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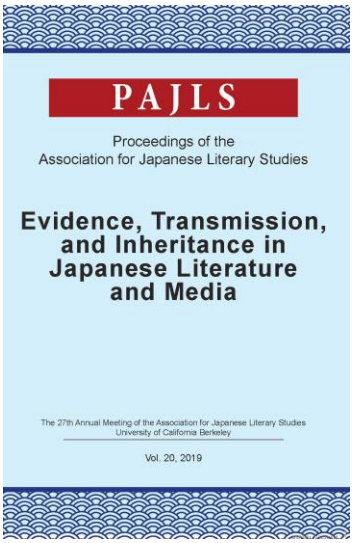

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SECTARIAN BUDDHIST CANONS AS MODERN SCRIPTURE

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The legacy of Edo-period Buddhist scholarship in Japan's rich and influential religious literature in the modern period is profound. The cultural and political vicissitudes of that history is a complex subject that warrants far greater study and is well beyond the scope of this essay but I have discussed one expression of this phenomenon elsewhere.[2] The approach developed in the Edo period used highly critical evaluations of textual evidence, both in manuscripts and xylographs. When this approach was applied to the textcritical editing of written materials doctrinally central to a school or branch of a school of Buddhism, that often led to the imprimatur of a sectarian establishment being added to the work of those scholars. This, then, set in motion what later developed into authoritative editions of scriptures in the modern period in the form of sectarian canons edited and published in the early twentieth century. It is striking that although there are somewhat limited prototypes for this in the Edo period, the felt need to publish sectarian canons is characteristic of the Taishō and early Shōwa periods, and it is somewhat of an enigma that all major Buddhist denominations went down this path (at great expense) between 1905 and 1930. What is also striking about this literature is that they typically involve translations of *kanbun* texts into *bungo* forms of *wabun*, often appearing idiosyncratic to the outsider. Translations into modern Japanese was, in fact, an entirely different endeavor. Those publications only emerge in the 1970s and by then the sectarian nature of the *bungo* translations is largely replaced by a more academic approach that combines historical accuracy with a concern for accessibility for people who are not familiar with the peculiarities of Buddhist *kanbun*. This paper will look at what led up to these sectarian canon projects, what purpose they served, what form they took, and the language used to name them.

It goes without saying that Buddhist writing occupied an enormous amount of the literary production in Japan prior to the modern period and one of the features of that literature is that a large percentage of it was written in *kanbun*. I don't know how much new writing in *kanbun*

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[2] Māku Buramu マーク・ブラム, "Suzuki Daisetsu ga kuwadateru Daijō Purotesutanto bukkyō 鈴木大拙が企てる大乗プロテスタント仏教," in Yamada Shōji 山田将治, John Breen ジョン・ブリーン, eds., *Suzuki Daisetsu: Zen o koete* 鈴木大拙―禅を超えて (Kyoto: Shibunkaku, 2020): 82–120.

continues deep into the Meiji period in general, but the publication of Buddhist writing in *kanbun* was quite common in Meiji Japan, including the production of moveable-type printed editions of xylographs in exactly the same format as those produced in the Edo period. It is worth mentioning in this context that the Buddhist scriptures themselves continue to be printed in their *kanbun* form today, not only for liturgical purposes but also as objects of study. Partly this reflects the authority of the original *kanbun* form and partly this reflects doubts arising from the divergent ways in which any given *kanbun* scripture or essay was actually read in Japan.

This effort to produce critical editions of authoritative scriptures in the Edo period is often seen in the context of *kōshōgaku* 考證學 (C. *kǎo zhèng xué*), the academically rigorous approach to canonical literature brought to Japan by Chinese refugees during the collapse of the Ming court in the 1630s and 1640s. In certain instances this same exegetical rigor can be seen much earlier—most notably the publication of Hōnen's writings in the late 13th and early 14th centuries. I am referring to the collecting, comparing, and evaluating of manuscripts by Dōkō 道光 (aka Ryōe 了慧, 1243–1330) over a 20-year period that produced a recognized critical edition of what Ryōe and his colleagues considered the authentic writings of Hōnen. Note that Hōnen was probably the first Japanese intellectual to write treatises on Buddhist doctrine in the Japanese language. Dōkō completed his compilation of Hōnen's oeuvre in 1275, dividing the material into *kanbun* and *wabun* collections.[3] He then spent a considerable time getting the resources together to print the *wabun* texts, which was achieved in 1321 under the name *Wago tōroku* 和語燈録 (Figure 1).[4] By all accounts, this was the first printed book written primarily in *hiragana* with *kanji* mixed in where needed, mostly for proper nouns and Buddhist jargon. Note, too, that this 1321 xylograph edition has *furigana* added next to the vast majority of the *kanji* in the text, similar to *seiten* collections printed in the modern period.

This printing is an important milestone in the historical shift from *kanbun* to *wabun* linguistic forms that accompanied the pervasive spread of Buddhism into all corners of Japanese life. The move toward the

[3] The entire collection he called *Kurodani Shōnin gotōroku* 黒谷上人語燈録. Printed numerous times in the modern period, most readily available in vol. 9 of the *Jōdoshū zensho* 淨土宗全書 (1907–1914), first edition edited by Jōdoshū Shūten Kankōkai (Kyoto) and reprinted thereafter by Sankibō in Tokyo.

