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From prominence to obscurity : a study of the Darumashū : Japan's first Zen school

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CHAPTER THREE
SAMBŌJI AND ITS TREASURES

The Sambōji temple, where Nōnin propagated his Zen teachings, no longer exists. The temple was located in the old province Settsu no Kuni 摂津國 in a place called Suita 吹田 (also written 水田), on the Nakajima embankment 中嶋, hemmed in between the Migunigawa 三国川 (the present Kanzakigawa 神崎川) and Yodogawa 淀川 rivers. Harada Masatoshi writes that in the late Heian period Nōnin's temple was sometimes referred to as Kasugai Sambōji 草苅三宝寺, as it was situated in a region called Kasugai *sanjo* 草苅散所.[159] The term *sanjo* 散所 (literally: "dispersed place") referred to particular areas on the fringes of land holdings and temple complexes. These liminal places (river borders, mountain slopes, temple entrances) were the designated quarters of a mixture of people that were likewise referred to as *sanjo*. The term *sanjo*, in the latter sense, moves in the same semantic field as the terms *hinin* 非人 (nonpersons), *kawaramono* 河原者 (riverbank people) and *eta* 穢多 (much defiled ones), indicating people of the lowest social status, outcastes. *Sanjo* residents were incorporated into the economy of the estates and temples and engaged in a great variety of mostly non-agricultural trades and odd jobs (cleaners, palanquin bearers, couriers, fisherman, hunters, craftsmen, butchers, entertainers, magicians and so forth). Their perceived association with defilement (*kegare* 穢) – a pre-buddhist concept reinforced by Buddhist notions of detrimental karma – made them generally looked down upon. Harada writes that many residents of the Kasugai *sanjo* area were occupied in the trade of water transportation. Kasugai, in addition, comprised numerous cow pastures (*chichiushimaki* 乳牛牧) which were managed by *kugonin* 供御人 (imperial suppliers) in the service of the Bureau of Court Physicians (Tenyakuryō 典薬寮) to supply the imperial household with milk and butter.[160] The concentration of cattle in the Kasugai area, I imagine, also necessitated the presence of outcaste workers to skin and dispose of carcasses. Located to the northeast of Sambōji was the renowned red light district of Eguchi 江口, celebrated in art and literature as the site where the poet priest Saigyō 西行 (1118-1190) encountered the beautiful prostitute Eguchi no Kimi 江口の君(who turned out to be a manifestation of the bodhisattva Samantabhadra).[161] The Sambōji temple, then, was situated in a bustling area amid a great deal of commercial and leisure traffic – an area inhabited mostly by an outcast populace. Sambōji's location suggests that Nōnin's teachings were directed in particular at these lower segments of society.

As a physical entity, furnished with cultic objects, Sambōji was an important aspect of Nōnin's teaching activities. In recent times, various objects and documents that were preserved at Sambōji have surfaced from private and temple collections. It is to these that we now turn.

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[159] Harada Masatoshi, *Nihon chūsei zenshū to shakai*, p. 64-66.
[160] Ibid.
[161] See for instance Zeami's *Eguchi*, in *Japanese Nō Dramas*, translated by Royall Tyler (Penguin Books, 1992), pp. 68-81. *The Tale of Saigyo*, translated by Meredith McKinney (University of Michigan, 1998).

The portrait of Bodhidharma

In 1971 the portrait of Bodhidharma that Fozhao Deguang presented to Nōnin's envoys in 1189 emerged from a private art collection (Yabumoto Sōgorō collection). In addition three replicas of the painting, all dating from the Edo period, have been identified. Of these replicas one is preserved at the Nezu Institute of Fine Arts in Tokyo; another is held at the Tenryūji in Kyoto; the third replica recently surfaced from the collection of a Kyoto based antique dealer.[162] The Yabumoto original and the Nezu replica have been studied in detail by the art historian Tokunaga Hiromichi.[163] In 2010 the original painting, given the title *Shui Darumazō* 朱衣達磨像 (Bodhidharma in a Red Robe), was exhibited at the Kyoto National Museum in 2010, as part of the exhibition *Kōsō to kesa* (Plate 1).[164]

Depiction

The Yabumoto painting depicts a large Bodhidharma figure, slightly turned to his right side in a three-quarter view. The figure is depicted from the waist up in a bust format known as *hanshin-ga* 半身画.[165] Bodhidharma is wrapped in a loosely flowing red robe, marked out by black, curving contours. The garment envelopes the patriarch's head and flows around his darkened and almost disproportionately massive torso, covering his shoulders, arms and his hands, which (unseen) appear to rest in front his belly. Uncovered is the patriarch's hairy chest. Bodhidharma sports a bearded face and wears large earrings (fully visible in his left ear and partly visible in his right ear).[166] Bodhidharma's eyebrows are slightly lifted up and frame wide opened but seemingly strabismic eyes. The unhinged gaze, perhaps, reflects the story of Bodhidharma having cut off his own eyelids to prevent drowsiness while meditating. Bodhidharma's mouth, a trifle opened, houses a partly toothless interior. On the whole, the Bodhidharma figure appears rough, colossal and bulky and yet, as I see it, it has certain litheness to it. According to art historian Shimizu Yoshiaki, the painting is stylistically an offshoot from the "monumental portrait tradition" that was current in north China from the late eleventh and twelfth centuries, "a descriptive tradition which at the time was already very old."[167]

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[162] See Takahashi, "Darumashū ni kansuru hosoku jikō," pp. 279-280.

[163] Tokunaga Hiromichi, "Nansō shoki no zenshū soshizō: Settan Tokkō san Darumazō wo chūshin ni (1)," *Kokka* 929 (1971): pp. 7-17 and (2), *Kokka* 930 (1971), pp. 5-22.

[164] A photo reproduction in color of the original painting is included in the exhibit catalogue *Kōsō to kesa: koromo wo tsutae kokoro wo tsunagu – Transmitting Robes, Linking Mind: The world of the Buddhist kāṣāya*. (Kyoto: Kyōto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, 2010), p. 82. The articles by Tokunaga Hiromichi include black and white reproductions of the Yabumoto and Nezu paintings. A noticeable difference between the original and the replica is the placement of the inscription. On the original painting the inscription is placed extremely close to the top of Bodhidharma's head. On the replica a considerable empty space separates the portrayed figure from the inscription. A black and white reproduction of the Bodhidharma painting is included in Yoshiaki Shimizu, "Zen art?," in *Zen in China, Japan, East-Asian Art: Papers of the International Symposium on Zen*, edited by H. Brinker, R. P. Kramers and C. Ouwehand (Bern: Peter Lang, 1982). Shimizu's caption indicates that this reproduction shows an Edo period replica, though it appears to be the Yabumoto original.

[165] Portraits of Bodhidharma typically depict the patriarch sitting in meditative posture, en face or in profile, showing either the entire seated figure, the bust, or merely the face and a part of the robed shoulder. Besides this formal pose, Bodhidharma paintings often depict a specific episode in the patriarch's biography, e.g. Bodhidharma crossing the Yangtze on a reed (*royōtoe* 芦葉渡江), the interview with Emperor Wu (*ryōbu mondō* 梁武問答), wall-facing meditation (*menpeki zazen* 面壁坐禅), or Bodhidharma's return to India wearing only one shoe (*sekirisaiki* 隻履西帰). Related to this are depictions of Huike presenting Bodhidharma with his cut-off arm (*eka danpi* 慧可断臂).

[166] Tokunaga notes that the earrings show traces of goldpaint. Tokunaga, "Nansō shoki no zenshū soshizō (1)," p. 8.

[167] Shimizu, "Zen Art?," p. 76.

Inscription

Written above the patriarch's image, starting from the viewer's left, is Fozhao Deguang's laudatory verse, followed by a colophon in a slightly smaller script. The colophon reads as follows:

> Dharma master Nin from the country of Japan dispatched from afar the acolytes Renchū and Shōben. They came [to King Aśoka Monastery] and requested a portrait of patriarch master Bodhidharma. Dharma descendant Deguang, residing at King Aśoka Monastery in Mingzhou in the great country of Song, made prostrations and respectfully inscribed it. Written in the sixteenth year of Chunxi (1189), *tsuchinoto-tori*, month six, day three.[168]

The colophon substantiates the audience of Nōnin's envoys Renchū and Shōben with Fozhao Deguang at the King Aśoka Monastery and provides the date Chunxi 16/6/3 as the *terminus ad quem* for their visit to China.

Fozhao's laudatory verse reads:

(1) 直指人心見性成佛[169]	Point straight to the mind, see the nature, and become a buddha
(2) 太華擘開 滄溟傾[170] 竭	The great flower bursts open, the dark green waters are depleted
(3) 雖然 接得神光	Even so, you received Subtle Luminosity
(4) 爭奈當門齒 闕	But what is this? Your front teeth are missing!

Starting from the assumption that Fozhao's verse represents an act of communication – and that we can extrapolate something of the meaning of that communication – we will go through the verse line by line:

First line. The poem opens with the phrase that by the Song dynasty had become one of the Chan school's defining slogans, attributed to Bodhidharma himself. It highlights the concept of attaining buddhahood through directly perceiving one's nature (*kenshō jōbutsu*).

Second line. This line metaphorically describes Bodhidharma's *kenshō jōbutsu*. The great blooming flower hints at the Buddhist image of the lotus flower, rooted in dirt but opening up to the light. It also recalls Bodhidharma's prediction about the blossoming of the Chan school.[171] Simultaneously, "Great flower" (Ch. *taihua* 太華) refers to Mount Taihua, one of China's sacred mountains. The image of a cracking mountain may be taken to indicate the earth-shattering nature of the awakening experience. The image of a depleted sea ("dark green waters") likewise compares awakening to a cataclysmic event; it also evokes Buddhist concepts such as emptiness (*kū*), open space (*kokū*) and formlessness (*musō*).

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[168] 日本國忍法師遠遣小師錬中勝辨、來求達磨祖師遺像、大宋國住明州阿育王山法孫德光稽首敬讃、己酉淳熙十六年六月初三日書。(Tokunaga, "Nansō shoki no zenshū soshizō 1," p. 8).

[169] The verse consists of twenty-eight characters evenly distributed over four lines of seven characters. The syntactical units, however, do not correspond to this symmetric format (i.e. enjambment). The poem is reproduced here in an adapted format, breaking down the poem in its syntactic units.

[170] The Yabumoto painting here has the character 傾 (*kei*; *katamuku*; "to tilt"); the Nezu replica has the character 頓 (*ton*: "suddenly"). Ibid., pp.7-10.

[171] Bodhidharma's prediction appears in the *Platform sūtra*: "Originally I came to China to transmit the teaching and save deluded beings. One flower opens five petals and the fruit naturally ripens." Yampolsky, *Platform Sūtra*, p. 176.

Third line. "Subtle Luminosity" (Ch. *shenguang*; *jinkō* 神光) refers to Bodhidharma's chief disciple and successor Huike, whose birth name is said to have been Guang 光, later changed to Shenguang 神光.[172] The verse line thus indicates that Bodhidharma received Huike as his disciple. At the same time the words can be read as a description of Bodhidharma's *kenshō jōbutsu*: upon becoming empty and seeing the buddha-nature, Bodhidharma recovered the "subtle luminosity" of his own mind.

Fourth line. With humorous indignation Fozhao concludes the verse with a playful comment on Bodhidharma's disheveled appearance – "But what is this? Your front teeth are missing!"[173] The motif of Bodhidharma's missing teeth has its origins in Daoist myths in which the loss and regeneration of teeth symbolize the Daoist sage's spiritual death and subsequent attainment of immortality. In the Bodhidharma myth this Daoist theme of immortality is discernible in the patriarch's death by poison and subsequent rise from the grave; according to some narratives the poison first made Bodhidharma's teeth fall out.[174] Bodhidharma's toothlessness may also point to Chan notions of ineffability (*rigon* 離言) and wordless transmission (*mokuden* 默傳).

Chan/Zen adepts would read inscribed verses of this kind through the lens of a shared discourse. Thus refracted this particular verse would tell them of Bodhidharma's spiritual attainments and his meeting with Huike. According to tradition Huike one day visited the cave where Bodhidharma silently meditated; when he requested to be accepted as a pupil Bodhidharma ignored him; undeterred Huike waited outside, the snow piling up to his knees; after several days Huike cut off his own arm in supplication and hence was accepted as a disciple. Tokunaga Hiromichi speculates that the painted depiction captures Bodhidharma at the moment the patriarch first notices his future successor waiting in front of the cave.[175] Bodhidharma's facial expression indeed seems to convey a sense of surprise, as if his solitary meditation has just been interrupted. The main point to note, I would say, is the following: by alluding to the paradigmatic episode of Bodhidharma and Huike, Fozhao Deguang introduces the theme of Chan lineage succession, and in so doing purposely situates the painting's transfer to Nōnin in that specific context.

[172] According to the *Jingde chuandenglu* (T. 2076, 220b24-c07), Huike's mother got pregnant after a strange light (Ch. *yiguang* 異光) illumined the house. The baby boy therefore got the name "Luminosity" (Ch. Guang). Later, after he had become a monk, Guang had a vision of a supernatural being (Ch. *shenren* 神人) who instructed him to study with Bodhidharma. Guang thereupon took on the name Shenguang 神光. Bodhidharma gave Shenguang the name Huike.

[173] The compound *tōmonshi* 當門歯, meaning "front teeth" (*maeha* 前歯, *Zengo jiten*, p. 336) frequently appears in Chan/Zen literature in reference to Bodhidharma. Tokunaga offers a rather convoluted reading of this closing line, in which the front teeth completely disappear. Instead of reading 爭奈 (Ch. *zhengnai*) as a compound, Tokunaga takes *zheng* 爭 as a verb (*arasou*), while *chi* 齒 (tooth) somehow becomes *ji* 繼 (succeed). His translation reads: *tōmon ni gokeisha ga kakeru to iu arasou no wa nan to iu koto da?* 當門に後繼者が缺けると云うあらそうのは何と云うことだ (What about those disputes regarding a lack of successors in our school?). See Tokunaga "Nansō shoki no zenshū soshizō (2), p. 8.

[174] The Daoist motif of sagely teeth is reflected, too, in several portraits of Bodhidharma from the Song dynasty that, alternatively, depict the patriarch with excessively big and protruding front teeth. See Fujita Takuji, *Nihon ni nokoru Daruma densetsu*, pp. 77-88. Fujita bases himself on Sekiguchi Shindai, *Daruma no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1967).

[175] Tokunaga, "Nansō shoki no zenshū soshizō (2), p.11.

