

The Gozan Zen Sects in the History of Japanese Buddhism

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Introduction

In recent years, research meetings and symposia have frequently been held to address issues related to Japan within the context of Asia. Major research projects and COE programs concerning Asian cultural exchanges are also developing in many places. This research on Asian society and culture, including interdisciplinary approaches and new viewpoints in history, literature, and thought, is attempting to make new progress in humanities research. The present situation is one in which many scholars hold hopes for the future and a feeling of uncertainty about how best to proceed.

Although the importance of an Asian perspective has been pointed out for the field of history, the reality is that the barriers between Japanese history and East Asian history are extremely high, and it is difficult to enter into neighboring disciplines without great effort. When taking up East Asian cultural interactions within one's field, it is important to consider what shape historical currents took within Asia, and furthermore, what implications these currents had for the region or nation being studied.

This article considers Japan's Gozan Zen sects, which in the medieval period came out of an extremely close relationship with Buddhism on the Asian mainland. I will consider what significance and impact Buddhist influence from the continent, human interactions, and the transmission of writings had on Japanese society.

Research on the history of Japanese Gozan Zen (五山禪宗) is particularly advanced in terms of institutional history and biographical studies of priests.¹⁾ This research has shown that the Gozan system was initiated in the late Kamakura period 鎌倉時代 (1185-1333) under the Hōjō family heads (*Hōjō tokusō* 北条得宗) in imitation of the system of the Southern Sung. It has also been found that the Zen priesthood was conscious of temple status within the Gozan hierarchy. In the society of the nobility as well, during the same period, the Gozan designation was recognized and accepted as indicating the status of specific Zen temples.

Much attention has been paid to the construction of Zen temples such as Kamakura's Kenchōji 建長

1) Tamamura Takeji 玉村竹二, "日本禪宗史論集" [Essays on the History of Japanese Zen] I, II, III (Shinbunkaku, 1978, 1979, 1981), Imaeda Aishin 今枝愛真, "中世禪宗史の研究" [Research into the Medieval History of Zen] (University of Tokyo Press, 1978).

寺 and Engakuji 円覚寺 temples, which were founded by Chinese émigré priests, and the fact that Buddhism was directly introduced to Japan. Moreover, starting at the beginning of the Kamakura period, Eisai 栄西 (1141-1215), Enni 円爾 (1202-1280), and other Japanese priests traveled to China one after another until the end of the Northern and Southern Courts period 南北朝期 (1336-1392) in pursuit of Buddhist learning, and brought back to Japan various forms of Zen teachings.

In this phase of the Zen sect's growth, it was a period of vigorous exchange between Japan and China. Zen developed as if it were edging its way between the other sects, and so the Zen sect itself tended to give the impression that it was being grafted onto Japanese society.

However, for Zen Buddhism to be truly accepted and to develop within Japanese society, there had to be some factors within Japanese society that enabled Zen to prosper. Because research on the history of Japanese Zen has elucidated an abundance of biographies, it would seem as if "eminent priests" from China and Japan, by attaining such followers as the Kamakura warriors (*Kamakura bushi* 鎌倉武士), put stress only on the aspect of spreading teachings. This comes from a distortion of the actual facts about how Zen sects are connected. It is necessary to consider from a different perspective the close relations between religion and state, based on the actual conditions of Japanese medieval society. What one understands well from comparing the biographies of Zen priests with those of priests from other sects is that Zen priests were intentionally editing the many biographical sources that have come down to us, and it is not necessarily the case that eminent priests actually appeared one after another.

In medieval society, the mainstream sects were those that had existed from ancient times: the Six Schools of Nara Buddhism, Tendai, and Shingon. Known collectively as the exoteric and esoteric Buddhist sects, they attained the status of orthodox Buddhism in the medieval period through the performance of religious rites. These ancient forms of Buddhism transformed into medieval Buddhism and were reorganized as controlling powers of the great private estates (*shōen* 荘園).²⁾

There are historical reasons why, under these circumstances, Zen Buddhism became a powerful ground swell, spreading widely through medieval society. Research on the history of medieval Buddhism to date, however, has not paid sufficient attention to its relationship with the exoteric and esoteric sects.

In this article I aim to establish the historical position of the Japanese Gozan system by building on the research I have done on the distinctive features of Zen Buddhism in the medieval period of Japan, its relation with the state, and the way in which it is related to the exoteric and esoteric sects of Buddhism.³⁾

1 Development of the Gozan System and Gozan Laws

Hōjō Tokiyori 北条時頼 (1227-1263) established Kenchōji 建長寺, with the Chinese émigré priest Lan-ch'i Tao-lung 蘭溪道隆 (Jp: Rankei Dōryū; 1213-1278) as founding abbot, and Hōjō Tokimune 北条時宗 (1251-1284) established Engakuji 円覚寺, with Wu-hsueh Tsu-yuan 無学祖元 (Jp: Mugaku Sogen; 1226-1286) as its founding abbot. With the construction of successive Zen temples in Kyoto and Kamakura, taking their cue from the Chinese Zen temples, a ranking system was implemented, and the

2) Kuroda Toshio 黒田俊雄, "日本中世の国家と宗教" [State and Religion in Medieval Japan] Part 3, (Iwanami Shoten, 1975).

3) Harada Masatoshi 原田正俊, "日本中世の禅宗と社会" [Japanese Medieval Zen and Society] (Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1998).

Gozan system was adopted. The research of Imaeda Aishin has made it clear that in Japan the Gozan system commenced with the latter part of the Kamakura period,⁴⁾ but the historical source materials that remain are few in number, so it is also true that conditions during the Kamakura period remain obscure. The Zen priest Shun'oku Myōha 春屋妙葩 (1311-1388) established the Gozan system at the behest of Hōjō Tokiyori, and historical records also show that Jōchiji 淨智寺 was added to the Gozan at the behest of Hōjō Sadatoki 北条貞時 (1271-1311).⁵⁾ It is also probable that during the era of Hōjō Sadatoki, Kenchōji, Engakuji, and other temples were designated as Gozan temples.

When one considers the process of establishing Kenchōji and Engakuji, it is clear that from the beginning they were private temples of the Hōjō family. However, real political power passed into their hands when the Hōjō family grasped control of the bakufu under the so-called Hōjō tokusō system of autocracy, with sufficient strength to eclipse that of the shogun, and in circumstances where court administration was directed by the interests of the Hōjō tokusō. Due to the continuing existence of the shogun and the imperial court, though, it was necessary for the Hōjō family to give authority to the Zen temples they had established. It can be said that this was the primary factor in their introducing the Gozan system from the Southern Sung.

In the seventh month of 1283, Hōjō Tokimune petitioned to have Engakuji designated as a temple dedicated to the pacification and protection of the nation and to have estates donated to it permanently as a temple at which prayers were to be offered for the prosperity of the shogunate.⁶⁾ In response to this petition, the Kamakura bakufu acknowledged it as a prayer temple dedicated to the shogunate (*kitōsho* 祈禱所) and commended to it the steward rights to Tomita-no-sho in Owari province.⁷⁾ Further, in 1308 Hōjō Sadatoki petitioned the imperial court to have Kenchōji and Engakuji receive a government decree making them officially designated temples (*jōgakuji* 定額寺). It is therefore clear that both temples were recognized as official temples by the Kamakura bakufu and the imperial court.⁸⁾ It can be said that in order to establish the authority of the Gozan temples, the Zen temples were promoted to national entities.

