctrines under the guidelines set by the main temples, it is presumptuous to conclude that they actually did so. The Chishakuin and Hasedera both tremendously expanded the number of temples affiliated with the Shingi School, especially in the Kantō region. Also, scholar-priests at both temples produced vast quantities of works on doctrine and both temples revived their own versions of the doctrinal debate system that had taken place on Mt. Negoro.

<sup>18</sup> See, Sakamoto, 299.

<sup>19</sup> For more on the persecution of Buddhism in the Meiji era, see James Edward Ketelaar, *Of Heretics and Martyrs in Meiji Japan: Buddhism and its Persecution* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 50, 101, 174-181

<sup>20</sup> Kuroda Toshio discusses the separation of Shinto and Buddhism in Kuroda Toshio, "Shinto in the History of Japanese Religion," in *Religion and Society in Modern Japan*, ed. Mark R. Mullins, et. al. (Nagoya, Japan: Nanzan Institute for Religion and Culture, 1993), 26-27. The character compound 排仏棄積 is also used for the term *haibutsu kishaku*.

<sup>21</sup> The best source for information on the *Rokudaishimpō* 「六大新報」 is the newsletter's website: see <http://rokudaishimpo.jp/company.php> (cited on April 28, 2008). The newsletter was originally called *Dentō* 伝灯.

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<sup>22</sup> I have used a version of the newsletter that has been collected and edited by Imai Mikio: see, Imai Mikio 今井幹雄, ed. *Shingon shū hyaku nen koborebanashi* 「真言宗百年余話」 (Kyoto: Rokudaishinpō, 1997), 41.

<sup>23</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>24</sup> *ibid.*, 209.

<sup>25</sup> This explanation the Meiji bureaucracies is from Inoue Nobutaka 井上順孝, “Shajikyoku 「社寺局」,” in *Shintō jiten* 「神道事典」 (Tokyo: Kōbun Dō, 1994), 130.

<sup>26</sup> See, Inoue Nobutaka and Sakamoto Koremaru 坂本是丸, “Jinja to shintō no rekishi 「神社と神道の歴史」,” in *Shintō jiten* 「神道事典」 (Tokyo: Kōbun Dō, 1994), 20.

<sup>27</sup> See, Imai, 355.

<sup>28</sup> *ibid.*, 359.

<sup>29</sup> *ibid.*, 365.

<sup>30</sup> For more on the role of the occupation government on the legislation of religious organizations, see Helen Hardacre, *Shintō and the State 1868 – 1988* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), 135 and Sheldon Garon, *Molding Japanese Minds: the State in Everyday Life* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 213.

<sup>31</sup> Trevor Astley explains the intention of the law: see, Trevor Astley, “New Religions,” in *Nanzan Guide to Japanese Religions*, ed. Paul L. Swanson and Clark Chilson (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2006), 102.

<sup>32</sup> Garon discusses the relation of New Religious Organizations of the government’s attempt to control them both in the pre-war and post-war periods: see, Garon, 207.

<sup>33</sup> I have translated this portion of the law from an official version available at *Shūkyō hōjin hō* 宗教法人法, Chapter 1 Article 2 <http://www.houko.com/00/01/S26/126.HTM> (December 5, 2007). The Houko.com website makes available electronic versions of Japanese legal documents.

<sup>34</sup> This overview of the three criteria of religious judicial persons is based on an explanation in, Covell, 149.

<sup>35</sup> See, Imai, 392.

## Chapter Two: Raiyu and the Shingi Doctrine of the *Kaji*-body

By casting Raiyu as the founder of Shingi doctrine (*kyōgaku no so* 新義教学の祖), Sakaki Yoshitaka and other contemporary Buzan and Chisan scholars are claiming that the doctrine associated with the Shingi Shingon School, that which conceptually distinguishes it from the Kogi School, originated with the works of Raiyu and his interpretation of the *Dainichi kyō*. However, pronouncing Raiyu as the founder of Shingi doctrine is not the same as crediting him with the founding of the Shingi School.

Shingi Shingon is after all a part of the Shingon tradition and therefore holds Kūkai to be the founder (*shūso* 宗祖). Unlike the Kogi School, however, the Shingi School also considers Kakuban to be a founder (*kaiso* 開祖) for having established the temple complex on Mt. Negoro that later became the headquarters of Shingi. Raiyu is not revered as the founder of the Shingi School. He does not have a posthumous title such as that of Kūkai (Kōbō Daishi) and Kakuban (Kōgyō Daishi) nor is his name typically praised during the ritual liturgy (*hōyō* 法要). Raiyu's contribution to the Shingi School is the doctrine signified by the term *shingi* 新義 (new interpretation). This new interpretation, called the theory of the *kaji*-body (*kajishinsetsu* 加持身説), refers to

Raiyu's interpretation of the *Dainichi kyō*. Raiyu's theory of the *kaji*-body was an attempt to align the theory of the dharma-body posited by Kūkai (*hosshinseppō* 法身說法) with the language describing the dharma-body in the *Dainichi kyō* and its commentary the *Dainichi kyōsho* (hereafter *Daisho*).

### The Language of *Hosshinseppō*

Shingon *shūgaku* 宗学, or sectarian studies, is divided into two categories: *jisō* 事相, or the practical aspect, and *kyōso* 教相, or the theoretical aspect. *Jisō* refers to the study and practice of esoteric rituals such as the fire ritual and ritual practices involving mandala. *Kyōsō*, on the other hand, is the study of doctrine regarding such ritual practices. This duality of practice and theory is a result of an amalgamation of two traditions of esoteric Buddhism in Tang-period China (618 – 907).<sup>1</sup>

Although the performance of ritual is the primary function of Shingon priests and their training largely consists of studying ritual, *shūgaku* scholarship deals almost solely with doctrine. The two Shingon doctrines that have received the most attention from sectarian and non-sectarian scholars are *sokushinjōbutsu* 即身成佛 and *hosshinseppō* 法身說法. In the *Soku shin jōbutsu gi*, Kūkai first proposed the idea of *sokushinjōbutsu*, or becoming a buddha in the immediate body, as a part of his ongoing effort to propagate

the esoteric school of Buddhism (*mikkyō* 密教), which he claimed had a superior method and theory for the attainment of buddhahood to that of the exoteric Buddhist schools (*kengyō* 顯教). Kūkai's concept of *hosshinseppō*, or the expounding of the dharma by the dharma-body, explains the relationship between the dharma-body and sentient beings – an interaction that makes *sokushinjōbutsu* possible.

### **Buddha-body Theory**

*Hosshinseppō* is the *mikkyō* interpretation of buddha-body thought (*busshin kan* 仏身觀). The concept of multiple buddha-bodies coincided with the emergence of Mahayana Buddhism in India and the incorporation of various buddhas into the Buddhist pantheon. In early Mahayana, the historical Buddha Sākyamuni became known not just as the Buddha, but also as the *hengeshin* 變化身 (the transformation body). The idea of a transformation body suggests that there was a prior form from which the historical Buddha had transformed. Therefore, the idea of two buddha-bodies (*ni busshin* 二仏身) proposed that there was a source of the buddha that had existed from a timeless beginning and that periodically manifested itself in human form.<sup>2</sup>

Buddha-body thought later shifted from the two body theory to a three body theory, which developed using two sets of terminology: 1) *hosshin* 法身, *hōshin* 報身, *ōshin* 応身, and 2) *jishōshin* 自性身, *juyūshin* 受用身, *hengeshin* 變化身. The *ōshin* and

*hengeshin* both denote the transformed buddha-body that communicates with sentient beings, i.e. the historical Buddha. The *hōshin* and *juyūshin* are both the reward-body and signify the form of buddha that arises as a result of practice and achieved upon the attainment of buddhahood. Buddhas such as Amida Nyorai and Yakushi Nyorai fall under this category of buddha-body.<sup>3</sup>

Finally, the *hosshin* and *jishōshin* are the dharma-body. The dharma-body does not have a form nor does it expound the dharma itself. It is the totality of buddha, the essence of both the historical Buddha and enlightened figures such as Amida Nyorai; and, although the source of Buddhist teachings, the dharma-body cannot be expressed in language. It is within the context of the three-bodies of buddha ideology (*sanshin* 三身) that Kūkai proposed his view of *hosshinseppō*.<sup>4</sup>

### **The Mikkyō Dharma-body**

In the *Ben ken mitsu nikyō ron*, Kūkai exclaimed that *hosshinseppō*, like *sokushinjōbutsu*, is a primary ideological difference between *mikkyō* doctrine and *kengyō* doctrine. Arguing that his school provided a comprehensive theory of the dharma-body whereas the other schools did not, Kūkai claimed that his school was superior in its understanding of the dharma. Although the Nara schools and Tendai School had various



doctrines on the Mahayana Buddhist concept of the three bodies of the buddha, according to Kūkai they all lacked a comprehensive theory of the dharma-body.<sup>5</sup>

The transformation and reward-bodies, Kūkai claimed, are abridged and simple explanations of the dharma expounded as an external form of *hōben* 方便, or skillful means. He went on to state that the third body of buddha, *hosshin*, was the actual source of the dharma and all teachings of the dharma. In his view, the *hosshin* of *mikkyō* doctrine was not a profound mystery that cannot be expressed in language and was not ultimately void of shape, form, and expression, nor was it empty (*kū* 空).<sup>6</sup>

The *mikkyō* view of *hosshinseppō* proclaimed that there was nothing beyond the limits of language. Although the dharma-body cannot be encapsulated in ordinary speech, it can be understood through a universal and mystical language consisting of *shuji* 種子 (Sanskrit: *bjia* – Siddham characters representing the essence of buddhas and bodhisattvas), forms of *sanmaya* 三昧耶 (Sanskrit: *samaya* – enlightened forms, i.e. manifestations of Dainichi), and images of buddhas, mandala, dharani, mantra, etc. Furthermore, the *hosshin* can be accessed through the practice of the three mysteries of body, speech, and mind (*sanmitsu* 三密). This access is possible because the dharma-body is continually expounding the dharma through various means.<sup>7</sup>

**Figure 1: Theories on Buddha-bodies**

<b>Theory</b>	<b>Bodies</b>	<b>Meaning</b>	<b>Example</b>
二仏身 Two Buddha-bodies	報身 <i>hōshin</i>	Reward-body/ Bliss-body	Shaka Nyorai 釈迦如来
	応身 <i>ōshin</i>	Transformation-body	Shaka Nyorai 釈迦如来
三仏身 Three Buddha-bodies	法身 <i>hosshin</i>	Dharma-body	Inexpressible
	報身 <i>hōshin</i>	Reward-body	Amida Nyorai 阿弥陀如来
	応身 <i>ōshin</i>	Transformation-body	Shaka Nyorai 釈迦如来
唯識論の三仏身 Three Buddha-bodies according to Yogācāra Theory	自性身 <i>jishōshin</i>	Dharma-body	Inexpressible
	受用身 <i>juyūshin</i>	Reward-body	Amida Nyorai 阿弥陀如来
	變化身 <i>hengeshin</i>	Transformation-body	Shaka Nyorai 釈迦如来
四種仏身 Four types of Buddha- bodies	自性身 <i>jishōshin</i>	Absolute-body	Dainichi Nyorai 大日如来
	受用身 <i>juyūshin</i>	Reward-body	Amida Nyorai 阿弥陀如来
	變化身 <i>hengeshin</i>	Transformation-body	Shaka Nyorai 釈迦如来
	等流身 <i>torushin</i>	Emanation-body	Fudō-myōō 不動明王

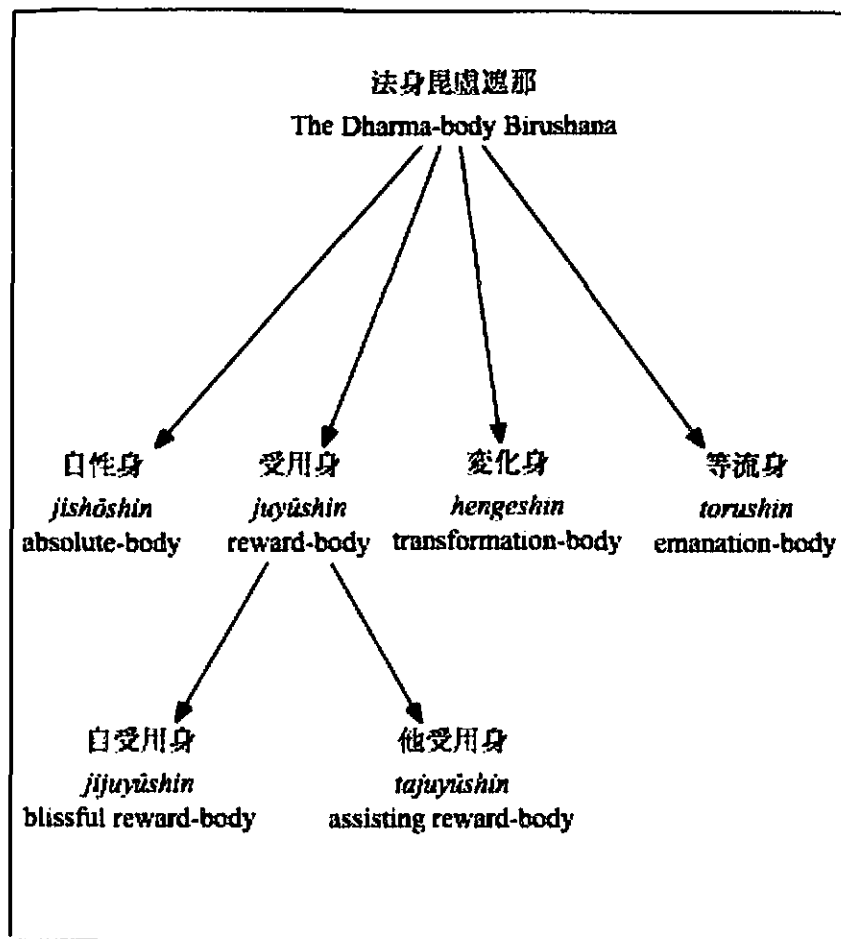
## The Four Types of Dharma-body

In the *Ben ken mitsu nikyō ron*, Kūkai jettisons the three buddha-body theory of Mahayana Buddhism and proposed the four buddha-body theory of the dharma-body (*shishuhosshin* 四種法身). He claimed to have adapted the concept from one of the appendixes to the *Kongō chō kyō*, which deals with the four types of mandala and how each type relates to the dharma-body. The main difference between the *mikkyō* view of the dharma-body and the *kengyō* view is the assertion that each of the four bodies is an aspect of the dharma-body itself. In other words, the dharma-body manifests itself in multifarious ways in order to communicate with sentient beings. Therefore, Kūkai concluded that the dharma-body can be known and does expound the dharma, albeit through esoteric means.<sup>8</sup>

The first of the dharma-bodies is the *jishōshin* 自性身, or the absolute-body. The absolute-body is the essence or principle (*ri* 理) aspect of the dharma-body. It is the total of all teachings, manifestations, and ideals of the dharma. The second and third bodies have the same name as the *kengyō* theory of the *juyūshin* 受用身 and *hengeshin* 變化身 and likewise represent the manifestations of enlightened buddhas such as Amida Nyorai and Shaku Nyorai, the difference being that in *mikkyō* these entities are understood to be

representations of the total dharma-body; i.e., the absolute-body. The *torushin* 等流身, or emanation-body, is particular to *mikkyō* and is the form taken by the dharma-body for the expedient purpose of assisting sentient beings on the path to buddhahood. *Myōō* 明王, such as Fudō-myōō, are a prime example of the emanation-body.<sup>9</sup>

