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# The Sanmon-Jimon Schism in the Tendai School of Buddhism: A Preliminary Analysis<sup>1</sup>

*by Neil McMullin*

One of the most important events in the history of the Tendai school of Buddhism, and of Buddhism in general in Japan, was the fracturing of the Tendai monastic community into two major branches, the so-called Sanmon and Jimon branches. The Sanmon-Jimon schism came about in a sequence of events in the latter decades of the tenth century, after which the Enryakuji, the Tendai monastery on Mt. Hiei, approximately ten kilometers to the north-east of Kyōto, became the “head monastery” (*honzan*, or *honji*) of the Sanmon branch of the Tendai school, and the Onjōji, a monastery in the town of Ōtsu, about six kilometers to the south-east of Mt. Hiei, became the head monastery of the Jimon branch of Tendai. Although the Sanmon-Jimon split did not come about until the end of the tenth century, its roots may be traced back to the first decades of the ninth century, to the early years of the Tendai school in Japan. In anything short of a book-length manuscript it is not possible to analyze all those factors—political, economic, doctrinal, and so forth—that contributed to the Sanmon-Jimon schism. The purpose of this paper is to examine what may be called the major long-term cause and the main immediate cause of that schism. The major long-term cause of the Sanmon-Jimon split was an approximately 150-year-long conflict within the Tendai community over the issue of which group of monks would be in control of Mt. Hiei, that is, who would hold the highest offices in the Enryakuji, especially the office of “Head Abbot of the Tendai School” (*Tendai zasu*). The main immediate cause of the split was a series of steps that were taken by the

monk Ryōgen (Jie Daishi, or Ganzan Daishi: 912–985), the eighteenth Tendai *zasu*, in an effort to impose unity and organization on the monastic community on Mt. Hiei.<sup>2</sup>

The seeds of the Sanmon-Jimon schism were planted during the lifetime of Saichō (Dengyō Daishi: 767–822), the founder of the Tendai school in Japan. In 812, Saichō, who was then very ill, granted the “seal of the transmission of the Law” (*fuhō insho*) to his disciple Enchō (771–837), who had been one of his leading disciples since he joined Saichō’s community on Mt. Hiei in 798. Thus, Saichō designated Enchō as his successor as leader of the Tendai community and the person entrusted with the responsibility to “transmit the Law” (*dempō*) of the Tendai school.<sup>3</sup> Shortly after Saichō made that appointment, however, he regained his health and lived another ten years, until June 26, 822 (6/4/Kōnin 13). On June 7 (5/15) of that year, several weeks before he died, Saichō designated the monk Gishin (781–833) as his successor. Gishin was a scholarly monk who could speak Chinese and who had accompanied Saichō to China in 804 as his assistant and translator.<sup>4</sup> After returning to Japan in June of 805, Gishin spent the next eight years not at Mt. Hiei but in his home province of Sagami; in 813, he returned to Mt. Hiei and stayed there for the remaining twenty years of his life. On Mt. Hiei, Gishin appears to have enjoyed a special status: because of the unique relation he had had with Saichō as a result of having accompanied him to China, and because, like Saichō, he had been initiated into various schools of Buddhism in China by Chinese masters, his status was higher than that of the other members of Saichō’s community. Gishin had disciples of his own on Mt. Hiei, and, according to Ienaga Saburō, his relations with Saicho’s disciples were not very close.<sup>5</sup>

When Saichō designated Gishin as his successor, the monk Kōjō (779–858), who had studied under both Saichō and Gishin and who was one of Saichō’s leading disciples,<sup>6</sup> reminded his master that ten years earlier he had appointed Enchō to be his successor, and therefore he asked Saichō to indicate which of those two monks should succeed him. Saichō replied that the monk who had seniority in his community—that is, Gishin—should be his successor.<sup>7</sup> Kōjō then is reported to have asked Saichō who should lead the Tendai community after both Gi-

shin and Enchō died, and Saichō told him that the community should develop along two lines, that is, presumably, the lines of Gishin's disciples and Enchō's disciples.<sup>8</sup> It was during the lifetime of Saichō, therefore, that the roots of factionalism in the Tendai community were planted.

When Saichō died, Gishin, in keeping with Saichō's wishes, succeeded him, and almost two years later, on July 21, 824 (6/22/Tenchō 1), he received an Imperial commission whereby he was appointed the "Law-transmitting master of the Enryakuji" (Enryakuji *no dempōshi*).<sup>9</sup> Before Gishin himself died some nine years later (July 24, 833: 7/4/Tenchō 10), he designated his disciple Enshū as his successor. After Gishin died, Enshū, according to the *Tendai Zasu-ki*, "privately" (*shi ni*) took upon himself the title of abbot of the Enryakuji even though he had not received the approval of the "assembly of monks" (*daishu*).<sup>10</sup> In response to Enshū's presumptuous claim, Kōjō publicly declared that the proper successor to Gishin, according to Saichō's instructions, should be Enchō, whom Saichō had designated personally in 812 to be his successor, and not Enshū, whom Gishin had designated. Evidently, a number of monks besides Kōjō supported the claim of Enchō to be Gishin's successor, and consequently there developed a conflict between the supporters of Enchō and those of Enshū, a conflict that went on for a number of months. According to Tsuji Zenosuke, some fifty monks backed Enshū and tried to press his claim to be the legitimate successor to Gishin, but the supporters of Enchō, who outnumbered the supporters of Enshū, refused to acknowledge the validity of the latter's claim.<sup>11</sup>

On December 8, 833 (10/24/Tenchō 10), Kōjō appealed to Fujiwara no Tadamori, who was one of the "lay administrators" (*zoku-bettō*) of the Enryakuji, to resolve the succession dispute in favor of Enchō, and four days later, on December 12 (10/28), he submitted a similar appeal to the Court. In response to Kōjō's appeal, on April 8, 834 (3/16/Jōwa 1), the Court sent an emissary, Wake no Matsuna (783-846), to Mt. Hiei with an Imperial proclamation that debarred Enshū from office and declared Enchō to be the master of the Tendai school.<sup>12</sup> Thus, the succession dispute was resolved some nine months after it began. Rather than stay at the Enryakuji and live under the authority of Enchō, however, Enshū and a number of his support-

ers left Mt. Hiei and went to live at the Murōji, a monastery in Yamato province.<sup>13</sup> It was, says Tsuji Zennosuke, the Enchō-Enshū succession dispute that marked the beginning of the Sanmon-Jimon schism.<sup>14</sup>

On December 8, 836 (10/26/Jōwa 3), just two-and-a-half years after he assumed office, Enchō died. From the time of his death until May of 854, a period of almost eighteen years, there was no head abbot of the Tendai school: evidently an ongoing succession dispute between the monks of the Saichō-Enchō line and those of the Gishin-Enshū line prevented the appointment of a successor to Enchō. In that eighteen-year period, the Enryakuji's business was conducted by an "administrator" (*ken-gyō*) who acted in conjunction with the *sangō*, a committee of three monks who looked after the monastery's affairs.<sup>15</sup>