The portrait of Chan master Fozhao Deguang

The biographical sketch of Nōnin in *Genkō Shakusho* mentions that Nōnin's envoys also obtained a painted portrait of Fozhao Deguang. This painting has been last sighted in 1916 before going missing.[176] I am, therefore, unable to reflect on its outward appearance. The painting probably adhered to the standardized form that such portraits –referred to as *chinsō* 頂相 (Ch. *dingxiang*) – had taken on by the time of its composition (1189), depicting the Chan master in monastic robes, seated in meditation posture on a high chair, holding a flywhisk, a staff or another implement in the right hand. Above the image the depicted master himself usually inscribed a poem and a colophon, specifying the date and circumstances of the painting's creation.[177]

The term *chinsō* originally referred to the cranial protuberance (Skt. *uṣṇīṣa*) on the Buddha's head, one of the thirty two major marks ascribed to the Buddha's body. The reason that this term came to refer to Buddhist portraits is related to the idea that the protuberance was the Buddha's most exalted characteristic (*sō* 相) and yet a "non-characteristic" (*musō* 無相), since it cannot be seen (*muken chinsō* 無見頂相). *Chinsō* portraits were considered to similarly embody this type of prajñāpāramitā logic: the true Buddha – the Chan master – is not seen through visible forms; he is seen accurately in the realization that these forms are in fact empty, non-forms; when discerned as non-forms, the forms do actually show true Buddha/Chan master. As Foulk and Sharf noted, the verses inscribed on *chinsō* portraits typically raise the same paradoxical logic of presence and absence, form and emptiness.[178]

Inscription

The verse and the colophon inscribed on Fozhao's *chinsō* have, fortunately, been recorded. The colophon dates to the same day as that on the above examined Bodhidharma painting; it likewise verifies the audience of Nōnin's envoys at King Aśoka monastery.

> Dharma master Nin from the country of Japan dispatched from afar the acolytes Renchū and Shōben. Having arrived at [King Aśoka] monastery they asked about the way and requested a verse on my painted apparition. Inscribed by Zhuan Deguang, residing at King Aśoka monastery in Mingzhou, in the great country of Song, in the sixteenth year of Chunxi, month six, day three.[179]

The verse on Fozhao's portrait reads:

(1)	這村僧無面目	This rustic monk has no face
(2)	撥轉天關掀飜地軸	He knocks over heaven's barrier and inverts the earth's axis
(3)	忍師脱體見得親	Master Nin cast off the body and discerns intimately
(4)	外道天魔俱竄伏	Deviants and demons scurry into hiding

[176] Washio Junkei reported having unexpectedly sighted the painting at an art exhibit in 1916. Washio, *Nihon bukkyō bunkashi kenkyū*, p. 136. Tsuji Zennosuke reports having sighted, in 1930, a scroll that framed only Fozhao Deguang's inscription. Tsuji Zennosuke, *Nihon bukkyōshi*, vol. 3 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1944-1955), p. 61. Fozhao's inscribed verse is cited in Nōnin's biography in the *Honchō Kōsōden*, DNBZ 63, pp. 273-274

[177] Examples of *chinsō* are conveniently found in Helmut Brinker and Hiroshi Kanazawa, *Zen Masters of Meditation in Images and Writings* (Zürich: Museum Rietberg, 1996).

[178] T. Griffith Foulk and Robert H. Sharf, "On the Ritual Use of Ch'an Portraiture in Medieval China," in Bernard Faure (ed.), *Chan Buddhism in Ritual Context* (New York: Routledge 2003), pp. 123-128.

[179] 日本國忍法師遠遣小師錬中勝辨至山問道繪予幻質求讃、大宋國淳熙十六年六月初三住明州阿育王山拙菴德光題。 (Takahashi, *Darumashū ni kansuru shiryō* 2, p. 23.)

Again we will go through the poem line by line:

First line. Fozhao Deguang, on first glance, is referring to himself in a manner of self-praise (*jisan* 自讚), typical of the genre of portrait inscriptions. The line plays on the paradoxical *prajñāpāramitā* logic of form and nonform: the awakened Chan master's face is clearly depicted on the painting, but in true, formless reality he has no face (*mumenmoku* 無面目). And yet he is clearly staring at the viewer.

Second line. Knocking over heaven's barrier and inverting the earth's axis seem to indicate the magnitude (because empty and unbounded) of the awakened state, as well as the disruptive power (socially, psychologically) that is commanded by one who has realized that state.

Third line. The third line explicitly mentions Nōnin. The subject of the preceding lines is thereby (deliberately) made ambivalent. The awakening that Fozhao ascribed to himself comes to be extended to Nōnin. Nōnin becomes the rustic monk's double. At the same time Fozhao seems to be playfully alluding to the fact that Nōnin is absent from the scene: Nōnin is literally without a face. Nōnin's awakening, though, is clearly affirmed: "Master Nin cast off the body (*dattai* 脱體; Ch. *tuoti*) and discerns intimately." The term *dattai*/*tuoti* denotes something like "the bare state of liberation." [180] In the literal sense of having "cast off the body" the term might also be read as a witty comment by Fozhao on Nōnin's bodily absence from the scene. And yet, both having no face, Fozhao and Nōnin are united in emptiness, with no distance between them.

Fourth line. The concluding line of the poem alludes to the power and authenticity of Nōnin's attainment. Nonin's awakening enables him to conquer demons (*tenma* 天魔) and refute those with incorrect views (*gedō* 外道). Nōnin's ascribed status in this way can be said to parallel that of Buddha Śākyamuni: seated under the bodhi tree Śākyamuni dispelled the demon Devamāra (Tenma 天魔) and later refuted the flawed views of the socalled "six heretical teachers" (*gedō rokushi* 外道六師).

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[180] *Zengo jiten* glosses the term *dattai* as follows: 過不足なくそのままそっくり。悟道のありのままの丸出し。(entirely, just as it is, without extras or deficiencies; the bareness of awakening just as it is) (*Zengo jiten*, p. 827). The term *kentoku* 見得 translates the Sanskrit *dṛṣṭi-prāpta*, which in early Mahāyāna texts denotes the attainment of correct insight through the path of meditation, leading the practitioner to the level of Arhat. See Hirakawa Akira, *A History of Indian Buddhism* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidas, 1993), p. 213. In Chan texts the term *kentoku* is used in a less specific way, denoting direct, personal understanding of the dharma. The character *shin* 親 (close, intimate) likewise denotes direct, personal experience. I take the combination *kentokushin* 見得親 to be equivalent to the more common phrase *kentoku shinsetsu* 見得親切. This combination appears, for instance, repeatedly in the *Wumenguang* 無門關 (*Mumonkan*), the famous kōan collection compiled by Chan master Wumen Huikai 無門慧開 (1183-1260). For instance, *Wumenguang*, case 37 (T. 2005, 297c05-08):

> A monk asked Zhaozhou: "What is the purport of Bodhidharma's coming from the west? Zhaozhou answered: "The cypress tree in the courtyard." Wumen's comment: "If you get the point of Zhaozhou's answer and intimately understand (*kentoku shinsetsu*), then there is no Śākya before you no Maitreya after you." 趙州因僧問。如何是祖師西來意。州云。庭前柏樹子。無門曰。若向趙州答處。見得親切。前無釋迦。後無彌勒。For another translation see Katsuki Sekida (trans), *Two Zen Classics: Mumonkan and Hekiganroku* (New York : Weatherhill, 1977), p. 110.

So, with the verse inscribed on his own portrait Fozhao Deguang celebrated his own spiritual attainment. At the same time, while perhaps mildly mocking Nōnin's failure to come to China in the flesh, Fozhao eulogized Nōnin's awakening. The verse thus narratively unites Nōnin with Fozhao, and in this way depicts their Chan lineage connection.

Functions of the paintings

Both portraits were commissioned by Nōnin's envoys; abbot Fozhao was asked to inscribe verses on them. The commissioning of paintings and inscriptions was common practice at the time. As Foulk and Sharf demonstrated, *chinsō* portraits of living Chan masters were commissioned in large numbers by their recipients and widely distributed as devotional gifts.[181] The ubiquity of *chinsō*, they argue, problematizes the routine assumption that Chan masters bequeathed their portraits to disciples as proofs of a legitimate dharma transmission. With reference to this argument Yen Yamei recently examined several Song and Yuan dynasty *chinsō* inscriptions and concluded that *chinsō*, in these cases, served as proofs of transmission, though not in and of themselves: the inscribed portraits considered by Yen were mostly transmitted in conjunction with robes (Skt. *kāṣāya*).[182] Similarly, Bernard Faure concluded that in the history of the Chan school, *chinsō*, robes, certificates and other objects jointly delimited the "ritual and semantic field" of dharma transmission. Faure also points out that through a process of rarefaction, written certificates eventually emerged as the most important proofs of legitimacy.[183] In Deguang's lifetime this rarefaction was well under way, though evidence suggests that paintings, too, were still powerful instruments in making lineage claims.[184] Deguang (indirectly) transferred his *chinsō* portrait to Nōnin in conjunction with a kāṣāya, a lineage document, an inscribed portrait of Bodhidharma and several printed Chan texts. In addition he is also reported to have presented Nōnin with a "patriarchal name" 祖號.[185] The poems inscribed on the paintings extol Nōnin's awakening and hint at a master-disciple relationship. As part of an *interrelated set of objects*, then, the transfer of the paintings, we conclude, clearly functioned in the framework of Chan lineage transmission.

At this point it is perhaps fitting to digress a bit to consider the more mercantile aspects of Chan lineage transmission as part of Sino-Japanese relations at the time.[186] From the outset the crossings of Buddhist pilgrims to and from the mainland were embedded in diplomatic and economic traffic. In the late twelfth century, the Taira clan (with whom Nōnin may have been associated) was very active in restoring Japan's maritime trade with China. Taira no Kiyomori 平清盛 (1118-1181) reconstructed a seaport in Ōwada 大輪田 (present day Kōbe) to accommodate trade with China via the Inland Sea and established close relations with the governor of the Chinese port town Mingzhou.[187]According to the *Heike monogatari*, Kiyomori's son Taira no Shigemori 平重盛 (1138-1179) dispatched an envoy to China in the Angen era (1175-1177) to

[181] Foulk and Sharf, "On the Ritual Use of Ch'an Portraiture in Medieval China," pp. 117-123.
[182] Yen Yamei, "Gensō jidai no chinsō ni suru ni san no mondai," *Kyoto bigaku bijutsushigaku* 3 (2004): pp. 95-129.
[183] Bernard Faure, *The Rhetoric of Immediacy* (Princeton University Press, 1994), p. 175.
[184] In his essay *Shishō* (T. 2528, 67c21-72a03) the Japanese monk Dōgen, who visited China in the early thirteenth century, complains about dubious lineage claims made by Chinese monks on the basis of their possession of portraits and calligraphies.
[185] The bestowal of a "patriarchal name" is mentioned in *Shōkō Shōninden* (*Zoku gunshoruijū* 9, p. 32).
[186] This aspect of Nōnin's transmission was pointed out by Takahashi Shūei, in *Ejō Zenji kenkyū* (Daihonzan Eiheiji Sozan Sanshōkai, 1981), pp. 219-220.
[187] See Charlotte Von Verscheur, *Across the Perilous Sea: Japanese Trade with China and Korea from the Seventh to the Sixteenth Centuries* (Ithaca, New York: East Asia Program, Cornell University, 2006), pp. 45-50.

present two thousand units of gold to the Chinese Emperor and one thousand units of gold to the King Aśoka monastery in Mingzhou, with the request that the Emperor bestow rice paddies on the monastery and that its monks pray for Shigemori's fate in the afterlife. The Emperor granted the monastery two hundred and fifty acres of rice paddies. The abbot of King Aśoka monastery, Chan master Fozhao Deguang, gratefully accepted the gold.[188] The story in the *Heike monogatari* is no doubt romanticized but certainly points to actual religio-economic contacts between the Taira clan and the King Aśoka monastery. These contacts prefigured Nōnin's dispatching in 1189 of gift-bearing envoys to this very monastery and, to a degree, may explain the warm welcome extended to them by its abbot, Fozhao Deguang.

Returning to the paintings: we have no knowledge about the formal uses in the Sambōji community of Fozhao's portrait. With regard to the portrait of Bodhidharma some details can be gathered from *Jōtōshōgakuron*, a text connected to Nōnin and his followers, which will be fully discussed in Chapter Five. *Jōtōshōgakuron* indicates that the portrait of Bodhidharma served as the focus of a formalized lecture whose audience was instructed to venerate and make offerings to Bodhidharma.[189] Possibly Fozhao's portrait was used in a similar ritual setting.

The painting of Bodhidharma and Fozhao Deguang's *chinsō* represent very early examples of Chan portraiture imported into Japan.[190] The possession and display of these exotic paintings, bearing samples of brushed poetry from an eminent Song abbot, enhanced Nōnin's prestige. The objects produced associations with continental culture and so bestowed legitimacy on Nōnin's activities. The Sambōji, where the paintings were kept, must easily have attracted the attention of religionists, art collectors and sinophiles alike.

Traces of Bodhidharma's portrait

In 1636 the cloistered Emperor Gomizuno-o 後水尾 invited Gudō Tōshoku 愚堂東寔 (1577-1661), the thirty-fourth abbot of the Rinzai Zen monastic complex Myōshin-ji 妙心寺, to present a dharma lecture at court. At this occasion Gudō exhibited Nōnin's Bodhidharma portrait. Some observations about this lecture and about the provenance of the displayed painting have been preserved in the writings of a Rinzai monk named Zuinan Bokuchō 瑞南卜兆 (n.d), a close student of Gudō. Bokuchō's record amounts to the following: Bokuchō identifies the portrait as that obtained by Dainichi Nōnin from Chan master Fozhao Deguang. Initially the portrait was kept at Nōnin's temple Sambōji in Suita. Later a Zen monk named Tenshitsu 天室 (n.d), who resided at the Sambōji in the Tenshō (1573-1592) and Bunroku (1592-1596) eras, took the painting with him when he moved to the Sekkeiji 雪蹊寺 in Tosa (Shikoku).[191] Subsequently it

[188] See Helen Craig McCullough (trans.), *The Tale of Heike* (Stanford University Press, 1988), p. 119.

[189] The distinction between Bodhidharma and his painted image would, in effect, have been nil. On the metonymic relation between symbol and symbolized in Buddhist art see Bernard Faure, "The Buddhist Icon and the Modern Gaze," *Critical Inquiry* 24/3 (1998): pp. 768-813.