[4] Printing was arranged by Enchi 圓智 in Genkō 1 (元亨元年). Only one copy from this Genkō-period printing is extant, held by the Ryūkoku Daigaku library. The *kanbun* collection, called *Kango tōroku* 漢語燈録 was not printed until 1705. Both are contained in vol. 9 of *Jōdoshū zensho.*

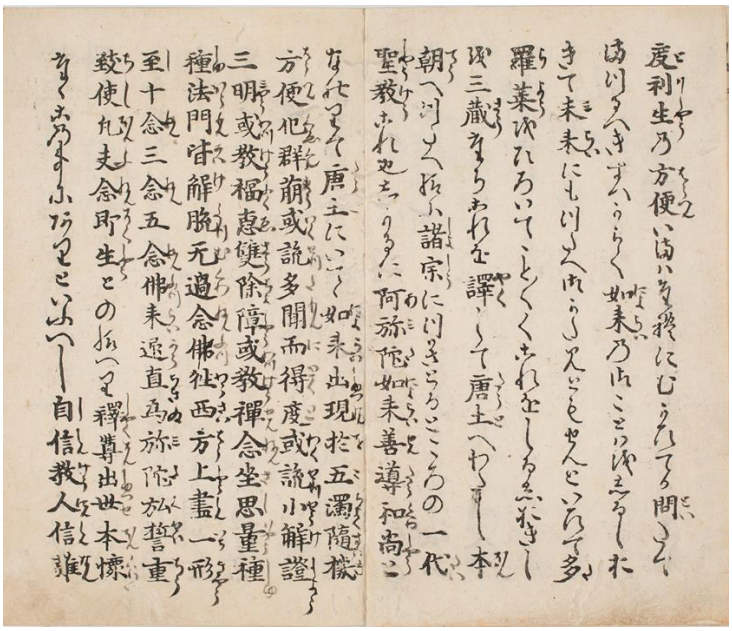

Figure 1: *Wago tōroku* (1321).

conception and editorial production of sectarian canons shows this clearly, and in contrast to the *Kasuga-ban* printing output led by Kōfukuji[5] which, to my knowledge, only includes texts in *kanbun* and appears to be limited to works coming out of China (translations and commentaries), the mass appeal of the new forms of Buddhism in the Kamakura period are marked by significant production of influential works written in *wabun.* In following Hōnen's example, Dōgen, Nichiren, and Shinran all authored influential essays in both *kanbun* and *wabun,* but none of their works was printed until the Edo period. Hōnen's *Senchakushū* was printed in 1211 and again in 1239, achievements that characterize that text as highly unusual in the history of textual printing in Japan, particularly for something authored by a Japanese writer. To my knowledge, the *Wago tōroku* is the first Buddhist text written in *wabun* to be printed; both works therefore mark Hōnen as a Buddhist author of unusual public interest. By

[5] This moniker was coined in the Meiji period to refer to Buddhist texts whose printing was instigated, enabled, and funded by the Fujiwara via Kōfukuji, and then offered to the deity of Kasuga Jinja, from which the name derives. It is applied to printed texts produced from the late Heian period all the way up to the Edo period, though the most active production occurred in the mid-Kamakura period.

the 1650s, however, the printing industry was capable of sustaining itself without sponsors, and from the Genroku era or slightly before, we begin to see printed editions of the works of all of the Kamakura Buddhist figures named above. Because the sales of printed Buddhist texts required editors skilled in the content of those texts, this new marketplace of ideas in the urban environments of Kyoto, Osaka, and Edo not only led to the creation of something like critical editions, they also led to new *collections* of texts. In the case of Honganji, for example, a collection of *wabun* writings called the *Shinshū kana shōgyō* 眞宗假名聖教, not limited to works by Shinran, was produced in manuscript form in the Genroku era[6] and printed in 1811. All kanji have *furigana* added despite the fact that the original manuscripts by and large did not; we can infer here a kind of outreach effort to provide learning tools for the audience as well as a public expression of normativity in regard to how these texts should be read (Figure 2). The creation of well-organized training academies (*gakurin, gakuryō*) for all the major Buddhist sects and the bakufu's religious policy emphasizing study of the

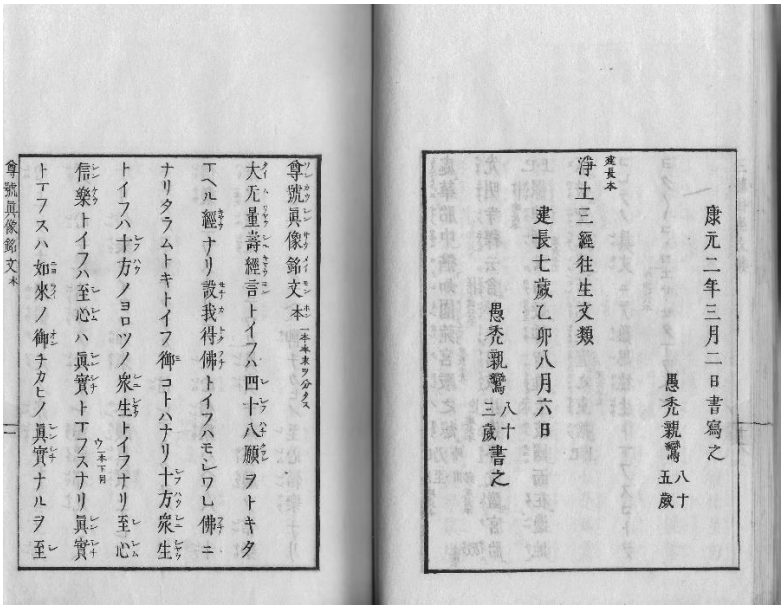

Figure 2: *Shinshū kana shōgyō* (1811).

[6] The earliest known collection was compiled and edited by Ekū 慧空 (1644–1722). Modern edition printed in 1932 by Hōzōkan, Kyoto.

past and publications that self-defined a sect by teachings, lineage, beliefs, and practices led to a type of scholasticism that rewarded definitive answers over innovative questioning. One result was *shūgaku*—textcritical studies in a search for doctrinal normativity. In the example of the *Shinshū kana shōgyō*, senior scholars therein produced a printed statement of "what we believe in," not as creeds or catechisms but in the form of normative texts written in readable language and made available in attractive, printed volumes that would adorn the library of any temple.