On the occasion of the two attempted Mongolian invasions of Japan, the head of the Hōjō took the lead in coping with the crisis. It has been pointed out in research on political history that it was as a result of this crisis that the Hōjō clan grasped national political control in the late Kamakura period, and it was during this time of warfare and crisis that the Hōjō leaders, one after another, acquired power within the national government. The recognition of Kenchōji and Engakuji as national temples supported by the nobility and the military evolved rapidly against the background of the Mongol invasions. It seems rather ironic that a Chinese form of Buddhism was patronized and nurtured during a period when Japan was being invaded by forces from the Chinese mainland, but the inclination to introduce the new Buddhism took precedent, and they likely saw the Mongol leaders as entirely separate from the priests of the region below the Yangtze River.

It is noteworthy that the Hōjō issued a succession of edicts regulating the appropriate status of the Gozan. In 1294, Hōjō Sadatoki issued twelve regulations for Engakuji, including requirements that

4) Footnote (1), Imaeda Aishin text, chapter 2, section 2.

5) “智覚普明国師語録” [Chikaku Fumyō Kokushi Goroku] volume 3, Hōkyōin-dono Shōshōkishō, (“大正新脩大藏經” [Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō] vol. 80, 666c) “無象和尚行狀記” [Muzō Oshō Gyōjōki] (“統群書類從” [Zoku Gunsho Ruijū] 9th collection I, page 368).

6) “円覚寺文書” [Engakuji Monjo] 7, (“Kamakura City History,” History Edition 2).

7) Same as above, 8.

8) Same as above, 49, 50.

priests carry exemption certificates (Jp: *menchin*; Ch: *mianding* 免丁), and prohibitions against wearing Japanese clothing. Such regulations were based on the system implemented in Ch'an (Zen) temples in China.⁹⁾

The *menchin* in China was a certificate that exempted those who became Buddhist priests from military service, and it also became a certification that they lived a tranquil life within a temple. These documents appeared during the Sung and were abandoned during the Yuan (Mongol) dynasty. Such certification did not previously exist in Japan, so one can assume that the *menchin* system was borrowed from Chinese Buddhism. Indeed, the system did not thereafter take root in Japan.

Regulations governed the priests' robes and stole (*kesa* 袈裟), and it is apparent that wearing the Chinese-style robes of the émigré monks became part of the regulations. Previously, according to one story, Eisai 栄西 and his disciples were criticized because they caused a strong wind to blow as they walked through the streets of the capital city of Kyoto dressed in large Chinese-style robes.¹⁰⁾ Such a story conveys that as a group they were visualized as entirely different from the the Six Nara Schools, Tendai, Shingon, and other esoteric and exoteric sects. In premodern society, clothing clearly represented the social group to which one belonged, and the evolution of Zen Buddhism was in this sense a major occurrence.

In other articles, Zen monks were not to leave their monastery at night or spend the night away from their respective monastery, nuns and laywomen were forbidden to enter the monasteries, except when specific Buddhist festivals were to be held, and priests were sworn to vigorously obey the precepts. Further, ceremonies were regulated so that they would not be ostentatious.

In 1303, Hōjō Sadatoki issued supplementary regulations for Engakuji, according to which the enrollment of monks was set at 100, and monastery assistants (*anja* 行者) and laborers (*ninku* 人工) were forbidden to carry weapons.¹¹⁾ In 1327, Hōjō Takatoki 北条高時 (1303-1333), who was to become the last regent (*shikken* 執權), established an 18-article list of prohibitions, based on those that had previously been issued.¹²⁾ Regarding the operation of the Engakuji monastic system, the abbot (*juji* 住持) was responsible for the spiritual conduct of the monastery, but in secular matters (*seji* 世事), the temple superintendent (*gyōji* 行事) assigned by the bakufu would have to be consulted. The superintendent of temple affairs was to be selected on the basis of ability, and was permitted to select the instructor of those admitted to the monastery. The enrollment was not to exceed 250 monks. Regarding the management of temple domains, the collector of the rice tax from the *shōen* was a rotational post. It was established that this position was not to be monopolized by any single individual, and that the person occupying the position was to supervise activities between the bursar (*tsubun* 都聞), who was in charge of accounting, and the military houses. Monastery assistants and laborers, not to mention the monks themselves, were strictly prohibited from carrying swords.

Looking at the managers of the monasteries, one can see from the Engakuji documents and others that Kenchōji and Engakuji, who had Chinese émigré priests as head abbots, had approximately the same posts as Ch'an priests in China. These posts were established even earlier at such temples in Kyoto as Kenninji 建仁寺 and Tōfukuji 東福寺, founded by Enni, who returned from Sung in 1243.

Looking at the institution in detail, there were five acolytes placed under the abbot of the monastery.

9) Same as above, 37.

10) “雑談集” [Zodanshū] (仏法ノ盛衰事 [Rise and Fall of Buddhism]).

11) “円覚寺文書” [Engakuji Monjo] 37.

12) Same as above, 75.

In the eastern rank (*tōhan* 東班) there were six stewards (*chiji* 知事): a prior (*tsūsu* 都寺), comptroller (*kansu* 監寺), assistant comptroller (*fūsu* 副寺), registrar (*inō* 維那), cook (*tenzo* 典座), and labor steward (*shissui* 直歲). In the western rank (*seihan* 西班) were included the six prefects (*chōshu* 頭首): the chief seat (*shuso* 首座) scribe (*shoki* 書記), sutra prefect (*zōsu* 藏主), guest prefect (*shika* 知客), bath prefect (*chiyoku* 知浴) and hall prefect (*chiden* 知殿). There were minor differences depending on the era and the temple, but in general this Sung-style Zen administration was introduced intact.

The regulation of administrators was also evidenced by a letter of property transmission (*shobunjō* 廻分状) in 1250 by Kujō Michiie 九条道家 (1193-1252), patron of Tōfukuji,¹³⁾ which indicates that court society in Kyoto understood this Chinese-style monastic organization and that there was a deliberate attempt to incorporate such elements. The administrative titles were entirely different from those of the previously existing exoteric and esoteric sects.

The regulation of Engakuji by the Hōjō tokusō was strict, and in a report on the annual rice used by the temple in 1283, together with the written seal of Wu-hsueh Tsu-yuan (Mugaku Sogen), Hōjō Tokimune affixed his monogram at the end of the document, followed by the countersignatures of the assistant comptroller, comptroller and bursar. In the record of expenditures (*nōgechō* 納下帳) the monogram of Hōjō Tokimune can also be found.¹⁴⁾

In this way, we should note the fact that those temples ranked as Gozan were simultaneously patronized by the Hōjō, but they were also strictly regulated in terms of both discipline and economic matters.

Once the Kamakura bakufu was overthrown and the new Kemmu regime 建武政權 (1333-1336) under Emperor Godaigo 後醍醐天皇 (1288-1339) began, the emperor invited Chinese émigré monks to Kyoto. Zen priests such as Ming-chi Ch'u-chun 明極楚俊 (Jp: Minki Soshun; 1262-1336) and Ch'ing-cho Cheng-ch'eng 清拙正澄 (Jp: Seisetsu Shōchō; 1274-1339) became the abbots of Nanzenji 南禪寺 and Kenninji, respectively.

Emperor Godaigo was strongly conscious of the Gozan system and attempted to revise it according to his own wishes. On the first day of the tenth month of 1333 he issued an imperial order making Daitokuji 大徳寺, which was founded by Shūhō Myōchō 宗峰妙超 (1282-1337), whom he venerated, the first rank of the Gozan.¹⁵⁾ Further, on the 26th day of the first month of 1334, he raised Nanzenji, headed by Ming-chi Ch'u-chun (Minki Soshun) from the rank of *Jissatsu* 十刹 to first rank in the Gozan temples.¹⁶⁾ As a result, Nanzenji was raised to a higher rank than Kenchōji and Engakuji. Prior to this, Kenninji, Tōfukuji and Manjuji 万寿寺 were also Gozan,¹⁷⁾ so one can see how the Gozan system, which was established at the end of the Kamakura period, underwent serious modifications during Emperor Godaigo's Kenmu Restoration.