On May 3, 854 (4/3/Saikō 1), the monk Ennin (Jikaku Dai-shi: 794-864), who had been a disciple of Saichō from the year 808 and who had returned from a nine-and-one-half-year stay in China in 847, was appointed head abbot of the Tendai school (Tendai *zasu*).<sup>16</sup> Ten years later, on February 24, 864 (1/14/Jōgan 6), Ennin died and was succeeded, in keeping with his wishes, by his disciple An'e, who became the fourth Tendai *zasu* on March 27 (2/16) of that year.<sup>17</sup> Four years later, on April 29, 868 (4/3/Jōgan 10), An'e died. The Saichō-Ennin line then had been in possession of the office of Tendai *zasu* for an uninterrupted period of almost fourteen years. During that period the Saichō-Ennin line established its power and authority on Mt. Hiei, especially in the "Eastern Pagoda" (*tōtō*) area, the area around the Konponchūdō built by Saichō in 788. In that area, Ennin built a number of "cloisters" (*in*), two of which, the Tōin and the Sōjiin, were especially important because they soon became the centers of the Saichō-Ennin line of monks on Mt. Hiei. Shortly after he returned from China in 847, Ennin built the Tōin as his "residence" (*jūbō*) on Mt. Hiei, and in 850 he built the Sōjiin with the financial assistance of Emperor Montoku, who wished to establish a "practice hall for the protection of the country" (*chinkoku dōjō*) on Mt. Hiei.<sup>18</sup> On February 23, 864 (1/13/Jōgan 6), the day before Ennin died, he instructed his disciples to assemble in the Sōjiin the texts, iconographic materials, and mandalas that belonged to the "esoteric" (*mikkyō*) form of Tendai Buddhism that both he and Saichō had brought back

from China, so that the Sōjiin might become the center of the esoteric form of Tendai (Tendai *mikkyō*, or Taimitsu).<sup>19</sup> Thenceforth, the abbot of the Sōjiin would be chosen from Ennin's personal line of disciples, his *monto*. Ennin also opened up and developed the Yokawa area of Mt. Hiei, an area that is situated several kilometers north of the Eastern Pagoda. On October 20, 829 (9/19/Tenchō 6), Ennin, who was then ill, moved to Yokawa and began to build a cloister called the Shuryōgon'in as a place of solitude and retreat. In 848, the year after his return from China, Ennin completed the construction of the Shuryōgon'in and began to develop the Yokawa area as the center of his personal line of disciples.<sup>20</sup> Thus, by the time Ennin died, the Tōin, the Sōjiin, and the Shuryōgon'in had been established as the bases of power of the Saichō-Ennin line on Mt. Hiei.

On June 26, 868 (6/3/Jōgan 10), two months after An'e died, the monk Enchin (Chishō Daishi: 814–891), who had been a disciple of Gishin from 829, was appointed the fifth Tendai *zasu*. Upon his return in 858 from a five-year stay in China, Enchin went to Mt. Hiei, where he built a second Tōin in the Eastern Pagoda area as his residence.<sup>21</sup> Between 858 and 868, when he became Tendai *zasu*, Enchin mostly lived not on Mt. Hiei but at the Onjōji, where he built another residence called the *Tōbō*.<sup>22</sup> In 859 Enchin was appointed the "administrator" (*chōri*) of the Onjōji, and on June 29, 866 (5/14/Jōgan 8), the Onjōji became a "detached cloister" (*betsuin*) of the Enryakuji and Enchin was appointed its abbot (*bettō*). Even after Enchin became Tendai *zasu* he continued to develop the Onjōji: in 875, for example, he had a large hall (*kōdō*) and a pagoda built there.<sup>23</sup> Whereas Ennin strove to establish the Sōjiin as the center of esoteric Tendai, Enchin developed the Onjōji as the new Taimitsu center and, as a result of his efforts, the Onjōji took over that role from the Sōjiin. Enchin also developed the West Valley section of the Eastern Pagoda area as well as the "Western Pagoda" (*saitō*) area; over which he was appointed master in 888 and where he built several large cloisters as the centers of his personal line of disciples. By the end of the ninth century, therefore, the Gishin-Enchin line had become powerful both on Mt. Hiei and at the Onjōji, where it had established a second base of power.

Enchin was aware of the tensions and rivalries between the monks who belonged to the Saichō-Ennin line and those of his own line, and there is some evidence that he tried to dispel the tensions and mute the rivalries. In article nine of his twelve-article “last will” (*daishi yuigon*), dated December 3, 891 (10/28/Kampyō 3), the day before he died, Enchin instructed his disciples to have good relations with Ennin’s disciples: he urged the monks of the two lines to mingle with each other like water and milk, and to get along with each other like parents and their children.<sup>24</sup> According to the *Kyōto no Rekishi*, however, this document is probably a forgery by a member of the Saichō-Ennin line.<sup>25</sup>

Following the death of Enchin, the fifth Tendai *zasu*, the sixth, seventh, and eighth Tendai *zasu* were Gishin-Enchin monks, the ninth a Saichō-Ennin monk, the tenth through the thirteenth Gishin-Enchin, and the fourteenth through the seventeenth Saichō-Ennin.<sup>26</sup> Therefore, in the 74-year period between 891, when Enchin died, and 966, when Ryōgen became Tendai *zasu*, seven Tendai *zasu* belonged to the Gishin-Enchin line, and five to the Saichō-Ennin line; Gishin-Enchin monks held the highest office in the Tendai school for 41 years, and Saichō-Ennin monks for 33 years. In the earlier 68-year period between the death of Saichō in 822 and the death of Enchin in 891, Saichō-Ennin monks were Tendai *zasu* for sixteen years, and Gishin-Enchin monks for 33 years. Therefore, in the 143 years between the death of Saichō in 822 and the appointment of Ryōgen as Tendai *zasu* in 966, Gishin-Enchin monks held the highest office in the Tendai school for 74 years, and Saichō-Ennin monks for 49 years: the Gishin-Enchin line was in power fifty percent longer than the Saichō-Ennin line. Thus, the Gishin-Enchin line had a considerable advantage over the Saichō-Ennin line: because it had been in power far longer than the Saichō-Ennin line, by the mid-tenth century it owned more buildings and had more monks.<sup>27</sup> Although there were no major conflicts between the monks of the two lines in the century following the death of Enchin, the tensions and rivalry between them continued.

The Sanmon-Jimon schism came about in a sequence of events that took place during and shortly after the term of office of the eighteenth Tendai *zasu*, Ryōgen, who was a mem-

ber of the Saichō-Ennin line. After Saichō, Ryōgen is probably the most important figure in the history of Mt. Hiei, and he is remembered to history as the "Father of Mt. Hiei's Revival" (Eizan *chūkō no sō*).<sup>28</sup> Ryōgen entered the Enryakuji community at the age of ten, and in 927, at fifteen, he received Buddhist orders from Son'i, the thirteenth Tendai *zasu* (r. June 23, 926–April 4, 940: 5/11/Enchō 4–2/24/Tengyō 3). On September 14, 966 (8/27/Kōhō 3), at the age of fifty-four, Ryōgen was appointed Tendai *zasu*.<sup>29</sup>

