

# “Hōnen” and “Shinran” in Early Modern Jōdo Shinshū

HIKINO KYŌSUKE

IN THIS PAPER, the author intends to approach modern Buddhism from an Edo period perspective. I have chosen this approach because of the fact that modern perceptions of “sect” (*shūha* 宗派)<sup>1</sup> became distinct for the first time during the Edo period. By concentrating on early modernity, therefore, we may gain useful knowledge of the key characteristics of modern Buddhism.

A PREVIOUS VERSION of this article appeared in Japanese as “Kinsei bukkyō ni okeru ‘shūso’ no katachi: Jōdoshū to Shinshū o jirei to shite” 近世仏教における「宗祖」のかたち：浄土宗と真宗の宗論を事例として (*Nihon rekishi* 日本歴史 756, 2011, pp. 71–85).

<sup>1</sup> Translator’s note: The problems of translating the various terms relating to a Japanese Buddhist religious organization containing principle and subsidiary institutions are widely recognized. These problems become even more relevant in a paper dealing with the development of the modern conceptual framework of these Japanese Buddhist religious organizations. Even if the best possible English terms are found to cover the main denominations of *shūha*, *ha* 派 and *bunpa* 分派, there is little doubt that the nuances of the Japanese terms may at times be lost or even replaced. There is an argument to be made for not translating the terms to preserve the meaning; for example, *Tennō* instead of “emperor.” Though this intrinsic problem must be borne in mind, we have decided to translate the key terms as this is part of the purpose of a translation. This paper itself will serve to provide much of the content and context necessary to bring the translated terminology closer to the original. Sect names themselves however have only been translated into English where their literal meaning is of direct relevance (e.g., “True” Pure Land in the context of the Sect Name Incident). For pre-modern *shū* 宗 and *monryū* 門流 perhaps the terms “school” or “lineage” would be a better translation than “sect.” In this, a paper dealing with early modern and modern Buddhism, it is perhaps appropriate or at least convenient to translate both *shū* and *shūha* as “sect.” The “six Nara schools” are an exception because of the commonness of the term, their teaching functions and less sectarian context.

Of course, the “sect founders” (*shūso* 宗祖) of the modern day Buddhist religious orders—Eisai 栄西 (1141–1215) of the Rinzaishū 臨濟宗, Dōgen 道元 (1200–1253) of Sōtōshū 曹洞宗, Hōnen 法然 (1133–1212) of the Jōdoshū 淨土宗, Shinran 親鸞 (1173–1262) of Jōdo Shinshū 淨土真宗, Nichiren 日蓮 (1222–1282) of the Nichirenshū 日蓮宗, among others—appear one after another mainly in the Kamakura period (it goes without saying that if we include the sects of so-called “Old Buddhism” such as Tendaishū 天台宗 and Shingonshū 真言宗, then the emergence of “sect founders” can be traced back to the Heian period). However, since Kuroda Toshio put forward his theory of the exoteric-esoteric system (*kenmitsu taisei ron* 顯密体制論),<sup>2</sup> the schema which sets out the “sect founders” of the Kamakura period mentioned above as the key players of the medieval religious world has no longer been axiomatic. According to Kuroda, the medieval period was an age of compound and complex orthodox religion dominated by what he calls “exoteric and esoteric” (*kenmitsu* 顯密) Buddhism, made up of the six Nara schools along with Tendai and Shingon, which maintained a loose but harmonious unity. In medieval society where *kenmitsu* Buddhism wielded overwhelming influence, Hōnen and Shinran were no more than a weak heretical faction.

Fujii Manabu and Yuasa Haruhisa’s assertion<sup>3</sup> that if we take due account of the social and religious influence described above, we should understand Jōdoshū and Jōdo Shinshū not as Kamakura Buddhism but Buddhism of the Sengoku 戦国 (Warring States) period (1467–1573) is extremely apposite. Eventually the teachings of Hōnen and Shinran, which had been no more than a heresy, came after many tribulations to take root in the regional communities of the Sengoku period. This is not to say, however, that the Jōdoshū and Jōdo Shinshū established themselves as coherent “sects” during this period.<sup>4</sup>

According to Kinryū Shizuka,<sup>5</sup> the relationship connecting master and disciple during the Middle Ages was one based not on the principle of *shūha* but on that of *monryū*. Though *monryū* is a word which implies groups made up of charismatic leaders and the disciples who gathered around them, its definitive difference to “sect” lies in that the leaders of a *monryū* could modify the teachings of their predecessors with relative freedom. Naturally, religious power and influence at the *monryū* level had a consistent tendency

<sup>2</sup> Kuroda 1975.

<sup>3</sup> See Fujii 2002 and Yuasa 2009.

<sup>4</sup> Yuasa himself is aware of this point: “In the medieval period, the unified sect ‘Nichirenshū (Hokkeshū 法華宗)’ does not exist” (Yuasa 2009, p. 15).

<sup>5</sup> Kinryū 1997.

to disperse with each generational change, and was therefore conspicuously unstable. If our image of a “sect” involves a single fixed, exalted “sect founder” and a thoroughgoing, systematic religious order, then we can say that “sects” had not yet emerged even in the Sengoku period.

This being the case, to what period can we look for the establishment of “sects” in the modern connotation of the word? If we follow Kinryū’s assertions, Jōdo Shinshū took shape as a coherent “sect” from Rennyō 蓮如 (1415–1499) taking office as the eighth patriarch of the Honganji 本願寺. Rennyō was the first to explicitly define Shinran as the only and unrivaled “sect founder” of Jōdo Shinshū, while at the same time strongly insisting that only *myōgō* 名号 (the six written characters of the *nenbutsu*) and *ezō* 絵像 (painted portraits) issued by the Honganji head temple could be used as the *honzon* 本尊 (principle images) of Jōdo Shinshū temples. Furthermore, although this did not occur during Rennyō’s lifetime, in the sixth year of Tenbun 天文 (1537) the Honganji became a *chokuganji* 勅願寺, that is, a temple accorded imperial recognition at which prayers for the tranquility of the state could be offered. Soon after, in the second year of Eiroku 永祿 (1559), the head of the Honganji received the rank of *monzeki* 門跡. With these and other developments, the Jōdo Shinshū order received increasing official recognition. Thus the Honganji religious order after the time of Rennyō achieved its formation as a “sect” via the realization of the following three conditions: (1) establishment of a definite “founder of the sect,” (2) a monopoly in the issuance of principle images, (3) official government approval.

Naturally, we must not forget that the formation of the Jōdo Shinshū as a “sect” which progressed during the Sengoku period, made possible by the presence of the outstanding leader Rennyō, was pioneering and exceptional in nature. The other Buddhist powers of the time were still clearly marked by the fluidity and open-endedness characteristic of *monryū*, with some considerable way still to go in the process of trial and error leading to the formation of a “sect.” In the ordinances governing temple practices of the various sects (*shoshū jūin hatto* 諸宗寺院法度) enacted by the Edo shogunate, the principle that “the various sects should not transgress [their own] regulations” (*shoshū hōshiki aimidasu bekarazu* 諸宗法式相乱すべからず) was set forth. Through the promulgation of these ordinances, the separate and independent establishment of the various Buddhist “sects” was settled in the fifth year of Kanbun 寛文 (1665).<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Tamamuro 1987, pp. 84–89.