Emperor Godaigo's patronage of Daitokuji was inconsistent with the Gozan system of the past. He was cautious in his handling of Nanzenji, which his grandfather, Emperor Kameyama 龜山天皇 (1249-1305) had established, and in 1334 he made modifications that placed Nanzenji alongside Daitokuji in rank.¹⁸⁾

13) “図書寮叢刊 九条家文書” [Zusho Ryōsokan Kujō House Documents] 1, 5–(1).

14) “円覚寺文書” [Engakuji Monjo] 14.

15) “大日本古文書 大徳寺文書” [Dai Nihon Komonjo Daitokuji Monjo] 1, 14.

16) “扶桑五山記” [Fusō Gozanki], Nanzenji, “明極録” [Minkiroku], Junanzenji-goroku (“大日本史科” [Dai Nihon Shiryō] 6th Edition 1, Kenmu 1/1/26).

17) “碧山日録” [Hekizan Nichiroku] Chōroku 4/8/7, Butsunichi Enne Zenshi Minki Dai Oshō Tōmei (“五山文学全集” [Complete Works of Gozan] Vol. 3).

18) “大日本古文書 大徳寺文書” [Dai Nihon Komonjo Daitokuji Monjo] 1, 15.

A further debate occurred regarding the relative status of the temples within the Gozan in 1335, because a sub-temple exclusively restricted to members of a single lineage (*tsuchien* 徒弟院), in this case Enni's lineage of Tōfukuji, was to serve in memorializing the tombs of the Kujō family. The debate under Godaigo concerned whether it should be removed from the Gozan and whether that post should be left vacant. Tōfukuji made a counterargument that there were three qualifications for becoming a Gozan monastery: the status of the temple relative to the status of its patron (*dan'i* 壇位), the scale and elegance of its construction (*kyokō* 巨構), and its history (*kyūsō* 久創). Tōfukuji was known for its enormous Buddha hall, and moreover Kujō Michiie, one of the powerful political figures of the Kamakura period, offered his patronage to the temple, so it was decided that there was no problem, and the temple was left among the Gozan.¹⁹⁾

When selecting an abbot for a temple in the Gozan system, the principle was to choose from any lineage within the Zen sects, regardless of the school. This universal recruitment system (*jippō seido* 十方制度) was modeled after the Chinese one. However, there were some monasteries which contended that they should select their abbot from among the single lineage sub-temples (*tsuchien*). This too was an institution in China, and in Japan it existed within monasteries like the Gozan, which had official status. At Tōfukuji, since its founding by Enni, succession followed through Enni's Shōichi (聖一) lineage. That became an issue raised at the time of the discussion regarding its Gozan status. Moreover, Daitokuji followed the Shūhō Myōchō lineage, which both Emperor Godaigo and Emperor Hanazono 花園天皇 (1297-1348) had authorized.²⁰⁾ This trend can be seen as exerting a strong influence on succession through certain specific lineages within exoteric and esoteric monasteries in Japan.

Emperor Godaigo kept Monkan 文観 (1278-1357), who was a Ritsu sect priest of esoteric teachings at Saidaiji 西大寺, close at hand. In a portrait of Godaigo he is depicted as holding a five-pronged vajra, which shows that he was quite interested in esoteric teachings and had practiced them.²¹⁾ However, he was also knowledgeable regarding Zen Buddhism, and is known to have engaged in formal Zen debates with the Chinese émigré monk Ming-chi Ch'u-chun (Minki Soshun), leading him to venerate Shūhō Myōchō. It is obvious that Emperor Godaigo was sensitive to movements in Chinese Buddhism.

2 The Muromachi Bakufu and the Gozan

When the short Kenmu administration of Emperor Godaigo came to an end, it was the Ashikaga 足利 brothers Takauji 尊氏 (1305-1358) and Tadayoshi 直義 (1306-1352) who enthusiastically promoted government policies safeguarding the Zen temples, and the government they founded carried out improvements in regulations concerning the Gozan during the Muromachi period 室町時代 (1336-1573).

In 1340, Tadayoshi issued a seven-article regulation for Engakuji.²²⁾ In the articles he prohibited the formation of leagues (*ikki* 一揆) or factions to disturb the temple institution, set the number of monks at 300, and gave the right to appoint monastery administrators to the temple officials. Those in charge of the affairs of temple estates were to be honest and skillful, and whenever there was an infringement, the issue was to be adjudicated by the monastic community under the auspices of high-ranking nobility.

19) “海藏和尚紀年録” [Kaizō Oshō Kinenroku] (“統群書類従” [Zoku Gunsho Ruijū] 9th collection II, page 481).

20) “大日本古文書 大徳寺文書” [Dai Nihon Komonjo Daitokuji Monjo] 1, 1 / 2.

21) Amino Yoshihiko 網野善彦, “異形の王権” [Monstrous Sovereignty] Vol. 3 (Heibonsha Publishers, 1986).

22) “円覚寺文書” [Engakuji Monjo] 127.

Monastery assistants (*anja*) and laborers (*ninku*) were strictly forbidden to carry weapons, and priests who borrowed the authority of the temple to commit illegal acts were to be strictly punished.

In 1342, further regulations were added,²³⁾ setting the maximum number of monks attending on a new abbot at twenty, and the number of novices (*shami* 沙弥) and postulants (*kasshiki* 喝食) at twenty. The regulations of the various monasteries had in recent years become distressingly neglected. Monks were prohibited from living in residences outside the monasteries and wandering about in the daytime and at night. Involvement in money-lending enterprises was banned within the temple precincts.

The administrators in charge of the temple estates were to serve a term of three years, an extension of which could be granted depending on the integrity of the appointee. Accounts within the monastery were subject to supervision by the currently serving bursar and comptroller, and therefore they were ineligible to serve as overseers of the *shōen*. While the transmission of the documents regarding these provisions was poor for some monasteries, these procedures can be considered standard within the management methods of the official Gozan.

In the period when Tadayoshi's regulations were issued, Tenryūji 天龍寺 was completed, and Gozan rankings were revised. As a result, the first and second ranks of the Kamakura and Kyoto Gozan became rank 1: Kenchōji and Nanzenji; rank 2: Engakuji and Tenryūji; rank 3: Jufukuji 寿福寺 (Kamakura); rank 4: Kenninji; and rank 5: Tōfukuji. Jōchiji 淨智寺 (Kamakura) became an associate gozan (*jungozan* 准五山), while Jōmyōji 淨妙寺 (Kamakura) and others entered the ten temples (*jissatsu* 十刹) tier.²⁴⁾ One can see that, fundamentally, the Ashikaga administration carried on the policies of the Hōjō tokusō, and that the rankings gave precedence to Kamakura.

The determination of the Gozan rankings, as a decree from the retired-Emperor Kogon 光嚴上皇 (1313-1364) to the military government made it appear that both the court and military government had decided it.

It was highly significant that the Hōjō tokusō petitioned the imperial court to grant patronage to a limited number of temples and give them a national character, and Emperor Godaigo within the new government established the ranks of Gozan, making the Gozan government-patronized temples in name and in fact. Under the Muromachi bakufu, a collaboration of the court and the bakufu established the Gozan ranks, and through this process the Gozan government-temple system developed.

It is a fact that, in medieval Japan the exoteric and esoteric Buddhist sects received national support and they established orthodox Buddhism. Although there has been a tendency, therefore, to consider Zen temples as merely private ones, through the process described above, it is clear that such an appraisal is mistaken.

