

A Treasure-house of Tendai Manuscripts Stored at a Shingon Branch Center: Kongōji 金剛寺 of Amanosan 天野山*

OCHIAI TOSHINORI 落合俊典
International College for Postgraduate Buddhist Studies
ochiai_icabs2323@hotmail.com

Abstract: Mount Amano's 天野山 Kongō Temple 金剛寺 has a large collection of commentaries, among which the Shōkyō collection 聖教 remains largely uncategorized and unexplored, especially in regard to its doctrinal position. This article argues that these commentaries, related to the *Fahua jing lun* 法華經論, come from a Tendai standpoint, based on analysis that proves the Kongō Temple's association with the Jimon-ha 寺門派 tradition, including its founder Akan's 阿観 (1136–1207) training and lineage, and association with other Tendai-manuscript producing temples. This collection of manuscripts offers new pathways in medieval Tendai Buddhist research.

Keywords: Kongōji 金剛寺, Amanosan 天野山, Tendai, Shingon, manuscripts, Buddhist canons (*Issaikyō* 一切經)

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* Translated by LI Zijie 李子捷 (SOAS, University of London) and DING Rui 丁睿 (University of British Columbia).

Introduction

In addition to its *Issaikyō* 一切經 of 4,600 scrolls at Mount Amano's 天野山 Kongō Temple 金剛寺, Kongōji also possesses change to nearly 10,000 fascicles of commentaries. The Historiographical Institute of the University of Tokyo 東大史料編纂所, Department of Japanese Literature at the University of Tokyo 東大国史, Shoryōbu 書陵部, Faculty of Letters in the University of Kyoto 京都大学文学部, Faculty of Letters in the University of Osaka 大阪大学文学部, the Committee of Education in Nagano-city 河内長野市教育委員会, Negoro Temple 根来寺, and the Research Institute for Old Japanese Manuscripts of Buddhist Scriptures in the International College for Postgraduate Buddhist Studies 国際仏教学大学院大学日本古写経研究所 have all spent many years probing and researching these manuscripts. Among these, Akatsuka Yūdō 赤塚祐道 and Satō Mona's 佐藤もな *Amanosan kongōji shōkyō mokuroku kō* 天野山金剛寺聖教目録稿 [A Draft Catalogue for the Sacred Teachings of Kongōji at Mount Amano] is a prominent piece of research, which further researches some anonymous manuscripts, followed by an index of the titles, date and names of relevant manuscripts.¹ However, it seems that this research lacks a solid foundation; that is, data entries of these Shōkyō manuscripts are yet to be completed. The research team of the University of Osaka led by Gotō Shōyū 後藤昭雄 prepared some data entries from the perspective of Japanese Literature. Moreover, with sponsorship from the Institute of Culture, Nagamura Makoto 永村真 (the former president of Kanazawa bunko 金沢文庫) and his team are engaged in finishing all of the data entries, though this is not an easy job.

Although some research teams have spent a great amount of energy on this work, the outline of the Shōkyō manuscripts is still unclear. One reason for this is that a great number of manuscripts were thrown into the same basket, making it difficult to sort them out. Another reason is the lack of the ambition and desire to arrange these Shōkyō manuscripts.

¹ Akatsuka & Satō, 'Kongōji shōgyō mokuroku-kō'.

I joined the Setsuwa bungakkai 說話文学会 (The Narrative Literary Society) on April 28, 2018 and listened to the presentation by Minoura Naomi 箕浦尚美, which analyzed the *Nōshō Shobutsu Kyō Shaku* 能生諸仏經釈 [Explanation of *Sūtra* of Production of All-Buddhas].² Regrettably, this did not lead to any important conclusions on the basic characteristics of this text.

Generally speaking, the *Nōshō Shobutsu Kyō* indicates the ninth alternative name among seventeen alternative names found in the *Fabua jing lun* 法華經論 [Commentary to the *Saddharmapundarīka-sūtra*], as are defined in the *Miaofa lianhua jing youpotishe* 妙法蓮華經優婆提舍 [Skt. *Saddharmapundarīkōpadeśa*].³ That is to say, this is a commentary on the *Lotus Sūtra*.

² This text is currently preserved as *Kongōji Shōkyō* 28–08.

³ *Miaofa lianhua jing youpotishe*, T no 1519, 26: 1.2c12–3a1:

That a merit is accomplished when the Tathāgata wants to teach the Doctrine (Dharma) means the Tathāgata will explain a Mahāyāna *Sūtra* to the Bodhisattvas. It should be known that this Mahāyāna (*Lotus*) *Sūtra* has seventeen titles which reveal its profound qualities. What are these seventeen and what do they illustrate? 如來欲說法時至成就者，為諸菩薩說大乘經故。此大乘修多羅有十七種名，顯示甚深功德應知。何等十七？云何顯示？

1. [The *Lotus Sūtra*] is called ‘The Innumerable Meanings’ because it completes the meaning of words, and because this religious discourse explains the subtle realm of their profound Truth (Dharma). ‘The subtle realm of their profound Truth’ means the ultimate realm of all the Buddhas, the Tathāgatas. 一名‘無量義經’者，成就字義故；以此法門說彼甚深法妙境界故；彼甚深法妙境界者，諸佛如來最勝境界故。
2. It is called ‘The Ultimate *Sūtra*.’ This shows that among the three divisions of Buddhist scripture, the most excellent division is well completed in this religious disclosure. 二‘名最勝修多羅’者，於三藏中最勝妙藏，此法門中善成就故。
3. It is called ‘The Greatly Expanded *Sūtra*’ since as a vast Mahāyāna disclosure, it completes establishing [the teaching for] living beings in accordance with their faculties; 三名‘大方廣經’者，無量大乘門中善成就故，隨順衆生根住持成就故。
4. It is called ‘The Instruction for the Bodhisattvas,’ since it well com-

The purpose of a commentary on a *sūtra* is to explore its doctrinal background, even if the author utilized some literary methods. For instance, it is necessary to confirm to which Buddhist tradition—Tendai 天台 or Hossō 法相—this commentary’s standpoint belongs. Even if within the framework of Tendai, there are also different branches like Sanmon-ha 山門派 and Jimon-ha 寺門派, and so on.

