

## Reconsidering the Relation Between Shunpan and Nichiren: Focusing on Nichiren's Period of Studies at Mt.Hiei

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### Introduction

Many of Nichiren's non-autographical works (写本遺文, N-AWs), which are traditionally attributed to him but not recognised in the collection of his autographical works (真蹟遺文, AWs), are still suspected to be forgeries created by the disciples under the influence of Medieval Tendai teachings (中古天台義, MT) codified only after his death. Two type of reasons has often given. 1) A bibliographical reason: the strong influence of the Original Awakening Thought (本覺論) from the MT on the later disciples of Nichiren became evident on the Muromachi Era and writings including expression like "Original Awakening (本覺)" or "Threefold buddha-body (無作三身)" was recorded for the first time in the same period<sup>1</sup>. 2) A doctrinal reason: in the same writings the condition of "common being," or "practice beginners (凡夫)," is identified with that of the Buddha, implicating the needlessness of the practice, than showing elements greatly derailing from Nichiren's original view of buddhist practice as we can see in his AWs. Here, it is stressed that the accomplishment of the Buddhahood in the age of the decline of the Dharma (末法) can be realized only through the faith in the Śākyamuni-buddha shown in the 16th chapter of the *Lotus Sūtra*, who attained the Buddhahood in an inconceivable remote past, and only through the invocation of the five characters of the *Lotus Sūtra* Title (妙法蓮華經の五字).<sup>2</sup>

About the reason 1), however, among the Medieval Tendai teachings are some that, despite being codified for the first time only after Nichiren's death, had already been orally transmitted during his lifetime, and others that are already quoted in his AWs.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The expression "Original," or, "Innate Awakening (本覺)" is present in 1) the *Shōji Ichidaiji Kechimyaku-shō* (『生死一大事血脈鈔』), 2) The *Jushoku Kanjō Kuden-shō* (『授職灌頂口伝鈔』), 3) The *Jippōkai-ji* (『十法界事』), 4) The *Jimyōhō Hokke Mondō-shō* (『持妙法華問答鈔』), 5) The *Shōgu Mondō-shō* (『聖愚問答鈔』), 6) The *Abutsu-bō Goshō* (『阿仏房御書』), 7) The *Daiibyakugoshō-sho* (『大白牛車書』), 8) The *Sanze Shobutsu Sōkanmon Kyōsō Hairyū* (『三世諸仏総勘文教相廢立』), 9) The *Kyōgyōshō Goshō* (『教行証御書』); The expressions "Un-produced (無作)," "Threefold Un-produced Buddha-bodies (無作三身)," or "Threefold Unproduced and Originally Awakened Buddha-bodies (無作本覺の三身)" are present in 1) the *Tōtaigi-shō* (『当体義鈔』), 2) the *Jushoku Kanjō Kuden-shō*, 3) The *Shoshū Mondō-shō* (『諸宗問答鈔』), 4) The *Gijō-bō Goshō* (『義淨房御書』), 5) The *Kyōgyōshō Goshō*, 6) The *Sanze Shobutsu Sōkanmon Kyōsō Hairyū*, 7) The *Myōichinyō Gohenji* (『妙一女御返事』), 8) The *Sandai Hihō Rinsō-ji* (『三大秘法稟承事』). All of these writings was recorded for the first time in the Muromachi Era, about 200 years after Nichiren's death.

<sup>2</sup> See Miyazaki Eiju 宮崎英修, ed., *Nichiren Jiten* (『日蓮辭典』), "The *Shōhō Jissō-shō*" (『諸法実相鈔』), Tōkyōdō Shuppan 東京堂出版, Tokyo, 1968, 141–142; Kitagawa Zenchō 北川前肇, *Nichiren Kyōgaku Kenkyū* (『日蓮教学研究』), Heirakuji Shoten 平楽寺書店, Kyōto, 1987, 268–269; Sueki Fumihiko 末木文美士, *Nichiren Nyūmon: Gense wo utsu shisō* (『日蓮入門—現世を撃つ思想』), Chikuma Shinsho ちくま新書, Tokyo, 2010, 184–202.

<sup>3</sup> The most famous examples are the *Honri daimō-shū* (『本理大綱集』) owned by Nakayama Hokkekyō-ji

So, where and from whom did Nichiren learn Tendai teachings, and what kind of teachings were they? What kind of academic trends were present at Mt. Hiei's monastic complex of the Tendai School in the first and second half of the 13th century? What kind of influence did those trends have on Nichiren's thought, and what kind of effect did they have on his later doctrinal development?