By the time Ryōgen took office, the situation on Mt. Hiei was bleak for the Saichō-Ennin line. First, as noted above, from the time of Saichō through the term of office of the seventeenth Tendai *zasu*, Kikyō (r. March 20, 965–March 11, 966; 2/15/Kōhō 2–2/17/Kōhō 3), there was a conflict between the Saichō-Ennin and the Gishin-Enchin lines over the issue of who would hold the office of Tendai *zasu*. Although five of the twelve Tendai *zasu* between Enchin and Ryōgen, including the four who immediately preceded Ryōgen, had been Saichō-Ennin monks, according to several Japanese scholars, the Gishin-Enchin monks actually controlled Mt. Hiei from the time of the death of An'e, the fourth Tendai *zasu*, in 868, through the term of office of Kikyō, the seventeenth Tendai *zasu*, a period of almost one hundred years.<sup>30</sup> Horii Daiji, one of the leading authorities on the history of the Enryakuji, goes so far as to claim that the Enryakuji was in fact controlled by the Onjōji during that period.<sup>31</sup> Second, by the middle of the tenth century the Saichō-Ennin line had come to be inferior to the Gishin-Enchin line both in the number of monks and in the number and condition of the buildings that it owned. The halls, residences, and other Saichō-Ennin buildings had been allowed to fall into disrepair, and many had been burned down in three fires that swept the Eastern Pagoda area in the tenth century. On April 11, 935 (3/6/Shōhei 5), a huge fire destroyed the Konponchūdō, the Zentōin, and thirty-nine other buildings, mostly "monks' residences" (*sōbō*) in the Eastern Pagoda area;<sup>32</sup> on February 18, 941 (1/20/Tengyō 4), the Sōjiin burned down;<sup>33</sup> and on the night of December 12, 966 (10/28/Kōhō 3), another large fire destroyed the rebuilt Sōjiin and thirty monks' residences.<sup>34</sup> Most of the Saichō-Ennin buildings that had fallen into disrepair or been destroyed by fire were not repaired or

rebuilt by the Gishin-Enchin Tendai *zasu*, because those *zasu* used their resources to construct buildings for their own line, and they could not be repaired or rebuilt by the Saichō-Ennin Tendai *zasu* because, according to Hori Daiji, those *zasu* were financially impoverished in the mid-tenth century.<sup>35</sup> The financial plight of the Enryakuji around that time was such that its residents were referred to as “Hiei’s starving monks” (*Hiei mujiki no sō*).<sup>36</sup> The Yokawa area became so run down shortly after Ennin died that in the mid-tenth century there were no monks living there and no monks’ residences fit for habitation. Even the lineage of abbots at Yokawa had petered out. In contrast to the Western Pagoda area, where there was a predominance of Gishin-Enchin monks and where there had been an orderly succession of eleven abbots between the years 859 and 960, the Yokawa area had had only three abbots: An’e, Jiei, and Chinchō. An’e and Jiei were disciples of Ennin, so the line of abbots had all but disappeared after the death of Ennin’s direct disciples.<sup>37</sup> The Sōjiin, which Ennin had established as the center of the Taimitsu tradition, had been allowed to go to ruin and the Onjōji had been developed by the Gishin-Enchin Tendai *zasu* as the Taimitsu center. Those abbots had fostered and expanded the Onjōji and the Western Pagoda area which, by the early tenth century, had become the center of the Gishin-Enchin line on Mt. Hiei.

The Saichō-Ennin line also had grave internal problems, in that it had fractured into a number of “streams” (*ryū*, or *monryū*). In the middle of the tenth century there had developed within the Saichō-Ennin line five or six independent, cliquish groups of monks who lived together under the authority of the group’s “master” (*shishō*, or *shisō*).<sup>38</sup> There were two main reasons for the appearance of those groups:<sup>39</sup> first, from the time of Saichō there was, as was evidenced by the ongoing succession dispute between the Saichō-Ennin and the Gishin-Enchin lines, no strong central authority on Mt. Hiei, and thus private, smaller-scale authority structures tended to develop in “private residences” (*shisōbō*); second, the *monryū* developed as a result of the appearance of *goganji*; that is, sub-monasteries that were built on Mt. Hiei and elsewhere through the personal patronage of the Emperor and other members of the Imperial family, in order that Buddhist rituals might be performed on behalf of

patrons by the monk-residents of those sub-monasteries.<sup>10</sup> Thus, there developed exclusive groups of monks who lived together in the *shisōbō* at the *goganji* and who competed with the monks of other *monryū* to increase the power, wealth, and prestige of their own *monryū*. A *monryū* could acquire great power and wealth by developing close relations with the Court and the nobility, and the monks of a *monryū* that had a wealthy patron among the nobility could acquire wealth and prestige by being granted Imperial appointments as "protector monks" (*gojisō*), or "family monks" (*kasō*), whose office it was to perform *kajikitō*, esoteric prayers and rituals that were believed to protect the patrons from various evils and to assure the fulfilment of their desires. Each *monryū* developed its own private, and secret, forms of esoteric rituals which, it claimed, were superior to all other forms of *mikkyō* and which, therefore, the nobility would be well advised to adopt and patronize.<sup>11</sup> Within an individual *monryū*, the master (*shishō*, or *shisō*) had almost absolute authority: he determined who would be accepted as a member of his *monryū*, and had the exclusive right to designate his successor. In designating their successors, the masters paid little heed to the principle of succession on the basis of seniority and wisdom, a principle that had been observed in the monastic communities, at least in theory, since the Nara period,<sup>12</sup> or to the recommendation of the "assembly of monks" (*daishu*) of the Enryakuji;<sup>13</sup> usually they designated as their successors monks who had powerful connections with the Court and the nobility, so that the *monryū* might continue to prosper. The rivalry among the *monryū* was bitter and often violent: in the mid-tenth century there sometimes were quarrels and fights between bands of armed monks during communal ceremonies and rituals, and, on occasion, the monks of one *monryū* would raid the residences of another and steal or destroy its properties, including its sacred utensils.<sup>14</sup>

When Ryōgen came to power he was determined to eradicate the abuses and to enforce the monastic rules on Mt. Hiei, to abolish the cliquish *monryū* and to unify the Saichō-Ennin line of monks under his authority, and to restore its supremacy over the Gishin-Enchin line. It was Ryōgen's efforts to accomplish those goals that were mainly responsible for bringing about the Sanmon-Jimon schism. Ryōgen's declaration of his

intention to reform the Tendai community was stated in his “*Nijūroku Kajō Kishō*,” a twenty-six article set of regulations that he issued on November 16, 970 (10/15/Tenroku 1), four years after he became Tendai *zasu*. A number of the articles in that set of regulations prohibited various kinds of behavior on the part of the monks, such as the bearing of arms, violent disturbances during meetings and rituals, the raising of cattle on the mountain, and so forth, and the remainder of the articles set down, or reiterated, rules that the monks were obliged to follow, such as attendance at certain meetings and rituals, the wearing of proper garb, the keeping of “monks’ registers” (*bōzuchō*), and so on.<sup>45</sup> Whereas a number of Ryōgen’s policies were responsible for bringing about a revival of Buddhist learning and practice on Mt. Hiei, several of his policies, especially those that were designed to restore the supremacy of the Saichō-Ennin line, were responsible for bringing about the Sanmon-Jimon schism.<sup>46</sup>

Ryōgen’s desire to restore the supremacy of the Saichō-Ennin line was demonstrated in three main ways: he repaired and rebuilt those important Saichō-Ennin buildings that had been destroyed in the fires of 935, 941, and 966, the last of which occurred just three months after he became Tendai *zasu*; he excluded Gishin-Enchin monks from positions of honor and authority in the major ceremonies and rituals that took place at the Enryakuji, and, eventually, from participation in those ceremonies and rituals; and he expelled a large number of Gishin-Enchin monks from the Enryakuji.