As one can see from its support of the Northern Court, the Muromachi bakufu, while grasping actual power, and making the greatest use of the imperial court, succeeded in seizing control of the national government. It is well known that during the civil war between the Northern and Southern Court, the bakufu enthusiastically promoted policies regarding religion and designated Temples for Peace in the Realm (*Ankokuji* 安国寺) and Pagoda's of the Buddha's Favor (*Rishōtō* 利生塔) throughout the country. Rinzai sect temples throughout the country would be designated as Ankokuji, and Rishōtō would be constructed irrespective of the sect of the monastery to enshrine relics of the Buddha.

Once the Ankokuji and Rishōtō were constructed, the temples were incorporated into the category of various temples (*shozan* 諸山), the third tier of minor temples in the Gozan—Jissatsu—Shozan hier-

23) Same as above, 132.

24) “扶桑五山記” [Fusō Gozanki], 2.

archy. Control of the Gozan by the military government progressed further, and in 1354 Ashikaga Motouji 足利基氏 (1340-1367), who was attempting to gain control of the eastern provinces centering on Kamakura, set out a twelve-article code of detailed regulations.²⁵⁾ These major and minor regulations show that they were intended for the various temples and monasteries of Kamakura that were below the rank of Gozan.

In the regulations regarding the abbots, when the position of abbot became vacant, in accordance with the rules of the temple, the monastic community was to hold an open debate and select three candidates, inform the Kamakura government of the names of those candidates, and make its final decision by drawing lots. It states clearly that the abbot, regardless of whether in a province near or far, should be a capable person possessing integrity.

The method of selecting three candidates and then nominating one by lottery was a means of ensuring that in choosing the abbot, neither the divisions within the sects nor the desires of prominent patrons would be reflected. It should also be noted that this method reflects the Yuan period administration of Ch'an temples. According to the research of Noguchi Yoshitaka,²⁶⁾ Yuan period regulation of Buddhism was carried out by the Senshin'en 宣政院 in the major cities, by the An-senshin'en 行宣政院 in Hangzhou, and south of the Yangtze the regulations of priests and appointment of abbots were carried out by the An-senshin'en. During his term of duty in this position, Togontarugan 脫歡答刺罕 reformed the religious administrative policies and in the election of the abbots of major temples had the monastic community of each select three names and then made the final selection by drawing lots. Togontarugan favored Shōin Daikin 笑隱大訢 of the Dai'e 大慧 lineage and installed him as abbot of the Chūtenjikuji 中天竺寺 of Hangzhou, the top position in the Jissatsu system of religious administration. The method of "divination by lots" was intended as a measure to break up the contemporary conditions in the Buddhist monastic world whereby the selection of abbots of major temples was subject to bribery and the influence of various divisions within sects, which did not lead to the elevation of capable people. Shōin was frequently criticized by Zen monks who were close to those in authority, but he can be seen as one who made efforts to reform the system of contemporary Buddhism. Significantly, these Buddhist policies from the southern Yuan were introduced quickly into Japan during the Northern and Southern Court period.

Returning to the regulations of Motouji, they state that in relation to the abbot who is in charge of a large number of monks, one who is incapable is not to be listened to by his followers, so a virtuous personage or someone in the position of the "western hall" of a minor temple should be invited. Among the community, regarding the leadership of the assembly of resident monks of Kenchōji and Engakuji, it is possible for a person in the status of Jissatsu "western hall" to belong. It establishes that the "western hall" of the minor monasteries (*shozan*) or single-lineage sub-temples (*tsuchien*) is not allowed to become a member of the administrative staff (*sanka* 參暇) without going through the chief seat of Kenchōji and Engakuji. These regulations established the personnel interchanges between the Gozan, Jissatsu and Shozan monasteries.

The regulations also state that the abbot is required to complete the determined term of office, and is not permitted to resign before the completion of that term. This was because installation ceremonies required expenditures and became a source of reckless spending.

25) "円覚寺文書" [Engakuji Monjo] 154.

26) Noguchi Yoshitaka 野口善敬, "元代禪宗史研究" [Study of Zen History in Yuan]. Page 186 (Institute for Zen Studies, 2005).

Also, according to the regulations, in order to caution against the tendency to allow a capable person to be selected only to obtain the honor of having held that position and then switch posts within a short period, the various posts in the “eastern rank” and “western rank” are to be maintained for more than half a year. Further, wandering about during daytime or at night, lending money, and possessing weapons is strictly prohibited.

The regulations say that even temples below the Gozan rank, which as single lineage sub-temples (*tsuchien*) can select their abbot from within the particular lineage, are to choose candidates according to ability and not merely on the basis of seniority. When the members make a nomination, they are to notify the Kamakura government, and if the nominee is determined not to be capable and virtuous, approval will not be granted.

Regarding the minor temples, the regulations declare that due to the tendency of monks to gather in large temples rather than in smaller temples, the income of both is to be made dependent on the prescribed number of monks, and there is to be no laxity in making repairs.

Furthermore, the position of abbot is to be rotational, while the stewards are permanently in charge of the financial affairs of the temple. The latter are prevented from misusing funds, and the estate overseers (*shōshu* 庄主) in charge of managing the temple’s estates are enjoined to be diligent in submitting the annual land tax. The document states that in recent years one hears about shortages in the monasteries, and therefore appropriate settlement of accounts is ordered carried out under the supervision of subordinates dispatched by the military houses.

Independent of the rules set out by Motouji, Takauji ordered that the administration of Engakuji be carried out by the abbot, in consultation with the head of the temple’s lineage, the monks, the “western hall,” the heads of the various sub-temples (*tachū* 塔頭) and the elders,²⁷⁾ and therefore it is clear that both the bakufu and the Kamakura government were laying down regulations of Gozan management.

Immediately upon taking actual power as shogun, Ashikaga Yoshimitsu 義満 (1358-1408) in 1381 issued a 16-article code of regulations for the Gozan temples.²⁸⁾ The first article calls for the abbot to be active in inviting eminent priests from other countries and eminent priests, and forbids the intervention of influential people in personnel affairs.

Ashikaga Yoshimitsu’s objective was to actively invite Zen priests of virtue and promote those with talent from among those hidden in remote temples. At the time, Zen priests sought to obtain promotion to the abbacy of government temples and obtain an official letter of appointment by means of influential patrons. This regulation was intended to sweep away such circumstances and was aimed at promoting a wide range of talented people.

The second article states that it is not permitted for the abbot of a large temple to be appointed from the same school of the sect, the intention being to invite capable people to the abbacy from a wide range of schools. The rest of the articles prohibit extravagance within the temples, call for upholding the time periods of the respective appointments, and establish that capable persons should be promoted.

It seems that Zen monasteries under the Gozan prospered significantly in the latter half of the fourteenth century, and although it was established that large temples, including the Gozan, were not to have more than 500 monks on their rolls, there were sometimes 700 and even 2,000. The code called for maintaining the limits on the numbers of monks and for maintaining operations of the monasteries based on the everyday rules of the temples.

27) “円覚寺文書” [Engakuji Monjo] 155.

28) “円覚寺文書” [Engakuji Monjo] 256.

In 1382 Ashikaga Yoshimitsu founded Shōkokuji 相国寺, and in doing so revised the Gozan order, setting the following order for posterity: Nanzenji above the Gozan (superior Gozan); Tenryūji and Kenchōji in the first rank; Shōkokuji and Engakuji in the second; Kenninji and Jufukuji in the third; Tōfukuji and Jōchiji in the fourth; and Manjuji and Jōmyōji in the fifth. In the first rank of the Jissatsu he placed Tōjiji 等持寺, the Ashikaga family temple (*bodaiji* 菩提寺), and placed Rinsenji 臨川寺, which was founded by Musō Soseki 夢窓疎石 (1275-1351) and venerated since the time of Ashikaga Takauji, in the second rank. With this revision, Kyoto temples were given precedence over those of Kamakura, and among the Jissatsu temples, those connected with the Ashikaga were given precedence.²⁹⁾

The establishment of a temple superior to the Gozan originated with the placement of Dairyūshoshūkeiji 大龍翔集慶寺 of Nanjing in a rank above the Gozan in 1330 during the Yuan dynasty.³⁰⁾

When one views the arrangement and regulations regarding the Gozan system, it becomes clear just how the Japanese Gozan developed as a unified system of guardianship under the authorities. Further, it is obvious from the calls for the promotion of capable persons and limitations of terms of service, as well as the rotation of the various posts below the post of abbot, that a major guiding principle of the system was the unwillingness to allow specific individuals or schools to gain any sort of monopoly.