Thanks to a few studies conducted in the previous century,<sup>4</sup> it is supposed that during his studies at Mt. Hiei (1242–1254), Nichiren was influenced by Yamato no Shō Shunpan Hōin 大和莊/庄俊範法印 (1212–1259/1262?), chief scholar of the Mt. Hiei's monastic complex (三塔總学頭), who at the time preached the “Essential Unity of Esoteric and Exoteric Teaching (円密一致)”<sup>5</sup> in spite of the prevailing academic trend which strongly favoured Esotericism,

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Temple 中山法華經寺 and attributed to Saichō 最澄 (797–822), which is quoted in the *Honri daimōshūtō yōbun* (『本理大綱集等要文』, AW) owned by Ikegami Honmon-ji Temple 池上本門寺, and said to have been composed by Nichiren between 1264 and 1279, and the *Shinji kyōgyō ketsu* (『心地教行決』) owned by Mt. Minobu Kuon-ji Temple 身延山久遠寺 and attributed to Jōsan 靜算, which is quoted in the *Kanjin honzon-shō* (『觀心本尊抄』, AW) composed by Nichiren in 1273.

<sup>4</sup> See Bibliography, Kubota Tetsumasa.

<sup>5</sup> In the the *Tendai-Shingon Sokushinjōbutsu Dōi no Koto* (『天台真言即身成仏同異事』), attributed to Shunpan and included in the *Isshin myōkai-shō* by Gudō-bō Ejin (See Chapter 2), Shunpan says that the stage of Attainment of Buddhahood with this Very Body (即身成仏) in the Shingon School does not differ from the Tendai School's claim that “the Partial Attainment at the First Abiding is itself the True Nirvāṇa (初住分証真涅槃).” And with regard to the controversy over whether the Attainment of Ryūnyo 龍女 (*Lotus Sūtra*, Chapter 12, “Devadatta”) is set up at the stage of the First Abiding or at the stage of Marvellous Awakening (妙覺), he limits himself to saying that this point is very difficult to understand. (次至次位不同者, 同弘法初判中引現世証得歡喜地之文証即身成仏初住分証真涅槃也文不可有相違歟。天台教意判龍女証位事, 初住妙覺難知意有歟。 See Kubota [1987b].)

The 8th volume of the *Hokkesho shiki* (『法華疏私記』), to the question of whether “the Attainment by Ryūnyo is a Partial Awakening (分証) or the Supreme Awakening (究竟),” and moreover, whether “the Attainment of the Marvellous Awakening is possible in a single lifetime (一生妙覺) or not,” Hōji-bō Shōshin 宝地房証真 (1129–1214) answers that “the Attainment of the Marvellous Awakening in a single lifetime is possible in theory but impossible in practice.” (See the *Dainippon Bukkyō Zensho* (『大日本仏教全書』), Vol. 22, p. 126). Unlike Hōji-bō Shōshin, in the *Tendai-Shingon Sokushinjōbutsu Dōi no Koto* Shunpan says that the Attainment by Ryūnyo is a doctrine preached in the first half of the *Lotus Sūtra* by the Buddha as a “visible trace” in this world, but at the same time includes the meaning of both the teaching of the first half and the second half, which is preached by the Originally Awakened One. (若爾次位不同也不可意之。五百問論尺知積当是本請即証前已白去, 曉起後, 龍女成道編初住不可定歟。加之, 論尺一身即三身等引唯真言法中即身成仏文, 可思之。 See Kubota [1987b].)

Generally, in the Tendai School, with regard to the attainment of the benefits of the *Lotus Sūtra*-based practice by the teaching received by the Buddha as a “visible-trace” in this world is said that it occurs at the First Abiding, while attainment by the teaching received from the Originally Awakened One in the second half of the *Lotus Sūtra* occurs at the stage Similar-to-the-Awakening (等覺) or at the ultimate stage of Marvellous Awakening (the Supreme Attainment), thereby making it possible from the beginning to establish the theory of the Attainment of Buddhahood with her very body by Ryūnyo at the stage of the Marvellous Awakening. Then, we can suppose that Shunpan showed in the above passage the Attainment by Ryūnyo at the stage of the Marvellous Awakening with her very body making it his general principle of the essential unity of the Tendai Exoteric Teaching with the theories about the stage at which the Supreme Attainment occurs in the Esoteric Teaching of the Shingon School. In Nichiren Writings, there is a brief passage in an AW that seems to show that Nichiren too considered the Attainment by Ryūnyo a doctrine depending on the teaching preached in the second half of the

as we can see from quotation of the same period like “[Today in Tendai academicism, it is said that] the exoteric teaching of the Lotus Sūtra School cannot yet reach the level of the Secret Teaching [i.e. the Esotericism] (法華不及秘)”<sup>6</sup> and “it’s because it is said that the Buddhahood through practising the Exoteric Vehicle for a long time is accomplished at the beginner stage in the Esoteric Teaching.”<sup>7</sup>

Here, I will fit together the results of past researches about Nichiren’s period of studies at Mt. Hiei, and review their conclusions in order to clarify the nature of Nichiren’s relationship with Shunpan theories as well as the influence by the new academic trend advocated by Mt. Hiei at the time. Hopefully, this will lead us to a deeper comprehension of the MT evident not only in the N-AWs but in all of Nichiren’s Writings.