Thus the various sects of the Edo period, especially as they had been given official recognition uniformly and impartially without distinctions made in terms of orthodoxy and heterodoxy, came to be aware to an excessive extent of differences with “other sects” (*tashū* 他宗) and to diligently assert the unique qualities of “one’s own sect” (*jishū* 自宗).<sup>7</sup> The *danrin* 檀林 and *gakurin* 学林 (“academy temples” or “seminaries”) of the various sects addressed the problem of the fixing of boundaries and border lines between the “sects” of early modern Buddhism as a key issue.<sup>8</sup> These academic institutions were able to make such contributions to the delineation of sectarian identity through their rapid development after being founded near the beginning of the Edo period. Buddhist monks of the Edo period could not qualify to become the head priest of a temple if they did not study for a certain standard length of time at these facilities for the education and training of monks.<sup>9</sup> Of course, the medieval milieu which prized the concurrent study of the “eight schools” (i.e., Tendai, Shingon and the six Nara schools) came to be disavowed with the onset of the Edo period. The various Buddhist sects worked on establishing their own systems of education and instruction without any association or interaction with each other. In the case of the Jōdoshū, we have the *Kantō jūhachi danrin* 関東十八檀林 (a group of eighteen academy temples in the Kantō region) with the Zōjōji 増上寺 foremost among them. The efforts of the Jōdo Shinshū were spearheaded by the *gakuryō* 学寮 (which denotes a place of learning and residence) provided within the Nishi Honganji and Higashi Honganji (though the former later changed the name of this academy to *gakurin*). It became clear that scholar monks (*gakusō* 学僧) from the *danrin* and *gakurin* had an excessively strong sense of belonging to “sects.”<sup>10</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Hikino 2007.

<sup>8</sup> Of course, the existence of *danrin* and *gakurin* alone was not the main prerequisite for the clarification and crystallization of awareness of “sects.” The large number of biographies of the founding teachers (*soshiden* 祖師伝) of the various sects which circulated during the publishing-rich Edo period, for example, should not be overlooked as an essential element in the heightening of awareness of “sects” at the level of ordinary believers, though I could not go into it in this paper. On the subject of biographies of the founding teachers see En’ya 2004, Kanmuri 1967 and Kitashiro 2000.

<sup>9</sup> Translator’s note: Although the term “monk,” with its connotations of seclusion from secular society and adherence to monastic discipline, does not exactly reflect the nature of the lifestyle of those ordained within Jōdo Shinshū, for the sake of simplicity of expression, I have chosen to use the term in the broad sense of “ordained member of the Buddhist clergy” throughout this article.

<sup>10</sup> Nishimura (2008, pp. 262–85) skillfully illustrates the ways in which late early modern Jōdoshū monks, studying at *danrin*, came to be bound by exclusivist perceptions of “sect.”

If we approach matters as I have outlined above, we might consider the Edo period to have been a time of transition in which the various Buddhist schools carried out the general establishment of independent “sects.” This being the case, what, in this time when a sense of belonging to a “sect” became an evident reality, were the disputes and polemics in which the monks and laity of the various sects engaged one another? In this paper I wish to make clear the special characteristics of modern “sects” and explore the prescriptive quality these gave to modern Buddhism, focusing on the doctrinal disputes between the Jōdoshū and Jōdo Shinshū.

*Jōdoshū and Jōdo Shinshū in the Edo Period*

We will narrow the subject matter for consideration in this paper to the doctrinal disputes between the Jōdoshū and Jōdo Shinshū. There will certainly be many who would protest this choice. Surely if we are saying that a sense of belonging to a “sect” became evident in all the Buddhist religious groups at once, then there must be all manner of other materials we could point to which deserve our attention. Shingon and Tendai dominated the medieval religious world as orthodox powers, but when did they break free of this state of coalescence and each come to see themselves as one “sect” among others? In the various Zen sects where generation-to-generation instruction from master to disciple (*shishi sōshō* 師資相承) was given great significance, what kind of sense of belonging to a “sect” took root and grew during the Edo period? Drawing out answers to questions such as the above would be a highly important undertaking in an as yet largely untouched area of research.

However, I have for the time being put this interesting and attractive subject matter and material to one side and concentrated my attention on the doctrinal disputes which occurred between the Jōdoshū and Jōdo Shinshū. I have done this because as Hōnen, venerated as the “founder” of the Jōdoshū, was the immediate master of Shinran, venerated as the “founder” of the Jōdo Shinshū, Jōdoshū and Jōdo Shinshū maintain an extremely delicate relationship. Important hints and indications for an unraveling of the perception of “sects” in modern Buddhism lie hidden, perhaps, in the reasoning used by both parties to assert the superiority of “one’s own sect.”

Moving forward with the issues and approaches described above in mind, I would like first of all to outline the doctrinal disputes which unfolded between Jōdoshū and Jōdo Shinshū in the Edo period.<sup>11</sup> While religious

<sup>11</sup> Regarding the religious polemics which occurred between Jōdoshū and Jōdo Shinshū, see Yūki 1982, Fukagawa 1998 and Ueno 2009.

polemics from both sides occurred frequently from the first until the last days of the Edo shogunate, the dispute surrounding the *Shinran jagiketsu* 親鸞邪義決 is surely a good example of the sources from the earlier part of this period. This document is said to have been published and circulated in Kii Province (now parts of Wakayama and Mie Prefectures) by scholar monks of the famous Jōdoshū Seizan 西山 branch temple Sōjiji 総持寺 during the Kanbun era (1661–1673).<sup>12</sup> As we may surmise from its title, this document denounces Jōdo Shinshū as a “false teaching” (*jagi* 邪義) based on the *Ichinengi* 一念義 (the doctrine that Pure Land rebirth was made possible by reciting the *nenbutsu* just once), and views Shinran as a disciple of Kōsai 幸西 (1161–1247) who had been expelled by Hōnen. Though of course this was not backed up by clear historical facts, it would seem that there were some among the faithful in Kii Province who, shaken by the claims of this document, converted from Jōdo Shinshū to Jōdoshū. Rebuttals of this were written on the Jōdo Shinshū side such as the *Jagiketsu no kogiketsu* 邪義決之虚偽決 and the *Shinshū ryūgi mondō* 真宗流義問答 asserting that Shinran was not a disciple of Kōsai, and that Jōdo Shinshū was not a false teaching of the *Ichinengi*. The details of this affair indicate that competition for the acquisition of *danka* 檀家 (“parishioner” households which support a temple) in local and regional communities spurred the intensification of religious polemics between the Jōdo Shinshū and Jōdoshū. However, given that the texts of the *Shinran jagiketsu* and the *Jagiketsu no kogiketsu* are in a somewhat abstruse *kanbun* 漢文 style, we may surmise that the principle participants in the controversy were certainly at the level of scholar monks.

Next, as it is broadly representative of the polemics of the mid-Edo period, I would like to consider the controversy surrounding the *Goden yokusan iji* 御伝翼賛遺事. This document was published in the fourteenth year of Kyōhō 享保 (1729) based on notes made by the then deceased scholar monk Gizan 義山 (1648–1717) of the Jōdoshū Chinzei 鎮西 branch, as a by-product of his efforts in producing a commentary on the biography of Hōnen. Gizan, while maintaining an attitude of textual criticism, repeats in this work the assertion of the *Shinran jagiketsu* that Shinran was a disciple of Kōsai and an *Ichinengi* heretic. On the Jōdo Shinshū side, Hōrin 法霖 (1693–1741), who was later to become the fourth generation head scholar (*nōke* 能化) of the Nishi Honganji’s *gakurin*, took up the challenge and responded with the *Ben’yokusan iji* 弁翼賛遺事. Thus the *Goden yokusan iji* controversy developed into a debate among the leading scholars of religion of the time.