With this point in mind, a significant hypothesis suddenly occurred to me that may successfully dissolve a long-standing doubt:

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- pletes the guidance for those Bodhisattvas with mature faculties in accordance with their capacity to receive the teaching. 四名 ‘教菩薩法’ 者, 以為教化根熟菩薩隨順法器善成就故。
5. It is called ‘[The *Sūtra*] Which is Protected by the Buddhas’ since it relies on the Buddhas and the Tathāgatas. 五名 ‘仏所護念’ 者, 以依如來有此法故。
 6. It is called ‘The Mysterious Doctrine (Dharma) of All the Buddhas’ since the profundity of this Doctrine (Dharma) is known only by the Buddhas. 六名 ‘一切諸仏祕密法’ 者, 此法甚深, 唯仏知故。
 7. It is called ‘The storehouse of All the Buddhas’ since the storehouse of all the qualities and meditative attainments of the Tathāgatas lies in this *Sūtra*. 七名 ‘一切諸仏之藏’ 者, 如來功德三昧之藏在此經故。
 8. It is called ‘The Mysterious Subject of All the buddhas’ since it is not conferred on those, such as living beings with immature faculties, who do not have the capacity to receive the teaching. 八名 ‘一切諸仏祕密処’ 者, 以根未熟衆生等非受法器不授與故。
 9. It is called ‘The *Sūtra* Which Produces All the Buddhas’ since the great enlightenment of all the Buddhas can be produced by hearing this religious discourse. 九名 ‘能生一切諸仏經’ 者, 聞此法門能成諸仏大菩提故。
 10. It is called ‘The Seat of Enlightenment of All the Buddhas’ since the highest complete enlightenment of all the Buddhas can be produced through this religious discourse, and not through any of the other *Sūtras*. 十名 ‘一切諸仏之道場’ 者, 以此法門能成諸仏阿耨多羅三藐三菩提, 非余修多羅故。

English translation is quoted, with adaptations, from Abbott, *Vasubandhu’s Commentary*, 140–141.

that is, it seems like the Shōkyō manuscripts belong to the lineage of Tendai's Jimon-ha (Mitsui Temple 三井寺, Enjō Temple 園城寺). Although we can find clear evidence neither from Kongōji's Old Manuscripts of 金剛寺古文書 nor its Shōkyō collection, there exist excellent Tendai texts in the latter, thanks to Akan *jōnin*'s 阿觀上人 (1136–1207) connections to Mitsui Temple, and especially the intervention from Hachijōin 八条院 (Princess Shōshinai 暲子内親王 [1137–1211], the third daughter of Toba Tenō 鳥羽天皇 [1103–1156; r. 1107–1123]), and his brother Goshirakawa Hōō 後白河法皇 (1127–1192). This article will demonstrate this hypothesis.

1. **The Eighth Year of the Enhō 延宝 era (1680): The *Kashū Amanosan Kokin Zakki* 河州天野山古今雜記 [Miscellaneous Record of Events from the past to the Present at Mount Amano in Kashū Prefecture]**

This is a significant text containing an account on the origin of Kongōji and some old manuscripts:

Kongōji Temple at Mount Amano in Nishikibe of Kashū was established by Bodhisattva Gyōki 行基 (668–749). It is also a miraculously efficacious site where Kōbō Daishi 弘法大師 (i.e., Kūkai 空海 [774–835]) studied. ... In the second year of Jijō 治承 era (1178), the temple was appointed as the praying site of Hachijō Nyōin 八条女院 (i.e., Princess Shōshinai). In the second year of Kenkyū 建久 era (1191), the temple received an order from Cloistered Emperor Go-Shirakawa, who devoted himself to Buddhism. In the ninth month of the same year, the temple was named the 'North Court of Ninna Temple' 仁和寺北院. After that, the miscellaneous *corvée* under formal tax of the temple territory was exempted to serve the 'Three Monastic Cords' (僧三綱). Additionally, thirty-two excellent students of Buddhism were dispatched here for study. The temple held great assembly of Dharma-transmission every spring and autumn, in accordance with the royal requirement of praying for the peace of four seas and the prosperity of Three Treasures. In the Jōan 承安 era (1171–1175), when Akan who revived the temple

lived here, he brought the portrait of Kōya Daishi 高野大師 (i.e., Kūkai) and invited the two Myōjin 明神 (illuminating deities) of Niu 高野 and Takano 丹生 to this branch temple. That this temple is of tremendous spiritual efficacy is well-known in the surrounding areas, and its auspicious omen is awe-inspiring for the world. After inheriting the school style of South Mountain (Mount Kōya), and Forty-thousand teachings of the two (esoteric) divisions (Ryōbu 兩部), he visited Tōji Ryu to study the practices of ‘Three Secrets’ (*sanmitsu* 三密), five thoughts (*gosō* 五想), and other Buddhist thoughts. For the executive position of the Middle Court, those who were broad-minded among the students of Akan *jōnin* could be nominated and approved by the royal document from the court of Hachijō Nyōin. Monks of the temple still know where the imperial edict is stored. Akan *jōnin*’s student, Nun Jyōkaku 淨覺 (d.u.), also known as Daini no Tsubone 大貳局 was appointed to manage the temple affairs. Jyōkaku’s younger sister, Nun Kakua 覺阿 (d.u.), also known as Rokujiyō no Tsubone 六条局, had a dispute with Gon-Shōsōzu 權少僧 Monk Kakushin 覺心, Akan *jōnin*’s direct student, who was posthumously awarded the title of *gon shōsōzu* 權少僧都 (lesser second-ranking prelate), but the dispute was solved in the end. In the twelfth month of the second year of Jyōkyū 承久 era (1220), both this temple and Ninna Temple were rewarded, according to the issued document from the Court of Cloistered Second-Level Shinnō 入道二品親王廳. The document states: ‘Now appoint Nun Jyōkaku, also known as Daini no Tsubone, to manage the temple affairs’. 河州錦部天野山金剛寺者, 行基菩薩開基, 弘法大師經行之靈場也。... 因茲治承二年被點八条女院御祈願所, 建久二年, 後白河法皇特段叡信被下宣旨院宣。同九年以仁和寺北院号本寺。以降勅免寺領正稅以下雜事被定置供僧三綱等。又抽補三十二口秀學被勤行。春秋二季, 伝法大会。是則四海靜謐, 御祈禱三宝紹隆之勅願也。中興阿觀上人、承安之比在住之時、為寺家別院奉安, 置高野大師御影, 并奉勤請丹生、高野兩所明神。爰靈驗漏四隣, 奇瑞振万邦。因伝南山之風, 學兩部四万教; 訪東寺流, 修三密五想行云々。就中院主職事阿觀上人門跡之中殊擇器量, 可抽之由八条女院廳御下文炳口也。仍寺僧存知其旨之處。阿觀上人之弟子禪尼淨覺、大□ (=貳?) 局讓得寺務淨覺妹禪尼覺阿六条局与阿觀上人直弟子贈權少僧都覺心及相論被遂糾明。承久二年十二月, 賜本寺仁和寺 入道二品親王

廳下文。其文曰，‘今禪尼六条局、号‘大貳局’。付属寺務相承之条存外次第也’。

According to this, Hachijōin had become a place for prayer in 1178. Since Princess Shōshinai inherited a great amount of properties from Toba Tennō, Kongōji was financially supported.