The irony running through Japanese Buddhist literature is the fact that for nearly all of Japanese history, despite the fact that all Buddhist scriptures were in Chinese, very few people in Japan could speak Chinese or had ever encountered someone from China, yet the Japanese form of Classical Chinese known as *kanbun* endured as the linguistic norm for learned Buddhist compositions. Hence Buddhist *kanbun*, and often non-Buddhist *kanbun* as well, from at least the Nara period was typically accompanied by *kunten* that worked as a code by which the reader could render the syntax and pronunciation into *wabun*. It may be the author himself who adds the *kunten* or it may just as likely be another person, especially when a text was prepared for distribution. When *kunten* is added to a text originally composed in China, such as a sutra translation from an Indic text, the person doing the *kunten* may be named, as *kunten* inevitably adds a hermeneutic layer that can have significant consequences. Dōgen and Shinran are famous for using a system of *kunten* that led to word formations so odd they produced new doctrines. Considering the fact that Dōgen actually went to China and supposedly received certification of his religious attainment there, it raises the question of what was actually communicated between Dōgen and his Chinese master. The changing variety of *kunten* forms during the Heian period shows that there was always at least a potential gap between an original *kanbun* form and the *wabun* encoded by the addition of *kunten*. The xylograph texts printed in Japan prior to the Edo period that I have seen did not have *kunten* carved into the blocks, but instead the *kunten* was added by brush, often in red ink. In the Edo period we see *kunten* commonly carved into the blocks, giving that particular set of readings the same level of permanence as the words in the text itself. I have compared different Edo-period editions of the same Buddhist text originally composed in *kanbun* in the Kamakura period, and found wide variation in the style of *kunten* used. This suggests that the original *kanbun* manuscript may have lacked *kunten* or the *kunten* aspect to the text did not have the same degree of authority as the unmarked text, and there was thus a degree of freedom given to the copier to add his or her own *kunten* based on how they read the text.

Copies of sacred Buddhist scripture coming from China remained essentially unchanged prior to the addition of *kunten,* and a great many manuscripts were transmitted to Japan in the Nara and Heian periods without punctuation. As a result, the way in which *kunten* orthography was employed was inconsistent across different periods of history. Editorial decisions embedded within that usage also differed. But traditions developed on *kunten* usage in certain locales where particular forms of study became established. In this way, the application of particular forms of *kunten* on any given text become associated with and receive authority from particular Dharma lineages. This is why even today the same sutra is often read differently in different denominations of Buddhism, as seen in kana usage, pronunciation, and punctuation. In effect, the editor or author of the *kunten* applied to a particular text became not merely an exegete but a veritable translator. It seems reasonable to infer from the extensive amount of *furigana* and *kunten* in Shinran's *kanbun* holographs that he aimed at having *his readings* of these texts, including those he authored, be transmitted accurately, rather than merely passing on an icon. Today Shinshū scholars believe they can spot when a manuscript copied by someone else is borrowing Shinran's *kunten* approach, idiosyncratic as it often was. The 1811 Edo-printing of one of Shinran's *wabun* writings shown here in Figure 2 uses the same *furigana* used in the original Shinran holograph where the *furigana* for the character 佛 is フ チ. Even adding the *dakuon*, the pronunciation *buchi* was most likely an anachronism in nineteenth century Kyoto.

MODERN CONTEXT

Further developments in the Edo period brought out various implications in this exegetic multiplicity, culminating in the production of what I am calling "sectarian canons" in the modern period. There are three aspects to this. First is the impact of *kōshōgaku* that led to the felt need for critical editions. Second is significant increase in sectarianism among Buddhist denominations, perhaps an epiphenomenon of *bakufu* religious policy. Third is the spread of print culture when the sale of Buddhist books became a sustainable business. One of the most famous Buddhist publishers today, Hōzōkan, for example, originates in 1602 under the direction of the Nishimura family publishing under the name Chōjiya.

As we move into the early twentieth century, Buddhist publishers put out collections of the major texts that informed the curricula of Edo-period Buddhist education in the seminaries of each denomination. Some are in *wabun,* some are in *kanbun* with varying degrees of *kunten.* Some *wabun* publications may be labeled "translation" (*hon'yaku*) but the language is

actually Classical Japanese. This is what I am referring to as sectarian canons. My choice of the adjective "sectarian" here should not be taken to imply exclusivity: although there were varying degrees of competitive consciousness within institutional leadership in the Edo and Meiji periods—both in regard to rival sects and rival factions within their own sect—many of these collections contain relevant works from authors affiliated with other denominations. For example, the twenty-volume *Jōdoshū zensho* (Complete Works of the Jōdo Sect) collection was published between 1907 and 1914; volume eight is devoted to commentaries on Hōnen's *Senchakushū* and it contains essays from two *Jōdoshinshū* authors from the Kamakura period.

The Edo period scholarship came to be called *shūgaku* 宗学, and even though the scope of its focus is limited and its editorial decisions influenced by dogma, its impact upon critical Buddhist scholarship remains profound, even today. Many Edo-period names are famous for their editorial decisions, such as Gizan, Monnō, Ekū, Jinrei, Menzan, Manzan, and so forth. Bakufu religious policies valuing stability over innovation were highly supportive of what we might call an *intellectualizing* trend in Buddhist higher education, which in turn gave impetus to textcritical research. On the other hand, the degree to which the scholarly editions of representative texts published by these scholars enjoyed the imprimatur of the institutions they served varied significantly, depending on the degree of administrative control within the sect they belonged to. It does appear that as we move closer to the modern period, that control strengthened. In the second half of the Edo period, the battle to control scholarship from the institutional center was clearly struggling against an increasing diversity of opinion, some of which appeared in print.

SEITEN 聖典 AND SHŌTEN 聖典

By the end of the Meiji period, the beginnings of sectarian canons are clearly in evidence, as in the Jōdoshū example above. In addition to the Edo-period factors, there were new pressures in the Meiji period that proved telling. Most obvious was the anti-Buddhist sentiment among many in government, reflected in policies that attempted to define "religion" as a national issue wherein Buddhism's value was questioned, the competition from Christianity as the self-defined pillar of the modern and more powerful Western cultural model, and the new, radical perspectives being advanced in the newly imported discipline of Buddhist Studies. While traditional Japanese Buddhism had its international defenders like Suzuki Daisetsu, within Japan, scholars were publishing theories that questioned the very authenticity of Mahāyāna Buddhism

itself. It was Tominaga Nakamoto 富永仲基 (1715–1746), who first argued in 1744 that Mahāyāna was a later historical development in Indian Buddhism, using a *kōshōgaku* analysis of sutra content. Having been picked up by Motoori Norinaga and the vituperative Hirata Atsutane, Edo-period Buddhist scholars took it as denial of the very legitimacy of Mahāyāna and argued strenuously against the thesis. But in late Meiji, from around 1900 a series of publications came out by Buddhist scholars arguing in a similar way that Mahāyāna sutras were not the word of the Buddha, a key component of their professed authority. In the 1920s the "Pure Land" itself was explored as "merely" a mental construct.