<sup>12</sup> See Tsumaki 1976, pp. 1–21.

As mentioned previously, the *danrin* and *gakurin* of the various sects made a great contribution to the creation of boundaries and definitive drawing of border lines between Edo period “sects.” It is most interesting, therefore, that Gizan and Hōrin, who were both active in their respective academies, took the lead in these religious debates. The religious disputes between the Jōdo Shinshū and Jōdoshū were by no means merely trifling disputes over territory in local and regional communities. They were serious incidents involving the central *danrin* and *gakurin*; and these engaged their opponents with all their strength. Of course, we could understand the aim of Gizan and Hōrin as having been to make use of this religious debate to assert the uniqueness of their own sect. More than anything, it is clear that with the content of the controversies surrounding the *Goden yokusan iji* also being composed in a rather obscure and difficult *kanbun* style, their purview did not extend to attracting the interest and attention of ordinary believers.

This being the case, when did the religious disputes between the Jōdo Shinshū and Jōdoshū begin to be known and apprehended widely among ordinary believers? We can trace that turning point to a document called the *Shinshū anjin chamise mondō* 真宗安心茶店問答, published in the fifth year of Meiwa 明和 (1768). This text presents us with a dialogue styled as a conversation that takes place in a certain tea house among two female customers and a nun. As the two female customers set forth: “We have heard that Jōdoshū and Jōdo Shinshū are the teachings preached by Hōnen and Shinran who were master and disciple, yet they are to one another as different as black and white” and other commonplace doubts and questions, the nun who happens to be sitting next to them breaks in, earnestly admonishing them with the religious doctrines of Jōdo Shinshū. The *Shinshū anjin chamise mondō*, which under the pretext of a fictitious exchange of questions and answers advocates the magnificence of Jōdo Shinshū doctrines, differs from the *Shinran jagiketsu* and the *Goden yokusan iji* in that we might say that it was written with common people in mind as its readership. It was perhaps for this reason that although there is little in the *Shinshū anjin chamise mondō* in the way of radical narrative which might bring about a controversy, its condemnation was attempted in the eighth year of An’ei 安永 (1779) when the Jōdoshū wrote a refutation of it, the *Chamise mondō benka* 茶店問答弁訛. Jōdo Shinshū lost no time in putting out its response to this, the *Chamise mondō benka katsu* 茶店問答弁訛刮. From this swift counter-criticism we may infer that the controversy surrounding the *Shinshū anjin chamise mondō* developed animatedly. Also, we should not overlook the fact that this series of polemical tracts was written, more or less, at the

time of the so-called “Sect Name Incident” (*shūmei jiken* 宗名事件).<sup>13</sup> In the third year of An’ei (1774) both Higashi and Nishi Honganji petitioned the Edo shogunate that from then on they might adopt the name “Jōdo Shinshū” as the only official name of their sect and do away with other commonly used names such as *ikkōshū* 一向宗 and *montoshū* 門徒宗. However, because Jōdoshū temples starting with the Zōjōji brought their opponents to task with the assertion that it was they who might appropriately claim the title of “True Pure Land Sect” (*Jōdo Shinshū*) and because no judgment was forthcoming from the shogunate, the quarrel between the two parties continued with no end in sight. The argument over sect names also became an important concern in published works such as the *Shinshū anjin chamise mondō*, which reflects concretely the debate on this issue that was likely being carried out widely in religious circles. The tendency in the Edo period to place supreme importance on the issue of setting the demarcation lines between “sects” undoubtedly occasioned the polemics regarding sect names between the Jōdoshū and Jōdo Shinshū. Coupled, then, with the heightened sense of rivalry and confrontation between the two sects that came with this Sect Name Incident, the religious polemics surrounding the *Shinshū anjin chamise mondō* came to attract the attention of ordinary believers.

Finally, it would seem necessary to touch on a controversy sparked by an exchange between Jōdoshū and Jōdo Shinshū supporters in Ōhibi 大日比 in the Chōshū 長州 domain (now a part of Yamaguchi Prefecture) as representative of the later part of the Edo period. As Ueno Daisuke has already carried out painstaking analysis of the thought and social structures involved in this religious controversy,<sup>14</sup> I will limit the observations offered here to the following two points. Firstly, this religious controversy, which unfolded during the Bunka 文化 and Bunsei 文政 periods (1804–1830), involved and included ordinary believers. The controversy began within the local society of the Chōshū feudal domain. The Jōdo Shinshū response to a polemical text from the Jōdoshū side penned by the chief priest of a Chinzei 津井 branch temple came from an ordinary believer called Nakano Genzō 中野玄蔵 (1757–1830). Along with the intellectual advancement of local populaces which occurred during the latter part of the Edo period, it seems that there was a concomitant increase in interest and involvement in the polemics between the Jōdoshū and Jōdo Shinshū among ordinary believers. The second key point is that this religious controversy, which had its opening in Chōshū, very quickly became widely known throughout Japan once it was

<sup>13</sup> Regarding this incident see Honganji Shiryō Kenkyūjo 1968, pp. 249–78.

<sup>14</sup> Ueno 2009.

put into print and prompted written refutations and rebuttals from renowned scholar monks. That is to say, the religious disputes between the Jōdoshū and Jōdo Shinshū which occurred during the later part of the Edo period took up issues and concerns which drew the close attention of ordinary believers and also that of scholar monks in central institutions.

*Jōdoshū and Jōdo Shinshū Understandings of “Sects” in Religious Polemics*

As we have seen in the previous section, the religious polemics between Jōdoshū and Jōdo Shinshū were an important opportunity for both parties to establish the uniqueness of “one’s own sect” (*jishū*). So what exactly became the actual points of contention in these debates? I wish to examine this question in the first instance with an analysis of the *Shinshū anjin chamise mondō*<sup>15</sup> and the *Chamise mondō benka*,<sup>16</sup> which dramatically increased the interest and participation among ordinary believers, taking the *Jōdo Shinshū ryūgi mondō* 浄土真宗流義問答,<sup>17</sup> which is earlier than both the other texts, as a supplementary source material.<sup>18</sup>

I would like to first explore the views of Jōdoshū and Jōdo Shinshū concerning the issue of sectarian names. As described previously, the religious controversy relating to the *Shinshū anjin chamise mondō* unfolded at a time when the so-called “sect name” polemics were increasing in severity. What arguments were made, then, by the Jōdoshū and the Jōdo Shinshū regarding the names of their own sects and those of others?

The use of the name “True Pure Land Sect” (*Jōdo Shinshū*) is not limited to the [formally accepted] disciples of Shinran; any and all who recognize the orthodox tradition (*shōryū* 正流) of the Great Teacher may claim it.

This quotation comes from a section of the *Shinshū anjin chamise mondō* in which the nun talks about the sect name “Jōdo Shinshū.” To add an explanatory comment: as in the tenth year of Genroku 元禄 (1697) the court had conferred the honorary name of Enkō Daishi 円光大師 upon the Jōdoshū “sect founder” Hōnen, he is the “Great Teacher” (*daishi* 大師) mentioned by the nun in this passage. This being the case, the nun’s assertion is that

<sup>15</sup> Tsumaki 1976, pp. 129–50.