[190] A portrait of Bodhidharma from the first half of the thirteenth century, inscribed with a verse by Lanxi Daolong 蘭渓道隆 (preserved at the Kōgakuji 向嶽寺 in Yamashina prefecture) is often cited as the first formal Bodhidharma portrait in Japan. Portraits of Song dynasty Chan masters imported into Japan in the Kamakura period include the portrait of Wuqun Shifan (1178-1249) 無準師範 brought from China in 1238 by Enni Ben'en 円爾弁円 (1202-1280). The *Butsunichian kōmotsu mokuroku* 佛日庵公物目録 (1363), an inventory of the Engakuji subtemple Butsunichian in Kamakura, catalogues thirty-nine portraits of Song dynasty abbots. *Nihonbukkyōshi jiten*, p. 726.

[191] Tenshitsu was a scholarly Rinzai monk who lived at the Sekkeiji in Tosa. He is known to have studied Confucianism under Minamimura Baiken 南村梅軒 (d. 1579?). ZGDJ, p. 892.

was procured by the Rinzai monk Nanka Genkō 南化玄興 (1538-1604)[192] on the behest of the governor of Tosa, Yamanouchi Tadayoshi 山内忠義 (1592-1665).[193] Tadayoshi had invited Genkō to become the founding abbot of the Daitsū-in 大通院, the memorial temple (*bodaiji* 菩提寺) of the Yamanouchi clan on the precincts of the Myōshinji. Thus the Bodhidharma portrait came to be installed at Myōshinji's Daitsū-in.[194]

Records of Gudō's dharma lecture and a chart of the seating arrangements are preserved in the archives of Kazanji 花山寺.[195] These records show that the lecture was an elaborately staged event that took place in the emperor's private residence hall (*seiryōden* 清涼殿). Gudō was seated on a high chair behind a small, brocade-covered table on which a censer was placed. On his right, a Buddha altar was set up, decked with candles, incense and flowers. Suspended above the altar was the portrait of Bodhidharma. Gudō's lecture was followed by a dialogue session (*mondō*) between Gudō and several designated interlocutors, including Gudō's attendant Bokuchō. The event was observed by empress Meishō 明正 (1624-1696), cloistered Emperor Gomizuno-o, the Prime Minister, courtiers, court ladies and attendants, as well as by a host of monks from Myōshinji and other monasteries of the Five Mountains establishment (*gozan* 五山), including Tōfukuji, Shokokuji and Daitokuji. The Cloistered Emperor is reported to have praised the portrait with the words: "In its doctrine, Hanazono's Myōshinji is of unparalleled eminence. This rare, extraordinary treasure is just like that." [196]

The inscribed portrait of Bodhidharma, or a replica, also landed in the hands of Kōgetsu Sōgan 江月宗玩 (1574–1643), a Zen monk affiliated with the Daitokuji. Like his father, Tsuda Sōgyū 津田宗及(d. 1591), Kōgetsu was one of the foremost tea masters of his time. He was also an avid art collector and a recognized connoisseur. In his journal *Bokuseki no utsushi* 墨跡之寫 (Copies of Ink Traces) Kōgetsu commented on the many paintings, calligraphies and tea utensils that were brought to his critical gaze for appraisal and authentication.[197] Entries in this journal show that Kōgetsu inspected the Bodhidharma portrait in the years 1611 and 1636. Kōgetsu appears to have been mainly interested in Deguang's calligraphy. He transcribed and emended Deguang's inscriptions, provided supplementary notes and deemed the brushwork authentic (*shoshitsu* 正筆).[198]

The exhibition at the palace, Kōgetsu's inspections, and the manufacturing of replicas indicate that in the early Edo period Nōnin's Bodhidharma portrait had become an object of renewed interest. This interest, I imagine, partly stemmed from a retrospectivity that typified the

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[192] Nanka Genkō studied at Sōfukuji 崇福寺 and Erinji 慧林寺 under the Rinzai monk Kaisen Joki 快川紹喜 (d. 1582) and received his dharma sanction. He founded several temples and was repeatedly invited by Emperor Go-yōzei 後陽成 (1571-1617) to officiate rituals in the imperial palace. In 1604 he retreated to the Myōshinji subtemple Rinka-in 隣華院 in Kyoto and passed away there in the fifth month of the same year, aged sixty seven. Emperor Go-yōzei granted Genkō the posthumous title National Master Tei'e Enmyō 定慧円明国師. ZGDJ, p. 281.

[193] Tadayoshi was the adopted son of Yamanouchi Kazutoyo 山内一豊 (1545- 1605). Kazutoyo sided with Tokugawa Ieyasu at the battle of Sekigahara (1600) and in return received governance over the Tosa domain (present-day Kōchi prefecture). See Marius B. Jansen, "Tosa in the Seventeenth Century: The Establishment of Yamauchi Rule," in John W. Hall and Marius B. Jansen (eds.), *Studies in the Institutional History of Early Modern Japan* (Princeton University Press, 1968), pp. 116-119

[194] The summary of Bokuchō's record is based on Washio, *Nihon bukkyō bunkashi kenkyū*, pp. 134-136.

[195] Kawakami Kozan, *Zōho Myōshinji shi* (Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan, 1984), pp. 424-27.

[196] Ibid., p. 427.

[197] See Gregory P. A. Levine, *Daitokuji: The Visual Cultures of a Zen Monastery* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005), p. 160-194.

[198] See Tokunaga, "Nansō shoki no zenshū soshizō (1)," p. 10, note 1 and 2; and p. 12. Tokunaga concludes that the painting inspected by Kōgetsu was actually a replica.

Zen world at the time. Many Zen priests perceived a decline in the tradition and sought to remedy the woeful state of contemporary Zen by revisiting the tradition's medieval origins. As a collector and Zen monk, Kōgetsu Sōgan – whose *Bokuseki no utsushi* was also known as *Kakko no hon* (Books for awakening the past) – was likewise greatly occupied with tracing and recreating the Zen tradition's "calligraphic past."[199] The production of replicas of the Bodhidharma portrait in the Edo period, Takahashi notes, is moreover likely to have been stimulated by the growing popularity of ritualized tea drinking (*sadō* 茶道).[200] Tea practices elicited an increasing demand for mounted ink paintings and calligraphies, which were considered elegant additions to the tea room.

RELICS AT SAMBŌJI

A significant factor in the appeal of the Darumashū was its collection of relics. In modern Buddhist studies relics and relic veneration have become an increasingly researched topic. The initial academic neglect of Buddhist relics, many scholars observed, had its roots in a "protestant" outlook on images and materiality, which predisposed early scholars of Buddhism to focus chiefly on texts, doctrines and beliefs. The cult of relics was downgraded as a fringe development or an impure concession to popular demand. Over the past two decades or so, scholars have been reassessing this view, and it is now generally recognized that relic veneration was not a vulgar accretion to the Buddhist tradition but actually stood at its basis. Relics furthered Buddhism's geographic spread and persistently informed Buddhist theory and praxis. Far from being a byproduct of "low-culture," relic veneration and faith in the power of relics cut across social strata and was common to both monastic and lay Buddhists. [201]

Relics, politics and faith

The Buddhist term for relics, *śarīra* (Ch. *sheli*, *shari* 舍利), initially referred to the crematory remains of the Buddha. Far from merely "representing" the absent Buddha, *śarīra* were considered to "embody" the Buddha; the objects constituted the Buddha's actual "living presence." Accordingly immense powers were attributed to them. [202] Traditional accounts describe that the crematory remains of Buddha Śākyamuni were distributed among the rulers of eight local kingdoms. The Indian King Aśoka (third century b.c.e) reassembled the scattered relics, deposited them in eighty-four thousand stūpas and dispersed them over the Indian continent (Jambudvīpa). Some of these stūpas would be "discovered" in China, causing the establishment of cultic centres, such as the King Aśoka monastery (Ayuwangshan 阿育王山) in

[199] Levine, *Daitokuji*, p. 164.
[200] Takahashi, "Darumashū ni kansuru hosoku jikō," p. 270.
[201] See for instance: Gregory Schopen, *Bones, Stones and Buddhist Monks* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1997). Kevin Trainor, *Relics, Ritual, and Representation in Buddhism: Rematerializing the Sri Lankan Theravada Tradition* (Cambridge University Press, 1997). Robert Sharf, "On the Allure of Buddhist Relics," *Representations* 66 (1999): pp. 75-99. Brian Ruppert, *Jewel in the Ashes: Buddha Relics and Power in Early Medieval Japan* (Harvard University Press, 2000). John Strong, *Relics of the Buddha* (Princeton University Press, 2004). David Germano and Kevin Trainor (eds.), *Embodying the Dharma* (State University of New York Press, 2004).
[202] On relics, presence and representation see Jacob. N. Kinnard, "The Field of the Buddha's Presence," in *Embodying the Dharma*, Germano and Trainor (eds.), pp. 117-144; also Sharf, "On the Allure of Buddhist Relics." On relics as living entities (with legal rights) see Schopen, *Bones, Stones and Buddhist Monks*, pp. 99-147 and 148-164.

Mingzhou.[203] In addition to being considered remains of Buddha Śākyamuni, relics also came to be extracted from the pyres of eminent Buddhist monks and nuns, often in great quantities. In addition relics were also believed to suddenly materialize or multiply on the spot as a response to devotion. These developments facilitated the mass production and distribution of relics.

Essential to the veneration of the relatively nondescript relic grains were reliquaries (*sharitō* 舎利塔). Though technically vessels for preserving relics, or markers indicating the presence of relics, reliquaries (through metonymic conflation) effectively became objects of veneration in itself, even without a relic deposit. In the early phases of relic worship in Japan relic grains were mostly deposited inside nested boxes and buried under the central foundation stone of an architectural stūpa edifice (*tō* 塔). These stūpas were mostly multi-tiered wooden structures, with hipped roofs and an ornate finial. With the increase of relics entering Japan in the Nara period, other forms of enshrinement and veneration emerged. Relics came to be enshrined in small, miniaturized stūpas (*shotō* 小塔), which were placed in a chamber inside the larger stūpa edifice, or kept inside a temple hall. In the Kamakura period temple complexes often came to include a *shariden* 舎利殿, a hall solely dedicated to a relic. This shift from secretion to exposition reflected a changing role of relics and reliquaries as objects of viewing, veneration, transmission and distribution.[204]

In Nōnin's time the veneration of Buddhist relics was a widespread practice with a longstanding tradition. The earliest reference to relics in Japan is found in the *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀 (Chronicle of Japan, compiled in 720).[205] From the Nara period onwards great quantities of relics entered Japan. An oft-cited case is the three thousand relics brought to Japan in 753 by the Chinese monk Jianzhen 鑒真 (688-763) (Ganjin); these relics became the focus of recurring relic assemblies 舎利會 (*shari-e*) at the Tōshōdaiji 唐招提寺 in Nara. In the Heian period monks such as Kūkai 空海 (774-835), Ennin 円仁, Engyō 円行 (799-853) and Eun 慧運 (798-869) imported numerous Buddha relics, which provided a basis for the development of Shingon and Tendai relic practices.

Since early times, Buddha relics were strongly associated with kingship. In Japan, too, the cult of relics became intimately tied in with the power of the sovereign. Drawing on symbolic correspondences between Buddha relics, Buddhist wish-fulfilling jewels (*nyoi-hōjū* 如意寶珠; Skt. cintamāṇi) and Japan's imperial treasures, the Heian court and the major temple and shrine complexes established a relic-based ritual economy through which imperial authority and the power of the Buddha were mutually affirmed.[206] Throughout the medieval period, contending centres of political power (the military Kamakura government, the Hōjō Regents, abdicated Emperors, the military Ashikaga government) consistently employed the political potential of

[203] The monastic center on Mount Ayuwang was established at the site where in the third century the monk Huida 慧達 is said to have discovered a small reliquary with Buddha relics, which he identified as one of Aśoka's eighty-four thousand stūpas. See Zürcher, Erik. *The Buddhist Conquest of China: The Spread and Adaptation of Buddhism in Early Medieval China* (Leiden: Brill, 2007) (reprint), p. 279.

[204] See Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, *Busshari no Shōgon* (Kyoto: Dōhōsha, 1983), pp. 279-300.

[205] The *Nihon shoki* describes how in 584 a relic mysteriously appeared during a Buddhist banquet and was given to Soga no Umako (d. 626), the chief supporter of the then still foreign Buddhist religion. The relic was enshrined in a stūpa but was destroyed some time thereafter by the anti-Buddhist Mononobe clan. The *Nihon shoki* also records gifts of relics to the Japanese court from the Korean Kingdoms of Paekche and Silla. See William. E. Deal, "Buddhism and the State in Early Japan," in *Buddhism in Practice*, edited by Donald S. Lopez (Princeton University Press, 1995), pp. 216-227.

[206] See Ruppert, *Jewel in the Ashes*, pp. 261-279.

relics.[207] Relics and stūpas associated with the King Aśoka monastery in China were particularly alluring in this respect because of the connection with Aśoka, the mighty Buddhist sovereign. For instance, in 1197 Minamoto no Yoritomo (1147-1199), the founder of the Kamakura *bakufu*, ordered the distribution of eighty-four thousand miniature stūpa reliquaries, in emulation of King Aśoka. Yoritomo's son Minamoto no Sanetomo 源実朝 (1192-1219), Japan's third military ruler, is known to have ordered the construction of a ship to sail to Mingzhou and obtain a relic from the King Aśoka monastery.[208]

Underlying the political dimension of relics, it must not be forgotten, is the actual faith in relics as sacred and effective objects. Believed to somehow partake of the exalted Buddha, relics offered people protection against harm and hope of salvation. The boons associated with relic veneration were many, varying from abundant crop and physical beauty to perfected wisdom and rebirth in the Pure Land. Such promises naturally attracted people from all walks of life.