Depending on the audience, these publications could be very disruptive. Anesaki Masaharu (1873–1949) and Murakami Senshō (1851–1929) both published such theories as professors at Tokyo Imperial University and Murakami was stripped of his clerical status in Jōdoshinshū, but they kept their jobs.[7] Kaneko Daiei and Nonomura Naotarō were fired from their teaching positions at Ōtani and Ryūkoku universities, as both schools are funded by their *honzan*.

Each of these four scholars also wrote that their goals were not to delegitimate Buddhism but to modernize it by bringing "historical scholarship" into the discourse and eventually the wisdom of their efforts prevailed, but at the time their publications came out they nonetheless provoked reactionary responses. We should not discount the way in which Christian missionary polemics in this modernizing period (1868 to 1930) intensified this sensitivity.[8] My point here is that these censures together with the publication of sectarian canons manifest an institutional anxiety within denominational Japanese Buddhism, exacerbated by various attempts at institutional modernization initiated by its own clergy. Both realms of activity reflect the need to set limits on defining what constitutes a given denomination in the modern context.

One linguistic marker in the sectarian canon activity was the common use of the new word *seiten* 聖典. Given the enormity of Buddhist vocabulary, why invent a new word for scripture? In Classical Chinese, 聖典, today pronounced *sheng dian*, has the same meaning of "sacred scripture" and predates Buddhism. But in Japan, 聖典 yields two different words: *shōten* and *seiten*. *Shōten* シャウテン in the modern understanding

[7] Anesaki Masaharu 姉崎正治, *Bukkyō seitenshi ron* 佛教聖典史論 (Tokyo: Keisei Shoin, 1899); Murakami Senshō 村上專精, *Bukkyō tōitsuron* 仏教統一論 (Tokyo: Kinkōdō, 1901).

[8] See Kashiwahara Yūsen 柏原祐泉, "Meiji ni okeru kindai Bukkyō no rekishiteki keisei 明治における近代仏教の歴史的形成," *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度學佛教學研究 15:2 (1967): 74–81.

is the *go'on* 呉音 pronunciation from southern China brought to Japan from the Korean peninsula in the 6th and 7th centuries.[9] Since the religious scriptures of interest to the Japanese at the time were Buddhist, *shōten* has nearly always meant "Buddhist scripture." *Seiten* is the *kan'on* 漢音 reading, and although accepted by the court as the new standard of the Tang soon after the capital moved to Kyoto, in the Buddhist world the Nara period *go'on* pronunciations continued to dominate, thus *go'on* readings were adopted by the new Tendai and Shingon sects in the Heian period, and the Pure Land and Nichiren sects of the Kamakura period followed suit. In some contexts the Zen sects used the Song dynasty pronunciation readings they learned in China, but sutras continued to be read in *go'on*.

Of course most texts do not show the pronunciation of characters, so it is impossible to be completely certain about this distinction. In the Edo period, *seiten* is occasionally used as a general reference to revered teachings, but the *sei* reading for 聖 only comes into prominence in the modern period when it is selected to translate the English terms *sacred* (聖(せい)なる) and *scripture* (聖典(せいてん)) in a generic way. Thus the Koran is the *seiten* of the Islamic faith, and the Bible is called *seisho* 聖書.

Why would Buddhists publish editions of their scriptures in the early twentieth century called *seiten*? Having had Buddhist *shōten* for over 1000 years, the word *seiten* became available as a new, undefined term for scripture, an open signifier that Buddhist scholars could use without fear of offending traditionalists. A Buddhist *seiten* by its very name, on the other hand, expresses a significant demotion from what had been the accepted religious standard in Japan. By late Meiji, Buddhist scriptures had become one among many forms of religious literature in the globalized marketplace of world religions. The use of the word *seiten* in the title of these collections therefore reflects a discrete expression of institutional Buddhism's response to modernity in twentieth century Japan: presumptions of cultural privilege based on long-established tradition no longer guarantees continued acceptance; let Buddhism compete with any religious system of any culture.[10]

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[9] This is probably the standard pronunciation used in the Liang dynasty as Paekche had close relations to the Liang. The name *go'on* was only adapted from the mid-Heian period; previously these pronunciations were referred to as "Japanese pronunciation" (*wa'on* 和音).

[10] Another example of a homograph used in a new way in the context of Buddhist modernization in the late-Meiji/Taishō period is the use of *kyūdō* by Chikazumi Jōkan 近角常観 (1871–1941), a charismatic Jōdoshinshū preacher and disciple of Kiyozawa Manshi, both of whom were products of the Philosophy Department at Tokyo Imperial University in the 1880s and 1890s. Chikazumi traveled to Europe

PREVIOUS MANUSCRIPT AND PRINTED CANONS

From Buddhism's first entry into China, the standard canon of Chinese Buddhism inclusively added text after text as new material appeared in translation, such that by the time of the dismantling of the Buddhist institutional empire in China initiated by the eighteen-year old emperor Wuzong in 842, the "Great Storehouse of Scriptures" or *Dazangjing* (大藏經 J. Daizōkyō) that constituted the Buddhist canon (*tripiṭaka*) was said to have numbered 84,500 scrolls, surpassing any collection of Confucian or Daoist writings.[11]

The so-called Kaibao canon 開寶藏 of the Northern Song was the first printed Buddhist canon, carved in present day Chengdu, between 971 and 983. One set was actually brought to Japan and given to Fujiwara no Michinaga who had a special hall built to house it at Hōjōji 法成寺, in the vicinity of Kōjinguchi and Kawaramachi streets in Kyoto, but a fire destroyed the building housing the canon at the end of the Heian period and the entire collection was lost. Today almost nothing of this first printed canon is extant, though one folio from it has been preserved at Nanzenji (Figure 3). Although it did not circulate widely, the Kaibao canon had a major editorial impact on all later printed canons because the editing decisions made for its preparation were largely reproduced in later printed canons.