The enactment of such laws was in large part in accord with the wishes of the Gozan monks, and we also know they were quickly adopting the system from Yuan China. Not only were there Chinese émigré monks, but in the late thirteenth and the fourteenth century there were large numbers of Zen priests traveling to China and residing there for lengthy terms, hence information from the continent reached Japan in a timely manner. The process by which the code of 1381 was enacted, following discussions with important figures within the bakufu, can be seen in the journal of the contemporary monk Gidō Shūshin 義堂周信 (1325-1388).³¹⁾ The Gozan regulations were policies in which the Hōjō tokusō and the Muromachi bakufu worked hand in hand with the temples.

Regarding the appointment of the Gozan abbots, in the period of the Northern and Southern Courts, from the time that Nanzenji and Tenryūji were founded, the positions were decided according to two types of documents: a private imperial edict (*rinji* 綸旨) and another, the shōgun's personally signed order (*gohan no migyōsho* 御判御教書). But, gradually the latter came to play a more significant role, and it came to determine the appointments to the abbacy of both Jissatsu and Shozan as well. The imperial court maintained the authority to grant the honorary titles National Master (*Kokushi* 国師) and Meditation Master (*Zenji* 禪師) to Zen monks, but in many cases this too was carried out upon recommendation from the bakufu.

One can see that this system was greatly different from that of the esoteric and exoteric sects. The large monasteries of those sects followed the systems and forms of management that had held since ancient times. The upper echelon of monks advanced through a series of positions of preceptor (*risshi* 律師), bishop (*sōzu* 僧都), and archbishop (*sōjō* 僧正), based upon a system of rules for the priesthood set out by the imperial court. It was the court where high-ranking priests were formally installed.

Major exoteric and esoteric temples were suited to medieval society as lords of large estates and developed as influential entities, but it was normal for the general populace to arm itself and carry out the operations of the temples. They would make direct appeals to the court and even confront the bakufu with military force. As can be seen in the military demands during the periods of civil conflict

29) “扶桑五山記” [Fusō Gozanki], pages 2, 38.

30) Note (26) Noguchi's work, page 303.

31) “空華日用工夫略集” [Kūge Nichiyōku Fūryakushū] Etoku 1/10/7.

such as those between the Genji and Heike clans and between the Northern and Southern Courts, military force could be counted on. However, the power of the masses was difficult to subjugate and troublesome for the imperial court, bakufu, and other authorities below them. In regard to this, Gozan Zen prohibited the arming of anyone in the monasteries, from practitioners to laborers, and while there were frequent cases of such parties taking up arms, the crackdowns by the bakufu were severe.³²⁾

In terms of personnel, among the head monks (*zasu* 座主) and prelates (*monzeki* 門跡) of the major exoteric and esoteric temples were many who originated from the imperial household. From the period of rule by cloistered emperors, as seen in the case of Ninnaji Omuro 仁和寺御室, figures of imperial lineage began to succeed to the highest positions within the temples of Shingon esoteric tradition. Examples of this are those from the houses of the regents and chancellors who became attendants and influential followers in the various large temples, such as the Ichijōin 一乗院 and Daijōin 大乘院 of Nara's Kōfukuji 興福寺. Within the monasteries of the various large temples were members of various noble households who maintained the tradition of taking Buddhist vows, and as these figures gained promotion, there was a tendency toward an establishment of the household origins of the prelates. Naturally, status within the temple came to be fixed according to family origins. On the basis of such trends, exoteric and esoteric monasteries turned gradually into social organizations which directly reflected status in secular society.

Further, when one attained a senior position of authority such as attendant, one would receive the benefits accrued from landholdings, and there were even cases when, upon stepping down from such a post, the property became privatized to that individual. In response to this trend, the Kamakura bakufu and the imperial court prohibited the passage of land titles into the name of monastery positions, criticized the inheritance of the post of imperial attendant, and sought the advancement of people of virtue and righteousness.³³⁾ Such laws were also put into effect by the bakufu and court as a new system in the latter half of the Kamakura period; however, frequently they did not extend to structural reforms of the internal authority of temples and shrines. Members of the nobility entered monasteries of close kin, succeeded to positions of temple superintendants (*bettō* 別当) and head monks, and thereby became influential when the sons of noble families entered the monastery. This was not something the bakufu could easily intervene in, and the members of the imperial family itself entered monasteries, so it was impossible to stand opposed to the process in all aspects, as it was an entity sharing a common destiny.

Because the “eminent priests” of the various exoteric and esoteric sects played important roles in carrying out the state ceremonial assemblies where the teachings were preached such as Gosaie 御齋会 and Goshichinichi Mishihō 後七日御修法, these sects could not be neglected. This stance was the same in the Kamakura bakufu, where attention was given not just to the Zen sect. In the latter half of the Kamakura period, the bakufu actively invited priests of the exoteric and esoteric sects as it firmed up the Kamakura system of temples and monasteries.³⁴⁾ Patronage of the exoteric and esoteric sects was similar under the new administration of Emperor Godaigo, and the Muromachi bakufu also promoted these

32) Harada Masatoshi 原田正俊, “中世五山僧の進退・成敗・蜂起” [Plight, Successes, Failures and Revolt of the Medieval Gozan Monks] (Published with Sonoda Kōyū “日本仏教の史的展開” [Historical Development of Japanese Buddhism], 1999).

33) “中世法制史料集” [Chūsei Hōsei Shiryōshū] 1, additional laws 97, 203, 279. Note (3) author, page 337.

34) Taira Masayuki 平雅行, “鎌倉山門派の成立と展開” [Establishment and Development of Sanmonha in Kamakura] (Osaka University School of Letters' Journal, Vol. 40, 2000), same author “鎌倉における顕密仏教の展開” [Development of Exoteric and Esoteric Buddhism in Kamakura], (Edited by Itō Yuishin “日本仏教の形成と展開” [Form and Development of Japanese Buddhism], Hōzōkan, 2002).

sects. Surrounding the shogun were protector priests (*gojisō* 護持僧), selected from many candidates among the exoteric and esoteric priesthood, whose function was to pray night and day for the protection of the shogun.³⁵⁾

However, with the appearance of the various contradictions we have seen within the exoteric and esoteric temples at the end of the Kamakura period, the expectations of those known as Zen-Ritsu 禪律 priests began to increase. Later, with the separation of the sects they would become known as priests of either the Zen sect or the Ritsu sect, but in the latter half of the Kamakura period, they were often referred to as Zen-Ritsu priests, as a means of distinguishing them from the exoteric and esoteric priesthood.

As we have seen in regard to the state of the laws regarding the Gozan, the basic policies under the patriarch of the main branch of the Hōjō was inherited by Ashikaga Takauji and Yoshimitsu, and this policy was further substantiated by the Muromachi bakufu. Within a single series of regulations, in regard to the various temples and monasteries under the Gozan system, a number of extremely detailed restrictions were added. The distinctive features of it were the call for the advancement of people possessing ability and virtue, regardless of position, from the abbot down, and the call for carrying on the various functions in accord with the rotation of posts and maintenance of terms of office.