**Figure 2: Kūkai's Hosshinseppō**



= 法身說法  
Hosshinseppō  
Expounding of the  
Dharma by the  
Dharma-body

With his theory of *hosshinseppō*, Kūkai proposed that the dharma-body reveals itself through its various manifestations and that sentient beings can access the dharma-body through the three interactive mysteries (*sarimitsu kaji* 三密加持) in order to attain buddhahood. He also equates the dharma-body with Dainichi, who had previously been classified as a form of the reward-body. According to Yoshito Hakeda in his translation of Kūkai's works, this correlation of the dharma-body with Dainichi was "a great leap in Buddhist speculation." The equation of the dharma-body with a particular buddha confines it to the limitations of that form; and, thus, it can no longer be the absolute-body of the dharma.<sup>10</sup>

Kūkai made this assertion based on the *Daisho's* use of the phrase "Birushana *honjihosshin* 毘盧遮那本地法身" (Birushana the original dharma body) to identify the speaker in the *Dainichi kyō*. However, Kūkai did not further discuss the nature of Birushana *honjihosshin* and how this form of the dharma-body expounded the sutra. Discourse regarding the form of the dharma-body in the *Dainichi kyō* was a debate that emerged well after the time of Kūkai. This debate, known as the *kyōshugi* 教主義, eventually led Raiyu to develop the *kaji*-body theory, which, according to recent scholarship on Raiyu, split the doctrines of the Kogi and Shingi Schools of Shingon.<sup>11</sup>

## The *Kyōshu* Debate

*Kyōshu* is a general term that refers to the entity – a person, buddha, bodhisattva, etc. – that, as the main character of a sutra (*kyō* 經), expounds the doctrine associated with that sutra. In most cases, this figure is the historical Buddha Sākyamuni. Kūkai, however, proposed in the *Ben ken mitsu nikyō ron* that the dharma of the esoteric teachings was not expounded by the historical Buddha, but rather by the dharma-body itself. Therefore, unlike the Buddha found in non-esoteric sutra, the *kyōshu* of the *Dainichi kyō* was not a historical figure, who, as a physical and temporal entity, taught the dharma to his disciples and other attendants. Instead, Kūkai argued that the *Dainichi kyō* was taught by the abstract manifestation of the dharma.<sup>12</sup>

This assertion that the dharma-body expounded the dharma may have differentiated *mikkyō* from other schools of Buddhism regarding doctrinal discourse, but it also left ample room for debate on just how the dharma-body goes about expounding the dharma. Kūkai claimed that the teachings of the *Dainichi kyō* began when Henjō Nyorai – a pseudonym for Dainichi Nyorai – taught his mysterious teachings to Kongōsatta, the Thunderbolt Bodhisattva. After several centuries of contemplating these teachings while sealed in an iron tower, Kongōsatta transmitted these teachings to Ryūmyō Bosatsu (Sanskrit: Nāgārjuna Bodhisattva) who wrote them down in the form of

the *Dainichi kyō*. What Kūkai did not explain, however, is in what form and through what means Henjō Nyorai transmitted his teachings to Kongōsatta.<sup>13</sup>

### **Origins of the *Kyōshu* Debate**

Discourse on the nature of the dharma-body as represented in the *Dainichi kyō* surfaced in the Shingon School in the Kamakura period and continued throughout the Muromachi period. Although Kūkai exclaimed that the *kyōshu* in the *Dainichi kyō* was the dharma-body, he did not offer an explanation of how the dharma-body expounded the sutra. In fact, unlike later scholar-priests he made little attempt to parse the dharma-body according to function. The most likely origin for the *kyōshu* debate came from the Tendai School and was only later taken up as a subject of debate by Shingon scholar-priests. Ennin (794 – 864), Enchin (814 – 891), and Annen (841 – circa 915) all discussed the *kyōshu* to some degree in their works. However, the Tendai contribution to the *kyōshu* debate is often dismissed by Shingon scholars, stating that Tendai discourse is outside the context of Kūkai's *hosshinseppō* and, therefore, irrelevant to the *kyōshu* debate.<sup>14</sup>

In the Shingon School, Dōhan (1178 – 1252), who was the most renowned scholar on Mt. Kōya during Raiyu's life as a young priest, was one of the first to put forth a theory on the *kyōshu*. He discussed the *kaji*-body at some length in his work the

*Dainichi kyōsho henmyō shō* wherein he claimed that the *kyōshu* is the *honji*-body within the *jishō*-body, a view that later became the orthodox view in the Kogi School. Also involved in the *kyōshu* debate was Ryūe (n.d.), one of Dōhan's contemporaries, who took a different stance claiming that the *honji*-body is the *jishō*-body of the four mandalas and that the *kaji*-body is the *kyōshu* of the *Dainichi kyō*. Raiyu proposed his *kaji*-body theory in opposition to Dōhan and as an expansion of Ryūe's theory.<sup>15</sup>

This discourse on the nature of Dainichi as the expounder of the dharma in the *Dainichi kyō* was based on Kūkai's assertion that the dharma-body is equal to Dainichi. However, the *Dainichi kyō* is silent regarding the nature of the *kyōshu*, simply referring to the narrator as the *bagabon* 薄伽梵.

### **The *Bagabon* as the *Kyōshu***

The term *bagabon* is a transliteration of the Sanskrit term *bhagavat*, meaning the honored one, and is commonly found in sutras as an honorific epithet for the historical Buddha. Therefore, the term *bagabon* in the *Dainichi kyō* does not directly refer to the dharma-body or Dainichi Nyorai. The authors of the sutra's commentary, Zemmui (Sanskrit: Subhakarasiṃha 637 – 735) and Ichigyō (Chinese: Yi Xing 683 – 727), attempted to explain the *bagabon* mentioned in the *Dainichi kyō* based on theories of the



dharma-body found in the *Kegon kyō* and *Dai chi do ron*, two Chinese Buddhist texts that were prominent during the Tang period.<sup>16</sup>

They employed two sets of terms to describe the identity of the *bagabon*. First they referred to the *bagabon* as “Birushana *honjihosshin* 毘盧遮那本地法身.” Birushana is the central deity in the *Kegon kyō* and in Shingon doctrine became equated with the sun; hence, the deity was renamed Dainichi Nyorai (the Great Sun Tathāgata). *Honjihosshin*, or the original dharma-body, referred to the unchanging and absolute aspect of the dharma-body.<sup>17</sup>

Assuming that Dainichi Nyorai and Birushana are the same, Kūkai’s claim that the dharma-body expounds the dharma and the dharma-body is equal to Dainichi Nyorai coheres with this passage of the *Daisho*. Therefore, one can conclude that Dainichi is the *bagabon* and, thus, the *kyōshu*. This line of argumentation was later used in the Kogi School as the basis for the *honji*-body theory.<sup>18</sup>

In the next line of the commentary, however, Zemmui and Ichigyō use a second set of terms to describe the *bagabon*: the *kaji*-body (*kajishin* 加持身) and the reward-body (*juyūshin* 受用身). The *Daisho* states that the *kaji*-body resides within the reward-body of the buddha(s) and from this body the power of *kaji* radiates through the many buddhas as an extension of the cognition of the Tathāgata (*nyorai shin ō* 如来心王).

These two passages, the locus classicus of the terms *honji* and *kaji* of the *kyōshu* debate, were problematic for Shingon scholar-priests adhering to Kūkai's theory of *hosshinseppō*, a problem confounded by the *Daisho*'s abstract explanation of the dharma-body.<sup>19</sup>

### **The View of the Dharma-body in the *Daisho***

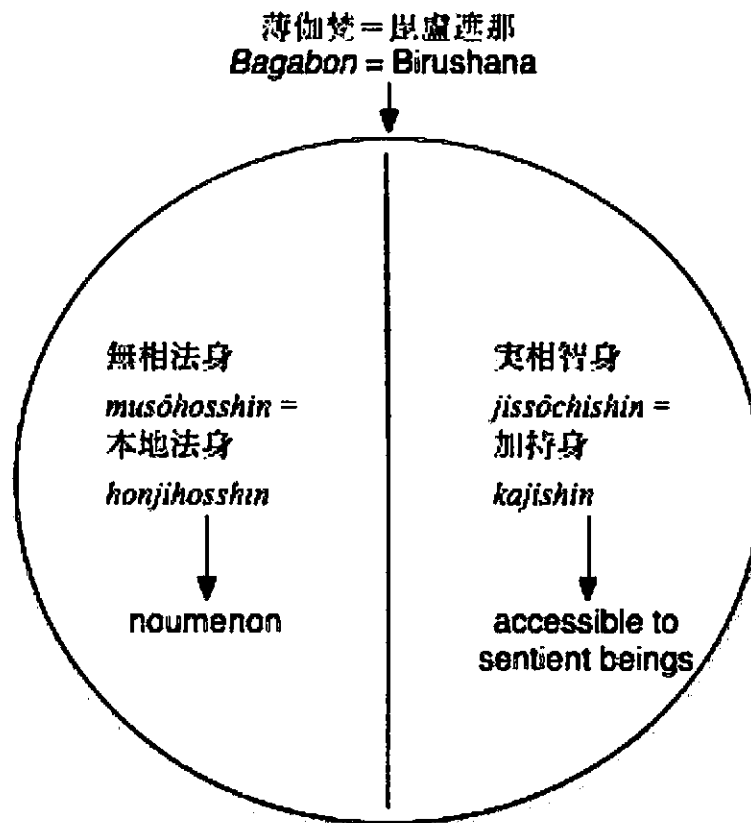
According to Sakaki Yoshitaka, the *Daisho* presented the *bagabon* as the perfected *kyōshu* (*kyōshu jōju* 教主成就). In other words, *bagabon* was a catchall term for the multiple forms of the dharma-body and this abstraction allowed for the dharma-body to be parsed according to its functional aspects. Zemmui and Ichigyō outlined these aspects making up the dharma-body as the *musōhosshin* 無相法身, *jissōchishin* 実相智身, *honjihosshin* 本地法身, and *kajishin* 加持身. They further grouped these four bodies into two parts according to their function. The *musō* and *honji* dharma-bodies are the principle or source (*kongenteki* 根源的) aspect of buddha, whereas the *jissōchi* and *kaji* bodies are the active (*katsudō* 活動) agent.<sup>20</sup>

The first of these bodies, the *musōhosshin*, is a compound consisting of the terms *musō*, literally meaning without aspect or characteristic, and *hosshin* (dharma-body). The compound refers to the formless and universal body of the dharma, which Zemmui and Ichigyō used to describe the *honjihosshin* – the epithet for Birushana in the *Daisho*. Furthermore, they claimed that the *musōhosshin* and *honjihosshin* were the same,

employing a term later used often by Kūkai – *munimubetsu* 無二無別 – literally, not two, not separate. Therefore, as represented in the *Daisho*, the *honji* dharma-body is the eternal and universal body of the dharma that transcends form.<sup>21</sup>

The *jissōchishin* is the all-encompassing wisdom aspect of the dharma-body, which, in contrast to the *musō* dharma-body, can be perceived. This body manifests itself through *kaji*; thus, the *kaji*-body is the form through which this all-encompassing wisdom aspect of the dharma communicates with sentient beings.<sup>22</sup>

**Figure 3: The Kyōshu in the Daisho**



The *Daisho* represents the dharma-body in two parts: that without aspect (*musō*) and that with the aspect of all-encompassing wisdom (*jisōchi*). The part without aspect is inaccessible to sentient beings. This is the *honji* dharma-body, or the original-body, which is the noumenal form of Birushana that only he can intrinsically perceive. However, sentient beings have access to the aspect of all-encompassing wisdom through the *kaji*-body. The *Daisho* also notes, however, that the *honji* dharma-body is revealed through the *kaji*-body.<sup>23</sup>

The *Daisho* states that the *kaji*-body is a part of the reward-body and is born from the merit of the Tathāgata's self-realization (*jishō* 自証) that was obtained through the "ten-stages of the bodhisattvas and the divine power of buddhas." This passage suggests that as a result of the self-realization of the Tathāgata (i.e. Dainichi), the *kaji*-body functions as an intermediate between the original-body of the dharma and sentient beings. In other words, Dainichi expounded the dharma in the form of the reward-body and not the dharma-body.<sup>24</sup>

Considering that the *kyōshu* debate was the result of medieval scholars-priests juxtaposing Kūkai's assertion that the sutra was expounded by the dharma-body (*hosshinseppō*) with the interpretation of the *kyōshu* found in the commentary on the

sutra, the *Daisho*, a seemingly irresolvable contradiction arose in the concept of the dharma-body. If the sutra was expounded by the *kaji*-body and not the *honji* dharma-body, then either the sutra was not taught by Dainichi, who according to Kūkai was the dharma-body, or Dainichi expounded the sutra and was not the dharma-body; thus, discrediting Kūkai's *hosshinseppō* theory. Raiyu attempted to resolve this crisis by postulating the existence of another *kaji*-body, one that was a part of the absolute-body.

### **The Meaning of *Kaji*-body**

*Kaji* 加持 is a ubiquitous term in Shingon doctrine and its meaning varies depending on the context. In the case of ritual, *kaji* is the vehicle or tool through which benefits (*riyaku* 利益) are transferred from a particular deity to the practitioner. This use of the term *kaji* is often translated as empowerment, suggesting that the recipient of benefits has been granted some desired result through a particular practice. The objective of Shingon rituals such as the *goma* 護摩 is the use of *kaji* to distribute benefits to petitioners.<sup>25</sup>

However, the *kaji* of Raiyu's *kaji*-body theory, which deals exclusively with the use of the term in the *Dainichi kyō*, differs slightly from the empowerment *kaji* of the ritual milieu. The two characters making up the compound – *ka* 加, meaning to add, and

*ji* 持, meaning to hold or possess – suggests an addition to something already being possessed. In other words, an agent that is interactive between what one already possesses, such as the potential for buddhahood, and something that is external that adds to the internal, such as a buddha or a teaching.

Moreover, the two-character compound is found in the full title of the sutra, *Dai birushana jōbutsu jinhen kaji kyō* 大毘盧遮那成佛神變加持經, and denotes one of the characteristics of Birushana discussed in the text. Therefore, within the context of the *Dainichi kyō*, its commentary (the *Daisho*), and the *kyōshu* debate, *kaji* suggests an interaction between the cosmic buddha Birushana (Dainichi) and the practitioner that allows for the attainment of buddhahood.<sup>26</sup>

Translations of *kajishin* as “manifestation-body” and “empowerment-body” suggest an exterior entity as the source of the exchange between buddha and sentient beings, which marginalizes the active element of the “possessing” entity. A more accurate translation for *kajishin* as interactive-body emphasizes the exchange that occurs between the internal and the external, what is possessed and what is added.<sup>27</sup>