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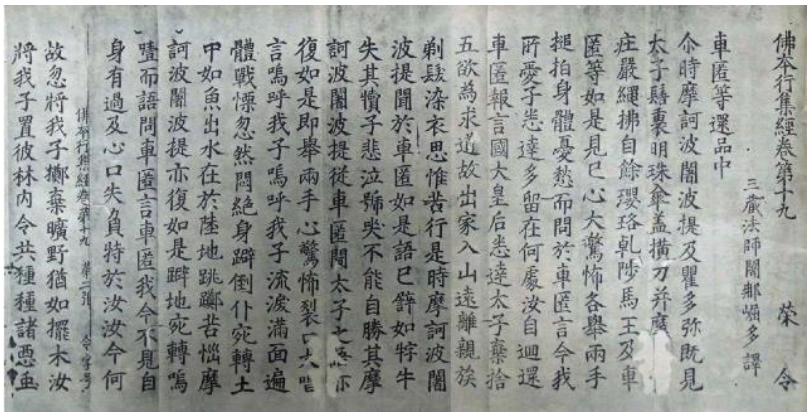
where he presented at the First International Congress for the History of Religions held in Paris in 1900, but the most influential experience on this trip was his meeting in London with the founder of the YMCA, George Williams. After returning to Tokyo, he built a dormitory and study center in 1902 that he named Kyūdō Gakusha 求道学舎 and a temple/meeting hall in 1915 he called Kyūdō Kaikan 求道会館, designed by the innovative architect Takeda Goichi (1872–1935), where one sits on pew-like seats with desks for writing. Chikazumi was passionately devoted to the study of the *Tannishō,* a Kamakura-period text written by a disciple of Shinran, but he sought new perspectives on how to communicate his understanding. He chose the name Kyūdō using the Buddhist word *gudō* 求道, "seeking truth or awakening" (synonymous with *guhō* 求法) but replaced the traditional *go'on* pronunciation with the modern reading *kyūdō,* thereby attempting to fuse Buddhist spirituality with a modern, pan-religious approach.

[11] For a discussion of the origins of the term *Dazangjing* and an outline of the compilation and printings of the Buddhist canon in China, see Fang Guangchang, "Defining the Chinese Buddhist Canon: Its Origin, Periodization, and Future", *Journal of Chinese Buddhist Studies* 28 (2015): 1–34.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匿等如是見已心大驚怖各舉兩手
捶拍身體憂慼布問於車匿言今我
所愛子悉達多留在何處汝自迴還
車匿報言國大皇后悉達太子棄捨
五欲為求道故出家入山遠離親族
剃鬚染衣思惟苦行是時摩訶波闍
波提聞於車匿如是語已聲如特牛
失其犢子悲泣歸类不能自勝其摩
訶波闍波提從車匿聞太子之事即
復如是即舉兩手心驚怖裂大叫唱
言嗚呼我子嗚呼我子流淚滿面遍
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訶波闍波提亦復如是躃地宛轉嗚
呼而語問車匿言車匿我今不見自
身有過及心口失負特於汝汝今何
故忽將我子擲棄曠野猶如擺木汝
將我子置彼林内令共種種諸惡

Figure 3: Example of printing from Kaibao Canon of 983.

Unlike the expectations surrounding the modern canons, these medieval printed canons were akin to relics—material embodiments of religious power more admired and revered than read. They were sponsored by governments and distributed as political gifts. Although they did not circulate much and were never sold to the public, monks were typically allowed to borrow individual texts from which to make copies. This happened in the case of the Hōjōji repository and this may be why we have one text from the Kaibao canon preserved at Nanzenji. Printing produced enormous merit because it spread the Dharma, but even more so because it preserved it. This is why we also see sutras carved into stone and clay tablets at this time, and many texts were buried in the ground to preserve them for posterity, a practice that still goes on. But until the early modern period, printed canons never replaced manuscript canons because the scale of the endeavor usually required government involvement, dominated by political concerns.

The Korean and Khitan governments also sponsored the carving and printing of their own Buddhist canons in the 11th century, presumed to be based on the Kaibao canon in terms of content. The 12th century Jin canon, only discovered in the 1930s, was an exception in that it was sponsored by the local population in Shanxi province but it too, does not appear to have circulated much. Other canons were carved and printed in the southern Song, repaired in the Yuan and new materials added in the Ming, and so forth. The blocks for the first Korean canon were destroyed when the temple housing them was burned down in the Mongol invasion, but they then printed a new canon soon afterward.

Although the many one-page *dhāraṇi* from the Nara period are famous as some of the world's earliest printed texts, the printing of entire scriptures did not become commonplace in Japan until the Kamakura period. Replicating sutras produces merit but in the Heian period hand-copying was the preferred method, apparently because it took more time and effort. The terms *surihon* 摺本 and *surikyō* 摺經 refer to the process of carving the blocks and printing Buddhist scriptures, but although found in Heian-period records, usage of these words at this time appears to be more reflective of ambition than activity. The oldest extant sutra printing in Japan dates to 1053, and the earliest example of the printing of a series of texts is the Kasuga-ban collection sponsored by Kōfukuji that begins in 1088 and continues until the end of the Kamakura period. The Kasuga-ban collection was dominated by scriptures central to the Hossō-shū, the oldest example being the *Jō-yuishikiron* 成唯識論 printed in 1088.[12] Note that Kōfukuji was only printing texts central to their own denomination; it was not labeled a canon (*daizōkyō/issaikyō*).

Kōya-san also engaged in a printing project beginning in the late Heian period that rose to some prominence in the late Kamakura period. Similarly centered on works central to its own tradition, half are said to have been the writings of Kūkai. Again, this effort does not appear to have gone beyond sectarian concerns. Although some of this material was apparently meant to serve as textbooks for their own students, many of these texts were distributed to others from Tōji, the Shingon administrative center in the capital. The project continued on through the Muromachi period and there are catalogs dating to the 14th century but this material has not been well studied.