Eisai, Nōnin and relics

Nōnin's contemporary Eisai was deeply concerned with relics and well aware of their spiritual and political efficacy. His interest in relics and wishfullfilling jewels (Skt. cintamāṇi) can be traced to his early training in Tendai esotericism. One of Eisai's esoteric instructors, Kikō Ajari 基好阿闍梨 , belonged to the An'ō lineage 穴太流, a branch of Tendai esotericism that seems to have been particularly occupied with relics. One of the esoteric rituals that Eisai practiced in his youth was the *gumonji-hō* 求聞持法, whose central object of veneration – the bodhisattva Kokūzō 虚空蔵菩薩 (Skt. Ākāśagarbha) – was symbolically equivalent to the wishfullfilling jewel. The ritual proceedings of the *gumonji-hō* involve visualization of a triple cintamāṇi and, according to some traditions, the employment of actual relic grains.[209]

The near conflation of jewels and relics, which especially developed in Japanese esotericism, is apparent in the practice of manufacturing wish-fulfilling jewels. The production of these objects, according to one tradition, required amounts of gold dust, aromatic woods and relic grains, which through intricate ritual were forged into a solid object.[210] According to *Keiranshūyōshū*, the desire to make such a jewel formed the main motive for Eisai's journey to China:

> QUESTION: How does one make a wish-fulfilling jewel?
> ANSWER: It is said that created wish-fulfilling jewels are made when circumambulating the center of Mount Jinshan, [under] the seven luminaries, nine planets, twelve mansions and twenty eight constellations [for the duration of] the thirty-six horary animals. In Japan this is

[207] See Faure, "Buddhist relics and Japanese regalia," in Germano and Trainor (eds.), *Embodying the Dharma*, p. 93-116.
[208] *Azuma kagami*, Kenpō 5/4/17 (DNS 4, 14, p. 341). Stuck in the sand the ship was eventually unable to sail.
[209] The *gumonji* practioner secluded himself for fifty or one hundred days in an especially constructed hall with a window unto the morning star. Seated in front of a painted icon of the bodhisattva Kokūzō (Skt. *Ākāśagarbha*) he was to recite the bodhisattva's mantra a million times to attain tantric union (*yūga*) and the magical power (Skt. *siddhi*) of unlimited memory. In anthropomorphic form Kōkūzō is seated cross-legged on a lotus throne, wearing a crown and holding a cintamāni; in mantric form he corresponds to the siddhaṃ syllable *hrīh* or *trāh*; in expressive form (*samaya*) he appears as a triple cintamāni. Some traditions prescribe the use of actual relic grains during the ritual. The section on *gumonji-hō* in the Tendai compendium *Keiranshūyoshū* mentions that Buddha relics should be added to white poppy seeds that are used during the ritual to ward off evil demons (T. 2410, 546a27-b05). Another entry in the same section in *Keiranshūyoshū* provides a chronological overview of *gumonji* practitioners in Japan, starting with Kūkai and continuing with Saichō, Kakuban, Ryōgen, Kōgyō 行曉 and Eisai. Saichō's practice of the ritual is said to have culminated in the manifestation of several Buddha relics (T. 2410, 572b22-572c06).
[210] A description of the procedures is found in the *Goyuigo* 御遺告 (Last Instructions) attributed to Kūkai (T. 2431, 413a06-c25).

> not available. So, to find this, Yōjō Sōjō [Eisai] of Kenninji went to China.[211] […] Yōjō Sōjō was a brilliant workman of the An'ō lineage. He went to China to find the things required for manufacturing a [wish-fulfilling] jewel.[212]

Eisai's motives for going to China were doubtless more comprehensive, but the obtainment of relics might very well have been on his mind. During his first stay in China Eisai visited the King Aśoka monastery to venerate its relic. In his writings he lists the relic as one of the twenty marvels of China and reportedly witnessed it emitting rays of bright light.[213] On his second visit to China (between 1187 and 1191) Eisai received a kāṣāya and several other Zen tradita from Chan master Xu'an Huaichang (n.d). Eisai also obtained relics. Combined with his knowledge of esoteric practices, the relics in Eisai's possesion were instrumental in cementing relationships with the military governent in Kamakura.

In 1200, Eisai was appointed the founding abbot of Jūfukuji 寿福寺, the temple established in Kamakura by the powerful Hōjō Masako 北条政子 (1157-1225) as a locus for the commemoration of her husband, Minamoto no Yoritomo (d. 1199), the first military ruler. The chronicle *Azuma kagami* 吾妻鏡 records that in 1212 Masako's son Minamoto no Sanetomo – Japan's third military ruler – visited Jūfukuji with a gift of three relic grains that had been transmitted by Eisai.[214] In 1214 Eisai officiated the first annual relic assembly (*shari-e*) performed at Daijiji 大慈寺.[215] In 1217 Eisai conducted the first annual relic assembly held at Yōfukuji 永福寺, witnessed by Sanetomo and Hōjō Masako.[216] Jūfukuji, Daijiji and Yōfukuji were lavish temples established in Kamakura by the military government that served to confirm Kamakura as the centre of political power. The performance of relic ceremonies at these temples buttressed this ideology and provided Eisai with a platform to gain support from powerful patrons.

The limited sources on hand do not reveal similar strategies with regard to Nōnin. The relics that were reportedly transmitted by Nōnin were not Buddha relics (*busshari* 佛舎利) but relics of the relatively obscure six Chan patriarchs (*rokuso* 六祖), a detail that may have hindered political appropriations. The relics, in any event, were a major factor in the popularity of the Darumashū and played an essential role in the Sambōji community. Data on the cult of relics at Sambōji have become available in recent times through the discovery of the actual relics and related documents, to which we will now turn.

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[211] 尋云。所作寶珠作樣如何　答。或云。所作寶珠ト者中央ニ安金山七曜九執十二宮二十八宿三十六禽等圍繞〆建立スル也。此中ニ日本ニ無キ物有之。仍建仁寺ノ葉上僧正此物ヲ爲尋入唐スト 云云。(T. 2410, 545b26-29).

[212] 葉上僧正ハ穴太流ノ明匠也。爲寶珠建立相應物ヲ尋カ故ニ。被テ入唐其祕曲口傳 云云(T. 2410, 579a22a24).

(T. 2410, 579a23-24).

[213] *Kōzengokokuron* (T. 2543, 1a29-1b01. T. 2543, 15c16-27).

[214] *Azuma kagami*, Kenryaku 2/6/20. Cited in Nōdomi, "Kamakura jidai no shari shinkō," p. 32. Minamoto no Sanetomo was Japan's third military ruler (reign 1203-1219) but wielded only limited political power. A puppet figure in the power struggles between his grandfather Hōjō Tokimasa 北条時政 (1138-1215) and his mother Hōjō Masako 北条政子 (1157-1225), he took to religion and the art of poetry. He was assasinated in 1219. See H. Paul Varley, "The Hōjō Family and Succession to Power," in Jeffrey. P. Mass, *Court and Bakufu in Japan: Essays in Kamakura History*, 1995 (reprint), pp. 143- 67.

[215] *Azuma kagami*, Kenpō 2/10/15. Ibid.

[216] *Azuma kagami*, Kenpō 5/9/30. Ibid.

The Shōbōji materials

At Shōbōji 正法寺, a temple in Kyoto, Japanese scholars discovered various materials that derived from the Sambōji in Settsu. The discovery, in 1974, included relics, a kāṣāya and two manuscripts. The manuscripts bear the following titles:

> 1) *Daie Zenji kesa rokuso shari mokuroku* 大慧禅師袈裟六祖舎利目録 (Inventory of Relics of the Six Patriarchs and the Kāṣāya of Chan Master Dahui). (Hereafter: *Relic Inventory*).[217]
>
> 2) *Sesshū Nakajima Sambōji Jizō-in deshi Matsukaku Maru baitoku sōden shosho chigyōbun dembata mokuroku no koto* 摂州中嶋三宝寺地蔵院弟子松鶴丸買得相傳所々知行分田畠目録事 (Register of the Acquirement and Bequest of Lands and Rice Fields. By Matsukaku Maru, student of the Jizō-in Sambōji in Nakajima, Sesshū). Hereafter: *Sambōji Jizō-in Register*. [218]

The *Relic Inventory* of Sambōji shows that there were two kinds of relics venerated at Sambōji, namely *Fugen Kōmyō shari* 普賢光明舎利 (Relics of Samantabhadra's radiant light) which were believed derive from the bodhisattva Samantabhadra (Fugen 普賢), and *Rokuso shari* 六祖舎利 (relics of the six patriarchs) which were considered to originate with each of the first six patriarchs of the Chan lineage: Bodhidharma, Huike, Sengcan, Daoxin, Hongren and Huineng. The *Relic Inventory* claims that these relics were imported from China. In order to assess this claim will make a quick detour into Chan literature. After that, we will examine both the *Relic Inventory* and the *Sambōji Jizō-in Register*.

Relics of Samantabhadra and the six Chan patriarchs

A tradition of relics of the bodhisattva Samantabhadra is known to have existed in China at Mount Emei (Emeishan 峨眉山), the sacred mountain that was considered the bodhisattva's dwelling place.[219] One grain of Samantabhadra relics is known to have been brought from China

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[217] In addition to this scroll manuscript, the Shōbōji collection contains a handwritten copy of the *Relic Inventory* in book format, entitled *Daie Zenji kesa narabi ni rokuso shari no shoki* (Record of the kāṣāya of Chan Master Dahui and the Relics of the Six Patriarchs). Professor Nakao Ryōshin kindly provided me with a photocopy of these documents. A typescript rendition of the *Relic Inventory* is found in Nakao Ryōshin, "Settsu Sambōji kankei shiryō" and in Takahashi Shūei, "Sambōji no Darumashū monto to rokuso Fugen shari," *Shūgaku kenkyū* 26 (1984): pp. 116-121. A synoptic treatment is found in Faure, "Darumashū," pp. 37-38.

[218] In 1975, the relics, reliquaries and fragments of the *Relic Inventory* were displayed at the Nara National Museum. A typescript rendition of the *Jizō-in Register* is found in Nakao, "Settsu Sambōji kankei shiryō." The exhibition at the Nara National Museum included the following Sambōji/Darumashū related objects: a) One gilt bronze and crystal reliquary (6.9 cm) in the shape of a flaming wish-fulfilling jewel (*kaentō* 火焔塔) on a lotus-leaf shaped pedestal. b) One crystal reliquary (5.8 cm) in the shape of a five-wheel stūpa (*suishō gorintō* 水晶五輪塔). c) One crystal reliquary in the shape of a wish-fulfilling jewel (5.1 cm) framed in a black lacquer casing, set on a pedestal. d) Six gilt bronze dishes (4.1 cm) holding relics of the six patriarchs, placed in a black lacquer box. e) Two gilt bronze cups (6.5 cm and 4.0 cm) and a small spoon. See Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, *Busshari no bijutsu: kaikan hachijūsshūnen kinen shunki tokubetsuten* (Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, 1975). Also Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, *Busshari to hōjū: Shaka wo shitau* kokoro (Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, 2001) (catalogue number 134). In 2010 these objects were displayed at the exhibition *Kōsō to kesa* in the Kyoto National Museum. The Kyoto exhibition also included Dahui's kāṣāya. Photographs of the relics and reliquaries, Dahui's kāṣāya, the Sambōji documents, and the portrait of Bodhidharma inscribed by Deguang, are found in the exhibition catalogue *Kōsō to kesa* (Kyoto National Museum, 2010), pp. 78-83.

[219] See Bernard Faure, *Visions of Power* (Princeton University Press, 1996), p. 165.

by the Japanese monk Shunjō 俊芿 (1166-1227) in 1211.[220] The Fugen Kōmyō relics at Sambōji may likewise have been imported from China. The relics of the six patriarchs (*rokuso shari*), on the other hand, almost certainly were not.

The idea that there existed relics of the first patriarch Bodhidharma, in the sense of bone fragments or magically manifested particles, has to my knowledge no Chinese or other precedents. Relics associated with Bodhidharma were non-corporal "contact relics," such as the single shoe that he left behind when disappearing from his coffin.[221] Another relic of this type was of course the legendary kāṣāya that Bodhidharma conferred on his succesor Huike. Interestingly, a tradition of contac-relics of Bodhidharma also developed in Japan. Hōryūji, the temple in Ikuraga (Nara) established by Shōtoku Taishi (574-622) in the seventh century, claimed to possess two items associated with Bodhidharma, namely the patriarch's kāṣāya and his wooden begging bowl. This particular tradition arose in the early Kamakura period on the basis of Japanese elaborations on the Bodhidharma myth, which claimed that Bodhidharma had reincarnated in Japan to meet with Prince Shōtoku.[222]

The second Chan patriarch Huike is not reported to have left behind relics. Biographies in the *Xu gaosengzhuan* 續高僧傳 (Continued Biographies of Eminent Monks, compiled between 645-667) and *Jingde chuandenglu* 景德傳燈錄 (1004) mention that Huike calmly died while sitting in meditation, but nothing is said about any kind of veneration of his remains.[223] *Chuanfa zhengzongji* 傳法正宗記 reports that Huike was executed and his body buried.[224] There is no record of a funerary stūpa or relics.

Relic grains of the third patriarch Sengcan are mentioned in several sources. *Chuanfa zhengzongji* mentions that at the time of Emperor Tianbao (742-756) a governor named Li Chang obtained Sengcan's relics. *Jingde chuandenglu* reports on Sengcan's impressive death (the master died standing upright amid the assembly of monks) and also mentions governor Li Chang. The governor is said to have located Sengcan's grave with the help of Shenhui (684-758). When the two men opened the patriarch's tomb three hundred colorful relics were found. The governor took one hundred relics for himself, one hundred were deposited in an especially build stūpa, and one hundred were given to Shenhui.[225]

The fourth patriarch Daoxin, the fifth patriarch Hongren and the sixth patriarch Huineng are known to have been mummified, thereby becoming highly revered "whole body relics" (Ch. *quanshen sheli* 全身舍利). The mummification of Daoxin is reported in *Xu gaosengzhuan*, which mentions that Daoxin's students opened up his funerary stūpa and saw the master "sitting upright as of old."[226] According to the *Song gaosengzhuan* 宋高僧傳 (Song Dynasty Biographies of

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[220] See Charlotte von Verschuer, "Le moine Shunjo (1167-1227): sa jeunesse et son voyage en Chine," *Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient* 88 (2001): pp. 161-189.

[221] According to the Chan record *Chuanfa zhengzongji* 傳法正宗記 (1061), the shoe was initially preserved at the Shaolin monastery. Subsequently it was stolen and kept in a monk's cell on Mount Wutai; thereafter it got lost (T. 2078, 743c01-03). The early Chan community at Caoxi also claimed to possess the shoe. See Bernard Faure, "Relics and Flesh Bodies: The Creation of Ch'an Pilgrimage Sites," in *Pilgrims and Sacred Sites in China*, edited by Susan Naquin and Chün-fang Yü (University of California Press, 1992), pp. 150-189.

[222] See Fujita, *Nihon ni nokoru Daruma densetsu*, pp. 221-227.

[223] *Xu gaoseng zhuan* (T. 2060, 552c22-23). *Jingde chuandeng lu* (T. 2076, 221c12-13).

[224] *Chuanfa zhengzongji* (T. 2078, 745a29).

[225] *Jingde chuandenglu* (T. 2076, 221c14- 222b01). A similar account is found in *Baolin zhuan*, which mentions that Sengcan died at Wangong Monastery 皖公山. In 1982 a tile with an epitaph of Hongren was unearthed in Hangzhou, confirming that Hongren died at Wangong Monastery in 592. The existence of this tile suggests there also existed a funerary stūpa that possibly contained relics. See Jan Fontein, "The Epitaphs of two Chan patriarchs," *Artibus Asiae* 53/1-2 (1993): pp. 98-110.