<sup>16</sup> Shōzen 1779.

<sup>17</sup> Tsumaki 1976, pp. 151–90.

<sup>18</sup> This is also because the *Chamise mondō benka* sets as targets for its polemic both the *Shinshū anjin chamise mondō* and the earlier work *Jōdo Shinshū ryūgi mondō*.

the proper assumption and use of the title “True Pure Land Sect” (Jōdo Shinshū) is not limited to those who recognize the “tradition” (*shōryū*) of Shinran but appropriate to all who recognize the “tradition” of Hōnen, and therefore the position taken up by the *Shinshū anjin chamise mondō* would appear to be rather a modest one. But then, however, she carries on where she left off by pronouncing the following opinion:

Rennyō Shōnin said: “Other Pure Land sects (*jiyō no jōdoshū* 自余ノ浄土宗) allow for the attainment of rebirth in the Pure Land by the performance of sundry practices (*zōgyō* 雑行), but these our [Shinran] Shōnin abandoned, and [the teachings of Shinran] should therefore in especial receive the character *shin* 真 (true).” For this reason, although “Jōdo Shinshū” is a sect name which indicates the fundamentals of the Pure Land tradition (*jōdomon* 浄土門), the words of the teacher Rennyō [in this regard] would seem an admonition to Jōdoshū Chinzei branch and Seizan branch, the [proponents of] *shogyō hongan* 諸行本願, those who attempt to attain rebirth by performing religious practices other than the *shōmyō nenbutsu* 称名念佛 [i.e., invoking the name of Amitābha and meditating on him through chanting]. The *anjin* 安心 [i.e., the “peace of mind” brought about by faith in and longing for the Pure Land through the saving power of Amitābha] of the other Pure Land sects is appropriate to the absence of the character *shin*. The *anjin* of our sect is in keeping with [the teachings of both] the honored teacher [Hōnen] and disciple [Shinran]. It is a legitimate tradition (*shōryū*) which by no means whatsoever may have the character *shin* omitted [from its name].

Such is the narrative of the nun’s section. The “other Pure Land sects” (*jiyō no jōdoshū*) had, unbeknownst to themselves, twisted the teachings of Hōnen and found themselves transfigured into a Pure Land sect unbefitting the character *shin*. For this reason, only the teachings of Shinran, by which one is not to turn to *zōgyō*, practices other than the *shōmyō nenbutsu*, were now fit to be known as those of the “True Pure Land Sect.” Here, the true import of the *Shinshū anjin chamise mondō* is laid bare. Though if read at face value the phrase the “other Pure Land sects” would suggest any Pure Land sect other than Jōdo Shinshū, what might it really indicate? In the *Jōdo Shinshū ryūgi mondō*, written previously to the *Shinshū anjin chamise mondō*, we find the following point made regarding “other Pure Land sects” from the perspective of a Jōdo Shinshū scholar monk.

A certain senior monk (*chōrō* 長老) of the Jōdoshū Chinzei branch spoke as follows: “Shinshū is the doctrine of the disciple (*odeshi no shūshi* 御弟子ノ宗旨). Jōdoshū is the doctrine of the master (*goshishō no shūshi* 御師匠宗旨). Therefore you should all, pray, convert from that doctrine of the disciple to the doctrine of the master, Jōdoshū.” . . . We may well understand that were it as in olden days when Hōnen Shōnin and Shinran Shōnin were still in the world, rather than becoming the follower of the disciple Shinran Shōnin one should become, directly, the follower of Hōnen Shōnin the master. However, if as now it were five hundred long years after both master and disciple passed away to Pure Land rebirth, talk of the doctrines of the disciple and the doctrines of the master and so forth would seem a vexed matter. The reason for this is that there were more than 380 disciples of the founder (*ganso* 元祖) Hōnen Shōnin. Five or six senior disciples (*jōsoku no odeshi* 上足ノ御弟子) were picked out from among them. All of these leading disciples (*kōtei* 高弟) were allowed to receive the *Senchaku hongan nenbutsushū* 選択本願念仏集 and direct oral transmission of teachings concerning rebirth in the Pure Land. Thus since the time when Hōnen was in the world, these leading disciples, each led by their own ideas, have established their own various Jōdoshū, one after another. . . . If Jōdo Shinshū is the doctrine of a disciple, so too is Jōdoshū Chinzei branch the doctrine of a disciple, and the other Pure Land sects should also all be understood to be the doctrines of disciples.

If we trust the narrative of the quoted text, it appears that the Jōdoshū monks of the Edo period would on occasion look down on Jōdo Shinshū as “the doctrines of a disciple,” urging its followers toward “the teachings of the master,” Jōdoshū. The author of the *Jōdo Shinshū ryūgi mondō*, however, while putting forward his particular understanding of “sects,” offers a complete negation of the case made by Jōdoshū monks. Although Hōnen had a large number of disciples, there were only five or six who received direct oral transmission of the essence of the teachings in direct personal audiences. These disciples who received the oral teachings in direct personal audiences (*menju kuketsu* 面受口決) were chosen by Hōnen and began their respective Jōdoshū as each desired.

As a supplement to the views expressed by the author of the text, figure 1 shows the branches within the Jōdoshū established by the so-called leading disciples of Hōnen—commonly called the “four Jōdo branches” (*Jōdo*

Chinzei branch ( <i>Chinzei-ha</i> 鎮西派) Founder of the branch ( <i>haso</i> 派祖): Shōkōbō Benchō 聖光房弁長 (1162–1238)	Initially developed its influence mainly in Kyushu, later becoming the main branch of Jōdoshū. It developed further with the emergence of sub-branches such as the Shirahata branch ( <i>Shirahata-ha</i> 白旗派), Nagoe branch ( <i>Nagoe-ha</i> 名越派) and Fujita branch ( <i>Fujita-ha</i> 藤田派).
Seizan branch ( <i>Seizan-ha</i> 西山派) Founder of the branch: Zennebō Shōkū 善恵房証空 (1177–1247)	Developing its influence from its Kyoto headquarters, it became the second largest Jōdoshū branch after the Chinzei branch. It developed further with the emergence of sub-branches such as the Seikoku branch ( <i>Seikoku-ha</i> 西谷派) and the Fukakusa branch ( <i>Fukakusa-ha</i> 深草派).
Kubonji branch ( <i>Kubonji-ha</i> 九品寺派) Founder of the branch: Kakumyōbō Chōsai 覚明房長西 (1184–1266)	Active mainly from its position of strength in Kyoto, it put forward its own teaching of <i>shogyō hongan</i> , but later went into decline.
Chōrakuji branch ( <i>Chōrakuji-ha</i> 長樂寺派) Founder of the branch: Ryūkan 隆寛 (1148–1228)	Preached the <i>tanengi</i> 多念義 (the doctrine that repetition of the <i>nenbutsu</i> is necessary for rebirth in the Pure Land) from a position of strength in Kantō after key members were exiled to Mutsu 陸奥, but later went into decline.
Ichinengi branch ( <i>Ichinengi-ha</i> 一念義派) Founder of the branch: Seikakubō Kōsai 成覚房幸西 (1163–1247)	Grew influential preaching the <i>Ichinengi</i> (the doctrine that Pure Land rebirth was made possible by reciting the <i>nenbutsu</i> even once), but later went into decline.