In this fashion, the system of bakufu-sponsored temples evolved with Jissatsu and Shozan temples throughout the provinces. Further, in the prominent temples and monasteries, there were multiple sub-temples, while various small and medium-sized hermitages (*jian* 寺庵) developed in regions where Gozan-sect priests resided. These Gozan Zen priests practiced at the Gozan and elsewhere, and after serving in a number of posts, the path was open for promotion to the abbacy of a minor temple, a Jissatsu temple, and eventually a Gozan temple. Until the period of the Northern and Southern Courts, in terms of their backgrounds, only a few Zen priests came from the upper echelons, and what was fundamental was one's background in endeavoring to learn the Buddhist Law and inheritance of the teachings of one's master. As a matter of course, if one traveled to China and studied under a prominent priest there, upon returning to Japan, one was assured of promotion. The Gozan system was one in which it was possible for a monk to fully manifest his ability according to his capability. Within the medieval Buddhist world in Japan where the limitation imposed by secular status was the strong mainstream of the exoteric and esoteric sects, this was groundbreaking.

However, the Zen priests were also thrown into the competition for advancement, and eventually, in order to attain distinction and vested rights, they began to seek promotion by acquiring influential patronage. The provincial military governors (*shugo daimyō* 守護大名) and the provincial lords (*zaichi ryōshu* 在地領主) also wanted to invite well-known Zen priests to the temples and monasteries that they themselves had established. The attainment of a high-status qualification by a priest who they venerated was important in their gaining authority for themselves. Moreover, when the sons of the military governors and noble families began entering Zen monasteries, the competition for advancement became even more intense.

Under the Muromachi bakufu and *shugo* arrangement, maintaining order in the Gozan temple system and gaining recognition for Jissatsu and Shozan in local communities provided a quick route to acquiring land confirmation documents from the shugo or the shogun. Hence, the number of Jissatsu and Shozan continued to increase, and at the end of the Muromachi period there were some 60 Jissatsu and

35) Ōta Sōichirō 大田壯一郎 “室町殿の宗教構想と武家祈祷” [The Religious Concepts of the Muromachi Shōguns and Warrior Prayers] (Historia, Vol. 188, 2004).

230 Shozan.³⁶⁾ As a result of such an organizational structure, the Gozan system gained the endorsement of the entire echelon of feudal lords, and its authority was elevated.

3 Life in the Gozan and Buddhist Services

Gozan Zen was not only governed by regulations of the authorities, as we saw in the previous section, but was also governed by internal regulations concerned with standards of conduct and with ritual observances and etiquette. It is common knowledge that the Zen sect was strongly influenced by continental Buddhism, and it attempted to introduce without modification the organization of administrative positions, temple buildings, altar fittings, garments, and so forth.

In terms of the fundamental organization, officers were divided into the “eastern rank” (*tōhan*) and “western rank” (*seihan*), headed respectively by six stewards (*chiji*) and six prefects (*chōshu*). Within the monasteries, the regulations (*shingi* 清規) were brought forth as the standards for everyday life, religious services and rituals. Consequently, the priests were able to learn the management methods of the Chinese Ch’an temples.

Of the Ch’an regulations (*shingi*), the 1103 edition of the *Regulations for Zen Monasteries* (*Zen’en shingi* 禪苑清規)³⁷⁾ was introduced to Japan at an early date, and one can find this document listed in the collection catalogue of Tōfukuji’s Fumon’in 東福寺普門院, which held valuable sutras and other materials of Enni.³⁸⁾ Volume one of the *Zen’en shingi* prescribes the etiquette (*sahō* 作法) for receiving the precepts, the proper way to enter the monastery, the seating order at meals, and the proper etiquette for eating. There are highly detailed rules, including how during meals one should not allow dandruff to fall by scratching one’s head and how one should cover one’s mouth when sneezing.

Volume two records in fine detail the ceremonial order the head priest follows when preaching in the Dharma hall, where the monks of the chief seat and below are to stand during important ceremonies and ritual, and which of the monastery officers should move forward at which sounding of the drum. Also recorded are the ceremonies and the wording to be chanted on the occasions of the sutra recitation on the days of each month which include the numbers three and eight. In addition, it explains the ways of leading a tranquil life and carrying out observances during the summer periods, known as *kechike* 結夏 and *kaike* 解夏.

Volume three records provisions regarding the comptroller (*kan’in*) registrar (*inō*), cook (*tenzo*), labor steward (*shissui*), chief seat (*shuso*), scribe (*shojo*), and sutra prefect (*zōsu*), and provides for the alternation of the stewards (*chiji*) and prefects (*chōshu*). The chief seat was called upon to serve as a model of behavior for the monks at large, rectify any divergence from the law, and offer instruction and ensure enforcement of every fine detail, from seating in the hall, to etiquette during mealtimes. The scribe was primarily responsible for correspondence within the monastery.

Volume four describes the actual duties and proper attitudes of the remaining officers with the six precepts and stewards: the guest prefect (*shika*), sutra prefect (*kuju*), bath prefect (*yokushu*), *gaibō* 街坊 (the precise meaning of which is unclear), water manager (*suitō* 水頭), charcoal manager (*tantō* 炭頭), and *kegontō* 華嚴頭 (the precise meaning of which is unclear). Volume seven is concerned with the toilet (*tōsu*

36) Note (1) Aishin Imaeda work.

37) “Annotated Chanyuan Qinggui” (Sōtōshū Shūmuchō, 1972).

38) “大日本古文書 東福寺文書” [Dai Nihon Komonjo Tōfukuji Monjo] 1, 28.

東司), methods of using it, and manners regarding use. It also covers how to deal with and treat members of the monastic community when they fall ill, and the proper conventions for ritual observances when a fellow monk dies. Volume eight and what follows provide model examples, preaching how essential each division of roles is in training oneself in Buddhist practices, and the significance of seated meditation, as well as the need for proper etiquette in practicing meditation.

These Ch'an purity regulations set forth rules for everything from standards for daily living to ceremonies to temple organization. It is highly significant that these regulations were established in Japan in the thirteenth century. While it is true that the observances throughout the year and administrative organization of the large temples and monasteries of the exoteric and esoteric Buddhist sects were carefully arranged, the Zen sect brought a new codified system of regulations from the continent and under the Gozan system this was developed on a large scale. Moreover, a large number of Japanese monks experienced life in Chinese Ch'an temples first hand, and many Chinese monks emigrated to Japan. As a result of the coming and going of Zen monks, continental-style temple administration and organization was systematically imported to Japan and it became firmly established.

In the monasteries of Kyoto and Kamakura, monastic life based upon Ch'an regulations took hold, and when Zen priests who underwent training at the Gozan temples were invited by provincial patrons to establish temples, they introduced these modes of administration to the provinces as well. The ceremonies and life styles of the Ch'an temples of Sung and Yuan were accepted with a certain sense of admiration. In the Zen temples in the provinces there even appeared cases where, despite the fact that they had only a few monks, roles were ostentatiously assigned on the basis of Ch'an regulations.³⁹⁾

These regulations were compiled in a manner that suited the circumstances of Japan, and at Tōfukuji in 1318, at the end of the Kamakura period, they compiled the *Esan Ancient Regulations* (*Esan koki* 慧山古規) based on such codes as the *Zen'en shingi*.⁴⁰⁾ The content was focused on yearly observances through regulating the important scripture-reading ceremony (*hōe* 法会) and the placards and other objects that were to be used. It is clear that memorial services for the Kujō family and various generations of Hōjō, who were patrons, were carefully observed, and that regulations were established that suited the actual conditions of Japan.