The printing of Gozan materials is also well known, but there is considerable confusion about what was included under that rubric and much of it was literary or *geten* 外典, not canonical Buddhism. The Gozan printing endeavor similarly made no pretense of reproducing a Buddhist canon.

The first printing of a complete canon in Japan, known as the Tenkai-ban or Kan'eiji-ban 寛永寺版 was initiated by the Tendai power-broker Tenkai 天海 (1536–1643) and completed in 1648. It was based on a

[12] This probably represented an effort to revive the sagging fortunes of the Nara period Buddhist institutions. The Yogācāra texts that dominated this endeavor were the *Yugashiji-ron* 瑜伽師地論 (*Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra*) and *Shōdaijōron shaku* 攝大乘論釋 (**Mahāyānasaṃgraha-bhāṣya*). Both the printed books and the blocks themselves preserved at Kōfukuji are designated *jūyō bunkazai*. In the Taishō canon, *Jō-yuishikiron* is text no. 1585, *Yugashiji-ron* is no. 1579, and *Shōdaijōron shaku* is no. 1595, 1597, and 1598.

Southern Song edition and used wooden moveable type, representing the latest in technology. But few copies were made and it had little impact on people who actually read the sutras (Figure 4).[13] The first printed Buddhist canon in Japan that actually circulated was the Ōbaku-ban, so-called because it was organized by the newly arrived Ōbaku sect at Manpukuji. The brainchild of Tetsugen 鐵眼 (1630–1682), it was based on the Ming edition and completed in 1681. This circulated widely.

In the Meiji period, two canons were printed: the Shukusatsu Daizōkyō 縮刷大藏經 printed in moveable type on *washi* and bound like a xylograph in 1885, and the Manji zōkyō 卍字藏經 in 1905. These were both supplanted by what remains today as the standard Chinese-language Buddhist canon for the world: the *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經, published between 1924 and 1932. Organized somewhat differently than traditional canons, it includes a great number of commentaries and works written in Japan. Totaling 80,000 pages, it is the largest Buddhist canon ever printed.

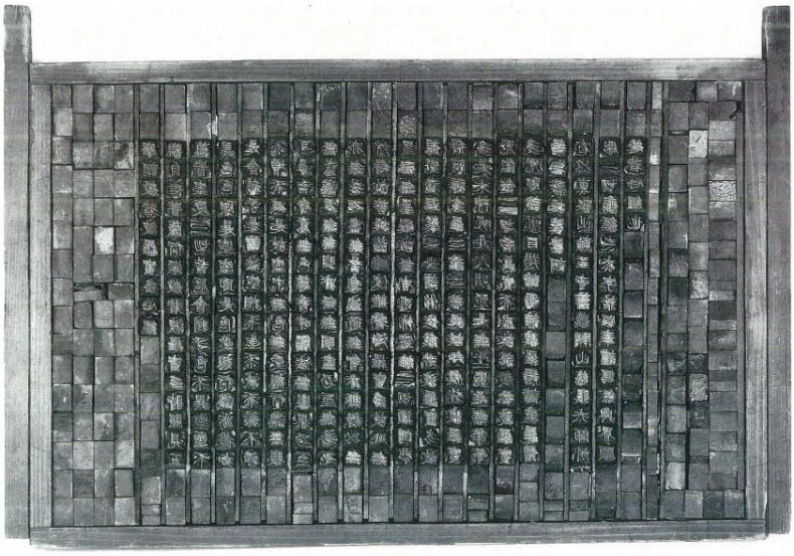

Figure 4: Tenkai-ban wooden moveable type (1637~1648).

[13] Today known as *kokatsuji-ban* 古活字版, the downside of moveable type printing, using wood or copper, was the instability of the medium, compared with carved blocks that can be used repeatedly for centuries. It also precluded the addition of *kunten* and *furigana.*

SEITEN 聖典 AND NOBEGAKI 延書

In contrast with the above mentioned *issaikyō* canons, what distinguishes sectarian canon printings in the modern period is the felt need to present the material in a language that is more accessible than straight Classical Chinese. The *wabun* editions published before the war are little more than *kakikudashi*, hence require knowledge of *bungo.* Postwar *seiten*, however, include works in modern Japanese, although some degree of *bungo* grammar remains common. Sometimes texts are presented twice: in their original form, either *kanbun* or *bungo* depending on the original form, and in an "interpreted" form in literary modern Japanese. The *Jōdoshū seiten*, for example, presents texts written as *kanbun* with *kunten*, followed by *kakikudashi* that reproduces forms used in manuscripts from the seventeenth century that add honorifics not found in the Chinese; it presents texts written as *wabun* similarly, first with the original form called *kotobagaki* 詞書 and then followed by *shakumon* 釈文 which are still in *bungo* but with added *kanji* and *furigana*.[14] Collections called *seiten* or *zensho* never present Chinese-language materials in plain Chinese without *kunten,* and typically a high percentage of *kanji* contain *furigana.* By contrast, the texts printed in the *Kasuga-ban*, the Kōya-san texts from the Kamakura period, and Gozan printings were, as far as I know, printed in *kanbun* without *kunten* or *furigana.* Here again, the printing of the *wabun* writings of Hōnen in 1321 with its *furigana* astride the *kanji* is essentially an archetype for the modern sectarian canon.

In the case of Jōdoshū, sectarian leadership in the modern period decided to celebrate the anniversary of Hōnen's death in Meiji 40 (1907) by producing an extensive sectarian canon they called *Jōdoshū zensho.* We know that the *honzan* Chion'in created a publishing office for this purpose (Jōdoshū Kankōkai 浄土宗刊行会) and recruited over 300 people to participate in the effort. In 1914 it was published in 20 volumes. This canon includes all the scriptures deemed important by this sect. Those originally in Chinese or *kanbun* were left in that form, but with *kunten* added from Edo-period editions and *furigana* as needed.

In the case of Sōtōshū, a *Zaike Sōtōshū seiten* 在家曹洞宗聖典 was published in 1913 (Figure 5).[15] Note that it has a number of sutra passages in it, usually in *kanbun* with *kunten,* but it also has two forms of the *Heart*

[14] Why the original form is called *kotobagaki* 詞書, a term normally used for explanatory text that frames pictures or poems, is unclear to this author.
[15] Mogi Mumon 茂木無文 ed., *Zaike Sōtōshū seiten* 在家曹洞宗聖典 (Tokyo: Seishindō 誠進堂, 1913).