[226] *Xu gaoseng zhuan* (T. 2060, 606b20-28). See McRae, *The Northern School*, pp. 31-32.

Eminent Monks), the body of fifth patriarch Hongren was preserved in a stūpa called Fayu 法雨 (Dharma Rain); upon opening this stūpa devotees saw Hongren's "flesh body shed tears like pearls of blood." The mummy became the centre of annual festivities attended by large crowds flocking from the neighbouring regions.[227] Famously, a mummy said to be the sixth patriarch Huineng is still venerated at the Nanhua Monastery in present day Guangdong province.[228] Another tradition claims that Huineng's skull was taken and transferred to Korea, where it is still kept.[229]

So, with the exception of Sengcan, normative Chan sources do not indicate Chinese traditions of relic grains from the six Chan patriarchs. As we will see below, Sambōji's *Relic Inventory*, in contrast, claims that the relic grains of the six patriarchs were "important treasures of the Zen school, passed on from master to student." This particular tradition, then, seems to have been an "invention" by the Japanese Darumashū.[230]

SAMBŌJI'S *RELIC INVENTORY*

Though interesting in itself, the authenticity of relics as objects genuinely connected to their originary saints is of course of minor importance. What matters is that relics were accepted as such in the communities that venerated them.[231] As Patrick Geary pointed out in reference to relics of Christian saints in Carolingian Europe, relics proper were mostly insignificant materials (bone, cloth, teeth), the valorization of which solely depended on experiential contexts. Such contexts were created by precious reliquaries, venerative rituals, oral stories and *translatio*, i.e. written accounts that detailed the provenance of the relics and other marvelous facts.[232]

The *Relic Inventory*, a scroll document that contains sixteen separate entries composed between the early thirteenth and sixteenth centuries, indicates that such contextualizing stories and practices circulated in the Sambōji community. The document, for instance, repeatedly mentions that Nōnin personally received the relics when visiting China and at one time in a dream

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[227] *Song gaoseng zhuan* (T. 2061, 754b24).

[228] On Huineng's mummy as a corporal relic and fertility god see John. Jorgenson, *Inventing Hui-neng, the Sixth Patriarch: Hagiography and Biography in Early Ch'an* (Leiden, Brill, 2005), pp. 190-251. For whole body relics in Chinese Buddhism see Justin Ritzinger & Marcus Bingenheimer, "Whole-body Relics in Chinese Buddhism," *The International Journal of Buddhist Studies* 7 (2006): pp. 37-94; Robert Sharf, "The Idolization of Enlightenment: On the Mummification of Ch'an Masters in Medieval China," *History of Religions* 32/1 (1992): pp. 1-31; and Faure, "Relics and Flesh Bodies."

[229] See Jorgenson, *Inventing Hui-neng*, pp. 322-44.

[230] In Christianity the term "invention" (Latin: *inventio*) is used to refer to the discovery of relics, chiefly as a result of dreams or other kinds of revelation. An early case is the invention of relics of the martyrs Gervasius and Protagius (d. 397) by Ambrosius of Milan in 386 A.D. See Daniel H. Williams, *Ambrose of Milan and the End of the Arian-Nicene Conflicts* (Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 219-223. It is of course conceivable that the Darumashū partook of a local Chinese cult or a Japanese (Tendai) tradition, but such phenomena have thusfar not come to light.

[231] From a standpoint of journalistic accuracy many relics, Buddhist and Christian, would be termed forgeries. Within the respective traditions, too, questions concerning the authenticity of certain relics were raised. For instance, criticizing the production of bogus relics in his day, the thirteenth century Tibetan Buddhist scholar Sakya Pandita (1182-1251) notes: "These days most of the relics are fabricated deceitfully, such as a hollowed out rock, the fruit of a sealwort, a fish eye, or remains fashioned by Nepalese." See Kurtis R. Schaeffer, *Himalayan Hermitess: The Life of a Tibetan Buddhist Nun* (Oxford University Press, 2004), pp.124-125. In medieval Christendom a frequently noted criticism was that the amounts of bone relics of particular saints far exceeded realistic bodily configurations. The Benedictine monk Guibert of Nogent (ca 1055-1124), for instance, complained about rivaling churches claiming the possesion of the head of John the Baptist: "as if the saint could have been two-headed" […] Why am I going on about the head of John the Baptist, when each day I hear the same thing said about innumerable bodies of other saints?" See Thomas Head (ed.), *Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology* (New York & London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 399-428.

[232] See Patrick Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton University Press, 1990) (Revised edition), p. 5-9.

received a relic from the future buddha Maitreya; miraculous emanations of new relic grains are reported; mention is made of the enshrinement of relics into reliquaries and the construction of a relic hall; the amount of relics and the composition of the collection is meticulously catalogued; some entries show small drawings of the shapes of the relics; precise listings show reductions in the number of relics due to distribution or loss, as well as increase in numbers through wondrous multiplication or due to gifts from visiting monks.

Unfortunately the *Relic Inventory* provides no details about the manner in which the relics were actually being venerated, except that it involved *haiken* 拝見, which can literally be rendered as "making prostrations and viewing." On this matter, Ishikawa Rikizan called attention to a document in the Shōmyōji collection (Kanazawa Bunko library) entitled *Shari raimon* 舎利禮文 (Text for Relic Veneration), transcribed by Shōmyōji's second abbot Myōninbō Ken'a 明忍房釵阿 (1261-1338).[233] The document contains a formula which runs: *Namu aikuō hachiman shisen Shaka nyorai shinjin shariya hōtōba* 南無阿育王八万四千釈迦如来身真舎利耶宝塔婆 (I take refuge in King Aśoka's eighty-four thousand jewel stūpas that hold the true relics of Śākyamuni Tathāgata's body). The document includes musical notations and specifies that the formula be recited while walking, making one prostration with each step (*ippō ichirei* 一歩一禮). Ishikawa's linking of this text to the Darumashū is speculative and seems to rest only on Nōnin's association with the King Aśoka monastery. Still, it is conceivable that this type of practice (prostrating, circumambulating, melodic *shōmyō* chanting) was part of Sambōji's cult of relics.

Contents

The following is an overview of the entries in the *Relic Inventory*, arranged in chronological order. The entries are supplemented with a variety of inferences, based on the ensuing data.

① **1201**

This first entry describes how a certain Ren-Amidabutsu Kanjin 蓮阿彌陀佛観真 witnessed the manifestation of a new relic grain upon venerating the relics of the six Chan patriarchs, on the advice of a fellow student named Teikan 定観.

> In the first year of Kennin (1201), month one, day three, at the hour of the monkey, I followed the advice of my fellow dharma practitioner Teikan and venerated the relics of the six patriarchs: suddenly there appeared one relic grain of the sixth patriarch. Together with the original relic, this makes two grains [of relics of the sixth patriarch]. It is round, white, glowy, smooth, and has small serrations. When this happened I brimmed with joy! Two relics of Bodhidharma and, counting the one that appeared at present, two relics of Huineng, plus the relics of the [remaining four of the] six patriarchs, make eight relic grains. At the time this was such a marvellous occurrence that I decided to document it.
> Ren-Amidabutsu Kanjin. First year of Kennin, month one, day three. [234]

The fragmentariness of the *Relic Inventory* makes it problematic to identify the the actual persons named in its various entries.[235] The typical name "Ren-Amidabutsu" does however point to a

[233] Ishikawa Rikizan, "Echizen Hajaku-ji no yukue", *Shūgaku Kenkyū* 28 (1986), p. 108

[234] 建仁元年壬戌正月三日申刻依同法定観之勧奉拝六祖御舎利之処第六祖舎利一粒始出来御与元合二粒　其貝圓白光潤少劣是機感時至歟甚以幸、達磨御舎利之二粒慧能御舎利今成二粒仍六祖合八粒舎利也。当時成不思議思乃所記之也。蓮阿彌陀佛観真 (Nakao, "Settsu Sambōji kankei shiryō," p. 145).

certain direction. The practice of appending the lofty name of Buddha Amida (*Amigō* 阿彌号) to one's own name emerged in the mid-Heian period among wandering *Amida hijiri* 阿彌陀聖 (or *nenbutsu hijiri* 念佛聖) who propagated chanting the formula *namu Amida butsu* in emulation of Kūya 空也 (903-972). Later the practice became a conspicuous feature among the followers of Hōnen's Pure Land teachings. In the *Gukanshō* 愚管抄, a history of Japan completed in 1219, the Tendai prelate Jien 慈圓 (1155-1225) complained about the phenomenon of taking on Amida names, a custom that had gained popularity among the in his eyes dissolute followers of Hōnen:

> The exclusive *nenbutsu*, with its fish, meat and sexual indulgences, remains largely unchecked, and the monks of Mount Hiei have risen up saying that they are going to drive out the *nenbutsu* priest Kū-amidabutsu (1156-1228) who apparently has been put to flight. On the whole innumerable people have received names such as Kū-amidabutsu or Hō-amidabutsu in which a single character is added at the beginning of the name Amida Buddha.[236]

Implicit in the 1201 entry in the *Relic Inventory* by Ren-amidabutsu is a nexus between relics, Amida, and the Pure Land.[237] On Mount Hiei this combined interest in relics and Amida's Pure Land was apparent among the followers of Genshin 源信 (942-1017), the major exponent of Tendai Pure Land thought. Genshin composed the influential *Ōjōyōshū* 往生要集 (985) (Essentials for Rebirth in the Pure Land) and was a member of the *Nijūgo sanmai-e* 二十五三昧会 (Twenty-five samādhi assembly), a group of Tendai monks that practiced deathbed rituals for the purpose of attaining birth in Amida's Pure Land. The monks of this group interred the bones of their departed comrades into a communal stūpa. This innovative practice reflected the growing "sacralization of bones" in the Heian period, which in turn derived from the Buddhist cult of relics.[238] The *Shari kōshiki* 舍利講式 (Relic Liturgy), attributted to Genshin but probably composed later, directly connects veneration of Buddha relics to birth in Amida's Pure Land.[239]

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[235] Sources roughly contemporary with the 1201 entry in the *Relic Inventory* mention several monks bearing the name Ren-Amidabutsu or Kanjin. For instance, a roster of *nenbutsu* practitioners whom the Tendai establishment wanted exiled during the suppressions of the Pure Land movement in 1227, lists a Ren-amidabutsu residing at Chōrakuji. The roster is included in *Minkeiki* 民経記, the diary of Fujiwara no Tsunemitsu 藤原経光 (1213-1274). See *Nenbutsu mono yotō kyōmyō no koto* 念佛者餘黨交名事 (DNS 5, 4, p. 10). We also find a monk named Ren-amidabutsu among the close students of the Pure Land leader Shōkō. In 1228 this monk participated in the fourty-eight day *nenbutsu* retreat at the Ōjō-in 往生院 in Higo province 肥後國 during which Shōkō wrote his *Matsudai nenbutsu jushūin*. See *Matsudai nenbutsu jushūin* 末代念仏授手印 (T. 2613, 273b12-c07). Also *Hōsui bunryūki* 法水分流記 (DNS, 5, 11, pp. 719-20). A document entitled *Hihō kiroku* 秘法記録 (Record of Secret Methods) by the Shingon monk Jikken 実賢(1176-1249) records that a certain Ren-a Shōnin 蓮阿上人 (short for Ren-amidabutsu) received a manual for making a *cintamāni* from the monk Chōgen. *Hihō Kiroku* (DNS 5, 21, pp. 239-40). A property inventory of temples under the behest of Chōgen also lists a Ren-amidabutsu. See *Namu amidabutsu besshōji yōryō denbata no koto* 南無阿彌陀佛別所寺用料田畠事 (DNS 4, 6, p. 713). A monk named Kanjin 觀真 is known to have been a close student of the Pure Land monk Shōkū. See *Jōdo hōmon genru shō* 浄土法門源流章 (DNS 5, 16, p. 48).

[236] Okami Masao and Akamatsu Toshihide (eds.), *Gukanshō*, Nihon koten bungaku taikei 86 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1967), pp. 294-95. Translation taken from James C. Dobbins, *Jōdo Shinshū: Shin Buddhism in Medieval Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002), p. 16 (slightly changed).

[237] The nexus between relics, Amida and the Pure Land had been well-established by the mid-Heian period and reflects changes in mortuary practices and an increased concern for post-mortum welfare. See Brian Ruppert, "Beyond Death and the Afterlife: Considering Relic Veneration in Medieval Japan," in *Death and the Afterlife in Japanese Buddhism*, edited by Jacqueline Stone and Mariko Namba Walter (University of Hawaii Press, 2009): pp. 102-137.

[238] See Hank Glassman, "Chinese Buddhist Death Ritual and the Transformation of Japanese Kinship," in *The Buddhist Dead*, edited by Bryan Cuevas and Jacqueline Stone (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2007): pp. 378-404. On the *Nijūgo sanmai-e* see Richard Bowring, "Preparing for the Pure Land in Late Tenth-Century Japan," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 25 (1998): pp. 221-257.

[239] Genshin's *Shari kōshiki* reads:

On Mount Kōya a similar trend emerged, especially among the semi-itinerant *nenbutsu* ascetics known as *Kōya hijiri* 高野聖. *Kōya hijiri* started to form communities on Mount Kōya in the late tenth century and practiced *nōkotsu* 納骨, the gathering and internment of bones from the ordinary dead.[240] The growing focus on Amida and the Pure Land among the *Kōya hijiri* and other Shingon adepts is reflected in the thought of Kakuban 覚鑁 (1095-1144), who emphasized the nonduality of Buddha Amida and Shingon's central Buddha Mahāvairocana. This development furthered the coalescence of Amida devotion and esoteric practices, including relic practices. *Shari kuyōshiki* 舎利供養式 (Rite for Making Offerings to Relics), a liturgical text composed by Kakuban, clearly connects the veneration of Buddha relics to birth in Buddha Amida's Land of Bliss (J. Gokuraku 極樂; Skt. Sukhāvatī).[241]

On the subject of Amidism and relic veneration we must also take note of transmission of relics within the Pure Land school of Hōnen (1133-1212) in the early Kamakura period, recently studied by Kira Jun.[242] Hōnen transmitted several Buddha relics (J *busshari*) and jewels (*hōjū*) to his close disciples Shōkū 證空 (1177-1247), Genchi 源智 (1183-1238) and Shinran 親鸞 (1173-1263), indicating that the confluence of relic veneration and faith in Amida was an established feature in the early Pure Land school.