Figure 1. Overview of the various Jōdoshū branches

*shiryū* 浄土四流). These are the Chinzei branch, considered to have been founded by Benchō, the Seizan branch considered to have been founded by Shōkū, the Kubonji branch considered to have been founded by Chōsai and the Chōrakuji branch considered to have been founded by Ryūkan. These, with the addition of Shinran and Kōsai of the Ichinengi branch, we may assume to be the disciples who received the oral teachings in direct personal audiences referred to in the text. Thus the protest put forward by the *Jōdo Shinshū ryūgi mondō* is that “the teachings of the disciple” Shinran had nothing whatsoever to distinguish them as such from the teachings of Benchō of the Chinzei branch and Shōkū of the Seizan branch who each received their eligibility and endowment from Hōnen and set up their own branches (*kaishū* 開宗). But then, at the heart of this assertion, there is no call for the “other Pure Land sects” and Jōdo Shinshū, being on an equal footing, to treat one another with respect on a basis of tolerance. In the

later *Shinshū anjin chamise mondō*, the teachings of the “other Pure Land sects” are disparaged as undeserving of the character *shin* and the teachings of Shinran hold the exclusive right to the sect name “Jōdo Shinshū.” We should, it seems, see this word as having had complex connotations even at the stage of the *Jōdo Shinshū ryūgi mondō*. Basically speaking, only when Jōdo Shinshū and the various branches of Jōdoshū are understood to be equal “doctrines of the disciple,” is it possible for Jōdo Shinshū proponents to employ the phrase “other Pure Land sects.” We might say that the line of argument put forward by the Jōdo Shinshū side had at its base a style of perceiving self and other which was always going to be difficult to accept on the Jōdoshū side; and was also one which moved toward finding the “other Pure Land sects” (those other than Jōdo Shinshū) guilty of discord between master and disciple. I touched previously on the purpose of the *Shinshū anjin chamise mondō* having been to introduce the tenets of Jōdo Shinshū, and on it not having been intended as a polemical tract. However, with its frequent use of the phrase the “other Pure Land sects” (*jiyō no jōdoshū*) and with its making Jōdo Shinshū out to be exceptional and outstanding, the presentation of a refutation from the Jōdoshū side, the *Chamise mondō benka*, was of course inevitable.

Of what nature, then, were the criticisms of Jōdo Shinshū deployed in the *Chamise mondō benka*? Compared to the arguments made by Jōdo Shinshū based on their particular understanding of the notion of “sect,” the line of reasoning put forward by the Jōdoshū side is surprisingly simple.

Such is an orthodox lineage (*shōryū*): the orthodox lineage of Bodhidharma [Daruma 達磨 (346?–528?), i.e., Zen] has Bodhidharma as the sect founder (*shūso* 宗祖) and so is it passed down and inherited; the orthodox lineage of Kōbō 弘法 [i.e., Shingon] has Kōbō [Kūkai 空海 (774–835)] as the sect founder and so is it passed down and inherited. Now Jōdoshū, being the orthodox lineage of the Great Teacher [Hōnen], enshrines the sect founder’s image in the main halls (*hondō* 本堂) and holds memorial services for him. There being “four traditions/lineages” (*shiryū* 四流) in the Jōdoshū; in the temples of the Chinzei branch the image of Chinzei [Benchō] is never enshrined in a special position and there are no memorial services held for him, and so it is also in the other three traditions. On the contrary the sect (*shūmon* 宗門) of the nun [who appears in the *Shinshū anjin chamise mondō*, that is, Jōdo Shinshū] sets Shinran as sect founder, and neither places the image of the Great Teacher [Hōnen] among those of their line

of cultic ancestors (*resso* 列祖) nor conducts memorial services for him. And thus, considering their annual memorial services for Shinran in November (*shimotsuki* 霜月), should we not say that theirs is not the orthodox lineage of the Great Teacher [Hōnen] but rather that of Shinran?

Just as Bodhidharma is “sect founder” (宗祖 *shūso*) of the Zenshū 禪宗 and the “sect founder” of the Shingonshū is Kūkai, the “sect founder” of the Jōdoshū is Hōnen. Because Jōdo Shinshū’s veneration of Shinran alone does not show deference to Hōnen, however, it is ineligible to be Jōdoshū orthodoxy. Here the line of argument utilized by the Jōdoshū seems clear-cut. It was the assertion of the superiority of the Jōdoshū on the grounds that it represented the direct lineage of Hōnen, whose role and significance, being the “sect founder” of all those who preach Pure Land rebirth through the practice of the *nenbutsu*, was emphasized.

For the present I will leave aside the question of what kinds of impression the arguments detailed above made on the Jōdo Shinshū, and move ahead. The trump played by the Jōdoshū, seeking to guarantee its own orthodoxy by pushing the “sect founder” Hōnen to the forefront, was the assertion that those such as Shinran were from the start never disciples of Hōnen. I have previously mentioned that Jōdo Shinshū followers were unsettled by the contention made in the *Shinran jagiketsu* that “Shinran Shōnin is not the disciple of Genkū Shōnin 源空上人 [i.e., Hōnen]. [He] is the disciple of Seikakubō.” This “Seikakubō” is the Kōsai who appears in figure 1. Kōsai is well known as a distinguished Ichinengi branch monk who preached that rebirth in the Pure Land was secured with the first chanting of the *nenbutsu*. The Ichinengi branch was misunderstood as a teaching by which one who chants merely a single *nenbutsu* might achieve rebirth in Sukhāvātī no matter what evil deeds they might commit. It later became a synonym for heretical doctrine. The *Shinran jagiketsu* made use of this later assessment of the worth of the Ichinengi branch, to the extreme provocation of Jōdo Shinshū, in suggesting that both Kōsai and Shinran were of a heretical faction excommunicated by Hōnen. The image of Shinran as being of the Ichinengi branch and having been excommunicated by Hōnen was repeatedly reproduced in the *Chamise mondō benka* to the exasperation of those who belonged to the Jōdo Shinshū.

Apparently, then, the religious polemics surrounding the *Shinshū anjin chamise mondō* were reaching a fierce and bitter extreme. Jōdo Shinshū was now denouncing Jōdoshū as a teaching of discord between master and disci-

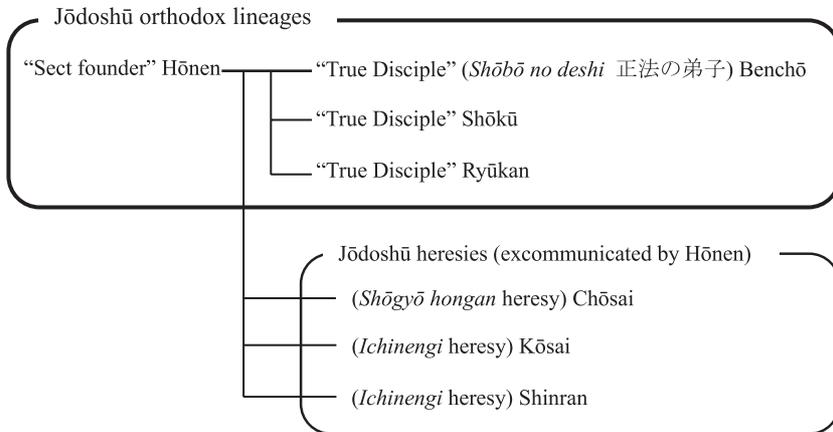


Figure 2. Perception of “sect” in early modern Jōdoshū

ple and on the Jōdoshū side the teachings of Jōdo Shinshū were condemned as heresy. However, we must not overlook the fact that the arguments so hotly contested by both parties do not mesh or meaningfully engage with one another in the least.<sup>19</sup> The reason for this is that the Jōdoshū and Jōdo Shinshū of the Edo period had fundamentally different conceptions of one another’s “sect.”