The major restoration projects that Ryōgen undertook were the repair and reconstruction of those buildings most important to the Saichō-Ennin line, namely the Sōjiin, the Tōin, and a number of buildings in the Yokawa area.<sup>47</sup> Immediately after the Sōjiin was destroyed by fire on December 12, 966 (10/28/Kōhō 3), Ryōgen began to rebuild it. No sooner was it rebuilt than it burned down again, on May 28, 970 (4/21/Tenroku 1), and once again Ryōgen undertook to rebuild it. Ennin, as mentioned above, had instructed his disciples to assemble both his and Saichō’s *mikkyō* materials in the Sōjiin so that it might become the Taimitsu center on Mt. Hiei, but Enchin developed the Onjōji as the Taimitsu center and from his time on the Sōjiin lost its place and its importance. Ryōgen, there-

fore, rebuilt the Sōjiin in order to restore it to its place as the Taimitsu center, and by doing so he restored the supremacy of the Saichō-Ennin line in the Taimitsu tradition.<sup>48</sup> In 980, Ryōgen rebuilt the Zentōin, which Ennin had built on his return from China in 847, but which had been destroyed in the fire of 936. When the Zentōin was rebuilt Ryōgen had himself appointed as its "administrator" (*kengyō*), and he began to develop it as the center of both the esoteric and the exoteric forms of Tendai. The purpose of this undertaking was to unify the Saichō-Ennin line, both its esoteric and exoteric forms, under his personal authority and supervision.<sup>49</sup>

Ryōgen also restored the Yokawa area which, as was noted earlier, had declined sharply after Ennin died. In 968, Ryōgen was appointed "administrator" (*chōri*) of the Yokawa area, thus reviving the defunct Yokawa line of abbots, and in 972 he assigned over two hundred monks to take up residence in the buildings that he had restored there. In that same year Ryōgen also established Yokawa as an independent third center, in addition to the Eastern and Western Pagodas, on Mt. Hiei. Prior to that time Yokawa was under the authority of the Eastern Pagoda, and any monks who lived there were listed on the Eastern Pagoda's "monks' register" (*bōzuchō*). Ryōgen compiled a separate register for the residents of the Yokawa area and removed their names from the register at the Eastern Pagoda.<sup>50</sup> Ryōgen's motive in making this change was less to restore and develop an area that was important to the Saichō-Ennin line than to create an area that would be completely under his direct control and where he could develop his own personal group of disciples (*ichimon*) which, eventually, would come to dominate the Saichō-Ennin line. Thenceforth, the abbot of the Zentōin, the new center of both the esoteric and the exoteric forms of Tendai, was chosen from Ryōgen's *ichimon*.

In addition to restoring Saichō-Ennin buildings, Ryōgen actively suppressed the Gishin-Enchin line by excluding its members from positions of honor and authority in the major ceremonies and rituals that took place at the Enryakuji. This exclusionary tactic was implemented on a number of occasions. For example, on May 22, 971 (4/25/Tenroku 2), a *sharie*, a ritual that was performed to honor the relics of the Buddha, was held on the occasion of the reconstruction of the Sōjiin: of the twelve

monks who were assigned to conduct that ritual, six were members of Ryōgen's *ichimon* at Yokawa, and three of the remaining six were Saichō-Ennin monks who had studied at Yokawa.<sup>51</sup> A year later, on May 18, 972 (4/3/Tenroku 3), over two hundred monks were invited to participate in a *sharie* ritual that was held on the occasion of the restoration of the Daikōdō, the main hall at the Eastern Pagoda, and several other buildings. Of the fifteen monks assigned to conduct that ritual, ten were members of Ryōgen's *ichimon*, three were former disciples of Enshō, the fifteenth Tendai *zasu* (r. January 24, 947–March 2, 964: 12/30/Tengyō 9–1/15/Kōhō 1) and a direct disciple of Ennin, and one was a disciple of Jisshō, the abbot of the Tōnomine and a close friend of Ryōgen.<sup>52</sup>

In Ryōgen's later years, his exclusionary policy vis-à-vis Gishin-Enchin monks appears to have broadened: not only did he exclude them from positions of honor and authority in the major ceremonies and rituals that took place at the Enryakuji, but he went so far as to try to shut them out entirely from those ceremonies and rituals. Evidence of Ryōgen's implementation of this stricter exclusionary policy is found on the occasion of a *sharie* ritual that was held on October 14, 980 (9/3/Tengen 3) to celebrate the reconstruction of the Konponchūdō, which had been destroyed in the fire of 936. Of the 180 monks who were invited to participate in that ritual, 43 were monks from various monasteries in Nara, and all but seven of the remaining 137 monks were members of the Saichō-Ennin line, and many of those were members of Ryōgen's *ichimon*. All the monks assigned to conduct the ritual were junior members of Ryōgen's *ichimon*.<sup>53</sup> According to Hori Daiji, Ryōgen intended to invite not a single Gishin-Enchin monk to the ritual, but the monks complained of their exclusion, and therefore seven of them were allowed to participate.<sup>54</sup> It appears that Ryōgen excluded the Gishin-Enchin monks from that ritual as part of his effort to suppress the line and that he assigned positions of honor and authority in the ritual to members of his own *ichimon* in order to insure its supremacy within the Saichō-Ennin line.

Several months before the *sharie* ritual of October 14, 980, Ryōgen took the rather drastic step of expelling several hundred monks of the Gishin-Enchin line from the Enryakuji. The twenty-third article of Ryōgen's "*Nijūroku Kajō Kishō*" stipulated

that membership in the Mt. Hiei community was to be determined on the basis of attendance at “sūtra reading” (*gozokkyō*) assemblies that were to be held every spring and fall. Monks who failed to participate in those assemblies would have their names stricken from the “monks’ registers”; that is, they would no longer be considered members of the Enryakuji community and would have to leave the mountain.<sup>55</sup> In the spring of 980, 700 of the 2,700 monks who were registered as residents of the Enryakuji failed to attend the required assembly, and Ryōgen struck their names from the three monks’ registers (the Eastern Pagoda register, the Western Pagoda register, and the newly compiled Yokawa register), and the monks were expelled from the Enryakuji.<sup>56</sup> The common interpretation of this event by Japanese historians is that Ryōgen was attempting, by his expulsion of those monks, to get rid of lax, corrupt, and violent people who lived at the Enryakuji but did not observe the monastic rules, particularly the stipulations of Ryōgen’s twenty-six-article set of regulations. Hori Daiji, however, argues that the purpose of Ryōgen’s action was to oust monks of the Gishin-Enchin line from the Enryakuji, and he suggests that the majority of the 700 people who were expelled were monks of that line who lived in the Western Pagoda area. Hori supports his argument by showing that Ryōgen did not expel every monk who missed the mandatory assembly, for he pardoned those monks of his own *ichimon* who failed to attend.<sup>57</sup> It appears, therefore, that Ryōgen expelled certain people from the monastery not primarily because they were lax and corrupt, but because they were members of the line of monks he was trying to suppress. Ryōgen most likely had a double motive in expelling the 700 monks: he wanted to rid the community of troublemaking monks whose violent activities militated against the revival of learning and practice on Mt. Hiei, and he also wanted to get rid of some portion of the Gishin-Enchin monks, who outnumbered the Saichō-Ennin monks. According to Hori Daiji, Ryōgen expelled the Gishin-Enchin monks, because he could not make the members of that line fit into the model of a unified Tendai community that he was attempting to construct on Mt. Hiei.<sup>58</sup> The task of unifying and organizing the monks of his own line, the Saichō-Ennin line, which had fractured into a number of *monryū*, was difficult enough; it would have been

impossible for Ryōgen to incorporate the monks of the Gishin-Enchin line into a unified, organized structure under the control of his *ichimon*. The Saichō-Ennin and the Gishin-Enchin lines were incompatible: they had different historical roots, and their members had different loyalties. The monks of the Gishin-Enchin line were too independent of Ryōgen for him to be able to meld them smoothly into a single, united community, and in the interest, therefore, of creating a united Tendai community, Ryōgen tried to eliminate those groups that could not fit in. In 970 Ryōgen attempted, by his issuance of the “*Nijū-roku Kajō Kishō*,” to reform and unify the entire community on Mt. Hiei, but by 980 he seems to have abandoned that goal: his expulsion of a number of monks of the Gishin-Enchin line in the spring of that year, and his exclusion of the members of that line from participation in the *sharie* ritual that was held in October of 980, indicate that Ryōgen had revised and narrowed his objective.<sup>59</sup>