Furthermore, the following content exists in this text:

1. Akan Shōnin, who revived the temple, built the General Temple during the Shōan 承安 era (1196–1200), according to the royal wish of Cloistered Emperor Go-Shirakawa 後白河院 (1127–1192; r. 1155–1158). 中興開山阿觀上人承安年中總伽藍建立，後白河院御願。
2. The mountain is named Amanosan, the temple named Kongōji, and the convent named Sanpōin 山号天野山，寺号金剛寺，院号三宝院。
3. Kondo Hall has seven column intervals and four walls. The main object of veneration is a Jōroku Dainichi Nyorai 大日如来 (Mahāvairocana), while assistants of the buddha on each side are Fudō Myōō (Acala), Gozanzei Myōō (Trailokyavijaya), and mandalas of two realms (Ryōkai) and images of Eight Great Patriarchs. 金堂七間四面。本尊丈六大日如来，脇土不動明王、降三世明王，并兩界之曼陀羅、八大祖師之影等。
4. Tahōto (Tower of Prabhūtaratna) has three column intervals and four walls. The main object of veneration is Mahāvairocana. 多宝塔三間四面，本尊大日如来。

Akan was appointed the founder of this temple, which was also Shirakawain’s 白河院 prayer temple. Furthermore, Goshirakawa Hōō was Hachijōin’s brother. Given that there is no extant biography for Akan, let me highlight several major traces of his life here. Born in the second year of the Hōen 保延 era (1136) in Izumi 和泉 with the secular name of Yamato 大和, Akan was active during the intersection between the Heian and Kamakura periods. He studied Shingon Buddhism at Mount Kōya, entering Kawachi Amanosan 河内天野山 in the first year of the Eiman 永万 era (1165). He revived Kongōji under the sponsorship of Cloistered Emperor Go-Shirakawa. With

the affiliation of Hachijō In and Gishūmon In Jōkaku 宜秋門院淨覺, students of Kakua, Kongōji became renowned as Koyasan for Women 女人高野, and attracted a variety of believers. He died in the first year of the Jōgen 承元 era (1207).

2. The *Tendai Sandaibu* 天台三大部 in the Insei 院政 Period

The *Tendai sandaibu* 天台三大部 (Three Major Commentaries of Tiantai/Tendai Buddhism) indicates the collection of *Fabua xuanyi* 法華玄義 [Profound Meaning of the *Lotus Sūtra*], *Fabua wenju* 法華文句 [Textual Commentary on *Lotus Sūtra*], and *Mohe zhiguan* 摩訶止觀 [Clear Serenity, Quiet Insight], and integrates some of three major commentaries by Jinxi Zhanran 荊溪湛然 (711–782): *Fabua xuanyi shiqian* 法華玄義釈籤 [Explanation of the Profound Meaning of the *Lotus Sūtra*], *Fabua wenju ji* 法華文句記 [Sub-commentary on the Textual Commentary on *Lotus Sūtra*], and *Zhiguan fuxing chuanhong jue* 止觀輔行伝弘決 [Annotation on Clear Serenity, Quiet Insight]. We may list the extant portions of the *Tendai sandaibu* at Kongōji as follows:

(A) *Fabua xuanyi*/ Jp. *Hokkei kengi* 法華玄義, 10 scrolls:

Scroll 1, *Kongōji shōgyō* 金剛寺聖教 [Sacred Teachings of Kongōji Temple] 17–439

Scroll 2

Scroll 3

Scroll 4

Scroll 5

Scroll 6

Scroll 7

Scroll 8

Scroll 9

Scroll 10

* Unknown... *Kongōji shōgyō* 17–192/ 17–198/ 17–287///

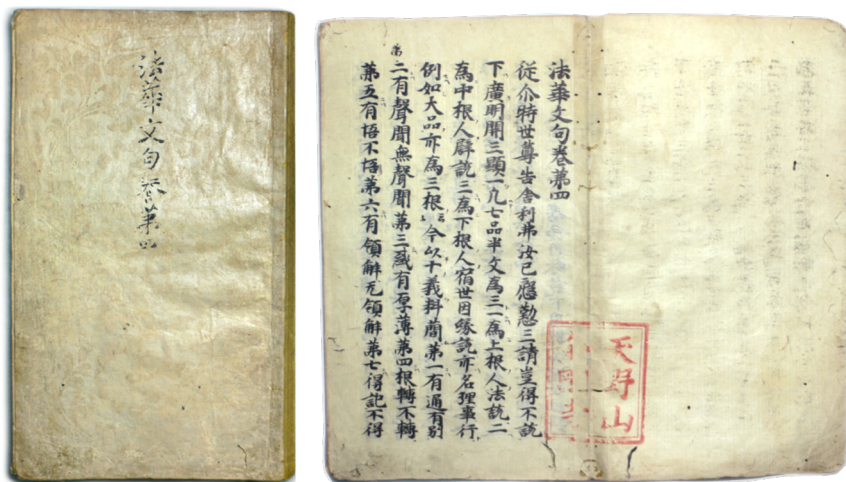


FIG. 1 *Kongōji shōgyō* edition of *Fabua wenju/Jp.* *Hokkei Monku* 法華文句, 4 (cover).

FIG. 2 *Kongōji shōgyō* edition of *Fabua wenju/Jp.* *Hokkei Monku* 法華文句, 4 (first page).

(B) *Fabua wenju/Jp.* *Hokkei Monku* 法華文句, 10 scrolls:

- Scroll 1
- Scroll 2, *Kongōji shōgyō* 28–14
- Scroll 3
- Scroll 4, *Kongōji shōgyō* 51–1 (Gakushu 覺主 [copied in 1174])
- Scroll 5, *Kongōji shōgyō* 51–2 (Kakuen 覺門⁴ [copied in 1174])
- Scroll 6, *Kongōji shōgyō* 51–3 (Kakuen [copied in 1174])
- Scroll 7 *Kongōji shōgyō* 51–4 (later part incomplete) (Kakuen)
- Scroll 8 *Kongōji shōgyō* 51–5 (copied in 1174)
- Scroll 9
- Scroll 10

⁴ Not to be confused with the homonymous monk who lived from 1031 to 1098 and who was a Tendai monk.

- (C) *Mobe zbiguan*/Jp. *Maka Shikan* 摩訶止觀, 10 scrolls
 Scroll 1, *Kongōji shōgyō* 51–6
 Scroll 2, *Kongōji shōgyō* 51–7
 Scroll 3, *Kongōji shōgyō* 28–12 (Kakuen, copied in 1178)
 Scroll 4, *Kongōji shōgyō* 51–8/*Kongōji shōgyō* 3–223/*Kongōji shōgyō* 13–6
 Scroll 5, *Kongōji shōgyō* 51–9
 Scroll 6
 Scroll 7, *Kongōji shōgyō* 13–7 (Kakuen, copied in 1178)
 Scroll 8
 Scroll 9, *Kongōji shōgyō* 12–1 (later part incomplete)
 Scroll 10
- (D) *Fabua xuanyi shiqian*/Jp. *Hokkei Gengi Shakusen* 法華玄義積籤, 10 scrolls
 Scroll 1, *Kongōji shōgyō* 17–135/10–5/17–194/10–10/19–90/
 Scroll 2, *Kongōji shōgyō* 10–11
 Scroll 3
 Scroll 4
 Scroll 5
 Scroll 6
 Scroll 7
 Scroll 8
 Scroll 9
 Scroll 10, *Kongōji shōgyō* 10–6/17–188
 * unknown, *Kongōji shōgyō* 6–55/17–43
- (E) *Fabua wenju* j/Jp. *Hokkei Monkuki* 法華文句記, 10 scrolls.
Named Fabua shuji/Jp. *Hokkei Shoki* 法華疏記 [Writings on the
 Commentary on *Lotus Sūtra*] in the *Kongōji shōgyō*:
 Scroll 1, *Kongōji shōgyō* 51–10 (Kakuen)
 Scroll 2, *Kongōji shōgyō* 51–11 (Shunka 俊賀 [active ca.1201–31])
 Scroll 3 (first half), *Kongōji shōgyō* 51–12
 Scroll 3 (second half), *Kongōji shōgyō* 51–13
 Scroll 4
 Scroll 5, *Kongōji shōgyō* 51–14