Although on the basis of the presently available materials it is impossible to propose a specific identification, our Ren-amidabutsu can safely be placed in the above sketched milieu of *hijiri* figures with Amidist/Esoteric leanings who were involved with veneration and transmission of relics.[243] Noteworthy in the present context is also the roster of benefactors (*kechien kyōmyō*)

> Earnestly relying on and making offerings to the loyalty of relics, we simultaneously abide in the skillful guidance of Śākyamuni and Amida. All members of the saṃgha dwell in the state of certain rebirth [in the Pure Land], a truth to be revered and exalted. Verse: "With these merits I wish that in my final moments I may see Amida Buddha's body of boundless merit. I wish that these merits extend universally and that we, together with all living beings, may attain the Buddha way." Hail! We prostrate in reverence to the bodily relics; may we, when approaching the end of our lives, have the right mindfulness for rebirth in the Land of Bliss and may [all beings in] the dharma realm benefit equally. 偏依供養舎利之忠節、兼住釋迦彌陀之善巧。大衆各住決定往生之意、可致禮拜讚嘆之誠。頌曰、依此諸功德願於命終時得見彌陀佛無邊功德身、願以此功德普及於一切我等與衆生皆共成佛道。南無歸命頂禮遺身舍利臨命終正念往生極樂法界平等利益。(Chinese taken from Guelberg, text nr. 39).

[240] See Gorai Shigeru, *Kōya Hijiri* (Kadokawa Shoten, 1975).

[241] Kakuban's *Shari Kuyōshiki* reads:

> Vajra students, what virtues have sprouted from the trees planted in former lives? In this life you have come upon this field of merit. Quietly think about this pattern and feel the tears dampen your sleeves. Giving up bodily life, throwing away precious belongings, we must strive to sincerely make offerings. Thus we prepared six kinds of fine offerings and set our minds on the three golden relics. By transfering the merit of this [ceremony] to Sukhāvatī, we will certainly accomplish our vows – made long ago – to be born there, and quickly fulfill Samantabhadra's active wish. In buddha-essence Śākyamuni and Amitābha are not different. In causal virtue bodhi and nirvāṇa are simply the same. Still, approached in a shallow way the Land [of Bliss] is an externally enjoyed, manifested Pure World, but if you rely on the profound mystery [of Shingon] it is the Buddha Land, the intrinsic nature of the Dharmakāya. (…) Repeat three times: "May we, through the power of consecration in the dharma realm of the Buddha, be born in Sukhāvatī and enter the A-syllable. We take refuge in the vajra-relics of the great wise and worthy [Śākya]muni, [guiding us to] birth in Sukhāvatī." 金剛弟子等、前身植何善苗、今世奉遇此福田。靜思此理、感涙潤袖。捨身命、投珍財、誠尤可競供養。是故、調六種之微供、志三金之舍利。以此功德、廻向極樂、必遂往生之素懷、速滿普賢之行願。能仁・彌陀、佛體無異。菩提・涅槃、果德惟同。抑此土者、若就淺略者、他受應化之淨刹、若依深秘者、自性法身之佛土也。(…) 我佛法界加持力　往生極樂入阿字 南無大覺牟尼尊金剛舍利往生極樂三遍。 (Chinese taken from Guelberg, text nr. 40).

[242] Kira Jun, "Gion-nyogo no busshari to Hōnen," *Seizangakuen kenkyū kiyō* (1) (2007): pp. 31-51 & (2), pp. 15-28. Kira builds on and revises previous research by Ohara Mayumi.

[243] This milieu is perhaps best personified in the likes of Chōgen (1121-1206), a leading *nenbutsu hijiri* who was heavily involved in relic promulgation and fundraising activities. Chōgen ordained as a Shingon monk at Daigōji 醍醐寺, practiced

from the Kenkō-in 遣迎院 temple in Kyoto. As mentioned in Chapter Two, this roster (dated 1194) records the names of persons that contributed to the establishment of a statue of Amida. Along with Eisai, Myōhen, Chōgen and other fundraising monks, this roster also lists Nōnin. In addition it also reveals the names Ren-amidabutsu and Teikan , as well as other names that will turn up below in the *Relic Inventory*.[244]

② **1218**

The next entry records the enshrinement of thirty-seven Fugen Kōmyō relics.

> Report on the enshrinement of relics at Sambōji. Thirty-seven grains of Fugen Kōmyō relics. Late Master [Nōnin] transmitted these from the Song to Japan. They are important treasures of the Zen school, passed on from master to student. They must not be scattered and lost. Written by apprentice Teikan in the sixth year of Kenpō, month 5, day 15. [245]

The author of this entry is Teikan, who is also mentioned in the previous entry as the fellow dharma practitioner of Ren-amidabutsu. Noteworthy in this 1218 entry is that the "late master" (*senshi* 先師) – i.e. Nōnin – is said to have personally obtained the relics in China. According to Ishii Shūdo accounts of Nōnin visiting China were constructed to justify the relic cult at Sambōji, which, he theorizes, emerged shortly after Nōnin's death. [246] On a broader note, it is likely that such accounts arose as a reaction to criticisms on Nōnin's lack of a direct dharma-transmission from Deguang. In Nōnin's lifetime the use of envoys to procure certification does not seem to have provoked significant criticism. Nōnin's major critic Eisai (d. 1215), for instance, does not bring it up. This particular criticism emerged later, probably from among Eisai's students, who were engaged in establishing their own orthodoxy.

The entry, to finish, expresses caution not to scatter or loose the relics, suggesting that this probably did happen. Clearly the relics were sought-after items.

③ **1230**

The next entry records the colors and shapes of five of the most valued relics.

> Fugen Kōmyō relics: three grains. White, triangular with an indentation on one side. Red, oval like a hen's egg. Yellow, spherical with shiny and smooth sides. Enshrined in a flame-smoke reliquary.[247] Bodhidharma: one grain. Disc-shaped and flesh coloured. This relic appeared in the lifetime of late master [Nōnin]. Huineng: one grain. Sphere-shaped, white and big. This relic appeared in the lifetime of Venerable [Ren-amidabutsu] Kanjin. After

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Amida *nenbutsu* on Mount Kōya, and is thought to have studied directly under the Pure Land teacher Hōnen. Chōgen styled himself Namu-amidabutsu, ingeniously making all who called him automatically recite the *nenbutsu* formula. In addition to being a succesful fundraiser (*kanjin hijiri* 勧進聖), Chōgen was a leading figure in the promulgation of relics. According to one account, Chōgen, after his return from China, visited Zenkōji to practice a million *nenbutsu* repetitions. In a dream Zenkōji's Amida appeared to him and gave him relics; following Amida's instructions, Chōgen immediately swallowed them. See Nakao Takashi, *Chūsei no kanjin hijiri to shari shinkō* (Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2000), p. 118.

[244] A photo reproduction of the *kechien kyōmyō* documents found inside the Amida statue of Kenkō-in is included in Aoki Atsushi, *Kenkōin Amida Nyoraizō zōnai nōnyūhin shiryō* (Kokusai Nihon bunka kenkyū sentaa, 1999). The relevant names appear on p. 34 (Shinren, Ren-amidabutsu), p. 88 (Teikan, Kanshō) and p. 163 (Ichiren).

[245] 三宝寺御舎利安置之状案。普賢光明舎利参拾柒粒。右先師従宋朝傳来為禅宗重寶師資相承不可散失矣。健保六年五月十五日弟子定観記之。(Nakao, "Settsu Sambōji kankei shiryō," p. 145)

[246] Ishii Shūdō, "Shōbōji monjo yori mita Nihondarumashu no seikaku," *Bukkyōgaku* 35 (1993): p. 18.

[247] This "flame and smoke reliquary" (*kaen no tō* 火煙の塔) possibly refers to one of the reliquaries found at Shōbōji, which is of the same type.

> Venerable Original Vow (Hongan Shōnin 本願上人) personally transmitted these [relics] from the Song to Japan, they have become the important treasures of the Zen school, transmitted from master to student. Because [Sambōji] is the school's main temple these five most important relics are collectively enshrined at Sambōji. It is so agreed. Recorded in the second year of Kanki, *hinoe-kanoe*, month two, day fifteen.[248]

The entry reiterates the importance of the relics. It mentions the putative transmission of the relics from China by Nōnin. It also indicates that the relics were considered "treasures of the Zen school," transmitted in Nōnin's lineage from master to student. Nōnin is referred to as Hongan Shōnin 本願上人, *hongan* (original vow) being a term used to designate the founder of a temple. The agreement to keep these particular relics at the Sambōji, the "main temple" (*honji* 本寺), suggests the existence of branch temples, to which other relic grains were being distributed.

④ **1230**

The next entry, recorded later in the same year, is a written agreement (*shōmon* 証文). It records the promise of a monk named Shōjunbō (Kongōbusshi Han'ei) to return a borrowed Fugen Kōmyō relic.

> In the thirty-eight year of my life I, Han'ei, received one grain of Fugen Kōmyō relics from the monk Ichiren. This relic was originally in the possession of the monk Shinren. The number [of Fugen Kōmyō relics] is thirty-seven. From these the monk Ichiren respectfully requested one grain – a red-colored relic. Temple superior Enshōbō sincerely requested that after my death it be restored to its original place, [Sambōji]. It must definitely be returned. This I pledge. If I should become forgetful in my final moments, the relic may be retrieved. It is so agreed. Kongōbusshi Han'ei. The second year of Kanki, month ten, day seven. Shōjunbō's Agreement.[249]

The drafting of this kind of agreement shows that the relics were highly safeguarded and coveted objects, whose dispersion was preferably controlled. The entry, in addition, reveals several names of monks who were in some capacity connected to Sambōji and its relic cult:

- (a) Enshōbō
- (b) Shinren
- (c) Ichiren
- (d) Shōjunbō (Kongōbusshi Han'ei).

Again, it is problematic to specifically identify these persons. But, by bringing in additional sources, I will make some conjectures:

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[248] 普賢光明舎利参粒。白色其白三角而一面有靨。赤色圓長如鳥卵。黄色其貌團圓而小各光潤鮮。奉納于火煙之塔内。達磨舎利一粒。其白圓平而肉色也。先師御時出来御舎利也。慧能舎利一粒。其白圓白而大也。観真上人御時出来御舎利也。右本願上人自宋朝傳来之後為禅宗重寶所師資相承也而為宗本寺故彼御舎利之随一合五粒奉安置三寶寺之状如件。寛喜二年庚寅二月十五日記之。(Nakao, "Settsu Sambōji kankei shiryō," p. 145.)

[249] 範永生年三十八之年自一蓮御房普賢光明御舎利一粒処分給畢。件御舎利元者心蓮御房御所持也数三十七粒也。其内一粒 但赤色御舎利也 一蓮御房御奉請也。彼院主聖房懇切範永之一期後者可奉本所返納之由令所望給仍必可奉渡之由令申約束候畢。若又最後雖有忘却可被尋取候之状如件。寛喜二年十月七日。金剛佛子範永 (Nakao, "Settsu Sambōji kankei shiryō," p. 144). Visible on the manuscript on the left side of Han'ei's signature is a small esoteric A-syllable in siddhaṃ script, suggesting Esoteric Buddhist influence.

- (a) Enshōbo 圓聖房

  Enshōbō is referred to as "temple superior" (*injū* 院主). Most likely, then, he served as abbot of Sambōji and leader of the Sambōji community. Along with Kakuan he may have been one of Nōnin's dharma heirs. The name Enshō frequently turns up in *Heikōki* 平戸記, the diary of Taira no Tsunetaka 平経高 (1180-1255). The diary shows that in 1244 and 1245 a monk named Enshō Ajari 圓聖阿闍梨 officiated at *nenbutsu* sessions, repentance rituals (*zanbō* 懺法) and *kōshiki* style lectures that centred on Amida and Jizō. The diary specifies that Enshō held the priestly rank of *Hokkyō* 法橋.[250] *Hokkyō* is the third rank (*san'i* 三位) of three priestly ranks that were bestowed by the Bureau of Monastic Affairs (Sōgō 僧綱).[251] Conceivably, then, this Enshō Ajari is the student of Nōnin who in the biography of the Pure Land monk Shōkō is identified as "Ācārya of the Third Rank" (*San' i Ajari* 三位阿闍梨) (see Chapter Two). A Tendai lineage chart shows that Enshō Ajari was a Tendai monk who in 1229 received a dharma-transmission from Chōen 重圓 (1162-1249), the abbot of Onjōji 園城寺 (Miidera 三井寺), the Tendai centre at the foot of Mount Hiei.[252] Provided that this Enshō Ajari was indeed our temple superior of Sambōji, it would appear that Sambōji at that time was administratively tied to Onjōji. Noteworthy in this regard is that Nōnin himself is known to have moved in Onjōji circles, as is clear from his contact with the Onjōji monk Kōin (see Chapter Two) .

- (b) Shinren 心蓮

  The *Relic Inventory* indicates a transmission of one grain of the Fugen Kōmyō relics in the following order:

  Shinren → Ichiren → Shōjunbō (Kongōbusshi Han'ei).

  Shinren is probably "Shinren Tokugō" who is mentioned as one of Nōnin's students in the biography of the Pure Land monk Shōkō, together with the aforesaid "Ācārya of the Third Rank." A monk named Shinren is listed, too, among the many students of the Pure Land teacher Hōnen who signed the *Shichikajō seikai* 七箇条制誡 (Seven Article Admonition), Hōnen's 1204 petition to Enryakuji. The same Shinren is known to have been a leading *nenbutsu hijiri*, active at Kōjō-in 迎接院, a *nenbutsu* centre established in the Kenryaku era (1211-1212) on the precincts of the Bodaisanji 菩提山寺 in Yamato province. According to records of Bodaisanji, this Shinren transmitted a tooth relic of the Buddha.[253] As will be made clear below, the monk Shōjunbō (Kongōbusshi Han'ei) (d) was also active at the Bodaisanji. A monk named Shinren is also listed on the roster of benefactors (1194) who contributed to the establishment of the statue of Amida at the Kenkō-in in Kyoto. As mentioned earlier, Nōnin too was involved in this project.

  Possibly the abovementioned references to Shinren pertain to one and the same person: a *nenbutsu hijiri* who studied with Nōnin and Hōnen, participated in the establishment of the Amida statue at the Kenkō-in, and was involved in relic promulgation at Bodaisanji.

[250] DNS 5, 17, p. 427. DNS 5, 18, pp. 233-45. DNS 5, 19, pp. 235-46.
[251] The three ranks are Hokkyō Shōnin 法橋上人位, Hōgen Wajō 法眼和上位 and Hōin Daiwajō 法印 大和上位. These ranks were established in 846 on the instigation of the Shingon monk Shinga 真雅 (801-879). *Mikkyō jiten*, p. 441.
[252] *Onjōji Denpō Kechimyaku* 園城寺傳法血脈 (DNS 5, 30, p. 397).
[253] *Kōjō-in geshari engi* 迎接院牙舎利縁起, discussed in Kira Jun, "Gion-nyogo no busshari to Hōnen (2)," pp. 16-26.