The last in the sequence of events during Ryōgen's term as Tendai *zasu* that led to the Sanmon-Jimon schism occurred early in 982. On January 12 (12/15/Tengen 4) of that year, the monk Yokei (919–991), a leading member of the Gishin-Enchin line and the “administrator” (*chōri*) of the Onjōji since 979, was appointed abbot (*zasu*) of the Hosshōji, a Tendai monastery in the hills on the east side of Kyōto. Yokei was a very powerful person—he was well connected at the Court and was an intimate friend of Emperor En'yū (r. 969–984)—who represented a great threat to the realization of Ryōgen's ambition to unify the Tendai community under his personal authority.<sup>60</sup> When Yokei was appointed abbot of the Hosshōji, the monks of the Saichō-Ennin line protested that all nine abbots of that monastery, from the time of its founding in 925 by the “Regent” (*kampaku*) Fujiwara no Tadahira, had been chosen from their line, and to underscore their opposition to Yokei's appointment 22 high-ranking monks (*ajari*), accompanied by several hundred lower-ranking monks, marched in protest on the residence of the *kampaku*, Fujiwara no Yoritada.<sup>61</sup> Despite this protest, the Court stood by its decision to appoint Yokei: it notified the monks of the Saichō-Ennin line that the office of Hosshōji abbot could be held by any worthy monk and not necessarily by a member of that line, and it sent an envoy to Mt. Hiei with

official notification of Yokei's appointment. However, a group of monks blocked the envoy's path and would not allow him to ascend the mountain. Around that time a rumor began to spread on Mt. Hiei that the Saichō-Ennin monks under the direction of Ryōgen planned to burn down the Senjuin, its sūtra library, the *goganji* Kannon'in and various other Gishin-Enchin buildings, and that they intended to kill Yokei and five other leading Gishin-Enchin monks. Fearing that there might be some truth to that rumor, a large, but unspecified, number of Gishin-Enchin monks fled from the Enryakuji and took up residence in Tendai monasteries off the mountain.<sup>62</sup> Several hundred Gishin-Enchin monks stayed behind to protect their buildings and properties, and the Court, anticipating that the Saichō-Ennin monks might carry out their rumored intentions, assigned six units of guards, with twenty-one men to a unit, to ascend Mt. Hiei to protect Enchin's sūtra library.<sup>63</sup> The Court also summoned Ryōgen to appear before it to answer the rumors, but he simply dismissed the rumors as groundless.<sup>64</sup> Because of the opposition to his appointment and the ensuing upset, Yokei resigned the office of abbot of the Hosshōji, and thus the situation cooled down.

By the time Ryōgen died on January 26, 985 (1/3/Kanna 1), the Tendai community had almost completely fractured into two opposed groups, or rather, two opposed sets of groups. As Hazama Jikō points out, the conflict in the Tendai community in the late tenth century was not between two well-defined groups but between two assemblies of groups: the groups that composed the Saichō-Ennin line and that Ryōgen was striving to unify and control, and the groups that composed the Gishin-Enchin line.<sup>65</sup> By 985, the Saichō-Ennin monks had been unified and organized under the control of Ryōgen's *ichimon*, and a large number of Gishin-Enchin monks had been expelled, or had fled, from the Enryakuji.

Ryōgen was succeeded by his disciple Jinzen, son of the powerful Fujiwara no Morosuke, who became the nineteenth Tendai *zasu* on March 21, 985 (2/27/Kanna 1), about two months after Ryōgen's death.<sup>66</sup> Four years after Jinzen became Tendai *zasu*, he resigned the office, and the Court appointed Yokei to be his successor as the twentieth Tendai *zasu*. The monks of the Saichō-Ennin line strongly protested the appoint-

ment of Yokei, arguing that the last several Tendai *zasu* had been members of their line and that Yokei's appointment therefore offended against custom. On October 31, 989 (9/29/Eiso 1), an Imperial envoy attempted to ascend Mt. Hiei with the official notice of Yokei's appointment, but a group of monks blocked his path and would not allow him to reach the Enryakuji. A week later, on November 5 (10/4), the Court sent a detachment of "police" (*kebiishi*) to Mt. Hiei with notice of Yokei's appointment. The *kebiishi* successfully reached the Enryakuji, where they were met by a group of monks who disrespectfully tore the Imperial proclamation from the hands of the Court's representative. Several weeks later, on November 30 (10/29), a third Imperial delegation climbed Mt. Hiei and read the so-called "Eiso Proclamation" (Eiso *semmyō*) before the Saichō-Ennin monks who had assembled at the Zentōin. That proclamation announced Yokei's appointment as Tendai *zasu* and censured the Saichō-Ennin monks for their violent behavior, calling them "fleas on the body of a lion" (*shishi shinchū no mushi*).<sup>67</sup>

Although Yokei assumed the office of Tendai *zasu*, he was unable to function as abbot of the Enryakuji because the Saichō-Ennin monks would not cooperate with him: they would not participate in the ceremonies and rituals that he conducted, and would not take orders from him. Therefore, on January 19, 990 (12/20/Eiso 1), less than three months after he became Tendai *zasu*, Yokei resigned his office, left Mt. Hiei, and went to live in the Onjōji, where he died in 991.<sup>68</sup> Yokei was the last Tendai *zasu* of the Gishin-Enchin line to have lived on Mt. Hiei, but he was not the last member of that line to have done so, because in 991 there were still as many Gishin-Enchin monks at the Enryakuji as there were Saichō-Ennin monks.

The last in the sequence of events that brought about the Sanmon-Jimon schism took place two years after Yokei died. On August 18, 993 (7/28/Shōryaku 4), a number of armed Gishin-Enchin monks from the Kannon'in in the Western Pagoda area attacked the Sekizan Zen'in, a cloister that had been built in 888 at the southwestern foot of Mt. Hiei.<sup>69</sup> When this happened, a monk of the Sekizan Zen'in hastened to Mt. Hiei to report that his monastery had been attacked and that goods had been robbed from some "novices" (*dōji*) who were on their

way to it. In retaliation, two days later, on August 20 (8/1), armed Saichō-Ennin monks attacked the Gishin-Enchin monks who still lived on Mt. Hiei, mostly in cloisters in the Western Pagoda area, burned down forty of their residences, and drove a thousand monks, about half of the Enryakuji community, off the mountain. Those monks took with them the statue of Enchin and carried it to the Onjōji, where it was enshrined and where the majority of the ousted monks took up residence.<sup>70</sup> Thenceforth, there were only Saichō-Ennin monks on Mt. Hiei; Gishin-Enchin monks thereafter lived at the Onjōji and its branch monasteries off the mountain. The Sanmon-Jimon split was complete.