Scroll 6, *Kongōji shōgyō* 51–15

Scroll 7

Scroll 8, *Kongōji shōgyō* 51–16

Scroll 9, *Kongōji shōgyō* 17–315

Scroll 10, *Kongōji shōgyō* 10–6

(F) *Zhiguan fuxing chuanhong jue* /Jp. *Shikan Bugyō Den Kōketsu*

止觀輔行伝弘決, 10 Scrolls

Scroll 1 Part One (本)

Scroll 1 Part two, *Kongōji shōgyō* 51–17

Scroll 2 (Part One)

Scroll 2 (Part two), *Kongōji shōgyō* 51–18

Scroll 3 (Part One), *Kongōji shōgyō* 17–417

Scroll 3 (Part Two), *Kongōji shōgyō* 3–230? / *Kongōji shōgyō*
13–8

Scroll 4 (Part One)

Scroll 4 (Part Two)

Scroll 5 (Part One), *Kongōji shōgyō* 7–39/*Kongōji shōgyō*
11–51

Scroll 5 (Part Two), *Kongōji shōgyō* 51–19

Scroll 6 (Part One)

Scroll 6 (Part Two), *Kongōji shōgyō* 28–13

Scroll 7 (Part One), *Kongōji shōgyō* 51–20

Scroll 7 (Part Two), *Kongōji shōgyō* 51–21

Scroll 8 (Part One)

Scroll 8 (Part Two)

Scroll 9 (Part One), *Kongōji shōgyō* 51–22?

Scroll 9 (Part Two)

Scroll 10 (Part One)

Vol 10 (Part Two)

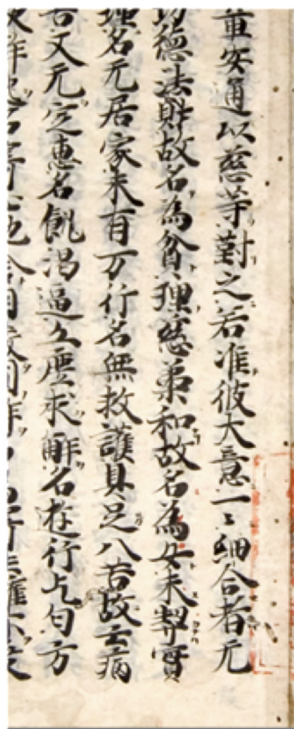


FIG. 3 A page from the *Kongōji shōgyō* edition of *Fahua wenju*/Jp. *Hokkei Monku* 法華文句.

3. The Tendai Doctrinal Texts Composed between the Insei Period and the Early Kamakura Period

As mentioned above, the *Tendai sandaibu* is representative of Tendai doctrinal texts. This section intends to cover other Tendai texts.

Kongōji shōgyō 37–35: *Tiantai chuan Nanyue xinyao* (Jp. *Tendai den Nangaku shinyō*) 天台伝南岳心要 [The Mind essentials of Nanyue (Huisi) 南嶽慧思 (515–57) as transmitted by Tiantai (Zhiyi) 天台智顛 (538–597)]. As suggested by its title, this text introduces the essence of meditation Tiantai master Zhiyi attributed to his teacher Huisi.

Kongōji shōgyō 41–21: *Enchin washō den* 円珍和尚伝 [A Biography of Master Enchin 円珍 (814–891)]. This is considered to be an excellent early version of this text.

Kongōji shōgyō 28–31: *Kōen Hokke gi matsu* 講延法花義末 [Meaning of the Lectures on the *Lotus Sūtra*] (1199): The better known title of this text is *Nyū Shingon mon kōen bokke gi* 入真言門講演法花儀 [The methods of Lecturing on the *Lotus Sūtra* as a Gate to Enter the True Words]. Though considered to be a treatise by Enchin 円珍, this text was recently shown to be a treatise by someone else belonging to the Jimon-ha 寺門派.

Kongōji shōgyō 10–1/10–12/17–459: *Hōmon meigi shō* 法門名義抄 [Extracts concerning the Names and Meanings of Dharma-gates]. A collection of essays based on Tendai standpoints. The appearance of the phrase ‘Kujūku myōkō sha’ 九十九明劫者 in this manuscript suggests that it contains at least 99 topics.

Kongōji shōgyō 11–28 *Ryaku Hokekyō* 略法華經 [Abridged *Lotus Sūtra*]: The internal title of this manuscript is *Ryaku Hokekyō ichibu* 略法華經一部 [a copy of the *Ryaku Hokekyō*], followed by the author’s name Shamon Tendai daishi 沙門天台大師 (*Śramaṇa* Great Master Tiantai). Both the internal title and the author’s name are unusual. In the section of *ganmon* 願文 (Votive Texts), the content of the twenty-eighth article of the *Lotus Sūtra* is summarized. After that, it records that Denkyō daishi 伝教大師 (Saichō 最澄 [767–822]) passed away on the fourth day of the sixth month of the thirteenth year of the Kōnin 弘仁 era (822), and that Gishin 義真 (781–833) and Enchō 円澄 (772–837) continued to uphold and spread the *Lotus Sūtra*. This is followed by the introduction of the *Da bore boluomiduo jing* 大般若波羅蜜多經 [Skt. *Mahāprajñā-pāramitā-sūtra*; Great Perfection of Wisdom *Sūtra*] and the *Foshuo renwang huguo bore boluomi jing* 仏説仁王護国般若波羅蜜經 [Humane Kings *Sūtra*]. The next part is a summary of the *Jin gang bore boluomi jing* 金剛般若波羅蜜經 [Skt. *Vajracchedikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*; Diamond *Sūtra*] and the *Bore xinjing* 般若心經 [Skt. *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdaya Sūtra*; Heart *Sūtra*]. It also refers to a document called ‘Nittō shamon Kukai Jōhyō’ 入唐沙門空海上表 [A memorial submitted by the *Śramaṇa* Kūkai who Visited Tang China]. Finally, the text

returns to the *Lotus Sūtra* by explaining its first chapter. It is evident that this manuscript is a Tendai doctrinal text, although further research is needed.

Kongōji shōgyō 28–1: *Jōjū Kongō shiiki* 常住金剛私記 [Private Notes on Jōjū Kongō (i.e., Fudō myōō 不動明王)]. This text has a postscript that mentions 師云山王院大師云. Jōjū Kongō 常住金剛 (Lit. ‘Permanent Vajra’), found in the title of this manuscript, is an esoteric name for Fudō myōō/Ch. Budong mingwang 不動明王 (Immovable Wisdom King), the Chinese translation of the Sanskrit Acala Vidyārāja. It is comprised of the *Budong liyin yigui*/Jp. *Fudō ritsuin giki* 不動立印儀軌 [probably referring to the *Jin’gang shou Guangming Guanding jing Zuisheng Liyin Sheng Wudong zun Da Weinu wang niansong yigui fa pin* 金剛手光明灌頂經最勝立印聖無動尊大威怒王念誦儀軌法品金剛手光明灌頂經最勝立印聖無動尊大威怒王念誦儀軌法品; T no. 1199], the *Fudō ritsuin shugyō shidai hō* 不動立印修行次第法 [i.e., Fudōmyōō ryūin giki shugyō shidai 不動明王立印儀軌修行次第 by Annen 安然 (841–889?)] and the *Ritsuin gi hiki* 立印儀秘記 [i.e., *Fudō ryūin giki hiki* 不動立印儀軌秘記, also by Annen].