- (c) Ichiren 一蓮
  The shared syllable "ren" 蓮 suggests a group affinity between Ichiren, Shinren and Ren-amidabutsu. Nakao Ryōshin suggested that Ichiren is the same person as Teikan, mentioned in entry ①. As a kind of custodian of the relics "Ichirenbō Teikan" would have been responsible for proper distribution of relic grains.[254] As mentioned above, the name Teikan also appears on the roster of contributors to the establishment of the Amida statue at Kenkō-in .

- (d) Shōjunbō 聖順房 (Kongōbusshi Han'ei 金剛佛子範永)
  Takahashi Shūei recently discussed a document that sheds new light on the monk Shōjunbō.[255] The document was retrieved from inside a statue of Buddha Amida and indicates that by 1260 Shōjunbō had transferred from Sambōji to one of the temples at the Bodaisanji 菩提山寺 complex. Here he sponsored the establishment of an Amida statue carved by the sculptor Kakuen 覚円.[256] The Bodaisanji (also known as Shōryakuji 正暦寺) in Yamato province was established in 992 by the Shingon monk Kenshun 兼俊 (b. 962). The temple burned down in 1180 during the siege of Nara and was rebuild in 1218 as a Hossō centre by the Kōfukuji monk Shin'en 信円 (1153-1224).[257] The temple complex accommodated two thriving *nenbutsu* centres, the Anyō-in 安養院 and the Kōjō-in 迎接院, both established in the Kenryaku era (1211-1212) by a student of Hōnen named Renkō 蓮光 (note the character "ren" 蓮). As mentioned above, this Kōjō-in *nenbutsu* centre was the place where the monk Shinren (b) was active.

Though some of the above made associations are tentative, the collective data point to interaction between Sambōji and Bodaisanji, involving the dispersal of relics by *nenbutsu hijiri*.

⑤ **1238**

The following entry, Takahashi Shūei suggested, is a transcript of a commemorative plaque (*munefuda* 棟札).[258] Such plaques were inscribed at the completion of a new building and recorded the building's name, the names of the carpenters, artisans or donors, and the date of the building's completion. The entry reads as follows:

> Underneath this *shariden* there are these words: "The ever-present and aware dharmakāya buddha is precisely the crafty mind of dependent cognition. Made by monk Kanshō in the year Katei four (1238), *inu-tsuchinoe*, month eight, day ten. Delusion and foolishness are like wooden planks: I have now assembled them and completed a site of awakening."[259]

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[254] Nakao, "Settsu sambōji kankei shiryō," p. 145.
[255] Takahashi, "Darumashū ni kansuru hosoku jikō," pp. 275-277.
[256] The statue is presently ensconced at the Sokushin-in 即心院 in Gifu prefecture. In outward appearance the sculpture is fashioned after the famous Śākyamuni statue of the Seiryōji 清涼寺. See Shimizu Masumi, "Gifu Sokushin-in no Seiryō-ji shiki Shaka Nyoraizō," *Bukkyō Geijutsu* 260 (2002): pp. 101-113.
[257] Shin'en was a son of Fujiwara no Tadamichi 藤原忠通 (1097-1164). Fujiwara no (Kūjō) Kanezane 藤原兼実(1149-1207) and the Tendai prelate Jien 慈円 were his half-brothers. In 1185 Shin'en served as reciter 呪願師 during the eye-opening ceremony of the recast Great Buddha statue at Tōdaiji. In 1203 he officiated at the ceremonies marking the completion of the Great Buddha Hall at Tōdaiji. See Ohara Mayumi, "Bodaisan Hongan Shin' en no yume," *Shisō* 58 (2001): pp. 243-255. Like Nōnin, Shin'en, incidentally, also contributed to the establishment of the Amida statue at Kenkō-in in Kyoto. See Aoki, *Kenkōin Amida Nyoraizō zōnai nōnyūhin shiryō*, p. 190.
[258] Takahashi, "Sambōji no Darumashū monto to rokuso fugen shari," p. 118.
[259] 此舎利殿下在此字。自本常知法身佛 工巧縁慮心是也。嘉禎四年戊戌八月十日。僧観照造之。迷者愚者如材木。我今取束成道場。(Nakao, "Settsu Sambōji kankei shiryō," p. 146)

Seeing that this dedication was inscribed "underneath" the *shariden* (*shariden no shita* 舎利殿下) I suspect we are not dealing with a *munefuda* attached to a building, but with an inscription in the bottom of a *shariden* cabinet. Such cabinets were miniaturized versions of architectural relic halls; they were made of (laquered) wood and placed inside a temple hall.[260] Either way, the placement of a *shariden* at Sambōji attests to the prominent role of relic veneration in the Sambōji community.

Interestingly the inscription contains two "doctrinal" statements. The first statement – "The ever-present and aware dharmakāya buddha is precisely the crafty mind of dependent cognition" – asserts the identity of buddha and the discursive mind of the ordinary being. The second statement – "Delusion and foolishness are like wooden planks: I have now assembled them and completed a site of awakening" – takes the timbered structure of the *shariden* as a metaphor for the interconnectedness of delusion and awakening.[261] The statements, in other words, reflect the tenor of the nonduality teachings associated with Nōnin and the Darumashū: plain and ordinary beings are awakened buddhas. The inscription, further, mentions a monk named Kanshō 観照, who was evidently involved in the construction of the *shariden*. The name "Kanshō" also appears on the 1194 roster of benefactors who contributed to the establishment of the Amida statue at the Kenkō-in in Kyoto (See Chapter Two).[262]

⑥ **1405**

The next entry in the *Relic Inventory* (Ōei 12/11/27) appears after a gap of almost two centuries. Apparently the relic cult, or at least its documentation, had waned sometime after 1238 and revived again in the early fifteen century. The entry registers the number and distribution of relics of the Chan patriarchs, showing a significant multiplication of derivative "rice grains" (*kometsubu* 米粒) and "grains of unhulled rice" (*momi* 籾). The primary relics were believed to magically multiply as rice grains. The relics discovered at the Shōbōji include colorful crystalline objects as well as very small grains of what indeed appears to be rice.

⑦ **1407**

This entry records the appearance of a relic in response to the devotion of a "relic-faith monk" (*shari shinkōsō* 舎利信仰僧) who visited Sambōji to venerate relics:

> When in the fourteenth year of Ōei, *inoshishi-hinoto*, month eleven, day eleven, in the hour of the bird, a relic-faith monk (named Sōjo) [263] came to venerate, a blue coloured relic

[260] See Sawada Kadamu, *Busshari to kyō no shōgon* (Tokyo: Shibundō, 1989), pp 54-67.

[261] The statement is somewhat reminiscent of the Huayan analogy of the rafter and the building. In his *Huayan yicheng jiaoji fenqizhang* 華嚴一乘教義分齊章 (T. 1866, 507c04-509a03) the Huayan patriarch Fazang 法藏 (643-712) elaborates on the relation of a rafter to a building to explain the identity of a part and the whole, especially with respect to the bodhisattva path: every stage of the bodhisattva path partakes of the totality of the path. See Francis H. Cook, *Hua-yen Buddhism: The Jewel Net of Indra* (Pennsylvania State University Press, 1977), pp. 75-89.

[262] See Aoki, *Kenkōin Amida Nyoraizō zōnai nōnyūhin shiryō*, p. 88.

[263] In what looks like an added notation, the visiting "relic-faith monk" is identified as Sōjo 宗助. The only roughly contemporary monk named Sōjo that I have been able to trace is the Shingon monk Sōjo 宗助, who between 1362 and 1373 repeatedly participated in the annual Shingon ritual *Goshichinichi mishūhō* 後七日禦修法 (Latter seven day ritual). This prestigious seven day ritual concluded with the Emperor distributing Buddha relics of the Tōji to a select few monks. In 1371 (Ōan 4/1/15), for instance, Sōjo received one of the fifty relic grains that were distributed that year. Sōjō, however, died in 1405 (Ōei 12). *Tōdaiji monjo* 東寺文書 (DNS 6, 33, pp. 261-63).

> extricated itself from inside a Fugen Kōmyō relic. Though it is a relic of the final period it is a rare, wonderful and auspicious sign.[264]

⑧ **1444**

This entry registers the enshrinement of relics in a stūpa reliquary (*tō* 塔) during an "assembly of old monks" (*rōsōshoshū-e* 老僧諸衆會). It mentions that a monk named Jōjūbō Jitsugon 成就坊實言 mysteriously brought forth a gold coloured relic. The relic was subsequently enshrined in the same stūpa.

⑨ **1462**

This entry (Kanshō 3/1/26) presents small drawings of the shapes of several relics, and reports the loss of one relic of Bodhidharma. Interestingly, Nōnin is said to have received, in a dream, a relic from the bodhisattva Maitreya. Such a miraculous account of course greatly enhanced the object's mystique:

> In a dream the venerable Dainichi went up to the Tuṣita heaven and gratefully received a tangerine from the bodhisattva Maitreya. In reality it was a Buddha relic. It is therefore called "Tangerine Relic."[265]

⑩ **1467**

The next entry (Ōnin 1/7/5) simply catalogues the relics. It shows a typological distinction between the primary relics of the six Chan patriarchs – interestingly called "Buddha relics" (*busshari*) – and derivative "rice grains" (*kometsubu* 米粒). Again the relics have multiplied considerably, totaling to one hundred and ninety-four relics of the six patriarchs (of which seven are reported missing) and twelve Fugen Kōmyō relics.

⑪ **1467**

This entry merely identifies the six Chan patriarchs. It was composed in the first year of Ōnin (1467) and copied in the ninth year of Eiroku (1566) by a certain Sōshun 宗俊.

⑫⑬⑭ **Undated**

The next three entries are undated but probably recorded in the Ōnin era.[266] All three concern the kāṣāya of Dahui Zonggao (1089-1163) that was presented to Nōnin's envoys by Dahui's successor Fozhao Deguang.

> The kāṣāya of Chan master Dahui of Mount Jing permanently remains at Sambōji. When Sambōji's founder Dainich received the Zen dharma, Fozhao [gave him] a wonderful kāṣāya. Original Vow [Dainichi] brough it with him when he returned to Japan. It an important treasure of Sambōji.

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[264] 応永十四年丁亥十一月十一日酉剋御舎利信仰僧 号宗助 来拝見之時普賢光明御舎利之内青色御舎利一粒分散在之。雖為末代御舎利奇持不思議奇瑞也。(Nakao, "Settsu Sambōji kankei shiryō," p. 146.)

[265] 大日上人詣率天夢中自弥勒菩薩柑子一顆 感徳其實即佛舎利也。依之柑子御舎利与号 (Nakao, "Settsu Sambōji kankei shiryō," p. 146).

[266] In view of the calligraphy Takahashi Shūei connects the three entries to entry number 11 and accordingly places them in the Ōnin years. Takahashi, "Sambōji no Darumashū monto to rokuso Fugen shari," p. 120.

> Measurements of the great kāṣāya. Width: eight *shaku*, two *sun*. Length on the left side: three *shaku*, eight *sun*. Length on the right side: three *shaku*, six *sun*. [267]

The transmission of a kāṣāya from master to disciple is of course a central symbol in the Chan/Zen discourse of lineage and legitimacy.[268] Eisai and Dōgen both received kāṣāyas from their teachers, and it is entirely plausible that Fozhao Deguang bestowed a kāṣāya on Nōnin (possibly even one that was once worn by Dahui). The transfer of a kāṣāya to Nōnin is alluded to in *Genkō Shakusho*, which mentions that Fozhao presented Nōnin's envoys with a "dharma robe" (*hōe* 法衣).[269] The *Relic Inventory* of course claims that Nōnin personally received the garment from Fozhao when in China. The fact that the kāṣāya – an object of great cultic and legitimizing value – is not mentioned earlier in the document, which may lead to the suspicion that the tradition was a later invention. Yet, the kāṣāya discovered in recent times at Shōbōji (together with the *Relic Inventory* and the relics) is in fact an authentic object of Song dynasty Chinese provenance; the garment has been dated to the twelfth century and classified as the oldest extant Zen style kāṣāya imported from China to Japan.[270]

⑮ **Undated**

This entry identifies the various shapes and colors of the relics of the six Chan patriarchs and features small drawings of the objects. A rough dating for the entry may be inferred from the term *biidoro* 美伊土呂, used to describe one particular relic. *Biidoro* means "glass." Though the word seems to be etymologically related to the Sanskrit *vaiḍūrya* (lapis lazuli), it entered the Japanese language through the Portugese *vidro*, after the Portuguese brought glass objects with them in the sixteenth century.[271] The entry therefore cannot predate this era. At this juncture, as will be clear from the next entry, the relics had been moved from the Sambōji to another location.

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[267] 径山大慧禅師御袈裟三宝寺常住也。/ 三寶開山大日受禅法於佛照妙喜袈裟本願帰朝傳来也。三寶時重寶也。/ 大袈裟寸　　ヨコ八尺二寸。　タツ三尺八寸左方。タツ三尺六寸　右方。Ibid.

[268] According to Chan tradition, Buddha Śākyamuni conferred a gold-embroidered kāṣāya on Mahākāśyapa as a certification of his awakening and his authority to pass on the dharma. This kāṣāya (or others, the accounts are imprecise and contradictory) was subsequently transmitted through the Chan lineage. The advocates of the self-styled Southern school claimed that Bodhidharma's kāṣāya had been handed down in a straight line up to Huineng, the one and only Sixth Patriarch. Aided by this powerful narrative the movement succesfully established itself as the orthodox tradition, in contradistinction to the socalled Northern school, represented by the followers of Shenxiu. With the hegemony of the Southern school the concept of a unique kāṣāya that was transmitted as the sole token of legitimacy had served its purpose, and the idea of one Chan patriarch per generation disappeared. In the proliferation of Chan/Zen lineages the conferral of a kāṣāya remained closely associated with the idea of authentic transmission. See *Hōbōgirin: Dictionnaire encyclopédique de Bouddhisme d'après les sources chinoises et japonaises*, vol. 8, (Paris-Tokyo, 1983) entry *Den'e* 傳依, by Anna Seidel.

[269] DNBZ 62, p. 156.

[270] The kāṣāya was exhibited in 2010 in the Kyoto National Museum. The exhibit catalogue describes the object as silk, dark blue, so-called nine panel kāṣāya (*kujō kesa* 九条袈裟). See Kyoto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, *Kōsō to kesa*, p. xviii.