### 1 About the theory considering Shunpan as Nichiren’s “master (師)” at Mt. Hiei

There are 4 types of document. 1) Documents compiled by the later disciples of Nichiren. 1a) The theory considering Shunpan as Nichiren’s “master” at Mt. Hiei is based on the Nichidai Jikken jūban mondō-ki (『日大直兼十番問答記』) by Hatakeyama Hongaku Hōin Nichidai 畠山本覺法印日大, a nephew-disciple of Nichiren of the Nikkō branch (興門流) at Kyōto in the Nanboku-chō Era. A passage of this work, reporting a dialogue between Nichidai and Jikken, a great scholar 4 generations after Shunpan from only about 82 years

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*Lotus Sūtra*, than occurring at the stage of Marvellous Awakening. In the *Kitō-shō* (『祈禱抄』, AW) from 1271 Nichiren says: “How glad is the fact that Ryūnyo became a Buddha at the time the Chapter 11th “Showing the Jeweled Stūpa” was preached!” (Teihon: 673, translated by the author). This passage clearly asserts that Ryūnyo attained the Buddhahood upon hearing the Chapter 11 of the *Lotus Sūtra*, “Showing the Jeweled Stūpa” (『見宝塔品第十一』). In the Tendai and Nichiren schools the “Jeweled Stūpa” in the Chapter 11 (first half) is believed to include the following two meanings: 1) “to prove the truth of what were preached before (証前),” i.e., the teaching of the Buddha as a “visible trace” in this world, and 2) “to cause what will be preached after 起後,” i.e., the teaching preached in the second half by the Originally Awakened One, particularly that of the Chapter 16 “Lifespan of the Tathāgata” (『如来寿量品第十六』) (See the Vol.8 of the *Fāhuā wénjù* (『法華文句』) by Zhīyì 智顛, T No. 1718, Vol. 34, 113a26–b10). Nichiren focuses his attention on the fact that the emergence of the Stūpa coincides with the cause triggering the preaching of the second half of the *Lotus Sūtra*, and in the *Kaimoku-shō*, AW, he names the Chapter 11 “the true preface to the Chapter 16 (second half),” “寿量品の遠序” (Teihon: 571–572). Actually, we can not be sure that Ryūnyo heard the Chapter 11 of the *Lotus Sūtra*, because her first entrance occurs only in the Chapter 12. According to Kubota [1987b], the assertion that Ryūnyo attained the Buddhahood upon hearing Chapter 11 in the *Kitō-shō*, AW indicates Nichiren’s intention to argue that the same chapter enshrines the soteriological power of the teaching of Chapter 16, and in detail the power of the five character of Myōhō-rengē-kyō as the essence of the entire sūtra (Teihon: 715, 1316). So we can glimpse here some influence of Shunpan’s lectures on Ryūnyo’s Attainment at the ultimate stage of Marvellous Awakening, explained as a teaching preached in the first half but depending by the soteriological power of the Chapter 16 in the second half of the *Lotus Sūtra*. But it is also true that, about this point, we have only fragmentary hints.

<sup>6</sup> The *Tendai Shingon nishū dōi-shō* (『天台真言二宗同異章』) by Hōji-bō Shōshin, the predecessor and a master of Shunpan, T No. 2372, Vol. 74, 417a13.

<sup>7</sup> The *Dainichi-kyō kenmon* (『大日經見聞』) by Enni Bennen 円爾弁円 (1202–1280), a contemporary and possibly also a classmate of Nichiren during this period, and also a disciple of Awataguchi Jōmyō 粟田口静明, the direct disciple of Shunpan who succeeded him as chief scholar. See Nichizō 日藏, *Mitsubu shōso* (『密部章疏』), Vol. 1, 342.

after Nichiren's death, says: "The Great Holy One (Nichiren) received the transmission of the Tendai School's buddhist teachings from Shunpan."<sup>8</sup> Shunpan's name and the theories attributed to him also appear in source books edited by the Nikkō branch, a passage of 1b) the *Gohonzon Shichika Sōshō* (『御本尊七箇相承』, N-AW) recording "We have an account about Shunpan Hōin of the Yokawa branch,"<sup>9</sup> and 1c) a passage of the *Hyakurokka-shō* (『百六箇抄』, N-AW) recording "Shunpan answered that [the teaching preached in the first half (迹門) and in the second half (本門) of the *Lotus Sūtra*, and then the Buddha as a "visible trace (迹仏) " in this world and the Buddha as the Originally Awakened One (本仏) .] are mysteriously one unified entity."<sup>10</sup> According to Yamakawa[1910] and Hori[1956], the *Hyakurokka-shō* comes to us through an old manuscript by Nichiga 日我 (1508–1586) of Awa no Kuni Hota Myōhō-ji Temple 安房国保田妙本寺 from the Sengoku Era, and the *Gohonzon Shichika Sōshō* comes to us through an old manuscript by Bōshū Nissen 房州日詮 (1338–1381), the 4th head abbot of Ikegami Honmon-ji Temple 池上本門寺, so we can assume that the theory making Shunpan the master of Nichiren at Mt. Hiei was formed by the second half of 14th century at the latest.