4.

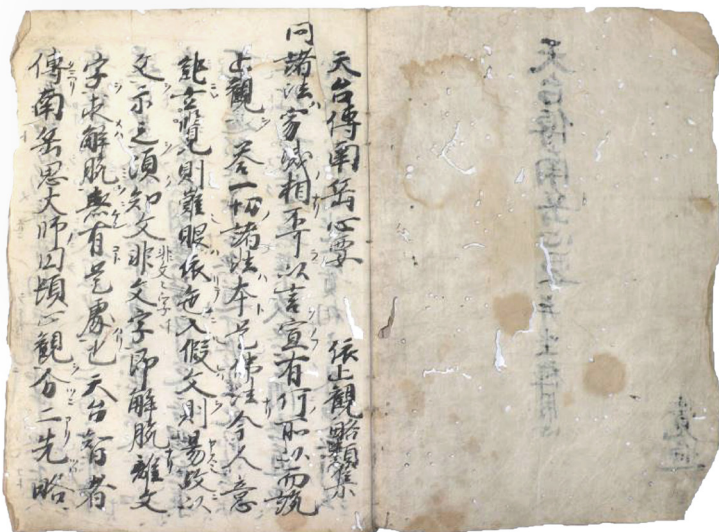


FIG. 4 *Kongōji shōgyō* 37–35: *Tendai chuan nanyue xinyao* (Jp. *Tendai den nanguaku shinyō*) 天台伝南岳心要.

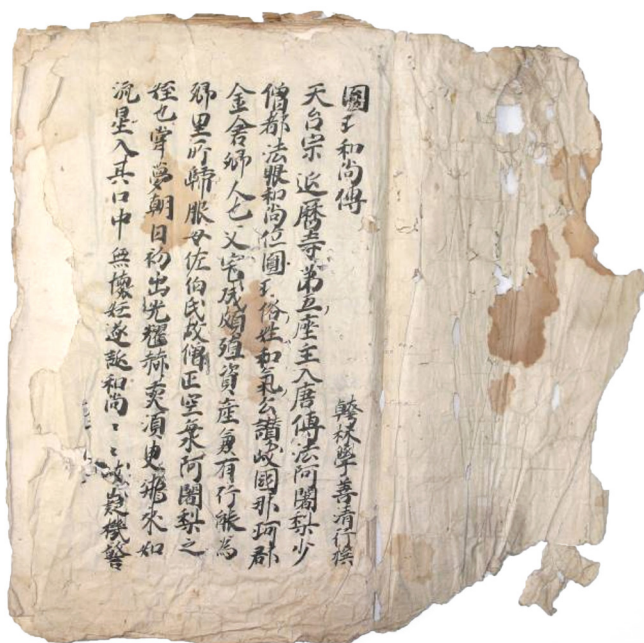


FIG. 5 *Kongōji shōgyō* 41–21: *Enchin wasō den* 円珍和尚伝.

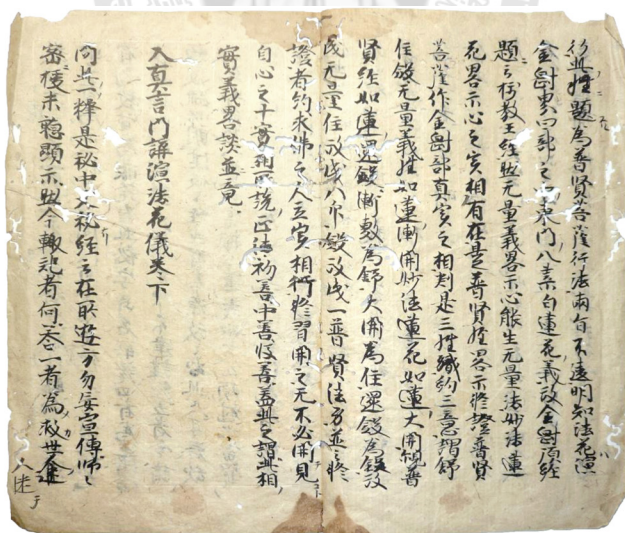


FIG. 6 *Kongōji shōgyō* 28–31: *Kōen Hokke gi matsū* 講延法花義末 (better known as *Nyū Shingon mon kōen Hokke gi* 入真言門講演法花儀) attributed to Enchin 円珍.

Let us here mention several other manuscripts which were written between the Insei period and early Kamakura period:

1. *Kongōji shōgyō* 28–34: *Muryōjukyō Ubadaisha Gansyōge* 無量壽經優婆提舍願生偈 [Treatise on the *Sūtra* of Limitless Life], scroll 2 (Hōgen 保元 2 [1138]);
2. *Kongōji shōgyō* 28–20: *Dasbeng qixin lun* 大乘起信論 [Awakening of Mahāyāna Faith] (Hōen 保延 4 [1157]);
3. *Kongōji shōgyō* 19–791, *Hyakugan Shūjikan* 百願修持觀 [Meditation on Practicing a Hundred Wishes];
4. *Kongōji shōgyō* 28–8, *Nōshō Shobutsu Kyō Shaku* 能生諸仏經釈 [Explanation of *Sūtra* of Production of All-Buddhas];
5. *Kongōji shōgyō* 17–489, *Itsumei Shobosatu Kannōshō* 佚名諸菩薩感応抄 [An Anonymous Commentary on the Bodhisattvas' Feeling and Response].



FIG. 7 *Kongōji shōgyō* 28–34: *Muryōjukyō Ubadaisha Gansyōge* 無量壽經優婆提舍願生偈 [Treatise on the *Sūtra* of Limitless Life], scroll 2 (Hōgen 保元 2 [1138]).

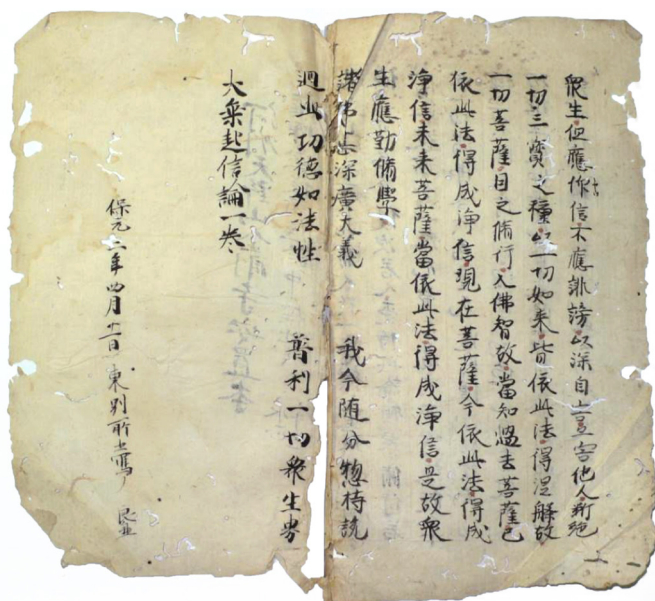


FIG. 8 *Kongōji shōgyō* 28–20: *Dasheng qixin lun* 大乘起信論 [Awakening of Mahāyāna Faith] (Hōen 保延 4 [1157]).