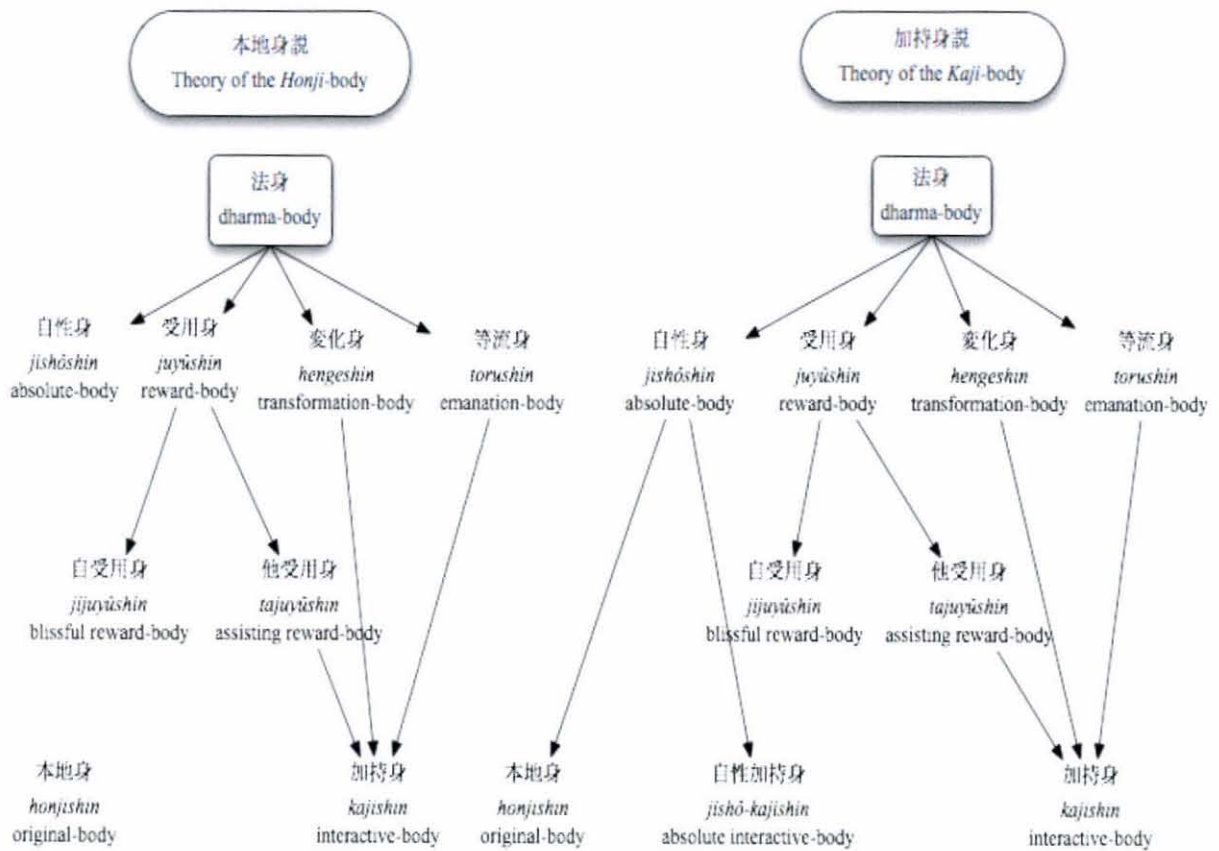
## Raiyu's *Kaji*-body Theory

As a part of a continuing discourse on Kūkai's *hosshinseppō*, Raiyu's *kaji*-body theory postulated how the *jishō*-body, or the absolute-body of the dharma-body, could have spoken the words recorded in the sutra. If one assumes the absolute-body is the perfection of all-encompassing wisdom that ceaselessly expounds the dharma for its own enjoyment, how this aspect of the dharma-body could momentarily pause in order to vocalize these teachings in a language that could then be written in the form of the *Dainichi kyō* is problematic. Raiyu attempted to solve this problem by claiming that the absolute-body must have an agent for transmitting these teachings as an extension of the *honji*-body. He called this agent the *kaji*-body.

Raiyu's interpretation of the *kaji*-body slightly diverted from the view of the *kaji*-body discussed in the *Daisho*. He did not deny the claim that the *kaji*-body intermediates between the *honji*-body of the dharma and sentient beings. This form of *kaji*-body was a part of the reward-body and, like other forms of the reward-body, such as Amida Nyorai, was not the dharma-body. However, he additionally proposed that the absolute-body must itself contain *kaji*-body along with *honji*-body in order to have expounded the teachings. Moreover, if this *kaji*-body, as the *Daisho* suggests, is a separate aspect of the dharma-body from that of the principle bodies (the *musōhosshin* and *honjihosshin*), then

it is not the *honji*-body that teaches the sutra. In other words, the *kyōshu* of the *Dainichi kyō* must have a *kaji*-body agent in order to have communicated the teachings to Kongōsatta. Raiyu proposed that the self-realized aspect of the dharma-body (the totality of the *musōhosshin* and *jissōchishin* in the *Daisho*) has two aspects: the *honjishin*, or original-body, and *kajishin*, or interactive-body.<sup>28</sup>

**Figure 4: Kogi and Shingi Theories of the Dharma-body as represented in the Dainichi kyō<sup>29</sup>**





Furthermore, Raiyu's *kaji*-body theory attempted to resolve the discrepancy between Kūkai's *hosshinseppō* and the representation of the *kyōshu* in the *Daisho*. If the absolute-body contains both an original and interactive agent, the absolute-body of the dharma-body can both be the unchanging and timeless aspect of the dharma – which Kūkai claimed was the expounder of the dharma – and cohere with the *Daisho*'s explanation that the *Dainichi kyō* was transmitted through the *kaji*-body.

### **The Post-Raiyu *Kyōshu* Debate**

After Raiyu's death in 1304, his writings on the *kaji*-body theory were copied and disseminated to other temples. Within a generation, criticism of Raiyu and his new interpretation of the *kyōshu* began to percolate. One of the earliest critics of Raiyu was the Tōji scholar-priest Gōhō (1306 – 1362). Gōhō agreed with Raiyu that the *kaji*-body was the form of the dharma-body that expounded the *Dainichi kyō*, but argued that this *kaji*-body was actually an aspect of the reward-body, and not part of the absolute-body.<sup>30</sup>

In response to this criticism from Gōhō, Shōken (1307 – 1392) attempted to clarify the Negoro position on the *kyōshu* by systematizing Raiyu's arguments. A prolific writer himself, Shōken organized the contents of Raiyu's writings on the *Daisho* into the *Dai sho hyakujō daisanjū*, a thematic one hundred chapter dialectical text that became the centerpiece of Shingi doctrine.<sup>31</sup>

The Mt. Kōya scholar-priest Yūkai (1345 – 1416) also challenged the *kaji*-body theory in his work the *Dainichi kyōshu i gi ji*. Yūkai reiterated Dōhan’s stance on the *kyōshu*, which stated that the *Dainichi kyō* was expounded by the original-body of the dharma-body, and rejected Raiyu’s *kaji*-body theory as an exoteric Buddhist interpretation of the *kyōshu*. Yūkai’s retort to the *kaji*-body theory supported by the scholar-priests of Mt. Negoro and affirmation of a view known as the *honji*-body theory exacerbated the doctrinal division between the two mountains.<sup>32</sup>

## Conclusion

Raiyu’s *kaji*-body theory was a part of the *kyōshu* debate that surfaced among Shingon scholar-priests in the Kamakura period. The theories involved in this debate were attempting to resolve a discrepancy in Shingon doctrine. Kūkai’s assertion that the dharma-body expounds the dharma and that this dharma-body is Dainichi was inconsistent with the explanation of the dharma-body found in the *Daisho*. Raiyu sought to rectify this contradiction by proposing an alternative interpretation of the *kaji*-body as explained in the *Daisho*. His theory, the *kajishinsetsu*, became the primary doctrine that distinguished the Shingi and the Kogi Schools of Shingon.

Furthermore, Raiyu was the first to propose the theory of *kajishinsetsu*. Neither Kūkai nor Kakuban mentioned this central Shingi doctrine. Therefore, Shingi scholars

have elevated Raiyu to the status of doctrinal founder, who, along with the institutional founder Kakuban, signifies the doctrinal and institutional requirements to be a religious organization in contemporary Japan.

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## Notes:

<sup>1</sup> These translations of *jisō* and *kyōsō* are from Yoshito S. Hakeda, *Kūkai: Major Works* (New York: Columbia University, 1972), 76. *Jisō* is further divided into two types: *zōmitsu* 雜密, or blended esotericism, which is a mix of various practices including rainmaking rituals and the recitation of protective dharani or mantra and *junmitsu* 純密, or pure esotericism, which is concerned with the performance of rituals and mediation practices that assist the practitioner in the pursuit of becoming a buddha and are outlined in the two main Shingon sutra, the *Dainichi kyō* 大日經 and *Kongō chō kyō* 金剛頂經. Robert Sharf argues that the distinction between *zōmitsu* and *junmitsu* was an invention of the Edo period: see, Robert H. Sharf, *Coming to Terms with Chinese Buddhism: A Reading of the TREASURE STORE TREATISE* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), 265-267. *Jisō* corresponds to the *kongō* 金剛 tradition of esoteric Buddhism, which is associated with the *Kongō chō kyō* and *Kongō kai* Mandala. The *Kongō chō kyō*, a series of sutras expounding the efficacy of ritual performance and instructions for constructing mandala, was brought to China in the seventh century by Kongōchi 金剛智 (Sanskrit: Vajrabodhi 671 – 741) and translated with the help of his disciple Fukū 不空 (Sanskrit: Amoghavajra 705 – 774), who in all likelihood created the *Kongō kai* Mandala based on descriptions in the sutra. *Kyōsō* stems from the *taizō* 胎藏 tradition, which comes from the study of the *Dainichi kyō* and its corresponding *Taizō kai* Mandala. The *Dainichi kyō* was brought to China in 716 by Zemmui 善無畏 (Sanskrit: Śubhākarasiṃha 637 – 735) and translated into Chinese with the assistance of Ichigyō 一行 (Chinese: Yīxíng 683 – 727). Keika 惠果 (Chinese: Huìguǒ 746 – 805), a disciple of Fukū, consolidated these two lineages into one: see Richard Karl Payne, *The Tantric Ritual of Japan, Feeding the Gods: The Shingon Fire Ritual* (Delhi: Aditya Prakashan, 1991), 26.

<sup>2</sup> The theory of the buddha-bodies is also referred to as *butsushin ron* 仏身論.

<sup>3</sup> *Nyorai* 如来, or *tāthagāta* in Sanskrit, is, in context of buddha-body theory, synecdoche for buddha: see, the Digital Dictionary of Buddhism [http://buddhism-dict.net/cgi-bin/xpr-ddb.pl?59.xml+id\('b5982-4f86'\)](http://buddhism-dict.net/cgi-bin/xpr-ddb.pl?59.xml+id('b5982-4f86')) (accessed on April 18, 2008).

<sup>4</sup> This brief overview of buddha-body theory is from Katsumata Shunkyō 勝又俊教, *Mikkyō nyūmon* 「密教入門」 (Tokyo: Jushiki, 2003), 100-103. Although each school has its own view of the three-bodies of buddha, I have intentionally limited this summary to the *mikkyō* interpretation of *kengyō* thought. The translation of *hōshin* as reward-body is from, *The Digital Dictionary of Buddhism* [http://www.buddhism-dict.net/cgi-bin/xpr-ddb.pl?61.xml+id\('b61c9-8eab'\)](http://www.buddhism-dict.net/cgi-bin/xpr-ddb.pl?61.xml+id('b61c9-8eab')) (accessed on February 27, 2008). *Ōshin* is often translated as response-body, but I have chosen to translated it as transformation-body in correlation with *hengeshin*. The two sets of terms for the three bodies of buddha are synonymous. The

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latter set first appeared in the *Jōyui shiki ron* 「成唯識論」: see, *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 31: 1585, lines 57c21, 56a19, and 45a25 respectively.

<sup>5</sup> In his work the *Ben ken mitsu nikyō ron* 「弁顯密二教論」, Kūkai outlines the differences between the esoteric view of *hosshin* and non-esoteric view: see, *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 77: 2427.

<sup>6</sup> This *mikkyō* definition of the *ōshin* and *hōshin* are from *Mikkyō dai jiten* 「密教大辭典」 (Kyoto: Hōzō Kan, 1979), 2019. Kūkai gave his interpretation of the *sanshin* in the beginning of his *Ben ken mitsu nikyō ron*: see, *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 77: 2427, line 374c23-c24. For a recent English translation, see Kenneth R. White, *The Role of Bodhicitta in Buddhist Enlightenment Including a Translation into English of Bodhicitta-sāstra, Benkemitsu-nikyōron, and Sammaya-kaijo* (Lampeter, Wales: Edwin Mellen Press, 2005), 249.

<sup>7</sup> The definition of this term can be found in *Mikkyō jiten*, 640.

<sup>8</sup> Specifically, the *jishōshin* correlates to the *dai mandara* 大曼荼羅, the *juyūshin* to the *sannaya mandara* 三昧耶曼荼羅, the *hengeshin* to the *hō mandara* 法曼荼羅, and the *torushin* to the *katsuma mandara* 羯摩曼荼羅: see, *Mikkyō jiten*, 296. For Kūkai's explanation of the four buddha-bodies, see *Ben ken mitsu nikyō ron*, line 379b25. For the original reference in the *Kongō chō kyō*, see *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 18: 869 line 287b15-17.

<sup>9</sup> The terms emanation-body and absolute-body are from Hakeda, 81. For more on the Sanskrit equivalent for the names of these bodies, see White, 403.

<sup>10</sup> Hakeda discusses *hosshinseppō* in Hakeda, 81-82.

<sup>11</sup> This phrase is from the *Dainichi kyōsho* 「大日經疏」: see, *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 39: 1796, line 580a13. Honda Ryūnin states that the *kyōshu* debate led to the split between the Shingi and Kogi Schools: see, Honda Ryūnin 本多隆仁, “Raiyu to chisan kyōgaku 「頼瑤と智山教学」,” in *Raiyu: sono shōgai to shisō* 「頼瑤: その生涯と思想」, ed. Fukuda Ryōsei 福田亮成 (Tokyo: Chisan Denbōin, 2000), 101.

<sup>12</sup> For a detailed definition of *kyōshu*, see *Mikkyō jiten* 128. Hakeda proposes that this idea of Dainichi as the *kyōshu* of the sutra was probably first proposed by Kūkai's teacher Keika. However, since Keika left no known written work of his own and the only available account of his thought is through the lens of Kūkai, it is highly probable that the idea of the dharma-body as the main teacher of the sutra originated with Kūkai: see Hakeda, 83.

<sup>13</sup> Kūkai gives an overview of the Shingon lineage in his list of items brought back from China (*Shōrai mokuroku* 請来目録): see Kūkai, *Shōrai mokuroku* 「請来目録」, vol. 1, *Teihon kōbō daishi zenshū* 「定本弘法大師全集」 (Kōya, Japan: Kōbōdaishi Chosaku Kenkyū Kai, 1991), 18, 34. An explanation of Kongōsatta is found in the opening chapter of the *Dainichi kyō* in *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 18: 848. An explanation of Shingon lineage can be found in Hakeda, 31.

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<sup>14</sup> Sakaki briefly mentions the role of Tendai scholar-priests in the *kyōshu* debate: see, Sakaki, 56. Takeuchi Kōsen also mentions that Annen was likely the source of the addition of *rokudai hosshin* 六大 to the *Sokushin jōbutsu gi* 「即身成仏義」: see, Takeuchi Kōsen 武内孝善, “Shingon 「真言」,” in *Nihon bukkyō no kenkyū hō – rekishi to tenbō* 「日本仏教の研究法—歴史と展望」, ed. Nihon Bukkyō Kenkyū Kai (Kyoto: Hōzō Kan, 2000), 117-118. The Tendai influence on Shingon *mikkyō* is a controversial topic in Shingon sectarian studies and little research has been done on the subject.

<sup>15</sup> This reference to the *Dainichi kyōsho henmyō shō* 大日經疏遍明鈔 is from Miyasaka Yūshō 宮坂有勝, “Raiyu kyōgaku shikō,” in *Shingi shingon kyōgaku no kenkyū: Raiyu sōjō nanahyaku nen goonki kinen ronbun shū* 「新義真言教学の研究：頼瑠僧正七百年御遠忌記念論文集」(Tokyo: Ōkura, 2002), 10. Also, for more on Dohan’s role in the *kyōshu* debate, see Sakaki, 60 and Kobayashi Jōten 小林靖典, “Raiyu no shōgai 「頼瑠の生涯」,” in *Raiyu: sono shōgai to shisō* 「頼瑠：その生涯と思想」, ed. Fukuda Ryōsei 福田亮成 (Tokyo: Chisan Denbōin, 2000), 78.

<sup>16</sup> The *Dainichi kyō* mentions the *bagabon* as the speaker of the sutra in 18: 848, line 1a9. The *bagabon* does not become identified with Dainichi Nyorai until well after the *Daisho* mentions the term: see, *Mikkyō jiten*, 560. This reference to the influence of the *Kegon kyō* 華嚴經 and *Dai chi do ron* 大智度論 on Zemmui and especially on Ichigyō is from Katō Seiichi 加藤精一 and Mukai Ryūken 向井隆健, *Shin bukkyō kōyō dai ni kan: shūten kaisetsu* 「新仏教綱要第二巻：宗典解説」(Tokyo: Shingon Shū Buzan Ha Shū Musho, 1996), 20. The *Kegon kyō* and *Dai chi do ron* can be found in *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 10:0279 and 25: 1509 respectively.