Figure 2 is a graphical representation of the perceptions of “sect” in early modern Jōdoshū made based on the descriptions in the *Chamise mondō benka*. I have previously touched on the assertions of the various branches of the Jōdoshū being structured around making Hōnen as “sect founder” an absolute.

With Hōnen as “sect founder,” the orthodoxy of the Chinzei and Seizan branches is guaranteed by their being “true disciples” (*shōbō no deshi*) who inherit the true teachings from Hōnen. At the same time the Jōdoshū heretics

<sup>19</sup> For example, the *Chamise mondō benka* lambasts Jōdo Shinshū with allegations of exclusive veneration of Shinran and disregard of Hōnen. However, in the *Jōdo Shinshū ryūgi mondō* we read: “The other Pure Land sects go awry in hiding the founders (*kaisan* 開山) of their own houses and not speaking thereof. Because they have not seen even an image of the *shōnin* founder of the sect, lay supporters (*danna gata* 檀那方) who even know the [founder’s] name are rare.” This casts suspicion and aspersion on the Chinzei branch not venerating Benchō and the Seizan branch not venerating Shōkū. Polemics such as these between the Jōdoshū and Jōdo Shinshū followed parallel courses, not so much clashing head on but rather running close to yet missing one another.

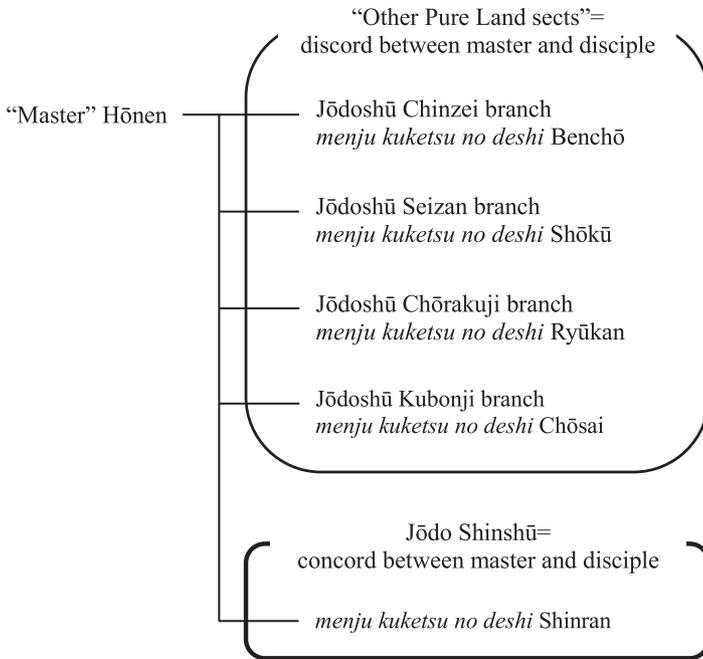


Figure 3. Perception of “sect” in early modern Jōdo Shinshū

excommunicated by the “sect founder” Hōnen, such as Chōsai who preached that various practices other than the *shōmyō nenbutsu* were necessary to achieve Pure Land rebirth, Kōsai who preached that Pure Land rebirth was determined from the very first intonation of the *shōmyō nenbutsu* and above all Shinran, were banished beyond the bounds of orthodoxy.

Next, if we represent graphically the perceptions of “sect” in early modern Jōdo Shinshū relying on the descriptions of the *Shinshū anjin chamise mondō* and *Jōdo Shinshū ryūgi mondō*, it would surely look something like figure 3. Hōnen is of course seen as a great teacher who preached the doctrine of Pure Land rebirth through the *nenbutsu* of Jōdo Shinshū to monks and laypeople alike; yet by no means is he their “sect founder.” This is because Hōnen is understood to have permitted each of his disciples who received direct oral teachings (*menju kuketsu no deshi*) to found a Jōdoshū of their own. So, according to the Jōdo Shinshū understanding, the “sect founder” who founded the Jōdoshū Chinzei branch was Benchō and the “sect founder” who founded the Jōdoshū Seizan branch was Shōkū. It hardly needs to be pointed out that the “sect founder” of Jōdo Shinshū is Shinran. With the

various Jōdoshū branches of Hōnen's disciples arrayed as coexisting equals, we might say that it was only natural for each to possess a few unique characteristics. However, because Benchō's Chinzei branch and Shōkū's Seizan branch—considered “other Pure Land sects”—had gradually drifted far from the teachings of the master, now only those who were of Shinran's lineage could rightly take on the character *shin* and claim the title of “Jōdo Shinshū.”

The Jōdoshū and Jōdo Shinshū conceptions of “sect” described above are totally incompatible. With the two sides moving from entirely different premises, the criticism leveled in all earnestness by the Jōdoshū regarding why Shinran should be the focus of veneration and not the “sect founder” Hōnen must surely have seemed strangely off the point to the Jōdo Shinshū. The question of which of the two sides' understandings is historically pertinent or accurate is not particularly meaningful. Returning to Kinryū Shizuka's assertion, it was in the time of Rennyō that Shinran gradually came to be thought of as the “sect founder” and other pioneering steps were taken on the road toward the formation of a “sect.” This being the case, Benchō, Shōkū, Shinran, and of course Hōnen did not think of themselves as “sect founders.” What demands our attention here, however, is that both Jōdoshū and Jōdo Shinshū proclaim their unassailable orthodoxy based on certain understandings of “sect” despite these understandings containing elements of fallacy. If we look back to the medieval period, both Hōnen and Shinran were little more than a heretical faction in relation to the power and authority of the *kenmitsu* Buddhist orthodoxy. Nevertheless, in the Edo period religious polemics surrounding the *Shinshū anjin chamise mondō* both Jōdoshū and Jōdo Shinshū (although both are sects which preach rebirth in the Pure Land through the practice of the *nenbutsu*) proudly asserted the orthodoxy of their “own sect” (*jishū*) in relation to that of “other sects” (*tashū*). If the separation of “sects” as distinct entities and the assertion of the uniqueness of “one's own sect” is a special feature of early modern Buddhism, we can also surely state with certainty that early modern understandings of “sects” were deployed by each side against their rivals in the religious polemics which occurred between Jōdoshū and Jōdo Shinshū. So far, taking the religious polemics centering on “sect names” (*shūmei*) which occurred between Jōdoshū and Jōdo Shinshū as our subject matter, we have tried to take a sample of both parties' perceptions of self and other during the Edo period. At the risk of repetition; along with holding to concepts of “sect” based on differing premises, both parties were forthright with a solid and unshakeable sense of the orthodoxy of “one's own sect.” This being the case, surely perceptions of self and other in Jōdoshū and Jōdo Shinshū

exerted a variety of influences on the formation of both parties' understandings of dogma and also on their *shūfū* 宗風 (the rules and customs particular to the "sect"). Through an examination of the positions taken regarding *rinjū* 臨終 (the time of dying) and *raikō* 来迎 (the coming of Buddhist holy beings to meet the dying believer and welcome them to the Pure Land) in the religious controversy surrounding the *Shinshū anjin chamise mondō*, I wish to consider the interrelationship of "sect" awareness and the various doctrines, rules and customs advocated by each sect.