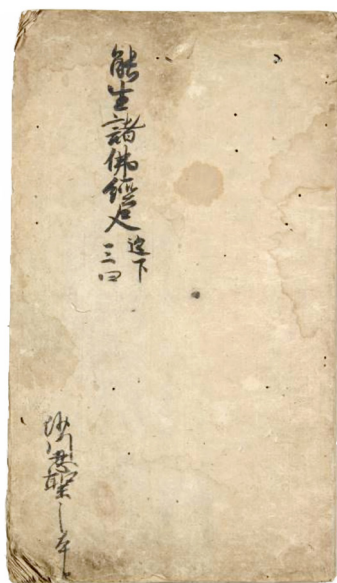


FIG. 9 *Kongōji shōgyō* 28–8: *Nōshō Shobutsu Kyō Shaku* 能生諸佛經釈 [Explanation of *Sūtra* of Production of All-Buddhas].

5. The Lineage of the images of ‘Sonshō Mandala’ 尊勝曼荼羅

We cannot end this article without discussing an interesting report that the Shingon monks, Seigen 成賢 (1162–1231) and his disciple Dōkyō 道教 (1200–1236), made in their work, *Henkushō* 遍口鈔 [Recorded Teachings Left by Henchi-in 遍知院 (i.e., Seigen)?], about a Sonshō Mandara/Ch. Zunsheng mantuluo 尊勝曼荼羅, that is, Maṇḍala of the Supreme Uṣṇīṣa Buddhas, at Mii temple (尊勝曼荼羅事^三并本):

In the eighth day of the ninth month of Kanki second year (1230), saw the image with honour when doing summer airing in Henchiin Temple. It was said that Chishō Daishi (Enchin) brought the Mandala. In the middle was Diamond Realm Dainichi Nyorai (Mahāvairocana) with the usual Chikenin gesture, while Fudō Myōō (Acala) was on the left. On the right was the image of Gozansei Myōō with two arms. It was said by a master wearing the crown of the five buddhas that this portrait is Sonjō Mandala, and this mysterious buddha was not even popular in the world. But the seven crowned buddha was here. Not wearing crown of the five buddhas. There were seven crowned buddhas, then eight buddhas if adding the main buddha, Dainichi Nyorai (Mahāvairocana). Even people in this temple definitely did not know this. When it was permitted by Jōrenbō Ajari (preceptor) Keni, and Hōrinin Sōjō (superintendent of monks) Kakuyū to come see [the image], the image was taken out from Saneibako to let people see. This is the deep mystery of Mandala. Then Ajari (preceptor) Keni solicited to write words and gifted him inkstone and paper. He wrote, ‘according to his awe when observing the image, he can be promoted Sōjō (superintendent of monks)’ so on and so forth, and ‘the image is extremely mysterious’ so on and so forth. 寛喜二年九月十八日、於遍智院蟲拂之次、奉拜見像。智證大師請來曼荼羅^三中尊、金剛界大日^智印如常^拳左邊、不動、右邊、降三世^二戴五佛冠^{像也}。師主云、‘此尊勝曼荼羅也^三。此祕佛(事?)也。世間^二頗不流布歟?但寶冠七佛在之、不五佛之冠、彼即七佛頂也。加本佛^{大日}成八佛頂也。本寺人^モイト不知歟?件像、成蓮房阿闍梨兼意法輪院僧正覺猷許^ハ參^テ對面之時、自三衣箱取出之、令拜見。此曼荼羅深祕也。仍兼意阿闍梨硯紙^ヲ乞書二字、彼拜見之畏^トテ令進僧正^三云。此像尤可祕^三云。’⁵

According to Akatsuka Yūdō, the image of the three honorable ones in Kongōji is related to Jōkiin Shingaku 常喜院心覺 (1117–1181), whose *Besson zakki* 別尊雜記 [Miscellaneous Records of Individual Deities] mentions the layout of the image of the three honorable ones. Akatsuka further noted: ‘If we chronologically consider the relationship between Shingaku and Akan, it is likely that Akan absorbed the Shingaku’s thoughts developed during his last years. Both of them were in Kōyasan. Shingaku studied at Mitsui Temple when he was young’.⁶

6. Concluding Remarks

Amanosan Kongōji was founded by Akan, who studied and practiced at Kōyasan. This temple is more or less related to Shingaku. Its Honzon 本尊 was decorated in the style of Enchin. It goes without saying that this was based on strong support from Princess Shōshi. Most of the Tendai texts in the second half of the twelfth century came from Mitsui Temple (Enjō Temple).

The *Tendai sandaibu* in Amanosan Kongōji is related to the Eizan 叡山 version, which was created in the Kamakura era. To further research medieval Tendai Buddhism in Japan, these manuscripts found in Amanosan Kongōji are extremely important.

⁵ *Henkuchishō*, T no. 2496, 78: 700a25–b7.

⁶ Akatsuka & Satō, ‘Kongōji shōgyō mokuroku-kō’.

Appendix:

The Questions and Answers in the *Sijiao yi* 四教義 [Doctrine of the Four Teachings] in Medieval Japanese Tendai: With a Focus on the *Shijū Montō* 四十問答 [Forty Questions and Answers] in Shinfukuji 真福寺

The *Shijū montō* 四十問答 [Forty Questions and Answers] found in Shinfukuji 真福寺 (vol. 28, no. 13) has not been introduced at all. Two issues, in my opinion, account for this negligence. One is the absence of information on its author and the other is the damage on the surface of the manuscript. This text has 18,800 characters spread in 992 lines. The title *Shijū montō* is written on the cover, followed by ‘Shijū montō shō’ 四十問答抄 at the end of the last volume. The character *shō* 抄 means the end of a section if we merely consider its composition.

At the end of this manuscript, we find the following sentence, 嘉祿元年乙酉八月廿日／於伊勢国朝明觀音寺書写了／僧无明／龍丸, which probably means that the monk Mummyō 无明 wrote this manuscript at Kannon Temple 觀音寺 on Mount Chōmyō 朝明山 in the eighth month of the first year of Karoku 嘉祿 era (1225). This should be further probed. Based on the style of its characters and the material of the paper, this manuscript was written during Karoku era (1225–1228).

Like its title, we can address the style of this text based on some questions and answers. There are forty pairs of questions and answers related to *zang/zō* 藏 (canonic), *tong/tsū* 通 (shared), *bie/betsu* 別 (distinct) and *yan/en* 円 (perfect) in Tiantai/Tendai doctrine. Although 160 pairs should be included, there are only 156 extant pairs of questions and answers in total in the current manuscript. Nevertheless, we can say that this text mentions and arranges various issues of Tendai doctrine, although the number of the questions and answers should be further researched.