<sup>17</sup> The *Daisho*’s reference to Birushana can be found in *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 39: 1796, line 580a13. For the meaning and origin of the term Birushana, see Nakamura Hajime 中村元, *Bukkyō go dai jiten* 「佛教語大辞典」(Tokyo: Tōkyō Shoseki, 1981), 1136 and for the adaptation of Birushana into Shingon doctrine, see *Mikkyō dai jiten*, 1889.

<sup>18</sup> Sakaki emphasizes that the Kōgi interpretation of the *kyōshu* relies solely on this passage of the *Daisho*: see, Sakaki, 34.

<sup>19</sup> This line of the *Daisho* can be found in *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 39: 1796, lines 580a14 – 580a15.

<sup>20</sup> Sakaki summarizes the *Daisho*’s view of the dharma-body in Sakaki, 34, 37.

<sup>21</sup> For more on *musōhosshin*, see Hisao Inagaki, *A Dictionary of Japanese Buddhist Terms: Based on References in Japanese Literature* (Union City, California: Heian International, 1988), 217. This term is from *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 39: 1796 no. 580a15-16. Fujita Ryūjō discusses the use of this term in the *Daisho*: see, Fujita Ryūjō 藤田隆乗, “Raiyu no kyōgaku 「頼瑠の教学」,” in *Raiyu: sono shōgai to shisō* 「頼瑠：その生涯と思想」, ed. Fukuda Ryōsei 福田亮成 (Tokyo: Chisan Denbōin, 2000), 86.

<sup>22</sup> This explanation of the *jisōchishin* is from *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 39: 1796, line 580a27. Also, see Sakaki, 37.

<sup>23</sup> For the *Daisho*’s explanation of these terms, see *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 39: 1796, line 580a13.

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<sup>24</sup> Sakaki provides a Japanese rendering (*kundoku* 訓読) for this quote from the *Daisho*: see, Sakaki, 37. For the Kanbun, see *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 39: 1796, line 581c23 and a second sentence associating the *kaji*-body with the reward-body is in lines 622b26-27.

<sup>25</sup> For more on the distinction between doctrinal and ritual usage of the term *kaji*, see Pamela D. Winfield, “Curing with *Kaji*: Healing and Esoteric Empowerment in Japan,” *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 32/1(2005): 108.

<sup>26</sup> The Unabridged Kanji-Japanese Dictionary states that the *ka* represents the power of the buddhas’ and bodhisattvas’ compassion that is conferred onto the practitioner and that *ji* represents the mutual path of buddha and practitioner undertaken through the practitioner’s devotion: see, Morohashi Tatsuto 諸橋 轍次, *Dai kan wa jiten* 「大漢和辞典」 2 (Tokyo: Dai Shūkan Shoten, 1989), 1454. The Sanskrit term associated with the term *kaji* in the *Dainichi kyō* is *adhīṣṭhāna*, which denotes assistance of some kind. However, there is no existent copy of the sutra in Sanskrit, so whether or not the term that Zemmui chose to translate into the Chinese characters 加 and 持 comes from *adhīṣṭhāna* is left to speculation. For more on the Sanskrit version of the sutra, see, Matsunaga Yūkei 松長有慶, *Mikkyō kyōten seiritsu shi ron* 「密教教典成立史論」 (Kyoto: Hōzō Kan, 1981), 176.

<sup>27</sup> Translations of the *kaji*-body as the manifestation body or the empowerment-body are from Alicia Matsunaga and Daigan Matsunaga, *Foundation of Japanese Buddhism Vol. II: The Mass Movement* (Los Angeles: Buddhists Books International, 1984), 298, Fabio Rambelli, “In Search of the Buddha’s Intention: Raiyu and the World of Medieval Shingon Learned Monks (*gakuryō*),” in *Shingi shingon kyōgaku no kenkyū: Raiyū sōjō nanahyaku nen goonki kinen ronbun shū* 「新義真言教学の研究：頼瑠僧正七百年御遠忌記念論文集」 (Tokyo: Ōkura, 2002), 1228 respectively.

<sup>28</sup> This explanation of Raiyu’s *kaji*-body theory is based on Fujita, 84.

<sup>29</sup> This figure of the Kogi and Shingi views of the *kyōshu* is loosely based on a chart in Sakaki, 50-51.

<sup>30</sup> Gōhō’s *Dainichi kyō kyōshu honji kaji funbetsu ji* 「大日經教主本地加持分別事」 can be found in *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 77: 2452 and this particular information can be found on line 778b15.

<sup>31</sup> Kuriyama Shūjun discusses the development on Mt. Negoro after Raiyu in “Kuriyama Shūjun 栗山秀純, *Hōonkō rongi to konryōmonryū no gakudō* 「報恩講論議と根嶺門流の学道」 (Tokyo: Mikkyō senden Hikai, 2004), 23. Shōken’s *Daisho hyakujō daisanjū* 「大疏百条第三重」 can be found in *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 79: 2538. For a *kundoku* and analysis of the text, see Katsumata Shunkyō 勝又俊教, *Shingon no kyōgaku – Daisho hyakujō daisanjū no kenkyū* 「真言の教学—大疏百条第三重の研究」 (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankō Kai, 1981).

<sup>32</sup> This explanation of Yūkai’s response to the *kaji*-body theory is from Fujita, 84. For Yūkai’s *Dainichi kyō shui gi ji* 「大日經主異義事」, see *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 77: 2455.

### **Chapter Three: Raiyu as the Founder of Shingi Doctrine**

Just as sectarian doctrine signifies institutional and ideological differences between groups that share a common origin, sectarian history serves to describe and defend those differences. History is a series of events beginning in a specified past and advancing toward the present. Thus, sectarian history is ultimately a divisive history that takes the point of demarcation between two or more groups as its genesis; and the study of that history, historiography, ultimately seeks to uncover documentation of such divisions.

Historical records documenting Raiyu and the early Shingi School at Mt. Negoro are unfortunately scarce as a result of the 1585 destruction of the temple-complex. Modern scholarship on Raiyu is also sparse and prior to recent publications only a couple of articles by sectarian scholars have dealt with Raiyu. This dearth in research on Raiyu, and in particular the complete absence of non-sectarian scholarship on the subject, provides an excellent opportunity to study how sectarian scholars portray the history of their own doctrine in the context of contemporary sectarian divisions.



Doctrine is the central concern of contemporary biographies on Raiyu. Functioning as introductions to expositions on sectarian doctrine, these biographies utilize the life of Raiyu as a focal point in the history of the doctrinal divisions between the Shingi and Kogi Schools. Recent publications focus on Raiyu's study of Shingon doctrine that eventually led him to postulate the theory of the *kaji*-body, the definitive doctrine of the Shingi School. The story of Raiyu's life as the founder of Shingi doctrine elucidates the origin of that doctrine and, therefore, making biography an aspect of doctrinal formation.

Shingi sectarian scholars have utilized the few sectarian histories available to construct biographies on Raiyu. The primary source on Raiyu's life is one of his own works, the *Shin zoku zakki mondō shō* (hereafter *Shinzoku*). The second is an account of Raiyu contained in the *Ketsu mō shū*, a *denki* 伝記, or record of transmission, of the Shingi School written in the late seventeenth century. These pre-modern sources each convey an image of Raiyu less comprehensive than that of contemporary biographies. Nonetheless, they provide useful information for explicating the story of Raiyu as the founder of Shingi doctrine.

## The *Shinzoku*

Raiyu was a prolific writer, producing more than forty-seven commentaries (*shō* 鈔), interpretations (*gusō* 愚草), and oral transmissions (*kuketsu* 口決) totaling over three hundred volumes. He wrote these commentaries on lectures, which primarily addressed authoritative texts such as the *Dainchi kyō*, works by Kūkai, and other texts fundamental to Shingon doctrine such as the *Bodai shin ron* and *Shaku makaen ron*. He then added his own criticisms and hypotheses to these lectures in interpretative works humbly labeled *gusō*, or literally “foolish weeds.”<sup>1</sup>

The *Shinzoku*, however, differs from these commentary and interpretation pairings. As the name of the work suggests, it is a collection of journal entries (*zakki* 雜記) that discuss sublime (*shin* 真) as well as mundane (*zoku* 俗) topics that are arranged in a question/answer format (*mondō* 問答). An eclectic collection of diary entries, notes on doctrinal discourse, records of dreams, travelogues, explanations of and responses to other schools of Buddhism (particularly the Nara schools), as well as a few autobiographical notes, the *Shinzoku* is the basis for biographies on Raiyu.<sup>2</sup>

Raiyu did not write the *Shinzoku* as a single text, but as a series of entries over a thirty-year period. As a result, the text became scattered among several temples, where the journal entries were later assembled in different sequences. When assembling the

1937 edition of the *Shingon shū zensho* (*Complete Works of the Shingon Sect*), sectarian scholars utilized several previous versions of the *Shinzoku*, all of which differed in their arrangement of the text. Two of the earliest attempts to collect these entries into a single text took place at Rokujizōji in 1519 and Daigoji in 1587, but by the modern period only the thirteenth chapter of both versions was still extant. The oldest complete version used in the 1937 publication was a manuscript housed at Nan'in on Mt. Kōya that had originally been compiled and copied in 1758. The second complete version was a text that had been compiled at Tōji in 1766 and held by Hase Hōshū (1869 – 1948), who was instrumental in the organization of the *Shingon shū zensho*. The third and most recent of the three texts came from Shōchiin on Mt. Kōya.<sup>3</sup>

Portions of the text can also be found in the *Shin zoku zakki batsu shū*, a commentary by the Edo-period scholar-priest Shinjo (1685 – 1763). However, this text, which slightly varies from the others, was not included in the 1937 publication. Due to the existence of multiple versions, many of which differ according to sectarian divisions within Shingon, the published version of the *Shinzoku* is still highly disputed. Nevertheless, this published version of the *Shinzoku*, which has been constructed completely within the context of modern sectarian scholarship, remains the primary source for information on the life of Raiyu.<sup>4</sup>

Although it is eclectic in its presentation, the *Shinzoku* contains several references to moments in Raiyu's life that allow scholars to construct a narrative. As a journal, many of these references are reflections on his past, particularly in the form of dreams. Raiyu's reason for recording these references as dreams is unclear. The *Shinzoku* is, after all, a collection of journal entries that Raiyu never intended to be read as a single text and there is no reason to assume that Raiyu ever meant for them to be read by anyone, let alone be treated as an autobiography. Nonetheless, these references are the only firsthand account of Raiyu's life and sectarian scholars have utilized them as tools for constructing contemporary biographies on Raiyu.

One passage in particular has been cited for its reference to Raiyu's life as a young priest. In entry number seventy-eight in the tenth volume of the *Shinzoku*, Raiyu states that during the early morning of the twenty-seventh day of the tenth month of 1263 he had a dream in which he was "grieving over the death of the dharma." While in a state of grief, a man appeared in front of him and dramatically raising the palms of his hands inserted them into Raiyu's chest. He states that the surface of the palms dispersed bliss throughout his heart (*shinbon* 心品) assuaging his loss. This loss (*bōshitsu* 亡失) and "death of the dharma" probably refers to the death of his teacher Kenjin (1192 –1263), who died only a month before Raiyu recorded his dream.<sup>5</sup>

However, Raiyu did not provide further details about this loss. Instead, he states that this dream sparked a vivid memory of a similar dream he had had in his youth. In the next line he notes:

I do not remember the date, but, a long time ago around the time I was beginning my studies in Yamazaki, I fell asleep. While asleep, I dreamt that a priest appeared to me. Then using a mudra (*in* 印) and mantra (*gon* 言), he bestowed *kaji* 加持 upon me through my eyes so that I would not fall sleep.<sup>6</sup>

This passage is the source for claims that Raiyu grew up in a village called Yamazaki during his early education, which as Raiyu states, was a long time ago (*sono kami* 昔初). It also provides evidence that Raiyu began his studies either on or near Mt. Negoro, where he later relocated the Daidenbōin in 1288.<sup>7</sup>

Another commonly cited passage from the *Shinzoku* regarding the life of Raiyu is an entry in the first volume in which Raiyu mentions a scholar-priest named Dōgo. Raiyu begins the passage with a question concerning doctrine, “It says in the *Nikyō ron* [Kūkai’s *Ben ken mitsu nikyō ron*] that the others strive for *kejō* 化城. Can we say that these ‘others’ are of the Hinayana?” In replying to his own inquiry, Raiyu states that on the night of the twelfth day of the fourth month of 1252 he dreamt that a group of priests from Mt. Kōya came to Mt. Negoro to attend a lecture. One of these priests was Dōgo, who then spent the evening discussing this question with Raiyu.<sup>8</sup>

According to Sakaki and other contemporary biographies, this Dōgo (道悟) may have been Dōgo Chūshun (道悟忠俊) of the Daidenbōin on Mt. Kōya. Raiyu, however, provides no further details as to the identity of this Dōgo and there is no evidence, outside of Raiyu's dream, that the two ever meant. However, if Raiyu had studied under Dōgo Chūshun, then he would have been indoctrinated into Kakuban's Daidenbōin lineage while still a young priest (age 26). This connection provides a historical link between the institutional founder and doctrinal founder of the Shingi School.<sup>9</sup>

### **The *Ketsu mō shū***

The second primary source on the life of Raiyu utilized in contemporary biographies is the *Ketsu mō shū*. The *Ketsu mō shū* is a sectarian history written in the early Edo period by Unshō (1614–1693), an erudite *mikkyō* scholar-priest who headed a cloister of Shingon priests at the Chishakuin in southeast Kyoto. Unshō entered the priesthood at the age of thirteen, first training under Raiun (n.d.), the head of Anrakuji in southern Kyoto, and then studying at several of the Nara schools as well as at the Tendai temple-complex Enryakuji on Mt. Hiei. After his preliminary training in the priesthood, he became a disciple of Genju (1575–1648) who was at that time the head of the Chishakuin. Unshō also eventually rose to the rank of head abbot (*nōke* 能化).<sup>10</sup>

When he became the head of the Chishakuin in 1661, Unshō inherited a temple in the midst of a radical reorganization. Just a few generations prior, Mt. Negoro, the former location of the Chishakuin, had been completely annihilated by Toyotomi Hideyoshi, and the Chishakuin priests had splintered from their longtime Mt. Negoro brethren at the Koikebō just before Unshō was born. In this turmoil, many of Negoro's texts were destroyed or scattered throughout the country at peripheral temples. In order to revive the study of doctrine that had prevailed on Mt. Negoro, Unshō set to work writing on the themes and doctrinal concerns of his Negoro predecessors. Along with numerous commentaries that became indispensable to the Chishakuin, Unshō's *Ketsu mō shū* became the authoritative sectarian history of the Shingi School.<sup>11</sup>

The *Ketsu mō shū* arranges the eclectic references in the *Shinzoku* regarding Raiyu's career as a scholar-priest into a somewhat chronological order, listing Raiyu's monastic training, his teachers, and the locations where he studied. The text also emphasizes where and when Raiyu wrote the various commentaries, interpretations, and transmissions that make up his body of work.