2) Historical documents like 2a) the *Nihon Daishi Sentoku Meishō-ki* (『日本大師先徳明匠記』) edited in the 16th century, confirming to us that Shunpan corresponds well to Nichiren's period of studying abroad on Mt. Hiei and with a high probability was about 60 or 70 years.

3) Documents from the Tendai School. As we know from 3a) the *Makura-no-sōshi* (『枕雙紙』) codified for the first time in 1647,<sup>11</sup> and 3b) the *Sannō kyūjūji hiketsu* (『山王九十字口決』) from 1471,<sup>12</sup> two codifications of an oral transmission by the Eshin branch, Shunpan is included in the following lineage: "Eshin 恵心 (Genshin 源信) – Shōhan 勝範 (Renjitsu-bō of the Eastern Pagoda 西塔ノ蓮実房, founder of the Renjitsu branch) – Kōkaku 皇覚 (Sugi'u-bō Hōgyō 相生房法橋, founder of the Sugi'u branch) – Hangen 範源– Shunpan – Jōmyō 静明." That means that within the Eshin branch Shunpan inherited the sub-branch of Renjitsu and also the sub-branch of Sugi'u. According to 3c) the *Tendai zashu-ki* (『天台座主記』) from the Muromachi Era,<sup>13</sup> Shunpan received the office of "chief scholar of the Mt.Hiei" from Hōji-bō Shōshin 宝地証真, and at the time of Nichiren's studies abroad he occupied that position.

4) Documents directly compiled or attributed to Nichiren. 4a) The commenary to the *Lotus Sūtra* the *Chūhokkekyō* (『注法華經』, AW) mention an "oral transmission by Renjitsu-bō (『蓮実房和尚金花抄云』) ," enabling us to suppose with high probability that Nichiren during his period at Mt.Hiei participated in Shunpan's lectures and received the above mentioned oral

<sup>8</sup> "大聖人、俊範より天台の法問は御相伝也云々。" Nichiren-shū Shūgaku Zensho 日蓮宗宗学全書, Vol. 2, 431.

<sup>9</sup> "横川の俊範法印に御物語りありし。"

<sup>10</sup> "俊範法印答て云く不思議一。"

<sup>11</sup> See Shibuya [1978: 289.]

<sup>12</sup> First time edited in 1537. See Shibuya [1978: 999.]

<sup>13</sup> The postscript of this work reports that its older manuscript ascend to the Ashikaga Era. See: Shibuya:1053.

transmission from Shunpan himself. But in 4b) the *Jōdo kubon no koto* (『浄土九品之事』, AW) from 1269, only a brief passage describes Shunpan as “Yamato no shō, the chief scholar of the Mt.Hiei belonging to the Sugi’u branch.”<sup>14</sup>

Nevertheless, we cannot yet jump immediately to the conclusion that Shunpan was Nichiren’s “master” during his period of studying at Mt. Hiei. This is because, as Takagi [2003] points out, the *Jōdo kubon no koto* confirms that Shunpan was the chief scholar belonging to the Sugi’u branch for the entire Mt. Hiei monastic complex, but there is no mention of him as the “master” of Nichiren, and we cannot find any quotations about the codification of the oral transmissions from the Renjitsu branch mentioned in the *Chūhokkekyō*. Therefore, we can assume that Nichiren simply was an auditor of Shunpan’s lectures. Moreover, we cannot confirm whether the theory asserting that Shunpan was Nichiren’s “master” during his studies at Mt. Hiei really existed before the compilation of the *Nichidai Jikken jūban mondō-ki* from 82 years after Nichiren’s death. It is more probable that, as pointed out by Takagi [1991], the theory considering Shunpan as a Nichiren’s “master” alluded by Nichidai may reflect the intention of the Kyōto Nichiren School to gain the approval of Mt. Hiei in the Nanboku-chō Era. The only way left to clarify the nature of Nichiren’s relationship to Shunpan is to infer it by comparing the Tendai teachings found in works attributed to Shunpan and the later developments of Nichiren’s thought.