Sutra, one in *kanbun* with *kunten* (Figure 6); the other in *bungo kakikudashi* (Figure 7).

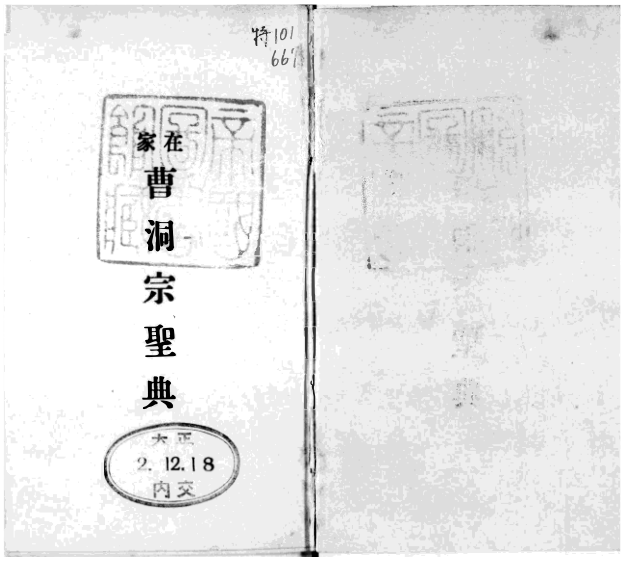

Figure 5: Title page of *Zaike Sōtōshū seiten*.

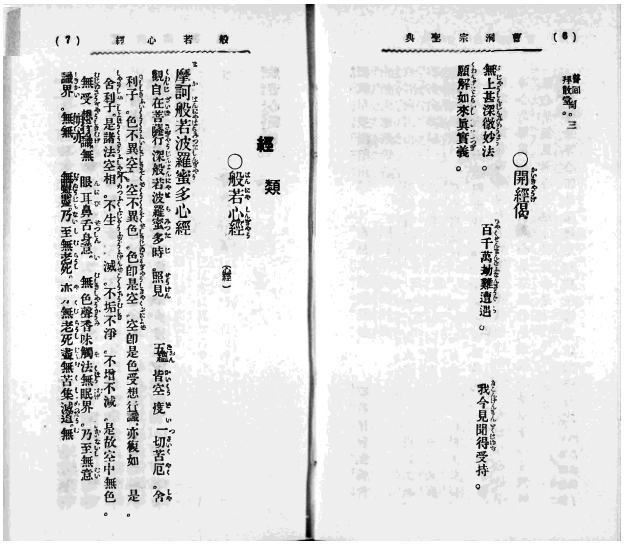

Figure 6: *Heart Sutra* in *Zaike Sōtōshū seiten* in original Chinese text with *furigana* added.

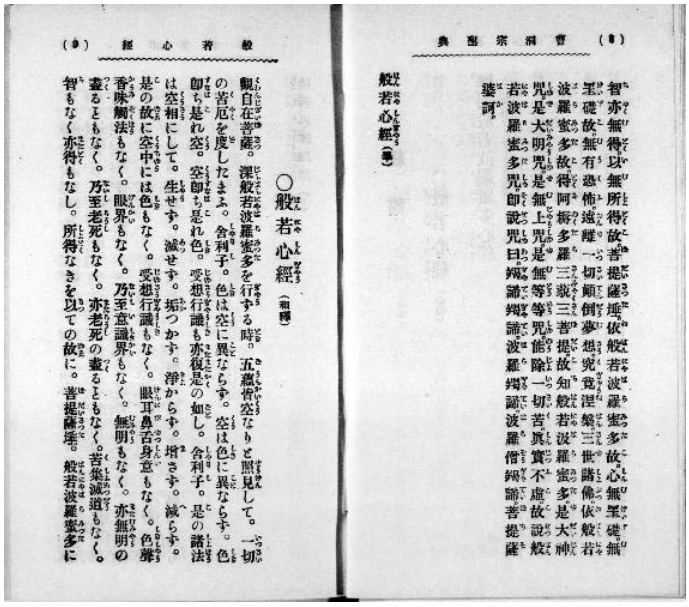

Figure 7: *Heart Sutra* in *Zaike Sōtōshū seiten* in *wayaku* form.

Shinshū followed a similar path. The branches of Honganji cooperated to produce two massive "complete sectarian works" called *Shinshū zensho* and *Shinshū taikei* between 1913 and 1924. Both collections are dominated by Edo-period scholarship, but the *Shinshū taikei* also has the Triple Pure Land sutras and writings of the thinkers they regard as patriarchs prior to Shinran. Akin to Dōkō's critical edition of Hōnen's writings, Shinshū scholars have been producing Japanese translations of their founder's *kanbun* works, which they called *nobegaki* 延書, since the 14th century, when Zonkaku (1290–1372) produced a *nobegaki* of Shinran's *Kyōgyōshinshō,* originally in *kanbun.* In 1302, another Shinshū scholar called Kenchi 顯智, leader of the Takada branch at the time, made a *nobegaki* of Hōnen's *Senchakushū*, also originally in *kanbun.* In 1916, Shinshū produced a *Shinshū daiseiten* 真宗大聖典, which is clearly a sectarian canon in the scope of its contents (Figures 8 & 9). Like the *Sōtōshū seiten*, it gives its core sutras both in *kanbun* and *kakikudashi/nobegaki*.