In the *Ketsu mō shū*, Unshō not only makes a reference to young Raiyu's dream of an unknown priest, he embellishes it. Unshō wrote that while growing up in Yamazaki, Raiyu was trained in classical literature and being a distinguished student, he

often continued his studies well into the night until succumbing to the darkness and falling into a deep sleep. One night while consumed in this deep sleep, he had a dream in which a priest, whose name he did not know, appeared before him teaching him a mudra and mantra. Then, the priest looked straight into both of Raiyu's eyes transmitting *kaji*.<sup>12</sup>

Although this account of the dream is very similar to the one in the *Shinzoku* the context for mentioning the dream differs. In the *Ketsu mō shū*, Unshō states that after having this dream Raiyu met an *ajari* named Genshin. Raiyu became Genshin's disciple, taking the precepts and learning the basics of the Shingon priesthood. When Genshin taught him the *Taizō kai*'s mantra and mudra of compassion (*taizō kai hijō gen in myō* 胎藏界悲生眼印明), Raiyu realized that this was the mudra and mantra from his dream and that Genshin was the priest who initially introduced him to the power of *kaji*.<sup>13</sup>

The *Shinzoku* account, however, has a different tone. Raiyu states, "It is clear that this (instance of receiving *kaji* in the dream) was not an awakening (*kakugo* 覚悟)," further noting that since he had not yet received full ordination at that time he could not possibly understand the importance of this event. Raiyu noted that it was not until being taught the *Taizō kai*'s mantra and mudra of compassion that he understood the meaning of *kaji*. Upon learning this lesson, his faith as a disciple became especially strong to the point of, he claims, "shedding tears." Raiyu does not mention Genshin nor does he make



a connection between the priest in his dream and his master. In the *Shinzoku* version of the story, Raiyu praises the power of the *Taizō kai*'s mantra and mudra of compassion and gives an account of his first experience with *kaji*. Unshō, however, used the dream as a pedagogical trope, emphasizing Raiyu's natural ability and by extension that of his lineage, to grasp the power of *kaji*.<sup>14</sup>

Contemporary sectarian scholars also appropriate passages from the *Shinzoku* for pedagogical intent. However, contemporary biographies are concerned with Raiyu's role as the founder of Shingi doctrine and use such episodes of his life to highlight sectarian differentiation and the development of doctrine.

### **Historiography of Modern and Contemporary Biographies of Raiyu**

Many of the exhaustive sectarian histories of the early and mid-twentieth century mention Raiyu as the head of the temple-complex on Mt. Negoro and propagator of the *kaji*-body theory. Works by Shingon scholars such as Gonda Raifu (1846 – 1934) and Toganoo Shōun (1881 – 1953) include brief sections on Raiyu and his role in igniting discourse on esoteric Buddhist doctrine. These histories, although chronologically positioning Raiyu's interpretation of the dharma-body in the context of Shingon sectarian history, do not provide any details about his life nor do they expound on the *kaji*-body theory.<sup>15</sup>

One exception, however, is Miura Akio's (n.d., early twentieth century) article entitled "Chūshōin raiyu hōin nenfu (A Genealogy of the Honorable Raiyu of the Chushō Lineage)," published in a 1940 Shingon academic journal. In the article, Miura creates a prosaic timeline of Raiyu's life by translating and arranging sections of the *Shinzoku* and *Ketsu mō shū*. As the first modern analysis of these texts, Miura's translation of portions of the pre-modern sources as well as the fragments that he chose to translate established a framework for contemporary biographies on Raiyu.<sup>16</sup>

Before the modern period, Buddhist texts were written in Kanbun (Classical Chinese). By the beginning of the twentieth century, however, this practice changed and Buddhist scholars were given the task of translating pre-modern texts into Japanese. The most common method has been the use of *kakikudashibun* 書き下し文, or the practice of "writing down" the classical Japanese reading of a Kanbun text. Scholars in the modern and contemporary periods utilize manuscripts notated in the Edo period as a guide to rendering the text into Classical Japanese. When such notated manuscripts do not exist, which is the case for many of the manuscripts of Raiyu's works, the scholar is left to give his own interpretation of the text. Therefore, by setting the standard translation of selected fragments of the *Shinzoku* and *Ketsu mō shū*, Miura's article became the

template for academic material in the contemporary period dealing with the life of Raiyu.<sup>17</sup>

Writing a couple decades later, Buzan scholars Katsumata Shunkyō (1909 – 1994) and Kushida Ryōkō (b. 1905) made use of Miura’s portrayal of Raiyu in slightly different ways. In his seminal work, *Shingon no kyōgaku (Shingon Doctrinal Studies)*, Katsumata places Raiyu at the center of Shingon doctrinal discourse by crediting him with the development of the doctrinal training system (*ryūgi 堅義*) on Mt. Negoro. On the other hand, in his work on Shingon institutional history, *Shingon mikkyō seiritsu katei no kenkyū (Research on the Founding and Continuation of Shingon Esoteric Buddhism)*, Kushida focuses on Raiyu’s role in Shingon history as the leader of the Daidenbōin at the time of the Shingi-Kogi split in 1288.<sup>18</sup>

The influence of Miura’s article can also be seen in Satō Ryūken’s 1969 article on Raiyu entitled, “Kamakura ki ni okeru shingon kyōgaku shi jō no mondai ten – Raiyu no ichi to sono shisō (Some Problems of Shingon Doctrine in the Kamakura Period – On the Thought and Historical Position of Raiyu).” In this first publication on Raiyu by a Chisan scholar, Satō claimed that Raiyu should be considered a Kamakura-period reformer, arguing that Raiyu’s re-interpretation of Shingon doctrine and break from Mt. Kōya were on par with the divisions occurring between the Jōdo, Jōdoshin, Rinzai, Sōto,

and Nichiren Schools within the Tendai School. He formulated this argument by first presenting a brief synopsis of Raiyu's life, which is based on Miura's translation of the two pre-modern texts. Then, in a similar fashion to that of Kushida, he explains the historical significance of Raiyu as the leader of the Daidenbōin during the Shingi-Kogi split. Finally, he argued that Raiyu's *kaji*-body theory denoted a break from the orthodox Shingon doctrine at the time.<sup>19</sup>

Building on these works, the current generation of Shingi scholars has dubbed Raiyu the founder of Shingi doctrine. Published in 2000 as a part of the Chisan Denbōin Anthology, *Raiyu: Sono shōgai to shisō (Raiyu: His Life and Works)* was the first book-length publication to focus solely on Raiyu and not Kūkai or Kakuban. This work was followed in 2003 by Sakaki Yoshitaka's, *Shingi kyōgaku no so: Raiyu sōjō no nyūmon (An Introduction to the High Priest Raiyu: The Founder of Shingi Doctrinal Studies)*. Having studied under Katsumata, Kushida, and Satō, the authors of these works were undoubtedly influenced by their previous studies of Raiyu and his *kaji*-body theory. However unlike the previous publications, this recent research places Raiyu at the center stage of Shingi doctrine and identifies his theory of the *kaji*-body as the core doctrine of the Shingi sects.

## Biography of Raiyu

The following biography of Raiyu is a partial translation of Chapter One in Sakaki's 2003 work. For the sake of space, I have omitted portions of the chapter containing a personal narrative about a trip to visit the graves (*go byō ni o mairi* 御廟にお参り) of Kakuban, Raiyu, and Shōken (1307 – 1392) that Sakaki has woven into the text. Being the most recent publication on Raiyu, Sakaki's study of Raiyu's life builds on previous scholarship and is the most extensive biography to date. The differences between Sakaki's biography and that found in Kobayashi Jōten's article in *Raiyu: Sono shōgai to shisō* are primarily a matter of the authors' writing styles and both rely heavily on Miura's article for translations of the *Shinzoku* and *Ketsu mō shū*.

Sakaki wrote the biography of Raiyu with the pedagogical intention of using the life of Raiyu to introduce the doctrine of the *kaji*-body. In his preface to the book, Sakaki notes that there is a substantial amount of scholarship on Kūkai and Kakuban and these two founders are often closely associated with the term Shingon. However, he argues, there are other significant Shingon scholar-priests for whom little research has been done. One such scholar-priest is Raiyu, who after Kūkai and Kakuban, Sakaki states, is the most important individual in the history of the Shingi Shingon School. Raiyu was the

first to posit the *kaji*-body theory, which is the core doctrine of the Shingi School making him the founder of Shingi doctrine.<sup>20</sup>

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*There are very few original sources focusing on the life of Raiyu. Unshō's Ketsu mō shū seems to be the only text to do so and even this text is based on Raiyu's own account in his work the Shin zoku zakki mondō shō. Thus, using these two texts as a guideline I will present an introduction to the life of Raiyu.*

*Raiyu was born in the second year of the reign of Emperor Karoku (1226) in the village of Yamazaki in Naka County on the Kii Peninsula into the powerful Habukawa Clan.<sup>21</sup> The village of Yamazaki is next to the village of Negoro and very near to Negoroji. The landholding (shōen 莊園) that became Yamazaki village may very well have been given to Kakuban by the Emperor Toba as a contribution to the temple of Denbōin.<sup>22</sup> It was through this same connection with the emperor that the Daidenbōin on Mt. Kōya was established....<sup>23</sup>*

[Sakaki discusses a visit to Raiyu's grave on Mt. Negoro.]

*Raiyu wrote that he came from the village of Yamazaki in Naka County on the Kii Peninsula, but I did not know exactly where this Yamazaki was located. Unshō writes in the Ketsu mō shū the phrases "a person of Naka County in the Kii Province" and that*

*Raiyu was “born in the Yamazaki village of Na.” Furthermore, Miura Akio records in his work “Chūshōin raiyu hōin nenpu,” “Raiyu was born in Yamazaki Village of Naka County on the Kii Peninsula under the domain of the Daidenbōin” ....<sup>24</sup>*

[Sakaki explains that Raiyu’s surname of Habukawa is a common name in the Mt. Negoro area and that many of the graves in the local cemetery belong to the Habukawa family.]

*It is written that in his youth, Raiyu “studied the classics (seten世典) in his hometown.”<sup>25</sup> It seems that by the time he had turned sixteen or seventeen he had already been studying in Yamazaki. Afterwards it is recorded that he “was taken in and taught by the Ajari Dōgo at the Daidenbōin on Mt. Kōya,”<sup>26</sup> but it is unclear whether or not this is the same Dōgo-hō Chūshun (d. circa 1288) who later became headmaster of the Denbōin. If we take this to be the case, then Raiyu would have studied under Dōgo from the time he was twenty until the time of the headmaster’s death.<sup>27</sup>*

*At the outset of the Kenchō era (1249 – 1256), Raiyu journeyed to the southern capital of Nara where he studied Sanron and Kegon at Tōdaiji, yogic practices (yuga 瑜伽) and Yogācāra thought (yuishiki 唯識) at Kōfukuji, and the secret incantations of esoteric practice (mitsujō no hiketsu 密乗の秘訣) at Tōdaiji’s Shingonin. During this time period, even students seeking to study in the Shingon School first journeyed to the*

*various temples in Nara where they proceeded to study the foundational schools of Buddhism: Kusha, Yuishiki, Sanron, and Kegon.<sup>28</sup> Raiyu is an example of such a priest, who strove hard to study the teachings of the foundational Buddhist schools in Nara.*

*In his later years, Raiyu would adopt the Kōfukuji doctrinal examination system (ryūgi 堅義) into the Shingon School. He was able to do so due to the fact that he had become so skilled in doctrinal debate (rongi 論義) during his studies in Nara. Moreover at the request of other students, he gave a lecture at Tōdaiji's Kaidanin on the Shaku makaen ron. The Shaku makaen ron is one of the treatises labeled important by Kūkai, but is said to be an extremely difficult text to understand. Raiyu was only around thirty years old when he gave this lecture, so it seems that he was considerably skilled as a scholar from a young age. It may appear somewhat odd that he was lecturing on the Shaku makaen ron, a treatise basic to (shoe 所依) Shingon doctrine and practice, at the Shingonin and Kaidanin of the Kegon School's head temple of Tōdaiji. However, Kūkai, who also was active at subsidiary temples in the Nara area during his early years as a priest, built the Shingonin. It is apparent that Tōdaiji and Shingon have a deep connection. Still to this day Tōdaiji recites the Rishu kyō, a primary Shingon text used for recitation practices.*



*In the first year of Bun'ō (1260), Raiyu received esoteric transmission from Shingū (1204 – 1268) at Kohata Kannonin. Raiyu was strongly influenced by Shingū's explanation of practical and theoretical aspects of Shingon (jisō 事相 and kyōsō 教相). In his primary works like the Daisho shishin shō, he frequently quotes the Kohata no gi.*

*In the same year he studied the Kongō kai and Taizō kai Mandalas under the tutelage of Kenjin (1159 – 1263) at Daigoji Sanhōin. Noting Raiyu's excellent knowledge, Kenjin asked him "to continue to work for the Daigoji priesthood"<sup>29</sup> and beckoned him to become a member of Daigoji's monastic community. Raiyu took up residence at the Hōon'in and seems to have been referred to as Kai-Ajari and Ka-Hōin by his fellow priests.<sup>30</sup>*

*Raiyu's works dealing with practice are called katsushō 甲鈔. This may account for why he was referred to as the Kai-Ajari, but the exact reason is unclear.<sup>31</sup> His place of birth was not the province of Kai and there is no record of him having gone there. Also, there does not seem to be any evidence that his parents had a connection to the province of Kai.<sup>32</sup>*

*Incidentally, Raiyu's initial Buddhist name was Shunonbōgōshin and in 1260 he records that his name had become just Gōshin. In 1262 he notes that his name had changed to Raiyu. It is said that he took one of the characters for his name from his*

*teacher Keiyu under whom he studied the Hirosawa ritual-lineage (Hirosawa-ryū 広沢流) from 1256 to 1260.<sup>33</sup>*

*In the third year of Bun'ei (1266) at the age of forty-one, he was appointed to an assistant administrative position (gakutōshoku 学頭職) to the headmaster of the Daidenbōin. In 1267, he was living at Daigoji's Chūshōin at the request of the high priest Jitsujin. From this time on Raiyu was dubbed the High Priest of Chūshōin. There were also temples called Chūshōin on Mt. Kōya and Mt. Negoro. If one compares old maps of the area with current ones, it seems that private residences have now covered the ruins of the Chūshōin on Mt. Negoro.*

*Furthermore, there is a Chūshōin ritual-lineage (Chūshōin-ryū 中性院流) named after Raiyu's tradition. This tradition drew on the Sanhōin ritual-lineage (Sanhōin-ryū 三宝院流) at Daigoji. However, according to Professor Gonda Kaiju, the Jisshō style of the Jizōin ritual-lineage (Jizōin-ryū jisshō-hō 地藏院流実勝方) also had a strong influence.*

*So then, what was the situation with Negoroji by the time of Raiyu? It is apparent that two years after the death of Kakuban in 1143, the Daidenbōin priests returned to Mt. Kōya under the headmaster Shinkaku by order of imperial edict.*

*However, according to Raiyu's own writings, he wrote the end of his Shaku rondai jū gusō after Negoroji's Chinjū 鎮守 lectures. Furthermore, Raiyu summarized the lectures at Chinjū in his Shaku ron kai ge shō. After the return to Mt. Kōya, Chinjū lectures continued to take place on Negoro.*

*Kakuban moved to Negoro in 1140 and Shinkaku returned to Mt. Kōya in 1145, thus it seems that the Daidenbōin priests had roughly five years to conduct yearly functions (nenchūgyōji 年中行事) on Negoro. Over the course of time, one of these events became known as the Negoro Chinjū lectures. Regarding these events, one can conjecture that the scholar-priests of the Daidenbōin performed their regular studies on Mt. Kōya, but proceeded to Mt. Negoro for Negoro events.*

*In the first year of the Shōō era (1288), as a result of continuing friction between Kongōbuji and the Daidenbōin, Raiyu made the decision to move the Daidenbōin and Mitsugonin to Negoro. This event marks a complete break between the Daidenbōin priests and Mt. Kōya.*

*In the sixth year of the Einin era (1298), Raiyu writes in his Hizō hōyaku kanchū, “[I am] Raiyu-nanzan-yūrō-shishi-shamon 南山朽老賜紫沙門賴瑜 (old monk Raiyu of the southern mountain, honored in purple) age 73.” I thought murasaki wo tamawaru 紫を賜る (be honored in purple) referred to his appointment as reverent priest (sōjō 僧正),*

*but this seems not to be the case. In the Ketsu mō shū, Unshō recorded that it was not for another two hundred and thirty years after his death that Raiyu was presented the title of reverent priest by Emperor Tenbun (reign 1532 – 1555).*

*On the sixteenth day of the twelfth month of the first year of the Shōan era (1299), ryūgi took place at Jingūji for the first time in the history of the Shingon School. After this initial ceremony (yōshiki 永式), it was held annually. At this time, Raiyu was the Headmaster of the Right (ugakutō 右学頭) and acted as both examiner (tandai 探題) and judge (seigisha 精義者). The following year Raiyu fell ill to beriberi disease and passed away four years later in 1304.<sup>34</sup>*

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Sakaki's biography provides a chronological overview of Raiyu's life, giving particular attention to his studies and mastery of Shingon doctrine. As the founder of a distinctly Shingi doctrine, Raiyu's biography highlights the development of this doctrine through his lifetime. Following Miura's translation of a passage from the *Ketsu mō shū*, Sakaki notes Raiyu's proficiency in the study of the *Shaku makaen ron*. The *Shaku makaen ron* is an enigmatic text traditionally ascribed to Ryūju (Sanskrit: Nāgārjuna, circa 150 – 250) and functions as an esoteric commentary on the *Daijō ki shin ron*, which was likewise retroactively attributed to Memyō (Sanskrit: Aśvagoṣa, circa 80 – 150).