After Ryōgen, the office of Tendai *zasu* was almost always held by monks of the Saichō-Ennin line, and frequently by monks of Ryōgen's *ichimon*, which had become the avenue of advancement to high office in the Sanmon branch of Tendai.<sup>71</sup> During the century following the schism, several monks of the Jimon branch were appointed to the office of Tendai *zasu*, but those *zasu* were able to hold office for only a few days before the Sanmon monks forced them to resign. For example, Myōson, the twenty-ninth Tendai *zasu*, held office for only three days, from September 21 to September 24, 1048 (8/11–8/14/Eisho 3), and Kakuen, the thirty-fourth Tendai *zasu*, lasted an even shorter period: he was appointed Tendai *zasu* on March 2, 1077 (2/5/Jōhō 4), and forced to resign on March 4 (2/7), two days later.<sup>72</sup>

It was a great achievement of Ryōgen's to have brought to the Enryakuji a type of central authority and a degree of unity it had lacked, and it was because of Ryōgen's efforts that the Enryakuji entered its "golden age" (*ōgon jidai*) in the late tenth century.<sup>73</sup> However, the price of that achievement was high: it was a schism in the Tendai community, a schism that has never healed.

## Notes

1. This paper is part of a proposed book-length study of the history of the Enryakuji from the time of its founding in 788 to its destruction in 1571. Much of the research for this project was carried out in Kyōto between August 1981 and July 1982 through the generous support of The Japan Foun-

dation and with the kind assistance of a number of Japanese historians of Buddhism, especially Professor Kuroda Toshio of Ōsaka University.

2. The primary source material upon which this paper is largely based is the *Tendai Zasu-ki* ("Chronicle of the Tendai Abbots"). This is, as the title indicates, a chronicle of the major events that took place during the terms of office of the one hundred and sixty-seven Tendai abbots between Gishin (r. 824–833) and the "Imperial prince-abbot" (*hōshinnō*) Sonchō (r. 1584–1597). The author(s) and the date(s) of compilation of the *Tendai Zasu-ki* are unknown. It was probably compiled by a succession of monks of the Enryakuji over the centuries from the ninth through the sixteenth. See Shibutani Jigai, ed., *Tendai Zasu-ki* (Tōkyō: Daiichi Shobō, 1939). The *Tendai Zasu-ki* will be cited throughout this paper as *TZk*.

3. For information on Enchō see *TZk*, 8–9. See also Hazama Jikō (or Sachiko), *Tendaishū-shi Gaisetsu* (Tōkyō: Daizō Shuppan, 1977), 105. In his earlier years Enchō was a disciple of Dōchū, who had been a disciple of the famous Ganjin (688–763), a Chinese monk who founded the Ritsu school of Buddhism in Japan and who brought a number of Tendai texts to Japan. In 797 or 798, Enchō went to Mt. Hiei and became a disciple of Saichō.

4. For information on Gishin see *TZk*, 5–8; Hazama Jikō, *Tendaishū-shi Gaisetsu*, 104–105; and Ienaga Saburō, *Nihon Bukkyō-shi 1: Kodai-hen* (Kyōto: Hōzōkan, 1967), 223. It is not clear exactly when Gishin became a disciple of Saichō: in his earlier years he was a monk at the Kōfukuji in Nara, and he joined Saichō's community some time in the early 790s, well before he and Saichō went to China. Saichō and Gishin left for China on August 14, 804 (7/6/Enryaku 23), and returned on June 19, 805 (5/19/Enryaku 24).

5. Ienaga Saburō, *Nihon Bukkyō-shi 1: Kodai-hen*, 190. One wonders if Saichō would have selected Enchō to be his successor had Gishin been at Mt. Hiei in 812.

6. For information on Kōjō see *TZk*, 9–10, and Hazama Jikō, *Tendaishū-shi Gaisetsu*, 105–106. Kōjō is one of a few highly ranked monks who were never Tendai *zasu* but on whom there are separate entries in the *Tendai Zasu-ki*. It was largely through the influence of Kōjō, who was an intimate of Emperor Saga (r. 809–823), that Imperial permission was granted for the establishment of an "ordination altar" (*kaidan*) at the Enryakuji on July 3, 822 (6/11/Kōnin 13), one week after Saichō died.

7. Although Gishin was Enchō's junior by ten years, he was Enchō's senior in terms of seniority in Saichō's community.

8. The source of information on this conversation between Saichō and Kōjō is a letter that Kōjō sent to the Court on December 12, 833. See Tsuji Zennosuke, *Nihon Bukkyō-shi 1: Jōsei-hen* (Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 1944), 825–826. See note 12 below.

9. See *TZk*, 6; Hazama Jikō, *Tendaishū-shi Gaisetsu*, 104; and Ienaga Saburō, *Nihon Bukkyō-shi 1: Kodai-hen*, 218. The *Tendai Zasu-ki* identifies Gishin as the first Tendai *zasu* and he is remembered to history as having been the first, but strictly speaking the monk Ennin, who is counted as the third Tendai *zasu*, was the first person to hold that title. The monastery that Saichō founded on Mt. Hiei received the name Enryakuji on April 10, 823 (2/26/

Kōnin 4), prior to which time it was called the Ichijō Shikan'in and, popularly, the Hieizanji. See *TZk*, 5.

10. *TZk*, 8. The role of the *daishu* in the selection of the Tendai *zasu* is discussed in Hirata Toshiharu, *Sōhei to Bushi* (Tōkyō: Nihon Kyōbunsha, 1965), 108–110. Hirata speaks of the democratic nature of the early Tendai community.

11. Tsuji Zennosuke, *Nihon Bukkyō-shi* 1: *Jōsei-hen*, 825–826.

12. Enchō is counted as the second Tendai *zasu*. See *TZk*, 8. Kōjō's appeals, in which he related his conversation with Saichō about who should succeed him, are discussed in Kyōto-shi, ed., *Kyōto no Rekishi* 1: *Heian no Shinkyō* (Tōkyō: Gakugei Shorin, 1973), 349, and in Tsuji Zennosuke, *Nihon Bukkyō-shi* 1: *Jōsei-hen*, 826. Wake no Matsuna had been a friend and patron of Saichō.

13. See *TZk*, 8. The Murōji was under the authority of the Kōfukuji in the ninth century. Although Enshū quit the Tendai community, he did not necessarily quit the Tendai school. In the Nara and early Heian periods, monks of various schools would live together in a monastery that belonged to one particular school.

14. Tsuji Zennosuke, *Nihon Bukkyō-shi* 1: *Jōsei-hen*, 826.

15. See *TZk*, 9, and Hazama Jikō, *Tendaishū-shi Gaisetsu*, 106. For information on the *kengyō* and *sangō*, two of many Japanese Buddhist monastic terms for which there are no English equivalents, see Ōno Tatsunosuke, *Nihon Bukkyō-shi Jiten* (Tōkyō: Tōkyōdō Shuppan, 1979), 138 and 191. Although it is not mentioned in the primary sources, it is likely, on the basis of the fact that there is a separate entry on Kōjō in the *Tendai Zasu-ki*, that he was the *de facto* head of the Tendai school in that eighteen-year period.

16. For information on Ennin see *TZk*, 10–17. Ennin is counted as the third Tendai *zasu* even though he was, in fact, the first person to have held that title. Kōjō was appointed “abbot” (*bettō*) of the Enryakuji on the same day that Ennin was made Tendai *zasu*. Ennin was in China from July 8, 838 (6/13/Jōwa 5), to November 13, 847 (10/2/Jōwa 14).