## 2 Issues Surrounding Shunpan’s Works and Theories

According to Kubota [1987b], at the time of Nichiren’s studies at Mt. Hiei the expression “*Lotus Sūtra School* (法華宗),” generally referred to the Tendai School, in the Eshin branch was used to distinguish A) the Doctrine (教) from B) the Contemplation of One’s Own Mind (觀), meaning the practice of Contemplating the Three Truths and the Three Thousand Realms (the entire phenomenal world) in a single instant of mental activity (一念三千一心三觀). In the Eshin branch A) specifically do correspond to the “*Lotus Sūtra School* (法華宗)” and B) to the “Tendai School (天台宗),” establishing in this way the practice of Contemplation (觀門) as the ultimate intention of the Tendai School. Thanks first to the *Nijō-shō* (『二帖抄』) and the *Tōkai kuden-shō* (『等海口伝抄』) from 1329 by Jōraku-in Shinga 常楽院心賀 (1243–?), a nephew-disciple of Shunpan,<sup>15</sup> we know that Shunpan is one of the scholars who first pointed out a distinction like the above in contrast to the *Jūjūshin-ron* (『十住心論』) by Kūkai 空海 (774–835), which placed the Tendai School on a lower rank than the Shingon school.

Furthermore, the Editorial Office of the Tendai School in 1995 published 8 works gathering theories and oral transmissions attributed to Shunpan in the *Tendai-shū Zensho* (『天台宗全書』). In addition, thanks to Kubota [1987b], a new text, recording Shunpan’s personal view of the relationship between the Esoteric and Exoteric Teaching, was discovered in the 80th

<sup>14</sup> “大和ノ莊, 桓 (梶) 生・三塔総学頭.” Teihon: 2310. Translated by the author.

<sup>15</sup> *Tendai-shū Zensho* (『天台宗全書』), Vol. 9.

years of last century. It is the *Tendai-Shingon Sokushinjōbutsu Dōi no Koto* (『天台真言即身成仏同異事』, “Differences and similarities in the teaching of ‘Attaining Buddhahood With this Very Body’ in both of Tendai and Shingon schools”) recorded in the *Isshin myōkai-shō* (『一心妙戒抄』, “On The Marvelous Precept of the One Mind.”)<sup>16</sup> Nevertheless, these nine books only mention theories or transmissions attributable to Shunpan under the names of his disciples, not works directly compiled by him. Moreover, it is very difficult to identify what Shunpan’s main teaching was. If we have to choose one, according to Kubota [1997], it might be the relationship of Shunpan to the Eshin branch’s Seven Teachings (七箇法門),<sup>17</sup> but only the *Ichō-shō* (『一帖抄』) by Shinga codified in 1329<sup>18</sup>

mentions the Seven Teachings, and Shunpan’s direct disciple Jōmyō did not write anything about them. However, the *Isshin myōkai-shō* calls him “Master and Patriarch of the Contemplation of the Three Truths within One’s Own Mind (一心三觀祖師),” enabling us to suppose that in Shunpan’s teaching the Contemplation of the Three Truths within one’s own mind was an issue of great importance.

### 3 About The Practice of Teaching Received by the Originally Awakened One and the View of the *Lotus Sūtra*’s Title in Shunpan’s Theories

#### 3.1 On the achievement of the “fruit (果)” of practicing the *Lotus Sūtra* Teaching

A) The *Tōkai kuden-shō* compiled by Shinga mentions some theories of Shunpan supposed to represent his vision of practicing the *Lotus Sūtra* teachings and the object of worship:

“The Practice as the Original Cause of the Awakening for Śākyamuni was the practice of the bodhisattva Sadā-paribhūta. The practice of the bodhisattva Sadā-paribhūta to instruct those who do not originally possess the good seeds of Buddhahood represents the practice

<sup>16</sup> *Zoku-Tendaishū Zensho*, Guketsu 1, 254–316, by Gudō-bō Ejin 求道房惠尋 (?–1268), a contemporary and third-generation disciple of Shunpan, of the Kurotani branch (黒谷流). According to Terai [1997], when there was a movement toward the restoration of the “Precepts for attaining Sudden Awakening preached in the Perfect Exoteric Teaching (円頓戒)” in Mt. Hiei’s academic trends, what contributed most of all to its realization was the works of Ejin. The Kurotani Branch refers to a sub-current of scholar monks that flourished at Kurotani, an affiliate of Mt. Hiei Western Pagoda. It is generally recognized that Ejin was one of these monks, and his *Isshin myōkai-shō* played a groundbreaking role.

<sup>17</sup> The Three Narrow Transmissions (略伝三箇): 1) the Three Bodies preached in the Perfect Exoteric Teaching (円教三身), 2) the teaching of the Land of Eternal and Quiescent Light (常寂光土義) and 3) the principle of causality symbolized by the Lotus Flower (蓮華因果), and the Four Broad Transmissions (広伝四箇): 4) the Threefold Contemplation of one’s own Mind (一心三觀), 5) the distinction between the cognizer [one’s own mind] and the cognized [the objects of its Wisdom] (心境義), 6) the Great Instruction of the śamatha-vipaśyanā (止觀大旨) and 7) the Profound Meaning of the *Lotus Sūtra* (法華深義). According to the research of Shigyō [1953], these teachings appear as literature only after Nichiren’s death, because the formation period of both the *Shuzen-ji ketsu* (『修禪寺決』) and *Kankō ruishū* (『漢光類聚』) is unknown and it is presumed to be highly likely that their periods of codification also have to be situated in the later years of the 13th century or the beginning of the 14th century. If we consider that the *Ichijō-shō* was codified in 1329, we can assume that the period of codification of these teachings lasted until 50 years after Nichiren’s death.