Kūkai quoted the text extensively in the *Ben ken mitsu nikyō ron* when arguing for the possibility of becoming a buddha in the immediate body (*sokushinjōbutsu* 即身成仏). Sakaki states that Raiyu lectured on the text at the request of his fellow students while studying in Nara and stresses that Kūkai deemed the text to be fundamental to Shingon doctrine. This mutual interest in the *Shaku makaen ron* links Raiyu to Kūkai.<sup>35</sup>

Moreover, Sakaki makes several connections between Raiyu and Kakuban. Kakuban is the institutional founder of the Shingi School and Raiyu's authority to posit a new interpretation of the *Dainichi kyō* relies on his position within this institution. Sakaki and Kobayashi Jōten both highlight Raiyu's connection with Dōgo Chūshun, the thirty-sixth headmaster of Kakuban's temple the Daidenbōin, as a link between Kakuban and Raiyu. Furthermore, Dōgo was temporarily the leader of the *Denbōe* 伝法会, Kakuban's assembly for the discussion of esoteric Buddhist doctrine.<sup>36</sup>

Sakaki emphasizes that Raiyu studied Buddhist doctrine in Nara and particularly that he studied Shingon doctrine with many of the most renowned scholar-priests of his time. Although he notes that many of these masters were the founders of ritual lineages, he does not delve into Raiyu's role as a ritualist. Instead, this lifetime of training culminates in the adoption of the doctrinal examination system and doctrinal debate from

the Nara schools into the new branch of the Shingon School headquartered on Mt. Negoro.

Sakaki's biography connects Raiyu to Kūkai and Kakuban and presents Raiyu as a master of doctrine. Like Kūkai, Raiyu's knowledge of the *Shaku makaen ron* demonstrated his superior understanding of esoteric Buddhist doctrine and his training under Dōgo linked him to Kakuban. Furthermore, his lifetime of traveling to various temples for study (*yūgaku* 遊学) was a well-organized course of training that provided Raiyu the scholastic skills to author the *kaji*-body theory and became the founder of Shingi doctrine.

## Conclusion

Doctrine remains the central concern of Shingi sectarian scholarship on the life of Raiyu. Doctrine is also the central theme of the pre-modern sources; however, the *Shinzoku* and *Ketsu mō shū* both explain doctrine through arcane descriptions of dreams. The historical data of Raiyu's life did not change from the *Shinzoku* to the *Ketsu mō shū* to the contemporary biography, but merely the presentation has changed based on the author's pedagogical goals. Unshō needed a Raiyu who was a master ritualist and had an intimate knowledge of magical incantations in order to demonstrate to his audience the power of Raiyu's doctrine and the lineage to which he belonged – a lineage in which

Unshō was also a member. Sakaki and other Shingi scholars need Raiyu to be a scholar, who composed the *kaji*-body theory, which is the doctrine that makes their sects unique. The recent publications on the life and thought of Raiyu demonstrate that he has been a significant figure in the history of Shingi thought and, at least in the contemporary milieu, his interpretation of Shingon doctrine is the quintessence of the Shingi sects' doctrinal identity.

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## Notes:

<sup>1</sup> Raiyu wrote commentaries on and interpretations of Kūkai's *Ben ken mitsu nikyō ron* 「弁顯密二教論」, *Sokushin jōbutsu gi* 「即身成仏儀」, and *Jū jū shin ron* 「十住心論」. The *Dainichi kyō* 「大日經」 is one of the fundamental sutras of the Shingon tradition acting as the basis for the majority of Shingon doctrine: See, *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 18:848. Kūkai relies heavily on both the *Bodai shin ron* 「菩提心論」 and *Shaku makaen ron* 「釈迦摩訶衍論」 in his explanation of the *mikkyō* theory of enlightenment in the present body, or *sokushinjōbutsu* 即身成仏. These texts can be found in *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 32: 1665 and 32: 1668 respectively. Sakaki translates *shō* as *chūshaku sho* 注釈書, or annotations, and interprets *gusō* to mean *rongi sho* 論義書, or writings on doctrinal debate: see, Sakaki Yoshitaka 榊義孝, “Raiyu no chosaku to rongi 「頼瑄の著作と論義」,” in *Chūse shūkyō tekusuto no sekai e* 「中世宗教テキストの世界へ」 (*Exploring the World of Medieval Religious Texts*), eds. Satō Shōichi 佐藤彰一 and Abe Yasurō 阿部泰郎 (Nagoya, Japan: Nagoya Daigaku Daigakuin Bungaku Kenkyū Kai, 2003), 43. Katsumata notes that the *ryūgi* tradition established by Raiyu upon moving to Negoro was much similar to earlier *ryūgi* systems in Nara. However, Raiyu's disciple Raijun 頼淳 (d. 1330) began organizing both *rongi* sessions and *ryūgi* procedures into seasonal and thematic categories. By the time of Shōken two generations later, Negoro *ryūgi* became centered on the interpretations of Shingon doctrine found in the works of Raiyu: see, Katsumata Shunkyō 勝又俊教, *Shingon no kyōgaku: Daisho hyakujō daisanjū no kenkyū* 「真言の教学—大疏百条第三重の研究」 (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankō Kai, 1981), 12.

<sup>2</sup> The definition of *Shin zoku zakki shō* is from *Shinzokuzakki Kenkyū Kai* 「真俗雑記」研究会, “‘Shin zoku zakki mondō shō’ ni tsuite 「真俗雑記問答鈔」について」 (Study of the *Shinzokuzakkimondōshō*),” *Taishō daigaku sōgō bukkyō kenkyū sho* 「大正大学総合仏教研究所」 (Annual of the Institute for Comprehensive Studies of Buddhism Taishō University) 25 (March 2003): 217.

<sup>3</sup> For more on the versions of the *Shinzoku*, their history, and location: see, Takahashi Shūjō 高橋秀城, “Chishakuin zō ‘shin zoku zakki mondōshō’ ni tsuite 「智積院蔵〈真俗雑記問答鈔〉について」 (A Study of ‘Shinzoku-zakki Mandō-shō’ at Chishaku-in Temple),” *The Chisan Gakuho: Journal of Chisan Studies* 「智山学報」 55 (continued from 69) (March 2005): 401 and *Shinzokuzakki Kenkyū Kai*, 218.

<sup>4</sup> Sakaki states that Shinjo's version should have been included in the published version: see, Sakaki Yoshitaka 榊義孝, “Shin zoku zakki mondō shō no ichi kōsatsu 「真俗雑記問答鈔の一考察」 (The *Shinzokuzakkimondōshō*),” *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies* 「印度学仏教学研究」 49, no. 2



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(March 2001): 111-113. This dispute mostly involves the order of the chapters in the texts: see, *Shinzokuzakki Kenkyū Kai*, 219.

<sup>5</sup> This quote is from Raiyu 頼瑜, *Shin zoku zakki mondō shō* 「真俗雜記問答鈔」, *Shingon Shū Zensho* Vol. 37 (Wakayama, Japan; Shingon Shū Zensho Kan Kōkai, 1937), 190. For a comprehensive outline of events and dates related to the life of Raiyu: see, “Raiyu sōjō nenpu 「頼瑜僧正年譜」,” in *Chūse no bukkō: Raiyu sōjō wo chūshin toshite* 「中世の仏教: 頼瑜僧正を中心として」, ed. Chisan Kangaku Kai 智山観学会 (Tokyo: Aoshi, 2005), 6-129 (counted from the back of the book). This date for Kenjin’s death is found on page forty-two of the first appendix.

<sup>6</sup> *Kaji* (*adhithana* in Sanskrit) is a mystical exchange between buddha/bodhisattva/deity and practitioner and is one of the underlying differences between esoteric and exoteric Buddhist thought and practice. Furthermore, the concept of *kaji* is fundamental to Kūkai’s theory of *sokushinjōbutsu*. For a more detailed definition of *kaji*: See, Sawa Ryūken 佐和隆研, ed. *Mikkyō jiten* 「密教辞典」 (Kyoto: Hōzō Kan, 1975), 86. I discuss the term *kaji* in detail in chapter two.

<sup>7</sup> The ambiguity of the wording makes it unclear as to whether Raiyu studied on Mt. Negoro or Mt. Kōya. The Mt. Kōya record notes that he received his ordination precepts in 1239 at the age of fourteen. However, Negoroji was a part of the Mt. Kōya temple-complex during Raiyu’s early life as a scholar-priest, therefore such records may have been kept on Mt. Kōya instead of Mt. Negoro. For an example of how this passage is used to make a connection between Raiyu and Negoro, see, Sasaoka Hirotaka 笹岡弘隆, “Raiyu n shōgai to sono chosaku 「頼瑜の生涯とその著作」 (Life of Raiyu and his Works),” in *Chūse shūkyō tekusuto no sekai e: Tōgō tekusuto kagaku no kōchiku – dai ichi kai kokusai kenkyū shūkai hōkokusho* 「中世宗教テキストの世界へ: 統合テキスト科学の構築-第1回国際研究集会報告書」 (*Exploring the World of Medieval Religious Texts: Proceedings of the First International Conference Studies for the Integrated Text Science*), ed. Satō Shōichi 佐藤彰一 and Abe Yasurō 阿部泰郎 (Nagoya, Japan: Nagoya Daigaku Dagakuin Bungaku Kenkyū Kai, 2003), 70.

<sup>8</sup> This quote is from the *Shin zoku zakki shō*, 12. This passage from the *Ben ken mitsu nikyō ron* can be found in *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 77: 2427, line 0375a10. However, the *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* includes only *jō* 城 and not the term *kejō* 化城, which corresponds to the Kōyasan Sect’s version of the *Ben ken mitsu nikyō ron* found in *Teihon kōbō daishi zenshū* 「定本弘法大師全集」 (Kōya, Japan: Kōbōdaishi Chosaku Kenkyū Kai, 1994), 76. In the Chisan version, *ke* 化 is included: see, *Shingon shū jū kan shō* 「真言宗十卷章」 (Kyoto: Shingon Shū Chisan Ha, 1986), 2. In a Buzan and Chisan commentary on the text, the term *kejō* is explained as the result of exoteric Buddhist practice as opposed to *hōsho* 宝处, the result of esoteric Buddhism: see, Katsumata Shunkyō 勝又俊教, ed. *Kō hon: Kōbō daishi chosaku shū* 「講本弘法大師著作集」 (Tokyo: San Kibō Bussho Rin, 2000), 5 nt. 3. Nakamura Hajime defines *kejō* as a term originating in the ninth chapter of the *Hokke kyō* 「法華經」 and refers to the dwelling place of the *kesa* 化作, the manifestation of buddhas and bodhisattvas; see, Nakamura Hajime 中村元, *Bukkyō go dai jiten*

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「仏教語大辞典」(Tokyo: Tōkyō Shoseki, 1981), 292. Interestingly, Hakeda translates the whole phrase simply as “Hinayanist and ordinary people.” For an English translation of the *Ben ken mitsu nikyō ron*, see Yoshito S. Hakeda, *Kūkai: Major Works* (New York: Columbia University, 1972), 152.

<sup>9</sup> For an overview of Raiyu’s ritual lineages, see Appendices Two and Three. I have assembled these lineages charts from a variety of the sources. Most of the names and dates for Kūkai’s disciples are from Taikō Yamasaki, *Shingon: Japanese Esoteric Buddhism* (Boston: Shambala, 1988). The list of priests involved in the Hirosawa and Ono ritual lineages are from the Saito Akitoshi 斉藤昭俊 and Naruse Yoshinori 成瀬良徳, eds. *Nihon bukkyō shūha jiten* 「日本仏教宗派事典」(Tokyo: Shin Jinbutsu Ōraisha, 1988) and Sawa Ryūken 佐和隆研, ed. *Mikkyō jiten* 「密教辞典」(Kyoto: Hōzō Kan, 1975). Also, I have utilized references to these lineages in Kuriyama Shūjun 栗山秀純, *Hōonkō rongi to konryō monryū no gakudō* 「報恩講論議と根嶺門流の学道」(Tokyo: Mikkyō Sendenhi Kai), 2004 and *Dai nihon bukkyō zensho* 「大日本仏教全書」, Vol. 106, *Ketsu mō shū* 「結網集」, by Unshō 運徹 (Tokyo: Meichofu Kyū Kai, 1979) for names of priests in Raiyu’s Chūshōin lineage.

<sup>10</sup> The dates for Raiun 頼運 are not available, but it is suffice to say that he was active in the early seventeenth century and it is unlikely that he would have been a refugee from Negoro. For background on Unshō’s training and lineage: See, *Mikkyō jiten*, 45. For more on Unshō’s work, see Motoyama Kōju 元山公寿, “Unshō no kyōgaku teki tachiba ni tsuite – Shōken to no hikaku wo tooshite 「運徹の教学的立場について一聖憲との比較を通して」,” in *Shingishingon kyōgaku no kenkyū: Raiyu sōjō nanahyaku nen goonki kinen ronbun shū* 「新義真言教学の研究：頼瑜僧正七百年御遠忌記念論文集」(Tokyo: Ōkura, 2002), 425-426.

<sup>11</sup> One of these peripheral temples was Shinpukuji 新福寺 in what is now the city of Nagoya. Shinpukuji relocated to Edo in 1605 after receiving a large land grant from Tokugawa Ieyasu and is now the main Chisan temple in the Kantō area. Shinpukuji is also where the Chisan sect stores its library and a number of art works.

<sup>12</sup> This account of Raiyu’s dream is from *Ketsu mō shū*, 389.

<sup>13</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> Raiyu’s analysis of the dream is found in *Shin zoku zakki mondō shō*, 190.

<sup>15</sup> These references to Raiyu can be found in *Gonda Raifu chosaku shū* 「権田雷斧著作集」, vol. 1, *Mikkyō kōyō* 「密教綱要」, by Gonda Raifu 権田雷斧 (Izumozakimachi, Japan: Gonda Raifu Chosaku Kankō Kai, 1994), 16 and Toganoō Shōun 桐尾祥雲, *Shingon shū toku hon; shū shi hen* 「真言宗讀本：宗史篇」(Kōya, Japan: Kōyasan, 1948), 118-119.

<sup>16</sup> For Miura’s article, see Miura Akio 三浦章夫, “Chūshōin raiyu hōin nenpu 「中性院頼瑜法印年譜」,” *Mikkyō ronzo* 「密教論叢」 20 (Nov. 1940): 25.

<sup>17</sup> Jacqueline Stone points out in her work on the Tendai School that sectarian scholars often write *kakikudashibun* in a manner that supports their own interpretative bent: see, Jacqueline Stone, *Original*

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*Enlightenment and the Transformation of Medieval Japanese Buddhism* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), 159.