17. For information on An'e see *TZk*, 17–22.

18. The exact dates on which the various cloisters on Mt. Hiei were founded are often not known and frequently disputed. According to the *Nihon Tendaishū Nempyō*, for example, the Sōjiin was founded in 850, but the *Kyōto on Rekishi* says that it was founded in 853. See Shibutani Jigai, ed., *Nihon Tendaishū Nempyō* (Tōkyō: Daiichi Shobō, 1973), 16, and Kyōto-shi, ed., *Kyōto no Rekishi* 1: *Heian no Shinkyō*, 350.

19. See *TZk*, 14–15. For detailed information on Tendai *mikkyō*, or *Taimitsu*, see Hazama Jikō, *Tendaishū-shi Gaisetsu*, 151–169; Ienaga Saburō, *Nihon Bukkyō-shi* 1: *Kodai-hen*, 233–240; and Katsuno Ryūshin, “Eizan Bukkyō no Naiyō,” in Murayama Shūichi, ed., *Hieizan to Tendai Bukkyō no Kenkyū* (Tōkyō: Meishō Shuppan, 1976), 115–122. During Ennin's time the “exoteric” (*kengyō*) form of Tendai Buddhism was centered in the Konponchūdō.

20. For the dating of Ennin's building projects see Shibutani Jigai, ed., *Nihon Tendaishū Nempyō*, 12 and 16.

21. Enchin's Tōin, which was built in the “West Valley” (*nishitani*) section

of the Eastern Pagoda area, came to be called the Gotōin ("Later Tōin") to distinguish it from Ennin's residence, which came to be called the Zentōin ("Earlier Tōin"). For information on Enchin see *TZk*, 22–28. Enchin arrived in China on August 23, 853 (7/15/Ninju 3), and left there on July 21, 858 (6/8/Ten'an 2).

22. The Onjōji was built in 686 by the powerful Ōtomo family to commemorate three former Emperors: Tenji, Temmu, and Jitō. Thus it was popularly called the Mi ("three") idera. According to Hazama Jikō, Enchin established his residence at the Onjōji in 859 in response to a request by the Ōtomo family. See Hazama Jikō, *Tendaishū-shi Gaisetsu*, 115. There is some confusion as to where Enchin lived: the *Kyōto no Rekishi* says that he lived at the Gotōin, but Tsuji Zennosuke says that he lived at the Onjōji. See Kyōto-shi, ed., *Kyōto no Rekishi 1: Heian no Shinkyō*, 351, and Tsuji Zennosuke, *Nihon Bukkyō-shi 1: Jōsei-hen*, 826.

23. Enchin's appointments and his construction projects at the Onjōji are noted in Hazama Jikō, *Tendaishū-shi Gaisetsu*, 115. Enchin undertook his building projects with the financial support of Emperor Seiwa (r. 858–876).

24. See *TZk*, 25. Enchin's last will is discussed in Kyōto-shi, ed., *Kyōto no Rekishi 1: Heian no Shinkyō*, 352, and in Tsuji Zennosuke, *Nihon Bukkyō-shi 1: Jōsei-hen*, 827.

25. Kyōto-shi, ed., *Kyōto no Rekishi 1: Heian no Shinkyō*, 352. No evidence is provided to substantiate this claim.

26. Material on the sixth through the seventeenth Tendai *zasu* is found in *TZk*, 28–42, and in Shibutani Jigai, ed., *Nihon Tendaishū Nempyō*, 26–39. The question of why certain monks were chosen to be appointed Tendai *zasu* is one that demands further research; it appears that the major qualification for that office was connections at the Court.

27. The question of the number of monks at the Enryakuji in the tenth century is another topic that demands further research. To date no detailed study of the size and makeup of the Enryakuji community in the Heian period has been made.

28. See Murayama Shūichi, *Hieizan to Tendai Bukkyō no Kenkyū*, 18.

29. For information on Ryōgen see *TZk*, 42–46; Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen* (Tōkyō: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1976); and the following articles by Hori Daiji: "Ryōgen to Yokawa Fukkō," (1), in *Jinbun Ronbō*, Vol. 10 (November 1964), 24–35; "Ryōgen to Yokawa Fukkō" (2), in *Jinbun Ronbō*, Vol. 12 (February 1966), 1–34; and "Ryōgen no 'Nijūroku Kajō Kishō' Seitei no Igi," privately distributed.

30. See Hazama Jikō, *Tendaishū-shi Gaisetsu*, 122, and Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen to Yokawa Fukkō" (2), 11–12.

31. See Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen no 'Nijūroku Kajō Kishō' Seitei no Igi," 28.

32. See *TZk*, 35. Several other sources date that fire in 936, not 935.

33. *Ibid.*, 37.

34. *Ibid.*, 42. These three fires are discussed in Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen no Yokawa Fukkō" (2), 2; Ienaga Saburō, *Nihon Bukkyō-shi 1: Kodai-hen*, 243; and Tsuji Zennosuke, *Nihon Bukkyō-shi 1: Jōsei-hen*, 828.

35. Evidence of the impoverished state of the Enryakuji in the mid-tenth

century is found in Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen no Yokawa Fukkō" (2), 11–12.

36. See Kyōto-shi, ed., *Kyōto no Rekishi 1: Heian no Shinkyō*, 349.

37. See Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen no 'Nijūroku Kajō Kishō' Seitei no Igi," 28. Chinchō was the sixteenth Tendai *zasu* (r. April 23–November 11, 964: 3/9–10/5/Kōhō 1). See *TZk*, 40–41.

38. The groups into which the Saichō-Ennin line had fractured are referred to by a variety of terms: *monryū*, *monpa*, *ryūmon*, *ichimon*, *monto shūdan*, and so on. For information on the fractured state of the Tendai community in the tenth century, another issue that requires more research, see Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen no Yokawa Fukkō" (2), 19–22.

39. *Ibid.*, 19–20.

40. The development and proliferation of *goganji*, another topic that demands more study, is discussed in Kyōto-shi, ed., *Kyōto no Rekishi 1: Heian no Shinkyō*, 568–570.

41. The reasons for the attractiveness of *mikkyō* on the part of the nobility is yet another complex topic that requires careful research. Several good treatments of *mikkyō* in the context of the Tendai school are noted in note 19 above.

42. The principle of promotion on the basis of seniority and wisdom is discussed in Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen no Yokawa Fukkō" (2), 20–22, and in Tsuji Zennosuke, *Nihon Bukkyō-shi 1: Jōsei-hen*, 765. According to Hioki Shōichi, this principle ceased to be applied in the mid-Heian period. See Hioki Shōichi, *Nihon Sōhei Kenkyū* (Tōkyō: Koshusho Kankōkai, 1972), 49.

43. See note 10 above, and Hazama Jikō, *Tendaishū-shi Gaisetsu*, 84.

44. The violence and upset that characterized Mt. Hiei in the mid-tenth century are noted in Hirata Toshiharu, *Sōhei to Bushi*, 111, and Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen no Yokawa Fukkō" (2), 19–20. The reasons for the "degeneration" of the Enryakuji community in the tenth century are myriad and complex: most of the standard works on the history of Japanese Buddhism fail to examine those reasons and they interpret the degenerated condition in excessively simple, and condemnatory, terms as evidence of the "secularization" (*sezokuka*), "politicization" (*seijika*), and "aristocratization" (*kizokuka*) of the Tendai community.

45. For a detailed study of Ryōgen's twenty-six article set of regulations see Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen no 'Nijūroku Kajō Kishō' Seitei no Igi."