Between the latter half of the Kamakura period and the period of the Northern and Southern Courts, Chinese monks from China arrived one after another, and these émigré monks frequently rectified the Japanization of the Zen monasteries. Ch'ing-cho Cheng-ch'eng (Seisetsu Shocho), who arrived in Japan in 1326, preached the importance of regulations in Japan, and the rules laid down by Seisetsu were compiled by his disciples in the *Great Mirror of Regulations* (*Daikan shingi* 大鑑清規). Seisetsu's heartfelt wish was to put right the discipline of Ch'an Buddhism and return to the spirit of the regulations set forth by Hyakujō Ekai 百丈懷海 (749-814) in his *Hyakujō Regulations* (*Hyakujō shingi* 百丈清規). According to the most detailed Nanzenji Chōshōin 南禪寺聽松院 version of the *Daikan shingi*,⁴¹⁾ following the election of the new abbot and the reassigning of the temple's administrative posts among the eastern rank and the western rank, everything was set forth, commencing with the installment ceremony of the new abbot, and concluding with the smallest of details of monastic life. While it does predominantly feature a collection of quotations of rules taken not only from the *Zen'en shingi*, but also such texts as

39) “沙石集” [Shasekishū] 10th End (2).

40) Property of Naikaku Bunko, Ozaki Masayoshi “翻刻 慧日山東福禪寺行令規法” [Reprinting : Enichizan Tōfukuzenji Gyōrekihō] (Tsurumi University Buddhism and Culture Research Centre Journal No. 4, 1999).

41) Nanzenji Chōshōin Reproduction, Ozaki Masayoshi “翻刻 聽松院藏大鑑清規” [Reprinting : Chōshōinzō Daikan Shingi (Tsurumi University Buddhism and Culture Research Centre Journal No. 5, 2000).

the 1293 *Essential Regulations for School Order at Buddhist Monasteries* (Ch: *Conglin xaoding qinggui wangyao*; Jp: *Sōrinkōtei shingi kōyō* 叢林校定清規綱要) and the 1311 *Alternate Regulations for Buddhist Temples* (Ch: *Cha'nlin beiyong qinggui*; Jp: *Zenrin biyō shingi* 禪林備用清規), it also includes Seisetsu's personal opinions, along with corrections to many ceremonies and courtesies relating to the details of monastic life, which at the time were altered, Japanese versions. Some are included in the plaques and etchings displayed on the walls in the temples where Seisetsu lived - Kenchōji, Jōchiji, Engakuji, Kenninji and Nanzenji - and are excellent representations of the state of Zen at the time.

Among these, the *Zen Sect Regulations According to Chinese Teachings* (*Zenshū kishiki kaii Tōhō* 禪宗規式皆依唐法) goes so far as to dictate even the movements to be made, making it clear that even the movements within the Zen monks ceremonies and courtesies were intended to be the same as those of Zen monks in China. After coming to Japan Seisetsu accepted Hōjō Takatoki's conversion to Buddhism before being sent to the Kyoto temples of Kenninji and Nanzenji at the bidding of Emperor Godaigo during the Kenmu restoration. After Emperor Godaigo's conversion to Zen, the rules for purification of the Gozan were further adjusted. In 1334, Emperor Godaigo visited Nanzenji and witnessed a ritual of blessing, long life and safety for the reigning Emperor, and was deeply taken with it. He also received a formal lecture (*hinpotsu* 秉弘), focused primarily on Zen questions and answers.⁴²⁾ The ritual of blessing (*shukushin* 祝聖) is a ceremony that prays for the Emperor on the continent, but in Japan the subject was changed to the Emperor of Japan. Emperor Godaigo was greatly satisfied with the Zen monks' prayers for the security of the nation and their continental-style rituals.

Once Ashikaga Takauji and Tadayoshi came to political power, the Saga sect, centered around Musō Soseki, grew to prominent power within the Gozan. Musō Soseki was appointed to establish Tenryūji. His student Shun'oku Myōha, at the behest of Ashikaga Yoshimitsu, went on to further establish the Gozan system during the Muromachi shogunate and was eventually appointed the first monk to handle personnel affairs for all Zen temples (*sōroku* 僧録).

After Shōkokuji was established, the *sōroku* was located in the sub-temple of Rokuon'in 鹿苑院, within which the shōgun's training office (*inryōken* 蔭涼軒) catered to his Buddhist training. The monk who was appointed master of the Inryōken meditated with the Shogun and performed the overall duties of running the Gozan. Its official daily record is titled the *Record of the Inryōken* (*Inryōken nichiroku* 蔭涼軒日録), and contains information on the personnel and affairs of the Gozan.

As the power of the Gozan grew, Buddhist services of the Gozan monks started to gain prominence in society. One text that had a large effect on Japanese Zen beyond the Northern and Southern Courts period was the *Imperial Cultivation of the Hyakujō Regulations* (*Chixiu baizhang qinggui*; Jp: *Chokushū hyakujō shingi* 勅修百丈清規),⁴³⁾ compiled in 1336. The rules for purification started with a chapter of prayers, and placed even greater emphasis on blessings for the Emperor. This further brought out the colors of state Buddhism. As seen in the text, the monks' strict adherence to the Vinaya was restored under the Imperial system, displaying Zen in a light that was now meaningful to the state.

The *seisetsu* 聖節 is a prayer for the birthday of the Emperor, the reading of which took place on the first and fifteenth day of every month. There was a *zengetsu* ("good month") prayer read during the first, fifth and ninth months. Even during the Muromachi shogunate, the Gozan saw many lectures concerning

42) “臨幸私記” [Rinkō Shiki] (“群書類從” [Gunsho Ruijū] 3rd Collection), Harada Masatoshi 原田正俊, “中世仏教再編期としての一四世紀” [14th Century as a Period of Reform for Medieval Buddhism], (“Japanese Historical Studies,” No. 540, 2007).

43) “叢新纂大日本統藏經” [Monjishinsan Dai Nihon Zokuzōkyō] No. 6, Vol. 3.

the *Chokushu hyakujō shingi* take place, and it was introduced as the basis for rules.

This focus on prayers directed at the state was also widely accepted in Japanese society, and Zen prayers started to garner more attention than those of exoteric and esoteric Buddhism. On the shōgun's birthday every month, a list of birthdays was made and prayers read in many temples, starting with those of the Gozan.⁴⁴⁾ In Zen temples, a prayer for the blessing, long life and safety of the Emperor was generally read during the first and fifteenth days. When a new chief monk joined a temple, incense was burned for the Emperor and blessings given again. Through their fixture in the rules of purification, these ceremonies filtered down from the temples of Gozan to Zen temples in every region, regardless of size, right down to the smallest hermitage.

Not all of the ceremonies in the Chinese rules of purification were altered to suit Japanese society, and the choice to do so was made on a case-by-case basis. One aspect of Zen Buddhism that especially thrived is that of Zen style funerals. I will only give an outline here, because a more detailed discussion of this matter can be found separately.⁴⁵⁾ The funerals of Hōjō tokusō such as Hōjō Tokimune were handled exclusively by monks from the Kamakura Gozan, with Mugaku Sogen leading the funeral of Hōjō Tokimune and Dong-ming Hui-ri 東明慧日 (Jp: Tōmyō Enichi; 1272-1340) leading the funeral of Hōjō Sadatoki, and separate memorial services being held in the Zen and Tendai styles on the twelfth anniversary of their deaths.

Zen funerals were also introduced into aristocratic society. It is generally thought that the funerals of Emperors were held at Sennyūji 泉涌寺, but the reality is a little more complicated than this. During the Northern and Southern Courts period, the funerals of the higher levels of the aristocracy started to be held in Zen fashion. Attention should be paid here to the funeral of Kōgimon'in 広義門院 (1292-1357), mother of Emperors Kōgon 光嚴 (1313-1364) and Kōmyō 光明 (1321-1380), which was performed by a Zen monk in 1357. This decision was surely influenced by the fact that both Kōgon and Kōmyō had been Zen monks, but the fact that the social standing of Zen had risen and the aristocracy were starting to accept Zen teachings was also behind it.