*Raikō* in its original sense means the coming of Buddhas and bodhisattvas from Sukhāvātī to meet the dying *nenbutsu* practitioner. Modern Jōdoshū and Jōdo Shinshū, however, have radically different assessments of its significance. In the case of Jōdoshū, which sees realization of Pure Land rebirth at the point of death as very important, there is a positive approach to meeting one's death praying for the coming forth of Buddhas and bodhisattvas, images of which are placed at the bedsides of the dying. On the other hand, as Jōdo Shinshū considers Pure Land rebirth certain from the point in time at which *shinjin* 信心 ("faith") is received without the need of waiting for confirmation at the time of death, it takes a negative view of waiting in hope of a special *raikō* at the hour of death. Let us see what views on this issue were expressed in the Edo period religious polemics by Jōdoshū and Jōdo Shinshū.

The reliance on *raikō* in the teachings of the other Pure Land sects is due to their engagement with *shogyō ōjō* 諸行往生 [practices for Pure Land rebirth other than the chanting of the *nenbutsu*]. . . . That our sect [Jōdo Shinshū] does not hope upon *raikō* is due to our status as beings determined to attain enlightenment (*shōjōju* 正定聚, Sk. *samyaktva-niyata*), seeking Pure Land rebirth through the *nenbutsu* and the eighteenth vow. This vow does not promise *raikō*. For this reason the expository writings on the eighteenth vow of both the Great Teachers Zendō 善導 (Ch. Shandao) and Enkō [Hōnen] contain no mention whatsoever of *raikō*. . . . For this reason *raikō* is not hoped upon according to the sect rules and customs of Shinran [Jōdo Shinshū].

This is a short excerpt from the *Shinshū anjin chamise mondō*. Though the assessment regarding *raikō* in this text written from the Jōdo Shinshū perspective is clearly negative, there is a need for some explanation of the finer points of the meaning of the passage. Why, when the "other Pure Land sects" preaching Pure Land rebirth through the *nenbutsu* acknowledge *raikō*,

should Jōdo Shinshū alone be dismissive of it? *Shinshū anjin chamise mondō* responds to this line of questioning with the answer that this is because Jōdoshū in contrast to Jōdo Shinshū puts its faith in *shogyō ōjō*. This is the doctrine which preaches that various practices other than *shōmyō nenbutsu* are necessary for rebirth in the Pure Land, as was advocated with success by Kakumyōbō Chōsai of the Jōdoshū Kubonji branch. As the *Chamise mondō benka* makes clear, the various branches of Edo period Jōdoshū saw *shogyō ōjō* as a heresy (n.b., the Kubonji branch had already gone into decline):

*Shogyō hongan* as taught by the Kakumyō tradition (*Kakumyō ryū* 覚明流 [i.e., the Kubonji branch]) goes against the teachings of the two Great Teachers [Zendō and Hōnen]. . . . Hence Kakumyō was eliminated from the line of disciples [of Hōnen].”

Nevertheless their hackles rose when the *Shinshū anjin chamise mondō* labeled the Seizan and Chinzei branches, which affirmed *raikō*, as believers in *shogyō ōjō*: “hoping in expectation of *raikō* at the time of dying is of the Kubonji branch, of the tradition (*ryū*) of Kakumyōbō Chōsai, [they] who put their faith in the nineteenth vow. It is the same as the doctrine of *shogyō ōjō*.” The eighteenth and nineteenth vows mentioned in the quoted material are of the vows made by Amitābha before undertaking his religious training and austerities, as is written in the *Sukhāvātīvyūha-sūtra* (Jp. *Bussetsu muryōju kyō* 仏説無量壽經), one of the three principal texts of the Pure Land tradition. Of the total of forty-eight vows, the eighteenth is the promise to save all those who chant the *nenbutsu* and was seen as the most important by Hōnen and Shinran. The *Shinshū anjin chamise mondō* declares that such things as *raikō* are but the teaching of *shogyō ōjō* set down in the nineteenth vow, and denounces therefore the various branches of contemporary Jōdoshū as untrue to the ideas of Hōnen. Following this line of argument, what seems to be being put forward is that Jōdo Shinshū’s not laying hope in *raikō* is not so much a matter of the rights or wrongs of the teachings of Shinran, but rather due to their obedience to those of Hōnen.

However, the opinion expressed in the *Shinshū anjin chamise mondō* was not one which might convince the Jōdoshū. The following assessment relating to *raikō* was put forward in the *Chamise mondō benka*:

The Great Teacher (Hōnen), to explain the nineteenth vow, stated the following: “[At the time of death] arise the three types of *aishin* 愛心 [‘desire-dominated mind’]—toward one’s life in this world (*kyōgai* 境界), toward one’s own self (*jitai* 自体), and toward

the coming life (*tōshō* 当生). King Māra of the sixth heaven in the realm of desire then suddenly appears with power to hinder [rebirth in the Pure land]. To remove this obstacle, the Buddha [Amitābha] vowed to appear without fail before that [*nenbutsu* practitioner] along with his bodhisattvas and holy retinue at the time of death. Thus was the nineteenth vow. By virtue of it, the Buddha [Amitābha] comes forth to meet one at the time of death and, seeing this, [the *nenbutsu* practitioner] may straight away alight upon the lotus throne of Avalokiteśvara. Because of this great boon it is said that *nenbutsu* practitioners are all taken in [to the Pure Land] and none are abandoned (*sesshu fusha* 撰取不捨).” As can well be seen from the above, the Great Teacher [Hōnen] explains this nineteenth vow as a benefit of the *nenbutsu*. Should we claim, in spite of this, that the nineteenth vow is that which is espoused by the tradition of Kakumyōbō, is Hōnen then also of the tradition of Kakumyōbō?

Because Jōdoshū adopted a line of argument by which it sought to demonstrate the orthodoxy of its “own sect” by asserting the absolute significance of the “sect founder” Hōnen, the refutation offered by the *Chamise mondō benka* has, as might be expected, the words of Hōnen as its basis. Hōnen did not only actively expound upon the eighteenth vow, but also the nineteenth, praising the merits of *raikō*. Thus the disavowal of the *raikō* in the *Shinshū anjin chamise mondō* might seem to imply treating even Hōnen himself as a heretic.

Looking at the debate on *raikō* between the Jōdoshū and Jōdo Shinshū, the positions taken up by each party can be readily understood, both of them paying close attention to the role of Hōnen. Though the concepts of “sect” they held differed greatly, it was necessary for both sides to praise the orthodox teachings of Hōnen: Jōdoshū from the perspective of propounding the absolute importance of the “sect founder” and Jōdo Shinshū from the perspective of propounding the concord between the disciple Shinran and his master.<sup>20</sup> For this reason there was a particular focus in the religious

<sup>20</sup> Regarding this point, Ueno’s previously cited paper (Ueno 2009, see footnote 14) points out the a priori advantage held by early modern Jōdoshū which could criticize Shinran based on the teachings of Hōnen over early modern Jōdo Shinshū which in contrast could not deny Hōnen. My own view however is a little different. In the *Shinshū anjin chamise mondō* and the *Jōdo Shinshū ryūgi mondō*, Hōnen is persistently praised only in a manner which distinguishes him from any connections to the various existing branches of the Jōdoshū, and these various branches are themselves denounced for distorting his true intentions (see figure 3).

polemics which occurred between Jōdoshū and Jōdo Shinshū on going through issues one by one for conformity with Hōnen's thought and instructions, each side making its own claims for orthodoxy. These issues were not only those relating to *raikō*, but also those pertaining to the fundamentals of the key doctrine regarding Pure Land rebirth through *tariki* 他力 and *jiriki* 自力 ("other power" and "self power," respectively), and also matters of form such as the question of what robes monks ought to wear. One might see these discussions as being markedly early modern in nature. As previously stated, in the medieval religious world in which Hōnen and Shinran lived, master and disciple were bound by the principle of *monryū*. At this stage it was taken for granted that the coming generation of leaders of the *monryū* would change the teachings which had been in place up until the end of the time of their predecessors. The Jōdoshū and Jōdo Shinshū monks and laypeople living in the Edo period, however, retrospectively applied the logic of "sect" to Hōnen and Shinran. The unalterable teachings of the two masters were pushed to the fore in the fierce debates in which the two sides engaged. The defining qualities of the early modern religious world where highest priority was placed on the issue of the maintenance and reinforcement of the independent establishment of "sects" are surely reflected in the very nature of these religious polemics.