The *Sange sotoku senjutsu henmoku shū* 山家祖德撰述篇目集 [Collection of the Titles of the Texts Composed by the Mountain School (Tendai)] mentions a text named *Shijū montō* 四十問答 as one of the many texts attributed to the Tendai monk Senkan 千觀 (918–984):

Authored by Senkan of the Kinryū[ji] 金龍寺, a *naigu* 内供 (palace chaplain) 金龍内供千觀撰:

Jugan bosshinki [Record on the arising mind for ten vows], one scroll
《十願発心記》一卷;

Jūni innengi shiki [Private Note on the Doctrine of twelve links of dependent arising], one scroll ^(91 pages)《十二因縁義私記》一卷^{九十}紙;

Sanshū yōroku 三周要録 [Extracts of Three Rounds], one scroll
(in *Tenshōroku*, 'shū' sometime also written as 'sō')《三周要録》一卷^{《天正録》}周或作宗;

Bukkyō Shomonshu [Collection on Preliminary Gateway to the Buddha's Teachings], one scroll《仏教初門集》一卷;

Sanshugi Shiki [Private Note on the Doctrine of Three Rounds], one scroll《三周義私記》一卷;

Sokushin jōbutsugi shiki [Private Note on the Doctrine of Becoming a Buddha in this Very Body], one scroll《即身成仏義私記》一卷;

Jūmyōgi shiki, one scroll [Private Note on the Doctrine of Ten Marvels]《十妙義私記》一卷;

Shijū montō [Forty Questions and Answers]《四十問答》;

Sankangi shiki [Private Note on the Doctrine of three contemplations]《三觀義私記》;

Rokusokugi shiki [Private Note on the Doctrine of Six Kinds of Identity]《六即義私記》

Sanshū sōdaishō [Commentary on the Interdependence of Three Schools], one scroll《三宗相待抄》一卷;

Sanshū sōtaishō [Commentary on the Confrontational comparison of Three Schools], 50 scrolls《三宗相對抄》五十卷;

Jūnyozegi shiki [Private Note on the Doctrine of ten expressions of thusness]《十如是義私記》;

Nitaiji shiki [Private Note on the Doctrine of Two Truths]《二諦義私記》;

Jūni innen shiki [Private Note on the (Doctrine of) twelve links of dependent arising] (This title should delete the character 'gi'. There was initially no 'gi', but later generations added it by mistake)《十二因縁私記》
此標題脫義字歟? 義字無之. 故後人誤重出見焉 ;

Jūdaigan [Ten Great Vows], one scroll《十大願》一卷;

Gomi giki [Note on the Doctrine of Five Flavors]《五味義記》;

Hishōgi shiki [Private Note on the Doctrine of enticing others to enlightenment], one scroll《被接義私記》一卷;

Shichishō giki [Note on the Doctrine of Seven Stages of Holiness]《七

聖義記));

Zokuruigi shiki [Private Note on the Doctrine of Transmission]《属累義私記》;

Hokke sanshū sōtai shakubun [Explanation on the Confrontational comparison of Three Schools in the *Lotus Sūtra*]《法華三宗相對釈文》.⁷

In addition, we can also find the *Shijū montō* mentioned in the second scroll of the *Shoshū shōsho roku* 諸宗章疏錄 [Catalogue of Commentaries of Various Schools], also as one of the texts composed by the same Senkan:

Authored by Senkan, the palace chaplain 千觀内供:

Shijū montō 《四十問答》;

Sanshū yōroku, one scroll <sup>(sō' might
be 'shū')</sup> 《三宗要錄》一卷宗二
作周;

Jūdaigan, one scroll 《十大願》一卷;

Rokusokugi shiki 《六即義私記》;

Hishōgi shiki, one scroll 《被接義私記》;

Jūnyozegi shiki 《十如是義私記》;

Jūni innen shiki <sup>(in Ko-
bushu)</sup> 《十二因緣私記》一卷入小
部集;

Sankangi shiki 《三觀義私記》;

Nitaiji shiki 《二諦義私記》;

Jūmyōgi shiki, one scroll 《十妙義私記》一卷;

Sanshu giki, one scroll 《三周義記》一卷;

Zokuruigi shiki 《囑累義私記》;

Sokushin jōbutsugi shiki, one scroll 《即身成仏義記》一卷;

Shichishō giki 《七聖義記》;

Gomi giki 《五味義記》.⁸

Regarding the composition of this text, it must have been written between the Insei period and the middle of the Heian period. Given that Tendai doctrine was transmitted to Japan during the Heian era, it is impossible to conclude that this manuscript was written in the

⁷ *Sange sotoku senjutsu henmoku shū*, BZ vol. 95: 277.

⁸ *Shoshū shōsho roku*, BZ vol. 95: 262–264.

Nara era. Furthermore, it seems that the commentaries composed after the time of Senkan's (918–984) were not quoted in this text.

The *Ch'önt'ae sagyo ũi*/Ch. *Tiantai sijiao yi* 天台四教儀 [Outline of the Tiantai Fourfold Teachings; *T* no. 1931, vol. 46], written by the Korean monk Ch'egwan/Ch. Digan 諦觀 (?–971), is famous for its summarizing the meaning of Zhiyi's *Sijiao yi* 四教義 [The Doctrine of the Four Teachings; *T* no. 1929, vol. 46]. Although I have not closely compared these two texts, it seems that there is no direct influence of the *Ch'önt'ae sagyo ũi* on the *Shijū montō*. The history of Japanese Tendai doctrines during the tenth century is not very clear—even the accurate date of spreading the *Ch'önt'ae sagyo ũi* to Japan is still unknown. For these reasons, I have no choice but to stop further discussion on this issue in this article.

Next, I intend to review the content of the *Shijū montō*. This text aims to understand Zhiyi's *Sijiao yi*, through forty pairs of questions and answers on *zang/zō-tong/tsū-bie/betsu-yuan/en* in Tiantai/Tendai doctrine.

Here, I divide these four doctrinal sections by showing the numbers of lines.

naidai 内題 (Inner Title): line 1;

Zōkyō 藏教 (Canonical Teachings): lines 2–209 (39 pairs of questions and answers);

Tsūkyō 通教 (Shared Teaching): line 209–441 (40 pairs of questions and answers);

Bekkyō 別教 (Distinct Teaching): line 442–730 (38 pairs of questions and answers);

Enkyō 円教 (Perfect Teaching): line 731–992 (39 pairs of questions and answers).

Evidently, there are only 156 pairs of questions and answers in the extant manuscript. If there were 40 pairs respectively, the original text should contain 160 pairs. These four doctrinal sections are based on Zhiyi's *Sijiao yi*.

Next, I intend to provide several original passages to confirm the basic character of this text. In the section of *Zōkyō* 藏教 (canonical teachings), regarding the first pair and the second pair of questions

and answers (lines 2–5), it states the following.

Question: What are *sanzō* 三藏 (*tripitaka* [Buddhist canon]) 問: 三藏者何等耶?