There was criticism from some in the aristocracy that there were no precedents for them, but these Zen funerals still took place. Kōgimon'in was not a typical imperial wife, but rather one who had practically ruled while backing Emperor Kōgon after Ashikaga Takauji created the shogunate, as well as being a key political individual. The effect of having a Zen monk perform the funeral for someone such as this was massive. The Buddhist duties of the service were performed by Shun'oku Myōha. He also performed the funeral for Emperor Kōgon, who died in 1364. Shun'oku was the chief monk at Tenryūji, and as a leading figure from the Gozan, he thus succeeded in performing the funeral for the ruler of his country in the Zen fashion. After this, however, the change was made back to Sennyūji, with the exception of Emperor Sūkō 崇光 (1334-1398).

After Takauji, all of the shōgun who came from the Ashikaga line had funerals conducted by a monk from the Gozan. The loss of a shōgun, the real hand on the reins of power, was treated as a solemn affair by Zen. Taking note of the shōgun's funerals, the Zen ceremony started to spread through their wives, children, shugo daimyō, vassals, and others. Of course, other sects such as the exoteric and

44) Harada Masatoshi 原田正俊 “五山禅林の仏事法会と中世社会-鎮魂・施餓鬼・祈祷を中心に-“ [Buddhist Services of the Gozan Zen and Medieval Society - Focused on Chinkon, Segaki, and Prayer -] (“Research into Zen Study,” No. 77, 1999).

45) “中世の禅宗と葬送儀礼” [Medieval Zen and Funeral Ceremonies] (“前近代日本の史科遺産プロジェクト 研究集会報告集 2001 - 2002” [Historical Heritage of Pre-Modern Japan Project Research Symposium Report Collection 2001 - 2002], Tokyo University Historical Complication Desk, 2003).

esoteric, Ritsu, and Pure Land were all involved in people's funerals, but great notice is paid to how Zen funerals expanded so widely as to reach the higher levels of the aristocratic and warrior class.

A method for performing a funeral ceremony already existed within rules for purification from the continent in the *Zen'en shingi* and other texts, and the funeral method for monks had already been applied to lay devotees. Upon their demise, a lay devotee was made a monk after death, that is shaven and treated as though they were a monk, and then a funeral was performed. This is how the Zen funeral became established in medieval Japanese society.

I have already mentioned Tōfukuji's *Esan koki*, created at the end of the Kamakura period. From within its rules for purification can be listed those annual events that had become established in Japan, along with the way of performing them. Starting from the Buddhist prayers for blessing on the first of the new year, it goes on to detail other events such as the *hinpotsu*, in which the chief seat gave a sermon in place of the head monk, the seven day shushō 修正 service of reading the *Sutra of Great Wisdom* (*Daihannyagyō* 大般若經), the precepts meeting (*fusatsu* 布薩) on the 28th day of the first month, the celebration of the birthday of the Buddha (Busshō-e 仏生会) on the eighth day of the fourth month, the *Suramgama sutra* (*Ryōgon* 楞嚴) service on the 13th day of the fourth month, the anniversaries each month for the passing of those related to the Kujō household and Hōjō tokusō, the anniversaries for former chief monks, the offerings to hungry spirits at the temple gate (*sanmon segaki* 三門施餓鬼) on the 14th day of the seventh month, the lantern service (*mantō-e* 万燈会), and celebration of the Buddha's enlightenment (*jōdō-e* 成道会) on the eighth day of the twelfth month. While the dates of ceremonies relating to former chief monks and vassals obviously differ depending on the temple, overall it was these rules for purification that established the yearly routine based upon the circumstances in Japan at the time.

Furthermore, the merit dedications performed in the Gozan were recorded together in the *Regulations for the Various Merit Dedications* (*Shoekō shingishiki* 諸回向清規式) in 1566.⁴⁶ This book details the services held in the Gozan through the Muromachi period and lists the dedications given, and while based on the rules for purification from the continent, the composition includes services unique to Japan, such as prayer for the celebration of the shōgun's birthday or readings at the shōgun's palace. It allows for the overall nature of Gozan Zen to be seen, and the fact that a wide variety of Buddhist services were included is quite plain. The services unique to Japan were still conducted in the style of the continent, and still used dedications, making them different from the services of the exoteric and esoteric sect. Indeed, even the exoteric and esoteric sect performed the services, but although the Zen ones observed the same intent, to pray for the safety of the state for another year, they were performed in an entirely different manner.

Medieval Buddhism started to function socially through the establishment of this sequence of annual Buddhist services, and attained followers through prayer for safety of the state, good harvest, protection from harm, and peace after death. There can be no doubt that Zen stands alongside the exoteric and esoteric sects as playing a large role in these achievements.

Conclusion

The Zen monks who brought Zen Buddhism into Japanese society, following the continental trans-

46) “大正新脩大藏經” [Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō] No. 8 Vol. 1.

mission style, were able to build on the regulations to create a new form for monks. They drove out the corrupt practices of the politically entrenched exoteric and esoteric sects, and their religious activities started to get the support of the ruling court noble and shogunate as new Buddhist activities. Amid this, they promoted reforms in the temple system to restore adherence to the Vinaya, sought a revival in Buddhist teachings, and under the Hōjō tokusō regime, a series of laws pertaining to Zen temples was also decreed.

The laws decreed by the Hōjō tokusō and the Muromachi shogunate were based upon the rules for purification as complied in the Song and Yuan dynasties, and the desires of the Zen monks themselves. They determined such things as the appointment of individuals to chief monk and other positions, privatization of administrative titles through rotation of jobs, prevention of concessions, handling of public accounting, and prohibition against bearing arms.

The Gozan, Jussetsu, and Shozan, in addition to the temples and hermitages around them, spread Gozan Zen on a national scale. The rules mentioned above enabled personnel to move or be developed from a wide range of people. Compared to the great temples of the exoteric and esoteric sects, where status in the world was heavily reflected, this organization of Zen temples can be called revolutionary in medieval society.

The administration of Zen was focused on living and performing services in faithful accordance with the regulations from the Song and Yuan dynasties. Each service already had detailed guidelines on everything down to how to move during daily life, and monks who had come from China, or Japanese monks who had spent time training on the continent attempted to employ the mentality of the shingi regulations at every turn. This led to the writing down of their lifestyle and ceremonies, and through the instruction of those with experience, continental-style regulations were systematically incorporated into Japanese society. It also brought about a different lifestyle and system of worship from that of the exoteric and esoteric sects spreading out through Japanese society.

The Gozan was protected by the political power of the court and shogunate, allowing it to expand and oppose the orthodox medieval Buddhist teachings of the exoteric and esoteric sects, as well as to achieve a great deal of social influence. The court noble and shogunate could be said to have had this intent when choosing to nurture Gozan Zen.

The entry of Zen into the areas of praying for the state and revering the ruler was remarkable, and Zen established a function for itself within Japanese society by praying for the safety of the state and peace in the afterlife through Buddhist services, in the same way as the exoteric and esoteric sects. While the Buddhist services may have been the same as those performed by the exoteric and esoteric sects, the progress made by Zen into areas such as funerals should be recognized.

Thus concludes my attempt to place the historical significance of the development of the Gozan system within the trends of medieval Buddhism as a whole. Due to the path my discourse has taken, there are some points that have only been touched upon, such as issues with alterations made to suit Japan, and the effects Buddhism had on Japanese thought, but please refer to the works in my footnotes for further information on these areas.