46. It is not our purpose to examine the contribution that Ryōgen made to the reform and renewal of the Enryakuji community. For information on that topic see the works mentioned in note 29 above.

47. How Ryōgen raised the finances to pay for his construction projects, and why his patrons, especially Fujiwara no Morosuke, provided him with so much support, are questions that will be dealt with in a later paper. Those questions are dealt with in the works mentioned in note 29 above.

48. The reconstruction of the Sōjin is discussed in Hazama Jikō, *Tendaishū-shi Gaisetsu*, 109, and in Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen no Yokawa Fukkō" (2), 11.

49. The rebuilding of the Zentōin is discussed in Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen no Yokawa Fukkō" (2), 13.

50. The establishment of the Yokawa monks' register is discussed in *Ibid.*, 20.

51. See *Ibid.*, 9, and *TZk*, 43.
52. See *TZk*, 43, and Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen no Yokawa Fukkō" (2), 9. In 947 the Tōnomine became a "detached cloister" (*betsuin*) of the Mudōji, a sub-monastery of the Enryakuji that was built in the Eastern Pagoda area in 865 by the monk Sōō (831–918). From 947, the monks of the Tōnomine went to study at Mt. Hiei. See Kyōto-shi, ed., *Kyōto no Rekishi 1: Heian no Shinkyō*, 350.
53. See Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen no Yokawa Fukkō" (2), 10 and 26. By assigning junior members of his *ichimon* to positions of authority, Ryōgen offended against the principle of promotion on the basis of seniority and wisdom.
54. *Ibid.*
55. *Ibid.*, 17 and 23, and Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen no 'Nijūroku Kajō Kishō' Seitei no Igi," 24 and 34. The "sutra reading assembly," which was called the "Kongō-Hannyakyo Tenzoku no Hōe," was an assembly in which two sutras, the *Kongōkyō* and the *Hannyakyo*, were read and discussed. The twenty-second article of Ryōgen's set of regulations stated that monks' registers had to be compiled every spring and fall.
56. There is considerable disagreement among Japanese historians as to the number of monks who were residents of the Enryakuji in the late tenth century, but most agree that there were at least 2,700. Hioki Shōichi and Tsuji Zennosuke say that there were 2,700 monks there at that time, Hazama Jikō says there were 3,000, and Kageyama Haruki says there were probably more than 3,000. See Hioki Shōichi, *Nihon Sōhei Kenkyū*, 19; Tsuji Zennosuke, *Nihon Bukkyō-shi 1: Jōsei-hen*, 777; Hazama Jikō, *Tendaishū-shi Gaisetsu*, 124; and Kageyama Haruki, *Hieizan* (Tōkyō: Kadokawa Shoten, 1975), 104.
57. Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen no Yokawa Fukkō" (2), 26. Ryōgen excused the monks of his *ichimon* who missed the mandatory assembly for "geographical reasons" (*chiriteki riyū*): that is, because of the distance from Yokawa to the Eastern Pagoda area.
58. *Ibid.*, 24–25.
59. *Ibid.*, 9–10, and 26.
60. For information on Yokei see *Ibid.*, 22; *TZk*, 46; and Kyōto-shi, ed., *Kyōto no Rekishi 1: Heian no Shinkyō*, 569 and 574. The fact that Yokei received the appointment as abbot of the Hosshōji, a monastery at which there was a large Ennin *monryū*, shows what powerful sponsors he had at the Court.
61. This incident is recounted in detail in Tsuji Zennosuke, *Nihon Bukkyō-shi 1: Jōsei-hen*, 827–829. See also Kyōto-shi, ed., *Kyōto no Rekishi 1: Heian no Shinkyō*, 569 and 571. Estimates of the number of monks who marched on the *kampaku*'s residence vary from one hundred and sixty to just over two hundred.
62. See Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen no Yokawa Fukkō" (2), 27–28.
63. *Ibid.* According to Hori, the guards were lower ranked monks from a number of small monasteries in Ōmi province. Tsuji Zennosuke provides details on the guard units and their work shifts in *Nihon Bukkyō-shi 1: Jōsei-hen*, 829.
64. Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen no Yokawa Fukkō" (2), 27–28. According to Hori, Ryōgen treated this incident very lightly: he never investigated the source or possible validity of the rumor, and he never reprimanded the monks of his *ichimon* for their militant behavior. Because Ryōgen appears to

have condoned violent actions against the monks of the Gishin-Enchin line by the members of his *ichimon*, many historians consider him to have been the person primarily responsible for the appearance of "monk warriors" (*sōhei*) in the tenth century.

65. Hazama Jikō, *Tendaishū-shi Gaisetsu*, 165.

66. Jinzen was the first member of the Court nobility to become Tendai *zasu*, and it was with him that the "aristocratization" (*kizokuka*) of the high offices in the Enryakuji community began. Beginning with the twenty-fifth Tendai *zasu*, Myōku (r. November 19, 1019–July 27, 1020: 10/20/Kannin 3–7/5/Kannin 4), all subsequent Tendai *zasu* were members of the Imperial family or the "Regency branch" (*sekkanke*) of the Fujiwara family.

67. For a detailed account of this event see Tsuji Zennosuke, *Nihon Bukkyō-shi* 1: *Jōsei-hen*, 827, and 829–830.

68. One week after Yokei resigned, Yōshō, a monk of the Saichō-Ennin line, was appointed Tendai *zasu*. Yōshō took office on January 26, 990 (12/27/Eiso 1), and retired on October 19 of the same year (9/28/Shōryaku 1). Yōshō was succeeded by Senga, the twenty-second Tendai *zasu*, who was in office from January 8, 991 (12/20/Shōryaku 1), to August 25, 998 (8/1/Chōtoku 4). See *Tzk*, 48–49, and Shibutani Jigai, ed., *Nihon Tendaishū Nempyō*, 44–46.

69. When Ennin was having difficulty in obtaining the necessary travel permits in China, he beseeched a local Chinese divinity to help him find the true dharma, in return for which help Ennin promised to build an edifice in honor of that deity upon his return to Japan. Ennin died before he fulfilled that promise, but in his last will he instructed his disciples to carry it out. Accordingly, in 868, Ennin's disciples built the Sekizan "Shrine" (*shinden*), and in 888 the Sekizan Zen'in was built. See *Tzk*, 13, Tsuji Zennosuke, *Nihon Bukkyō-shi* 1: *Jōsei-hen*, 340, and Ōno Tatsunosuke, *Nihon Bukkyō-shi Jiten*, 290.

70. A detailed account of this event is found in Tsuji Zennosuke, *Nihon Bukkyō-shi* 1: *Jōsei-hen*, 830. According to the *Tendai Zasu-ki*, the monks of the Saichō-Ennin line made their retaliatory attack on August 20, 993 (see *Tzk*, 49), but Tsuji Zennosuke dates the attack one week later, on August 27 (8/8/Shōryaku 4).

71. In evidence of this, two of Emperor Kazan's (r. 984–986) three "protector monks" (*gojisō*), and five of Emperor Ichijō's (r. 986–1011) six *gojisō* were members of Ryōgen's *ichimon*, and the other two *gojisō* had studied at Yokawa. See Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen no Yokawa Fukkō" (2), 19 and 24.

72. See *Tzk*, 56–57, and 62–63. Both Myōson and Kakuen had been the *chōri* of the Onjōji before they were appointed Tendai *zasu*.

73. See Ienaga Saburō, *Nihon Bukkyō-shi* 1: *Kodai-hen*, 242.