### *Concluding Remarks*

In this paper I have attempted to trace early modern concepts of belonging to a "sect" via the glimpse of them gained by focusing on the religious polemics which occurred between Jōdoshū and Jōdo Shinshū. As a result, the postures of both parties, consistently asserting disparity with other "sects" while moving toward establishing the uniqueness of their own "sect," has become clear. It would seem fair to conclude that all the major Buddhist lineages of the Edo period, to varying degrees, took this course toward heightened consciousness of "sect."

Though examination of materials related to sects other than Jōdoshū and Jōdo Shinshū will have to be left for another occasion, I would like last of all to touch on the connection between the awareness of "sects" developed by both parties for the first time in the Edo period and modern Buddhism.

---

In the early modern religious world in which the major issue at hand was the independent establishment of "sects," we should be aware that the lines of argument criticizing "other sects" (*tashū*) set forth by both Jōdoshū and Jōdo Shinshū were very much products of their time.

Though a somewhat unbecoming choice of example, let us suppose that we in the here and now found ourselves in a position in which we were to explain the distinctive features of Jōdoshū and Jōdo Shinshū. Though of course even now the differences between the two parties are somewhat of a delicate matter; put from a position leaning toward the Jōdoshū, one might well offer an explanation in terms of a Jōdoshū which faithfully inherited the unaltered teachings of Hōnen and a Jōdo Shinshū which took the doctrine of salvation by other power (*tariki hongan* 他力本願) to an extreme. Furthermore, with a Jōdo Shinshū leaning, an explanation would be possible along the lines of a Jōdo Shinshū which faithfully expanded upon the doctrine of exclusive practice of the *nenbutsu* propounded by Hōnen and a Jōdoshū which remained at a halfway stage. Understandings on the parts of Jōdoshū and Jōdo Shinshū similar to those above have perhaps become clear in the course of the considerations made in this paper of both parties' polemics. If we look to the *Chamise mondō benka*, a Jōdo Shinshū which has moved toward the false teaching of the *Ichinengi* due to a misunderstanding of the "sect founder" Hōnen is criticized time and again from the standpoint of a Jōdoshū which is heir to Hōnen's orthodoxy. On the other hand in the *Shinshū anjin chamise mondō*, the various Jōdoshū branches, representing discord between master and disciple, are denounced as distorters of the teaching of Hōnen from the perspective of a Jōdo Shinshū proud of the unity between master and disciple represented by its "sect." Seeing the matter in this light, we become newly and perhaps even painfully aware of the greatness of the influence exerted on modern Buddhism by the teachings of a Jōdoshū and a Jōdo Shinshū set on the independent establishment of "sects" during the Edo period.

(Translated by Jon Morris)

#### REFERENCES

- En'ya Kikumi 塩谷菊美. 2004. *Shinshū jiin yuishogaki to Shinranden* 真宗寺院由緒書と親鸞伝. Kyoto: Hōzōkan.
- Fukagawa Nobuhiro 深川宣暢. 1998. "Shinshū ni okeru shūron no kenkyū: Jōdoshū to no jōron" 真宗における宗論の研究：浄土宗との諍論. *Shinshū kenkyū* 真宗研究 42, pp. 60–83.
- Fujii Manabu 藤井学. 2002. *Hokke bunka no tenkai* 法華文化の展開. Kyoto: Hōzōkan.
- Hikino Kyōsuke 引野亨輔. 2007. *Kinsei shūkyō sekai ni okeru fuhen to tokushu* 近世宗教世界における普遍と特殊. Kyoto: Hōzōkan.

- Honganji Shiryō Kenkyūjo 本願寺史料研究所, ed. 1968. *Honganji-shi* 本願寺史, vol. 2. Kyoto: Jōdo Shinshū Honganji-ha Shūmusho.
- Kanmuri Ken'ichi 冠賢一. 1967. "Kinsei ni okeru 'Nichiren shōnin den' no shuppan: Soshi shinkō hyōshutsu no ichimen ni tsuite" 近世における「日蓮聖人伝」の出版：祖師信仰表出の一面について. *Nihon bukkyō* 日本仏教 27, pp. 34–46.
- Kinryū Shizuka 金龍静. 1997. "Ikkōshū no shūha no seiritsu" 一向宗の宗派の成立. In *Kōza Rennyō* 講座蓮如, vol. 4, ed. Jōdo Shinshū Kyōgaku Kenkyūjo 浄土真宗教学研究所 and Honganji Shiryō Kenkyūjo 本願寺史料研究所. Tokyo: Heibonsha.
- Kitashiro Nobuko 北城伸子. 2000. "Hōnen den to shuppan bunka" 法然伝と出版文化. *Ōtani daigaku daigakuin kenkyū kiyō* 大谷大学大学院研究紀要 17, pp. 177–205.
- Kuroda Toshio 黒田俊雄. 1975. *Nihon chūsei no kokka to shūkyō* 日本中世の国家と宗教. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.
- Nishimura Ryō 西村玲. 2008. *Kinsei bukkyō shisō no dokusō* 近世仏教思想の独創. Tokyo: Transview.
- Shōzen 尚全, ed. 1779 (An'ei 8). *Chamise mondō benka* 茶店問答弁訛. Copy held at the National Diet Library (*Kokuritsu kokkai toshokan* 国立国会図書館). Reference number 104-78.
- Tamamuro Fumio 圭室文雄. 1987. *Nihon bukkyōshi: Kinsei* 日本仏教史：近世. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan.
- Tsumaki Jikiryō 妻木直良, ed. 1976. *Shinshū zensho* 真宗全書, vol. 59. Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai.
- Ueno Daisuke 上野大輔. 2009. "Chōshū Ōhibi shūron no tenkai: Kinsei kōki ni okeru shūkyōteki tairitsu no yōsō" 長州大日比宗論の展開：近世後期における宗教的対立の様相. *Nihonshi kenkyū* 日本史研究 562, pp. 1–28.
- Yuasa Haruhisa 湯浅治久. 2009. *Sengoku bukkyō: Chūsei shakai to Nichirenshū* 戦国仏教：中世社会と日蓮宗. Tokyo: Chūō Kōron Shinsha.
- Yūki Reimon 結城令聞. 1982. "Shūron to honpa shūgaku" 宗論と本派宗学. *Ryūkoku daigaku bukkyō bunka kenkyūjyo kiyō* 龍谷大学仏教文化研究所紀要 20, pp. 347–69.