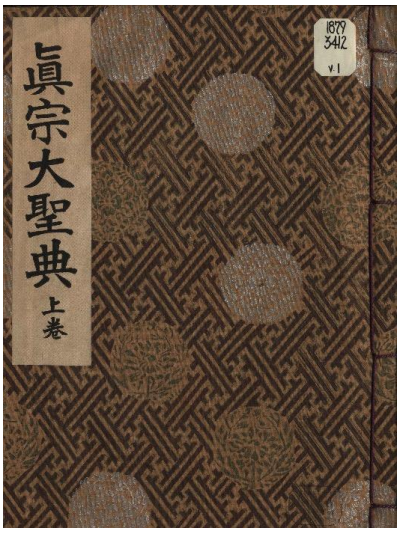

Figure 8: Cover of *Shinshū daiseiten.*

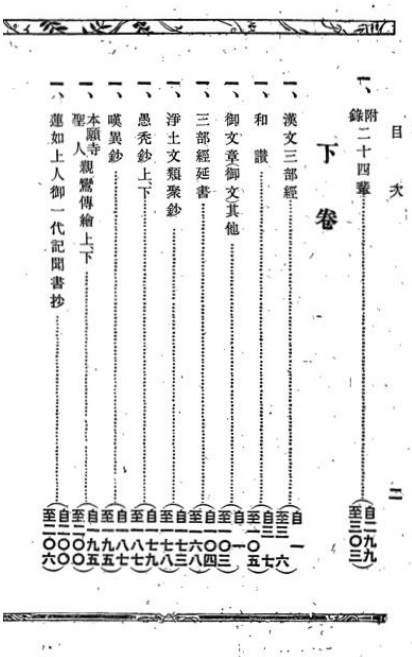

Figure 9: *Shinshū daiseiten* table of contents listing *[Jōdo] Sanbukyō* (the three core sutras for this tradition) in both *kanbun* and *nobegaki* forms.

In conclusion, although there was a definite movement toward investment in the publishing of sectarian notions of "canon" in the modern period with accompanying linguistic apparatuses to provide greater access and expressions of sectarian-identifying readings, the prototypes for this process date to the late Heian and Kamakura periods. The Meiji-period neologism *seiten* provided a new category for these endeavors that conveniently avoided conflict with traditional notions of what a Buddhist canon was expected to look like, yet the need for religious texts that could be read and recited by non-professionals in fact dates to the Kamakura period, if not earlier.

GLOSSARY

bungo 文語 = Classical Japanese

Daizōkyō 大藏經 = the Buddhist canon, sometimes the equivalent of the Sanskrit *tripiṭaka.*

furigana = *kana* characters added to the side of a word in vertical printing to indicate the pronunciation of a Chinese character.

gakurin / gakuryō 学林·学寮 = Buddhist religious seminaries, most of which were established in the Edo period, though some date to an earlier period.

geten 外典 = non-Buddhist texts that Buddhists also read.

go'on 呉(吳)音 = the *on'yomi* of Chinese characters used in Japan based on the standard pronunciation of the Wú region of China in the 6th and 7th centuries. This reflects the way Chinese was pronounced by the Korean teachers in Japan in the sixth and seventh centuries. At that time the geographical name Wu (as opposed to its usage as the name of kingdoms) probably represented the region covering the modern provinces of Jiangsu, Anhui, and Zhejiang. It was probably the normative pronunciation used in the Liang dynasty (502–557)—which covered a much broader area—which had a close relationship with Paekche and other areas of Korea. This was the standard Japanese *on'yomi* well into the Heian period and has remained the normative pronunciation for Buddhist technical vocabulary.

Gozan 五山 = "five mountains," an ambiguous reference to five large Rinzai monasteries in both Kyoto and Kamakura based on Chinese precedent. Which temples were included changed over time. Also denotes a type of literature written primarily in *kanbun* by monks during the Nanboku period when the Rinzai school was heavily patronized by the Ashikaga shogunate.

honzan 本山 = a Buddhist temple that functions as the administrative headquarters of a sect or a branch of a sect, where ordinations are

carried out, policy is set, and financial decisions are made. The abbot of a *honzan* is thus the administrative head of that denomination.

kanbun 漢文 = Chinese syntax; here refers to Japanese texts written in Chinese syntax.

kakikudashi 書き下し = a rewriting into Classical Japanese of text originally written in Chinese or *kanbun.*

kan'on 漢音 = the *on'yomi* of Chinese characters in Japan based on the standard pronunciation used in the capital of Chang'an and surrounding regions during the Tang period. Brought back to Japan by emissaries and students sent to China during the Nara and early Heian periods, it was only during the Heian period that it eventually eclipsed the *go'on* to become the standard in Japan. Not to be confused with *tō'on* 唐音, which are *on'yomi* mostly based on pronunciations coming into Japan during *chūsei* (Kamakura-Muromachi) that are reflective of Song-period speech; but *tō'on* also includes pronunciations based on spoken Chinese from the Ming and even Qing periods that enter Japan in the Edo period.

kōshōgaku 考證學 (C. *kǎo zhèng xué*) = textcritical studies as developed in at the end of the Ming period. Brought to Japan by Chinese refugees when the Ming government collapsed.

kotobagaki 詞書 = appears to reflect an Edo-period usage in this context of "spoken words written down." Whatever its origins, in modern Buddhist usage this refers to the original language of *wabun* writings.

kunten 訓点 = a scheme of orthographical markings added to a *kanbun* text to indicate how the syntax should be changed so that a sentence can be read in Japanese word-order, called *kundoku.*

nobegaki 延書 = in effect, a synonym for *kakikudashi,* usage of this word appears to be limited to the Jōdoshin sect (?).

seiten 聖典 = Modern term for "sacred book," usually restricted to what we could consider "scripture." Used for texts from all traditions, including Buddhism.

shakumon 釈文 = Denotes an edited version of a premodern Japanese-language text in which changes are made to make the original language easier to read. In effect this usually means that many words written in *kana* are replaced with what are presumed to be the appropriate *kanji,* thereby clarifying the authorial intent and eliminating ambiguity of homonyms.

shōten 聖典 = Ancient term for "sacred book" wherein the first character is read in the *go'on.* Primarily appears in the context of Buddhist language use from the Nara period up to the present day.

shūgaku 宗学 = Literally, "sectarian studies," this usually denotes doctrinal and textcritical studies specific to the concerns of a particular denomination. Probably coined in the Edo period.

surihon 摺本 / surikyō 摺經 = Refers to the process of carving the blocks and printing Buddhist scriptures, but although found in Heian-period records, they are more reflective of ambition than activity.

wabun 和文 = writing in the Japanese language.

washi 和紙 = traditional hand-made Japanese paper made from plant fibers.