<sup>18</sup> *Tendai-shū Zensho*, Vol. 9.

to benefit others. On the other hand, to remain inside this unclean word and practice the śamatha-vipaśyanā represents the practice for the self. This is the practice as the cause of becoming the Originally Awakened One. The Buddha as the subject of instructing others at the stage of the Sadā-paribhūta, i.e. the cause for his Awakening, is the object of worship of the śamatha-vipaśyanā, is the True Aspect of all phenomena, is the Contemplation of the Three Truths in One's Own Mind, is the Buddha Amitābha, and is the Un-produced Threefold Buddha-Body. Also the Originally Awakened One as the subject of instructing others is the Un-produced Threefold Body. And also the Buddha as the Original Fruit [of the practice for showing to be Originally Awakened] is this Buddha.”<sup>19</sup>

The content of “practising for others” in Shunpan is not clear here. Currently, we cannot be sure whether there even existed during Shunpan's lifetime a practice for others like that of Sadā-paribhūta, the bodhisattva Sadā-paribhūta (Never Despising, 不輕菩薩) who appears in Chapter 12 (first half) of the *Lotus Sūtra*, whether or not he suffered oppressions like the bodhisattva, and how much he actually considered the practice of the *Lotus Sūtra* teachings as a practice to benefit others. B) In the *Shōnin chi sanze-ji* (『聖人知三世事』, AW) from 1274 Nichiren, viewing himself as one who succeeded Sadā-paribhūta, considered this bodhisattva as a model for practising the *Lotus Sūtra*,<sup>20</sup> and in C) the *Sado gosho* (『佐渡御書』, N-AW) from 1272, says, “Should Nichiren only not become [like] the Buddha Śākyamuni if he is actually putting in practice the [same] behaviour as Sadā-paribhūta?,”<sup>21</sup> showing that he considers the stage of Sadā-paribhūta as “the Practice as the Original Cause (本因行)” of the Awakening. However, in Nichiren, spreading the five characters of the *Lotus Sūtra*'s title Myōhō-enge-kyō (妙法五字) as the essence of Buddhist teachings it represents a practice to benefit others (利他行), but, as Mamiya [1987] points out, at the same time suffering oppression and persecution by the people or the authorities for it, just like the bodhisattva Sadā-paribhūta, also represents expiating the crime of slandering the *Lotus Sūtra* Teaching in the past (謗法滅罪), and in this sense it also includes the meaning of practice for self-benefit (自利行). About this point we have no elements to presume that in Shunpan too there was a similar way of considering the relation of the practice for self-benefit with that to benefit others.

### 3.2 With regard to the practice of the teaching preached in the *Lotus Sūtra* in general

A) The *Yamato no shō Shuri-shō* (『大和庄手裏抄』) codified in the 13th century by Jōmyō, direct disciple of Shunpan, with regard to the necessity or the needlessness of Buddhist practice at the stage of the Un-produced Threefold Body of the Originally Awakened One (本門ノ無作三身) and at the stage of the Originally Possessed Awakening (本有本覺), it is said

<sup>19</sup> “後範御義云、釈尊本因行者不輕菩薩也。此菩薩教導玉本來有善者方化他也。有界内穢土修行止觀方自行也。是名本因行也。本因行時能化他者、止觀本尊也。実相也。一心三觀也。阿弥陀也。無作三身也。能化本因無作三身也。本果仏云成此仏也。” *Tendai-shū Zensho*, Vol. 9, 502, translated by the author.

<sup>20</sup> Teihon: 842.

<sup>21</sup> Teihon: 47, translated by the author.

that:

“With regard to the trigger for practicing the teaching of the Originally Awakened Buddha, we learn that if we arouse the intention to practice through hearing that all phenomena coincide with the Un-produced Threefold Body of the Originally Awakened One, this is the trigger for practicing the teaching received directly from Him in the second half of the *Lotus Sūtra*. Thinking in this way, we will interpenetrate the phenomenal world free from all obstructions. Believe that all teachings are the *Buddha-dharma*. Moreover, ‘to believe in and understand the *Lotus Sūtra* teaching even for a single moment’ represents the main point where the teaching of the Originally Awakened Buddha becomes established. And to practice assiduously without wasting a single moment and a single step after hearing that the lifespan of the Buddha is actually extremely long represents the practice of the teaching received from the Originally Awakened One in the second half of *Lotus Sūtra*. Based on this practice, we will progressively reveal the Awareness that we originally possess the Un-produced Threefold Body. That is the meaning of practising the teaching received directly from the Original Awakened One. Because this is the Practice Originally Possessed by the Non-produced Threefold Buddha-body, our practice is conducted on the basis of the Non-practice.”<sup>22</sup>

This is supposed to preach the “Practice based on the Non-practice (無行ノ行),” but, as Kubota [1997] points out, it does not clarify the specific content of practicing the teaching of the second half of the *Lotus Sūtra*.