<sup>18</sup> Katsumata (1981) and Kushida Ryōkō 櫛田良洪, *Shingon mikkyō seiritsu Katei no Kenkyū* 「真言密教成立過程の研究」 (Tokyo: Sankibō Butsusho Rin, 2001).

<sup>19</sup> Satō Ryūken 佐藤隆賢, “Kamakura ki ni okeru shingon kyōgaku shi jō no mondai ten – Raiyu no ichi to sono shisō 「鎌倉期における真言教学史上の問題点-頼瑜の位置とその思想」 (Some Problems of Shingon Doctrine in the Kamakura Period – On the Thought and Historical Position of Raiyu),” *The Journal of The Nippon Buddhist Research Association* 「日本佛教学会念報」 34 (March 1969): 97-110.

<sup>20</sup> For Sakaki's argument for Raiyu as the founder of Shingi doctrine, see Sakaki Yoshitaka 榊義孝, *Shingi kyōgaku no sō: Raiyu sōjō nyūmon* 「新義教学の祖-頼瑜僧正入門」 (Tokyo: Nonbun, 2003), 1-3. This translation is from Sakaki, 11-24.

<sup>21</sup> Called Kii no kuni nakagun yamazaki mura 紀伊の国那賀郡山崎村 in the Kamakura period, this location is now known as Iwadechō habu 岩出町波分 in Naka County 那賀郡 of Wakayama Prefecture. Sakaki does not include information about Raiyu's father Habukawa Genshirō, who, according to Unshō, was a local administrator under the authority of the Kamakura Bakufu. The Habukawa were a sub-clan of the Minamoto: see, *Ketsu mō shū*, 389.

<sup>22</sup> Emperor Toba 鳥羽 (1103 – 1156) was a patron of Kakuban and the Daidenbōin.

<sup>23</sup> The Daidenbōin was originally built on Mt. Kōya in 1130. However, in 1140 Kakuban and his followers fled to Mt. Negoro and again with the support of Emperor Toba built the Denbōin. After Raiyu and the Daidenbōin priests on Mt. Kōya permanently moved to Mt. Negoro, the Denbōin on Mt. Negoro became known as the Daidenbōin.

<sup>24</sup> Sakaki does not give a location for this source. Miura wrote an article by this title, but I have not been able to find a book-length version to which Sakaki seems to be referring: see, Miura (Nov. 1940).

<sup>25</sup> Sakaki does not give a source for this quotation. However, it is most likely from Unshō's *Ketsu mō shū*.

<sup>26</sup> Sakaki does not provide a citation for this quotation, but he is referring to an entry in the *Shinzoku* where Raiyu mentions the name of Dōgo: see, *Shin zoku zakki shō*, 12.

<sup>27</sup> Dōgo Chūshun was the head of the Denbōin on Mt. Negoro around the same time that Raiyu became the head of the Daidenbōin on Mt. Kōya.

<sup>28</sup> Yuishiki refers to the Hossō School.

<sup>29</sup> Sakaki does not provide a citation for this quote.

<sup>30</sup> Sakaki notes that during Raiyu's lifetime, he was called the Kai-Ajari and afterwards called Hōin. Sakaki cites Unshō as the source of this information: see, *Ketsu mō shū*, 389.

<sup>31</sup> *Ka* of Kai and *katsu* of the term *katsushō* are the same character: 甲.

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<sup>32</sup> The province of Kai, or 甲斐の国, was a part of present-day Yamanashi Prefecture, which is a considerable distance from Raiyu's home of Kii Province.

<sup>33</sup> *Ryū* 流 are lineages based on a specific style and order for the performance of ritual. Throughout the Heian and Kamakura periods numerous *ryū* emerged within the Shingon School, which varied depending on locations and ritual masters. The two major *ryū* in Shingon are the *Hirosawa-ryū*, first developed at Ninnaji in north Kyoto, and *Ono-ryū* initially based at Daigoji south of Kyoto. However, by the time of Raiyu these two lineages had subdivided into various other lineages and, as was the case with Raiyu, it was not uncommon for student-priests to study several different ritual procedures under different masters. For Raiyu's position in Shingon ritual lineages, see Appendices.

<sup>34</sup> Beriberi is a disease that affects the nervous system and is caused by a lack of Vitamin B. It is a common ailment in regions where rice is a dietary staple: see, beri-beri, Dictionary.com. *The American Heritage® Stedman's Medical Dictionary*, (Houghton Mifflin Company), <http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/beri-beri> (accessed: April 16, 2008).

<sup>35</sup> Jacqueline Stone notes that the *Shaku makaen ron* 釈摩訶衍論 (Korean: *Sōk makayōn non*) was probably a Korean esoteric commentary on the *Daijō ki shin ron* 大乘起心論 (Chinese: *Dàshéng qǐ xīn lùn*), which was itself a Chinese apocryphal text: see, Stone, 11. Hakeda translated the title *Daijō ki shin ron* as *The Awakening of Faith*: see, Yoshito S. Hakeda, *The Awakening of Faith, Attributed to Āśvaghōṣa*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967).

<sup>36</sup> Sakaki states that Raiyu possibly could have studied under Dōgo from around the age of twenty until Dōgo's death: see, Sakaki, 16. Chisan scholar Kobayashi Jōten also writes that Raiyu and Dōgo no doubt knew each other well, but notes that in what capacity is unclear: see, Kobayashi Jōten 小林靖典, "Raiyu no shōgai 「頼諭の生涯」," in *Raiyu: sono shōgai to shisō* 「頼諭: その生涯と思想」, ed. Fukuda Ryōsei 福田亮成 (Tokyo: Chisan Denbōin, 2000), 57.

## Conclusion

The Chisan and Buzan Sects that comprise the Shingi Shingon School assign the beginning of their institution to Kakuban's founding of the Daidenbōin and *Denbōe* on Mt. Kōya and Mt. Negoro. On Mt. Negoro, the Daidenbōin scholar-priests developed their temple-complex into one the largest and most powerful in medieval Japan. However, this glory was fleeting and the mountain was eventually sacked by the warlord Toyotomi Hideyoshi in 1585. The tradition on Mt. Negoro, then known simply as Negoroji or Negoro *kyōgaku* 教学, split into two branches: one at the Chishakuin and the other at Hasedera-Koikebō. These two branches became subsidiaries of other Shingon temples under the *jiin hatto* 寺院法度 and remained so until 1900 when the Bureau of Religions recognized the Chishakuin, Hasedera, and their satellite temples as a separate institution from Mt. Kōya and Daigoji. After the enactment of the Religious Judicial Persons Law in 1951, Chisan and Buzan became legally independent Shingon sects.

The institution developed on Mt. Negoro was a distinct school of Shingon that separated from Mt. Kōya not only through the process of physically removing itself from the parent temple-center, but also by adopting a new doctrine – a *shingi* 新義. This

doctrine was based on Raiyu's interpretation of the dharma-body as represented in the *Dainichi kyō*. According to Buzan scholar Sakaki Yoshitaka and Chisan scholar Kobayashi Jōten, Raiyu was an apt scholar-priest whose diligence as a scholar led him to devise the *kaji*-body theory. These contemporary biographies function as introductions to Raiyu's theory, which subsequently became the central doctrine of the Shingi sects.

Raiyu's theory of the *kaji*-body grew out of the *kyōshu* 教主 debate, a debate among Shingon scholar-priests over the identity of the teacher in the *Dainichi kyō*. According to Kūkai's *hosshinseppō* 法身説法, a core Shingon doctrine, the dharma-body, which was equivalent to Dainichi Nyorai, continually expounds the dharma. This doctrine was inconsistent with the *Daisho's* explanation of the teacher of the dharma in the *Dainichi kyō* as the *kaji*-body. Raiyu sought to solve this dilemma by proposing an alternative type of *kaji*-body, the absolute *kaji*-body.

The *kaji*-body theory has been a primary doctrine of the Shingi School since the Muromachi period, but has only recently become such a central theme of sectarian scholarship. Likewise, Raiyu has been recognized as the author of the theory at least as early as the seventeenth century with Unshō's documentation of Raiyu's life in *Ketsu mō shū*. However, the first extensive publications on Raiyu did not appear until the turn of the millennium.

The elevation of Raiyu as the founder of Shingi doctrine and the promotion of his *kaji*-body theory as the fundamental Shingi doctrine in recent works of sectarian scholarship was sparked by the 1951 Religious Judicial Persons Law that required the Shingi sects to define themselves by institution and doctrine, which, unlike legal mandates in the pre-war period, allowed the sects to freely identify their own institution and doctrine. The doctrine that made the Shingi sects distinct from other Shingon sects was Raiyu's *kaji*-body theory.

Scholarship does not exist in a vacuum but is a part of the socio-political landscape. The Religious Judicial Persons Law deeply altered the structure and very definition of Buddhist sects in contemporary Japan. The law has also influenced the scholarship of sectarian scholars whose livelihoods as ordained priests have been personally and professionally affected by the law. The Kakuban-Raiyu founder duo coheres with the legal requirement to define and clarify institutional and doctrinal uniqueness.

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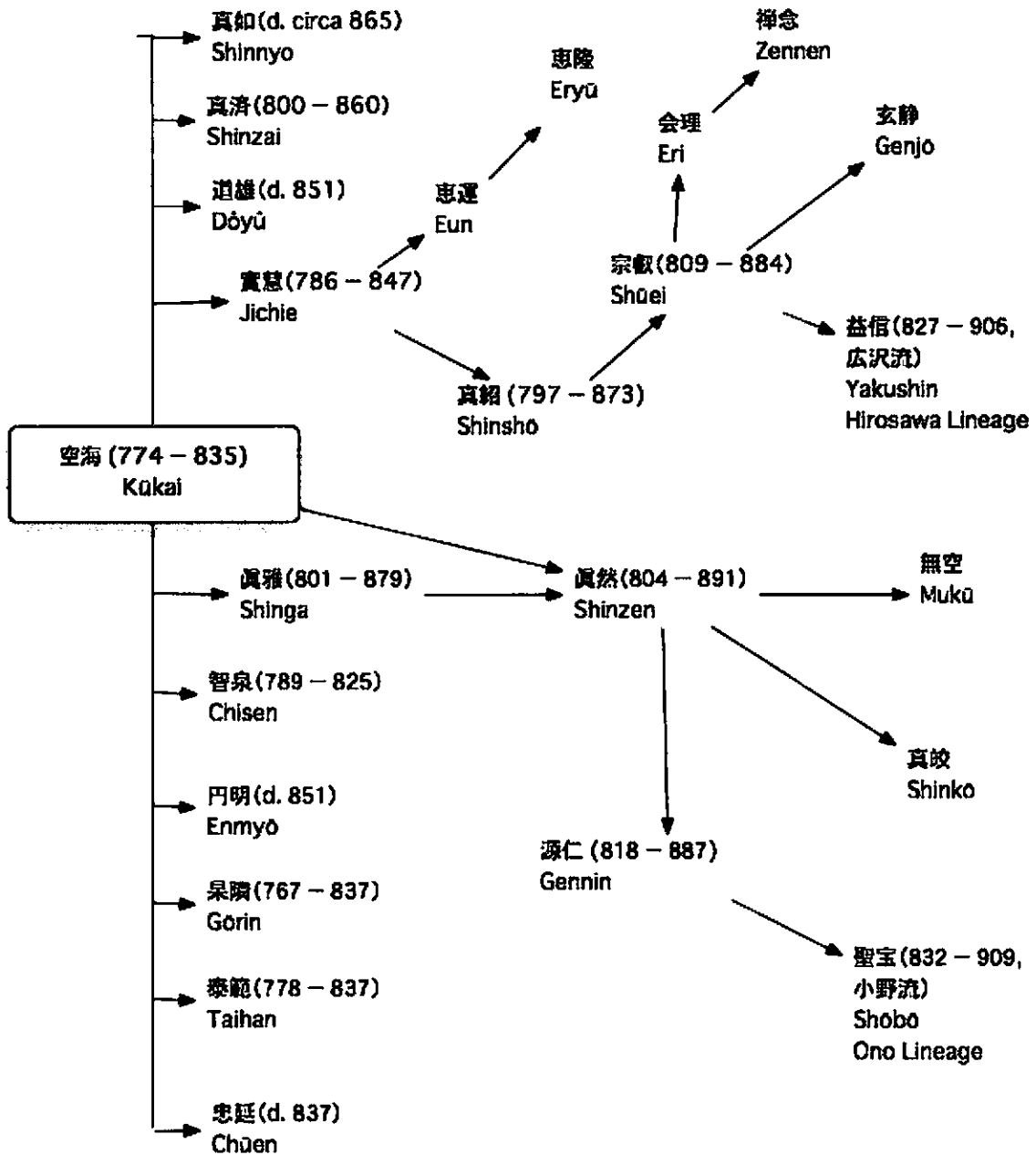
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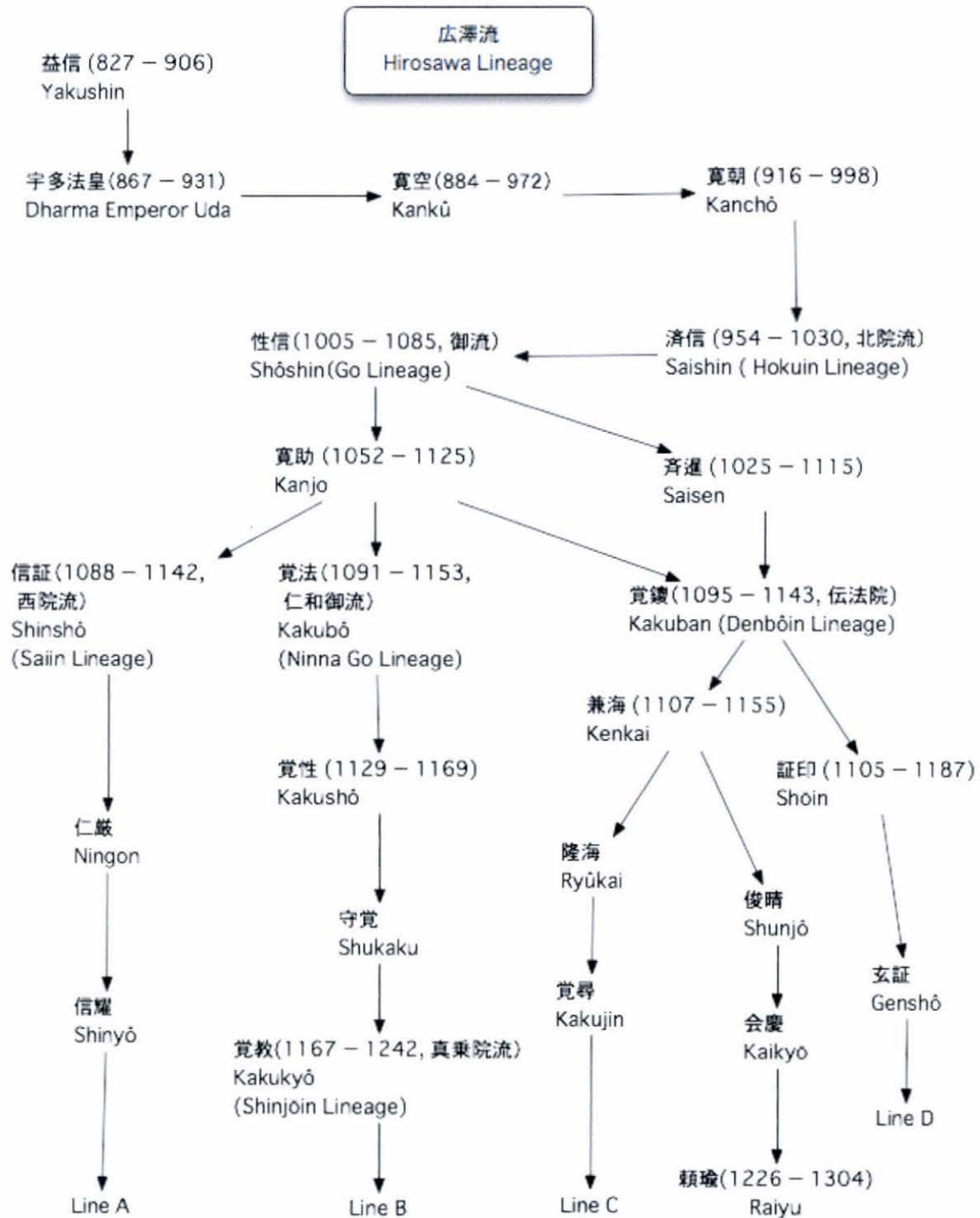
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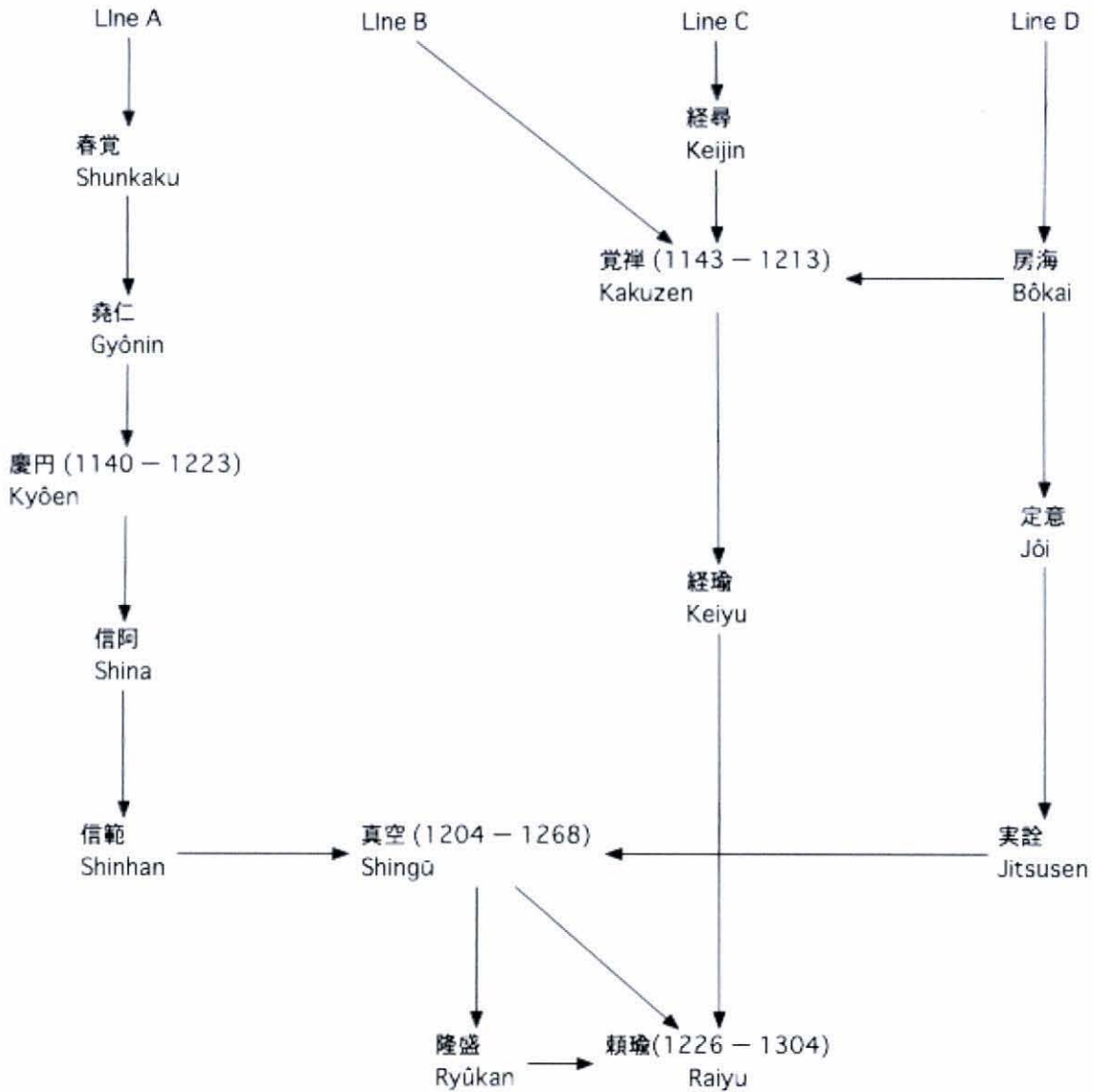
## Appendix One: Kūkai's Disciples and Early Shingon Lineages