[271] See C. Dunn, "Some Etymological Notes on Two Japanese Words kugutu and ruri," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 36/2 (1973): pp. 287-292. Glass production in Japan is well attested in the Nara period at which time it was mostly used for making Buddhist altar supplies, particularly reliquaries. Glass workshops were located on temple grounds. Glass beads were especially in demand and produced by the tons. See Dorothy Blair, *A History of Glass in Japan* (New York, Kodansha & The Corning Museum, 1973). In view of this intimate relationship between glass production and Buddhist temples, it is conceivable that glass was actually used to manufacture relics.

⑯ **Undated**

This entry recounts the provenance of the relics that were kept at Sambōji and describes their removal from the temple due to the devastations of the Ōnin war:

> *Record of the Transmission of the Relics of the Six Patriarchs and the Kāṣāya of Dahui at Sambōji in Nakajima, Sesshū.* The Sambōji in Nakajima in Sesshū was founded by Venerable Dainichi, also called Original Vow (Hongan). In the fifth year of Bunji (1189), *tsuchinoto-tori*, during the reign of Emperor Gotoba, Dainichi dispatched disciple monks to the Song empire and inherited the dharma from Chan master Fozhao. This can be verified from chronicles. Thereafter Dainichi, too, went to the Song. Fozhao was impressed with Dainichi's faith and reverence and awarded him relics of Bodhidharma, Huike, Sengcan, Daoxin, Hongren, and Huineng, as well as a kāṣāya of Chan master Dahui. After his return to Japan, [these objects] were passed on through successive generations as treasures of Sambōji. Alas! In the summer of the third year of Ōnin (1469), Shogun Yoshimasa (1435-1490) charged Nakajima's seventeen districts. Defenseless against the military force, Nakajima was defeated. At that time Sambōji was completely turned into a battleground. The congregation lamented the destruction of the treasures and transferred the relics of the six patriarchs, the kāṣāya and a number of other treasures to a wayfarer's thatched hut in Sakai town in Senshū 泉州堺郷. Later, this thatched hut was inherited by a nun. This nun was the aunt of layman Sōken of the Anshō pavilion, the founding patron and great benefactor of Shōken-in.[272]

The account reiterates that Nōnin received the relics personally from Fozhao Deguang in China, with the added clarification that he did so subsequent to the initial journey of his envoys. In 1469 Sambōji got caught up in the Ōnin war (1467-1477) and its residents relocated the relics, the kāṣāya and "other temple treasures" to a safer place. The objects are said to have been transferred to a hermitage of a nun in Sakai whose lay uncle patronized a temple called Shōken-in 聖賢院. The objects apparently ended up at this temple; the entry itself was probably also composed there. A topographical work of 1686, entitled *Yōshūfushi* 雍州府志 (Gazetteer of Yamashiro Province) by the Confucian physician Kurokawa Dōyū 黒川道祐 (d. 1691), has a similar account:

> Shōken-in, within the [Shōbōji] temple, preserves the kāṣāya of Chan master Dahui. Long ago it was kept at the Sambōji in Settsu; it arrived there from China in the days of abbot Dainichi. After Sambōji's decline it was kept at a hermitage of an old nun in Sennan Sakai 泉南堺 and hence it was transferred to this temple. In the past this temple was called Kōtsūji 光通寺, located east of Mount Yahata. It was established as an annex of Tōfukuji's Shōgon-in 荘厳院.[273]

The slightly earlier *Genkō Shakusho benmō* 元亨釈書便蒙 (Primer on Genkō Shakusho) (1675) similarly mentions that the Shōbōji subtemple Shōken-in preserved Dahui's kāṣāya.[274] The trajectory of the various objects after their removal from Sambōji in the Ōnin war, as described in the *Relic Inventory* and these Edo period sources, is difficult to ascertain. It is possible that objects were lost and later again "reinvented." The kāṣāya discovered at the Shōbōji, though, is clearly a genuine object of Song Chinese provenance, stemming from Nōnin's time.

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[272] Nakao, "Settsu Sambōji kankei shiryō," p. 147.
[273] *Yōshūfushi*, cited in Murakami, *Eihei niso Koun Ejō Zenji*, p. 55.
[274] *Genkō Shakusho Benmō*, cited in Nakao, "Nōnin botsugo no Darumashū," *Shūgaku kenkyū* 27 (1985), p. 218.

THE SAMBŌJI TEMPLE COMPLEX

Some information about Sambōji and its properties, as existent just before the Ōnin war, can be gleaned from a property record of the nearby Sōtō temple Sōzenji 崇禅寺.[275] This document, dated 1461, documents Sōzenji's tenure over various lands and buildings and reveals that Sambōji was one of several temples that dotted the Nakajima area (i.e. Enmyōji 円明寺, Hannyaji 般若寺, Eizen-an 永禅庵, Donge-an 曇華庵, Unchō-an 雲頂庵 and Myōkō-an 妙光庵). The Sōzenji document indicates that Sambōji controlled a considerable extent of land and counted at least nine subtemples, called Myōkan-in 妙観院, Mida-in 弥陀院, Saikō-in 西光院, Senshū-in 千手院, Dainichi-in 大日院, Jizō-dō 地藏堂, Henjō-in 遍照院, Yakushi-dō 薬師堂 and Kichijō-in 吉祥院 (an additional source mentions a subtemple called Gochi-in 五智院).[276] The names of these subtemples signify a diversity of buddhas and bodhisattvas, reflecting a similarly diverse cultic perspective. Dainichi-in, for instance, would have enshrined a statue of Dainichi (Mahāvairocana), the cosmic buddha of esotericism. The Mida-in and Saikō-in were obviously dedicated to Buddha Amida and his Pure Land in the West.

Interestingly, several temples in the Yodogawa area at present preserve statues that are thought to have been transferred from Sambōji. Sennenji 専念寺, a Pure Land temple located in Higashi Yodogawa, houses a late Heian period statue of Amida, a mid-Heian period statue of the Eleven-headed Kannon (Jūichimen Kannon 十一 面観音) and an early Kamakura period Dainichi Nyorai (Plate 2), which are thought to be the principal icons of now vanished Sambōji subtemples.[277] Another temple in Higashi Yodogawa, the Rinzai temple Zuikōji 瑞光寺, traces back its history to Sambōji. Zuikōji was reportedly established in 1643 as Shigetsuji 指月寺 to serve as the private hermitage of a Zen monk called Tennen 天然. In 1732, this Shigetsuji was refurbished by incorporating materials from a subtemple of Sambōji called Zuikō-in 瑞光院, located in the nearby village Sanbanmura 三番村. The refurbished temple was thereafter renamed Zuikōji.[278] Zuikōji housed statues of Kannon, Bodhidharma and Shōtoku Taishi. Its precincts also featured a tombstone with the inscription "Grave of Temple Founder Nōnin" (*kaisan Nōnin no haka* 開山能忍之墓).[279] Along with related documents and most of the temple itself, these statues

[275] *Nakajima Sōzenji ryō tokorodokoro sanzai denpatara no koto* 中嶋崇禅寺領処々散在田畠等事, cited in Harada, *Nihon chūsei zenshū to shakai*, pp. 64-67; and Osaka Keizai Daigaku, *Higashi Yodogawa no rekishi to Bijutsu* (Osaka Keizai Daigaku, 2002), p. 44. The Sōzenji is said to have been founded by Gyōgi 行基 (668-749) in the eighth century. In 1442 the temple was restored by Hosokawa Mochikata 細川持賢 to serve as a temple for the commemoration of the military ruler Ashikaga Yoshinori (1394-1441), who was assassinated in the 1441 Kakitsu incident. From that time on Sōzenji was affiliated with the Sōtō school.

[276] *Sōi Yasutadashi shozō monjo* 藻井泰忠氏所蔵文書, cited in Harada, *Nihon chūsei zenshū to shakai*, p. 66. According to *Osaka shiseki jiten*, Sambōji was a large temple complex founded by Nōnin in the year third year of Ninan (1168). It comprised seven basic monastic structures and at its heights boasted an additional forty-eight monastic residences, housing one thousand monks. *Ōsaka shiseki jiten* (Seibundo Shuppan, 1986), pp. 222-23. Unfortunately no sources are given for these data.

[277] Osaka Keizai Daigaku, *Higashi Yodogawa no rekishi to bijutsu*, pp. 36-37, p. 43 and p. 50. Sennenji was founded by the monk Unkei 雲溪 (Teiyō Shōnin 諦誉上人) in 1643 as a place for his retirement. Unkei had been the third generation abbot of a nearby monastery, likewise named Sennenji. The carving of the Amida statue is attributed to Genshin (942-1017).

[278] Ibid., p. 44.

[279] Murakami Sodō visited Zuikōji and reported on Nōnin's gravestone in 1928. Murakami wrote that Zuikōji housed statues of Shō-Kannon, Bodhidharma and Shōtoku Taishi: "masterpieces sculpted from old hackberry wood, instantly inspiring great reverence." Murakami proposed that these statues were original statues of Sambōji. Murakami Sodō, *Eihei niso Koun Ejō Zenji*, p. 50. In 1936 Washio Junkei also saw "Dainichibō Nōnin's desolate grave" at Zuikōji. Washio, *Nihon bukkyō bunkashi kenkyū*, p. 142.

and the (apocryphal) gravesite were destroyed in the Osaka bombings of 1945.[280] Recently (1996 and 2002) Japanese archeologists located remnants of the Sambōji in what is now Osaka's Daidō 大桐 district. The excavations yielded rooftiles, ceramics and a small, stone *gorintō* stūpa. [281]

Sambōji Jizō-in

The *Sambōji Jizō-in Register* (1499), discovered at Shōbōji together with the *Relic Inventory*, shows that the Ōnin war did not bring about the end of Sambōji. The document lists numerous rice fields and grazing lands that were donated to one of Sambōji's subtemples, called Sambōji Jizō-in 三寶寺地藏院. The register was composed by a certain Matsukaku Maru 松鶴丸, one of the temple's lay students.

Sambōji Jizō-in was obviously dedicated to the bodhisattva Jizō (Skt. Kṣitigarbha), the hell-harrowing bodhisattva that may have been of special significance in the Darumashū.[282] The *Register*, in addition, indicates that the temple preserved relics. Though not specifically mentioned, these relics probably derived from the relic collection described in the *Relic Inventory*. The *Register* contains several lists that enumerate the many benefits of relic veneration and other practices, and so provides a glance at the temple's cultic life. The *Register* first lists "ten virtues of relics" (*shari jūtoku* 舍利十德), followed by thirteen virtues of "venerating buddha relics" (*bussshari haiken* 佛舍利拜見). Next it lists ten virtues of "audibly invoking the Buddha" (*kōshō nenbutsu* 高声念仏), followed by ten virtues of "scattering flowers" (*sange* 散花) and twenty virtues of "burning incense" (*shōkō* 焼香). Evidently, the Jizō-in community combined relic veneration with *nenbutsu* recitations and offerings of flowers and incense. The virtues, that is, the benefits received from these practices, are a mixture of spiritual advancement and mundane benefit. The veneration of relics, for instance, is associated with the sprouting of the five kinds of crop and the attainment of unparalleled awakening; *nenbutsu* repetitions are said to actualize samādhi and frighten off demons; flower offerings are said to bring about longevity and attract the protection of deities; the burning of incense is said to facilitate rebirth in a Pure Land of one's choice and is also said to enhances one's physiognomy. In brief, the Sambōji subtemple Jizō-in accomodated a community that included lay practitioners, who performed highly accessible practices that centred on relics, offerings, recitation of Buddha's name and faith in rebirth in the Pure Land.

Concluding remarks

Nōnin's temple in Settsu was located in a socalled "dispersed place" (*sanjo*), bordered by rivers and bustling with commercial and leisure traffic; an area inhabited by outcaste groups that may have been especially receptive to Nōnin's teachings. Sambōji preserved various objects that attracted adherents and legitimized Nōnin's status as a Zen patriarch. The temple held painted portraits of Bodhidharma and Chan master Deguang, brought back from China by Nōnin's envoys. Fozhao had inscribed these portraits with verses that celebrated Nōnin's awakening and alluded to

[280] Nishioka Shuji, "Settsu Nakajima Sambōji to sono shūhen," IBK 55 (2007), p. 1007.
[281] Osaka Keizai Daigaku, *Higashi Yodogawa no rekishi to bijutsu*, p. 19. Nishioka, "Settsu Nakajima Sambōji to sono shūhen," pp. 1007-1004.
[282] In the Darumashū text *Jōtōshōgakuron*, Dainichi Nōnin is cited expounding a story that features the bodhisattva Jizō. See Translations, Text I, section [C][2]

Nonin's induction into the Zen lineage. In the same vein Fozhao provided a kāṣāya, a patriarchal name and written documents. Fozhao's forthcoming attitude may have been a sincere response to Nōnin's now lost letters, carried by the envoys. Economic relations that existed between Japanese entrepreneurs and Fozhao's King Aśoka monastery in the port town of Mingzhou probably also helped to pave the way.

The portrait of Bodhidharma was put on view during ritualized lectures. The audience was told about the august Zen lineage and instructed to venerate Bodhidharma. The portrait of Fozhao Deguang may have been used in a similar fashion, but there is no evidence for this. Bodhidharma's portrait resurfaces in historical records of the Edo period. The painting was the centre of a ritual lecture in the imperial palace, officiated by the Rinzai priest Gudō Tōshoku (1577-1661) and inspected by the Rinzai monk Kōgetsu Sōgan (1574–1643). In this period the portrait was repeatedly copied, most likely for use in tea ceremonies.

Sambōji was a centre of relic veneration. Data on the relic cult are found in the temple's *Relic Inventory*. Early entries in this inventory (1201-1238) reveal that an important role in the relic cult at Sambōji in this early period was played by *hijiri* type monks with Amidist and Esoteric leanings. There are indications that some of these monks were associated with the Pure Land movement established by Hōnen. The remaining entries in the *Relic Inventory* describe events between 1405 and 1469. They show a great increase in the number of relics, and report on the veneration and dissemination of relics during special assemblies. A few entries mention the kāṣāya of Chan master Dahui. It is claimed that this garment was transmitted to Nōnin in person when he visited China. The *Relic Inventory* ends with a retrospective account of the relocation of the relics and other treasures in 1469 due to the onslaught of the Ōnin war.

A document composed a few years before the outbreak of the Ōnin war shows that the Sambōji was a large temple complex, comprising several subtemples. Another document verifies the existence after the Ōnin war of a Sambōji subtemple called Jizō-in. This document was composed by a lay practitioner and indicates that the community of the Jizō-in engaged in relic veneration, *nenbutsu* recitation and faith in rebirth in the Pure Land.