B) Next, Shunpan discusses whether or not the words “Since I attained Buddhahood [the kalpas through which I have passed are infinite thousands of myriads]”<sup>23</sup> are limited to Śākyamuni only and whether or not the teaching saying that “one single body and one single instant of mental activity interpenetrate the entire phenomenal world (一身一念偏法界)” is limited to Śākyamuni only or concerns the common human beings too.

“Since I attained Buddhahood” refers to the Realization of the Way. Because it has already been said that “one single body and one single instant of mental activity interpenetrate the entire phenomenal world,” we understand that it refers to “we living beings.” [...] If you assume that only the Awakening of Śākyamuni has happened a long time ago, how do you think it could be possible that the bodhisattvas instructed by the Originally Awakened One attained the same benefit of progressing in the Way and reducing the number of rebirths? [...] The Objective World and the Subjective Wisdom that knows it comes from the inconceivable originally possessed state of Awakening,<sup>24</sup> which refers to our bodies and minds[...] Our common bodies and minds, existing since a beginning-less past, are in themselves the Subtle Objective World and the Subtle Subjective Wisdom of the Noumenal Nature causing the

<sup>22</sup> “本門行機者、万法無作三身也云説聞。発心修行セントスルハ本門稟教修行機習機也。サレハ關於長寿開通無碍。信一切法皆是仏法。乃至一念信解者、即是本門立行首云、聞長寿是念念步步不廢修行也。依此修行無作三身悟り漸可開也。稟教修行意義是也。此無作三身本有行故、無行上云此事也。” *Tendai-shū Zensho*, Guketsu 1, 74, translated by the author.

<sup>23</sup> “我成道以来,” Jízàng 吉藏, *Fāhuā yìshū* (『法華義疏』), T No.1721, Vol. 34, 467c14.

<sup>24</sup> Zhànrán 湛然, *Fāhuā wénjùjì* (『法華文句記』), T No. 1719, Vol. 34, 342c4.

Awakening.”<sup>25</sup>

Thanks to this passage we are able to suppose that theories identifying the status of the Originally Awakened One to that of the common human being, like those we can read in the N-AWs as in the footnote n.1, has still a strong influence at Shunpan and Nichiren’s time. The *Shohō Jissō-shō* (『諸法実相鈔』, N-AW from 1273 does not include expression like “Innate Awakening” or “Threefold buddha-body,” but in its first half we can read that “The Hell coincides to the manifested aspect of the infernal condition of Hell... The manifested aspect of all phenomena as they are coincides to the manifested aspect of the five characters of the *Lotus Sūtra* Title. This is the meaning of ‘All phenomena are the True Aspect.’”<sup>26</sup>

This quotation seems a re-made version of a very similar quotation we can find the *Honjaku Nimon Jissō Dōi no koto* (『本迹二門実相同異事』) by Kōkaku of the Eshin branch, asserting that “The Hell coincides to the manifested appearance of the infernal condition of Hell... so than the meaning of the teaching preached in the second half of the *Lotus Sūtra* is that the status of a common being not yet awakened coincides as it is to the True Aspect [of all phenomena].”<sup>27</sup> And the passage of same *Shohō Jissō-shō* saying that “The Original Awakened One is the common human being, and the Buddha as a “visible trace” in this world indicates the Buddha in general”<sup>28</sup> seems a re-made version of the passage of the *Mongu Ryakudaikō Shikenmon* (『文句略大綱私見聞』) by Sonshun from 15th century, asserting that “That “I” and “my self” in the passage “Since I have attained the Buddhahood by my self” indicates “the temporary self” it means that it shows the accomplishment of Sakyamuni as an historical figure. But when indicates the “self” of all beings in the Ten Realms, we learn that it shows the True Self [of Sakyamuni as the Originally Awakened One].”<sup>29</sup>

C) Moreover, with regard to the point on which the practice of the *Lotus Sūtra* teaching was established, Shunpan says: “Although it is said that the establishing point of the practice of *Lotus Sūtra* teaching is located in its second half only [where the Original Awakening of the Buddha is revealed], we have learned that all teachings of the Sūtra rest on the coincidence of the first and second half teachings [and than on the unity of the Buddha as a “visible trace” in this world with the Originally Awakened One], because they are established based on the Buddha’s Insight preached in the second half and in the Ten Worlds, the Ten Thusnesses and

<sup>25</sup> “師云、我成道以來者此成道也。既一身一念偏於法界云故、互我等習也。只積尊獨成久云者、何所化菩薩有增道損生益耶。” “本地難思境智者我等色心当体即是也。” “無始色心本是理性妙境妙智也。” *Tendai-shū Zensho*, Guketsu 1, 86, translated by the author.