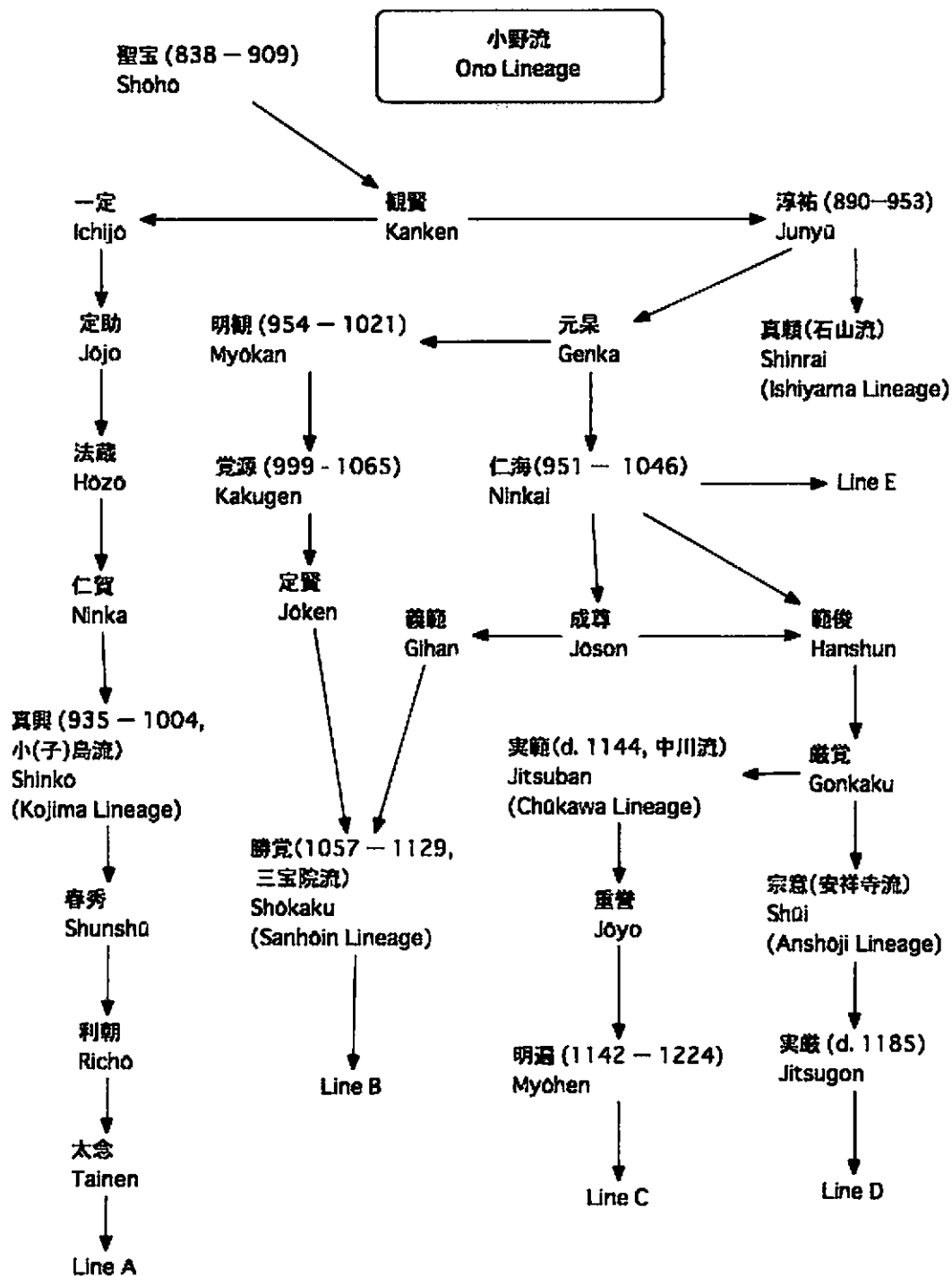
## Appendix Two: Raiyu's Position in the Hirosawa Ritual Lineage



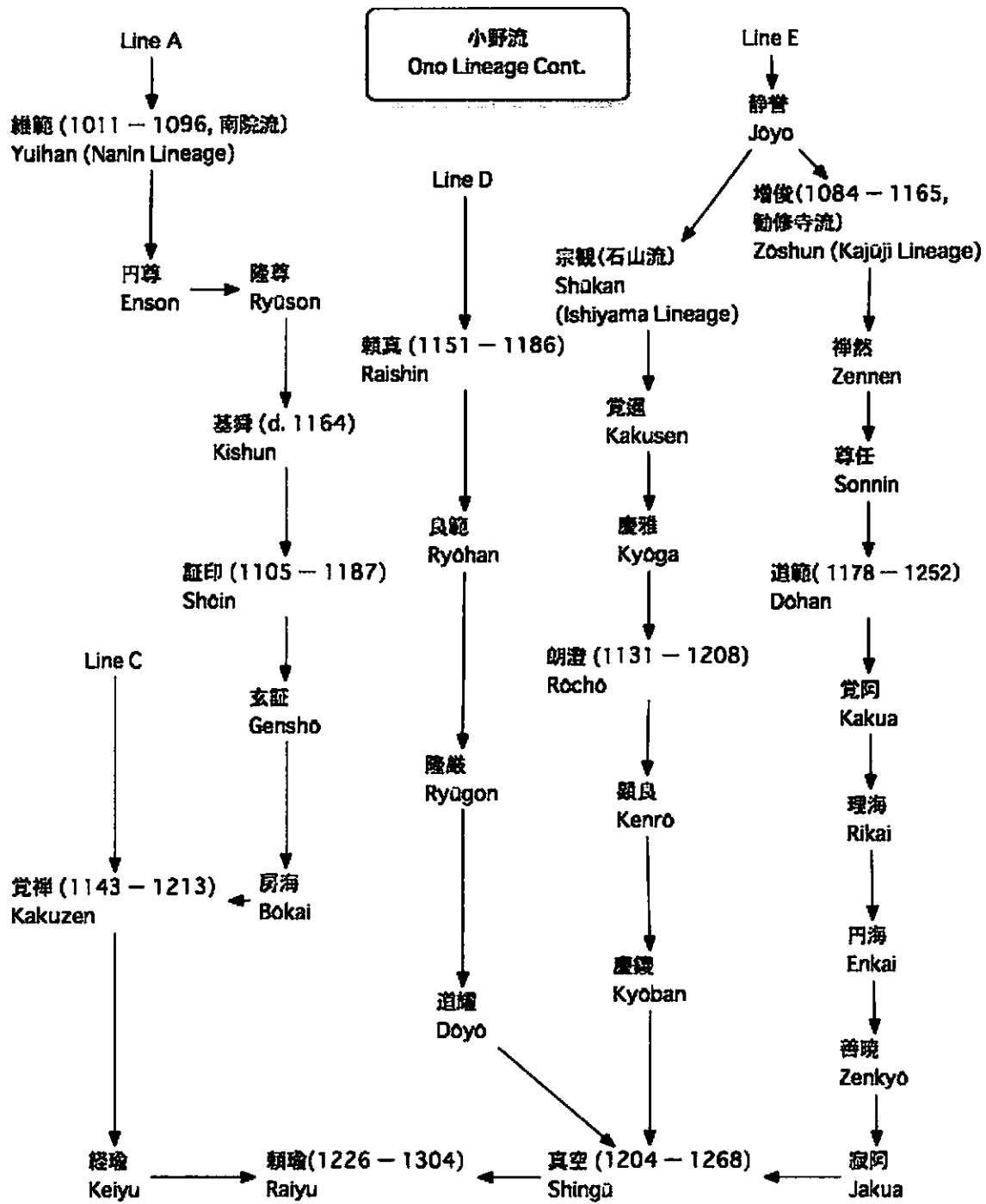
広沢流二部  
Hirosawa Lineage Cont.

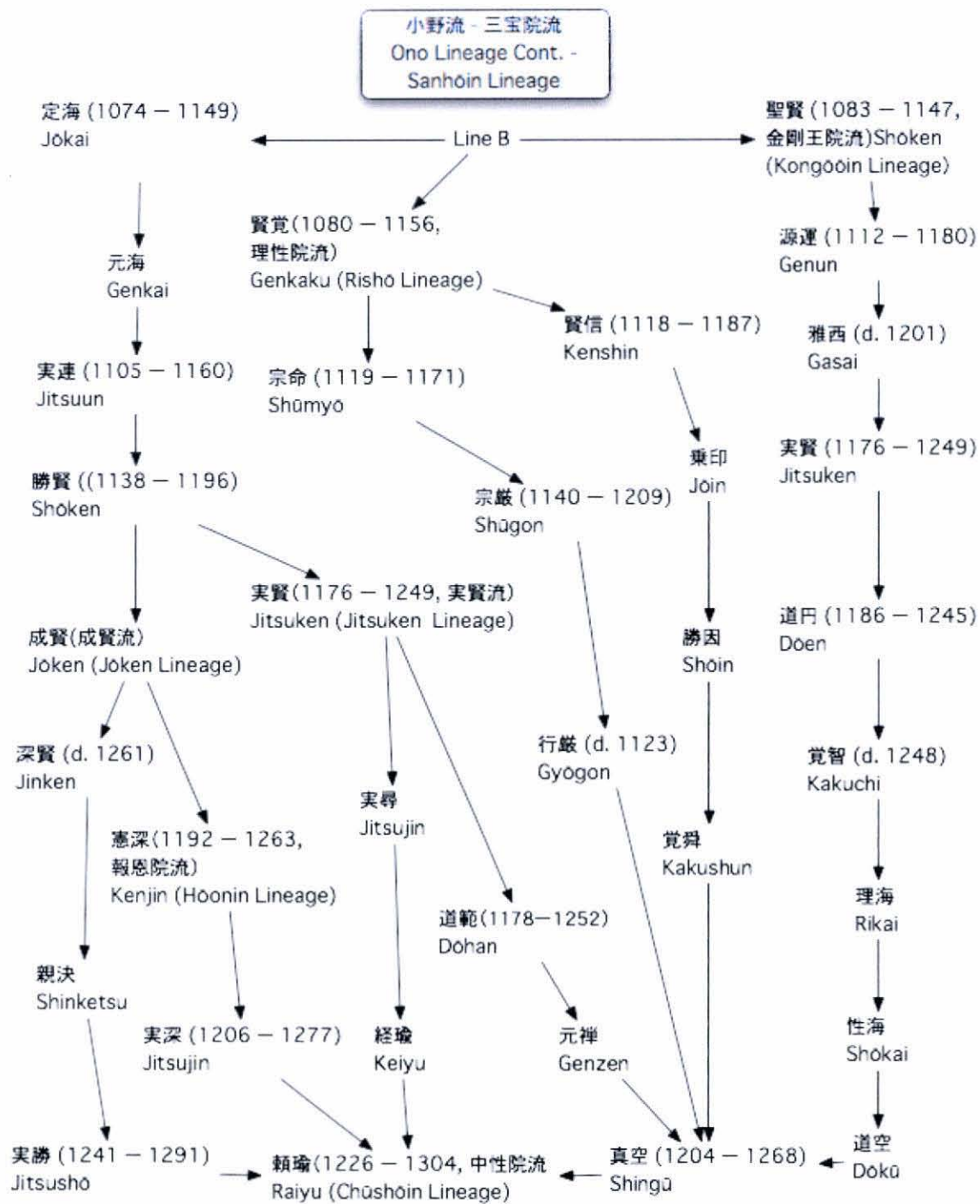


### Appendix Three: Raiyu's Position in the Ono Ritual Lineage









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