Answer: The first is *Sūtra* Collection (*sūtra-piṭaka*), the second is Precepts Collection (*vinaya-piṭaka*), and the third is Collection of Treatises (*abhidharma-piṭaka*). 答: 一修多羅藏、二毘尼藏、三阿毘曇藏也。

Question: Why do these three share the same character ‘zō 藏’ (collection) 問: 何故此三通名藏耶?

Answer: As the term suggests, ‘the reason why these three share the same character “zō” (collection) is that “zō” has the meaning of “preserving collection”. There is a saying that words contain principles, or principles contain words. That’s why they have the name of “zō”’. 答: ‘文亦然: “此三法通名藏者, 藏以含藏為義故也。或言文能合理, 或言理能含文, 故名為藏” 文’。

Question: How many ‘ways’ to comprehend the religious teachings? 問: ‘于通教義者幾種耶?’

Answer: ‘Ways’, literally meaning different methods of thinking, has different connotations, eight⁹ of which may be summarized as follows. The first is the way to teaching (教通); the second is the way to principles (理通); the third is the way to wisdom (智通); the fourth is the way to cutting off (斷通); the fifth is the way to behavior (行通); the sixth is the way to status (位通); the seventh is the way to the vision (目通); the eighth is the way to effect (果通). 答: ‘文云所言通者, 義乃多途, 略出入 [=八] 義: 一教通、二理通、三智通、四斷通、五行通、六位通、七目通、八果通’。

In the current *Taishō* edition of the *Sijiao yi*, it states:

However, the reason why these three kinds of dharma are generally called ‘zō’ (collection) is that ‘zō’ has the meaning of ‘preserving collection’, for which there are, however, different interpretations. There is a saying that words contain principles, hence the name of

⁹ Emend ‘入’ (‘enter’) as ‘八’ (‘eight’).

‘zō’. According to another saying, principles contain words, hence the name of ‘zō’. 然此三法通名藏者，藏以含藏為義。但解者不同。有言，‘文能合理，故名為藏’；又言，‘理能含文，故名為藏’。¹⁰

It is clear that the author amended the expression when he was quoting this. On the contrary, the subsequence of *sūtra-piṭaka* - *vinaya-piṭaka* - *abhidharma-piṭaka* was not changed. This differs from that of the Cheontae sagyo ui, which has the following list instead:

First, the ‘Sanzang jiao’ 三藏教 (Teachings of the Tripartite Canon): It refers to, first, the *Sūtra* Collection (*sūtra-piṭaka*) ^(including four Āgama and other scriptures) ; second, the Collection of Treatises (*abhidharma-piṭaka*) ^(including *Abhidharmakośa* -*bhāṣya*, *Mahāvibhāṣā* and other treatises) ; and third, the Precepts Collection (*vinaya-piṭaka*) ^(including vinaya texts for five schools). The name of this *tripiṭaka* is applicable to both Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna. Here, it is the Hīnayāna’s definition of *tripiṭaka* that is adopted’. 第一三藏教者：一修多羅藏^{四《阿含》等經}、二阿毘曇藏^{《俱舍》、《婆沙》等論}、三毘尼藏^{五部律}。此之三藏，名通大小。今取小乘三藏也’。¹¹

Normally, *sanzang* 三藏 (tripartite Buddhist canon) indicates the three-part division of *sūtra*, precept and treatise collections. Based on this, Zhiyi states, ‘The so-called “Sanzang jiao” 三藏教 (Teachings of the Tripartite Canon) refers to, first, the *Sūtra* Collection (*sūtra-piṭaka*); second, the Precepts Collection (*vinaya-piṭaka*); and third, the Collection of Treatises (*abhidharma-piṭaka*)’ (所言三藏教者，一修多羅藏，二毘尼藏、三阿毘曇藏)，¹² which is repeated in the *Shijū montō*.

Concerning the definition of the three collections of canons of Hinayana Buddhism, it is very likely that the *Shijū montō* has not been influenced by the *Cheontae sagyo ui*. In addition, Saicho’s major disciple Gishin 義真 (781–833) states in his *Tendai Hokke shū gishū* 天台法華宗義集 [Collection of Teachings on the Tendai-Lotus School]:

¹⁰ *Sijiao yi*, T no. 1929, 46: 721b11–13.

¹¹ *Ch’ōnt’ae sagyo ūi*, T no. 1931, 46: 776a5–7.

¹² *Sijiao yi*, T no. 1929, 46: 1.721b1–2.

First to clarify the teachings of Three Canonic Parts. Question: ‘What are *sanzō* 三藏 (*tripiṭaka* [Buddhist canon])?’ 初明三藏教問, ‘言三藏者何等?’

Answer: ‘The first is *Sūtra* Collection (*sūtra-piṭaka*), the second is Precepts Collection (*vinaya-piṭaka*), and the third is Collection of Treatises (*abhidharma-piṭaka*).’ 答: ‘一修多羅藏、二毘尼藏、三阿毘曇藏也’.¹³

Obviously, Gishin here is based on the subsequence of the *Sijiao yi*.

In the section of *Tsūkyō* 通教 (shared teaching), regarding the second pair of questions and answers (lines 211–213), it is asserted as follows:

Question: How many ‘ways’ to comprehend the religious teachings? 問: ‘于通教義者, 幾種耶?’

Answer: “‘Ways”, literally means different methods of thinking, has different connotations, eight¹⁴ of which may be summarized as follows. The first is the way to teaching (教通); the second is the way to principles (理通); the third is the way to wisdom (智通); the fourth is the way to cutting off (斷通); the fifth is the way to behavior (行通); the sixth is the way to status (位通); the seventh is the way to the vision (目通); the eighth is the way to effect (果通)’. 答: ‘文云所言通者, 義乃多途, 略出入 [=八] 義: 一教通、二理通、三智通、四斷通、五行通、六位通、七目通、八果通.’

The *Sijiao yi* is quoted again here, which means that this text is an interpretation. Similarly, the forthcoming *Bekeyō* 別教 (distinct teaching) and *Enkyō* 円教 (Perfect Teachings) are the same.

According to the analysis mentioned above, the *Shijū montō* found in Shinfukuji, which was composed in 1225, summarizes

¹³ *Tendai Hokke shū gishū*, T no. 2366, 74: 263c28–29. For Gishin’s position in Tendai, see Kinouchi, ‘Tendai Hokke shū niokeru Gishin no ichiduke nit-suite’; for *Tendai hokke shū gishū*, see Swanson, ‘Tendaigaku nyūmonsho toshite-no tendai shikyō gi to tendai hoke shū gishū’.

¹⁴ Emend ‘入’ (‘enter’) as ‘八’ (‘eight’).

Zhiyi's *Sijiao yi* without the influence of Ch'egwan's *Ch'önt'ae sagyo üi*. I suppose that the author of this text is likely Chikan, who is also mentioned in some Tendai texts such as the *Sange sotoku senjutsu henmoku shū* and the *Shoshū shōsho roku*.

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Abbreviations

- BZ* *Dai Nihon Bukkyō zensho* 大日本佛教全書. See Secondary Sources, Suzuki Gakujutsu Zaidan, eds.
T *Taishō shinsbū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經. See Secondary Sources, Takakusu & Watanabe et al., eds.

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