<sup>26</sup> “地獄ハ地獄ノスガタ... 万法ノ当体ノスガタガ妙法蓮華經ノ当体也ト云フ事ヲ諸法実相トハ申也。” (Teihon: 723.)

<sup>27</sup> 故ニ地獄ハ地獄乍ラ... 故ニ本門ノ意ハ迷忘ノ衆生ノ当体即実相也。 *Tendai Hongaku-ron* (『天台本覚論』, Kōryū Tada 多田厚隆 et.al., Nihon Shisō Taikei 日本思想大系 9, Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店, Tokyo, 1973, 147.

<sup>28</sup> “本仏ト云フハ凡夫ゾカシ、迹仏ト云フハ仏也。” (Teihon: 723.)

<sup>29</sup> “自我得仏来釈。今ノ我、仮我也。此我、十界ノ我也。実我也ト習フ。” *Dai Nippon Bukkyō Zensho* (『大日本仏教全書』), *Mongu Ryakudaikō Shikenmon*, *Tendai Meishō Guketsu-shō* (『天台名匠口決抄』), Tokyo, 1917, p. 157.)

the Three Thousand Realms preached in the the Chapter 2 of the first half.”<sup>30</sup>“The original intent of Tendai School is the Subtle Objective World and the Subtle Subjective Wisdom (that knows it) coming from practising the Contemplation of the Three Thousand Realms within a single instant of mental activity and of the Three Truths within one’s own mind, attained practising for immeasurable kalpas as numerous as all the dust particles and all the phenomena of this world. We therefore have no way to affirm that this is the teaching of the second half only or that is the teaching of the first half only.”<sup>31</sup>And with regard to the question: “So why is the original intention of the Tendai School explained as proceeding gradually from the shallow teaching of the first half to the deeper teaching of the second half of the *Lotus Sūtra*?,” Shunpan answers: “The original intention of the Tendai School is to transcend the level of the *Lotus Sūtra* School, because it goes beyond the distinction of “first” and “second half.”<sup>32</sup>With regard to the practice of this awareness as the cause of Awakening specifically, Shunpan also asserts: “Originally, there was only but the Unconditioned Threefold Body, and the practice as the cause of Awakening is the Contemplation of the Three Truths in One’s Own Mind,”<sup>33</sup>but it does not change the fact that the specific content of this method of practice is not clearly revealed.

### 3.3 With specific regard to the practice of the teaching preached in the second half of *Lotus Sūtra*

A) The *Ichijō-shō*, codified in 1329, mentions the “Seven Teachings” traditionally transmitted by the *Shuzen-ji ketsu* (『修禪寺決』) attributed to Saichō, and the *Kankō ruishū* (『漢光類聚』) by Chūjin 忠尋 (1065–1138). Here, the first of the Four Broad Transmission Teachings (広伝四箇), the Threefold Contemplation of one’s own mind (一心三觀), is divided into: 1) “the Threefold Truth in One’s Own Mind as Object of Wisdom (境ノ一心三諦)” – Chapter 14, “Peaceful Practices,” in the first half of *Lotus Sūtra* (迹門安樂行品), based on the

<sup>30</sup> “立行本門初有, 本門仏知見方便品界如三千此立行上有故, 本迹一致習也。” Translation by the author based on *Tendai-shū Zensho*, Guketsu 1, 94.

<sup>31</sup> “云天台宗本意時, 經塵塵法法一念三千一心三觀妙境妙智也, 別彼本門, 是迹門云サタ無之故。” Translation by the author based on *Tendai-shū Zensho*, Guketsu 1, 94.

<sup>32</sup> And then beyond the distinction of “Buddha as a ‘visible trace’ in this world,” the historical figure who attained the Awakening for the first time in India and “Buddha as the Original Awakened One who attained the Awakening in a remote past.” (既絶本迹故, 法華宗上一重超云事也.)

<sup>33</sup> “本唯無作三身. 行因者一心三觀”; Translation by the author based on *Tendai-shū Zensho*, Guketsu 1, 94. Among theories asserting the necessity to go beyond discriminations like “first half” (the teaching of the Buddha as “visible trace” in this world) and “second half” (the teaching of the Originally Awakened Buddha), “substance (本)” and its “function (用),” we can mention the teaching of the “Fourfold Establishment and Abolition (四重興廢思想)” in the Eshin branch, describing the following process: from the teachings preached by the Buddha before the *Lotus Sūtra* → the “first half” of the *Lotus Sūtra* → the “second half” of the *Lotus Sūtra* → the teaching Threefold Contemplation in One Single Mind (Unification of the teaching of the “first” and the “second half” of the *Lotus Sūtra*). This teaching was particularly active from the second half of the Heian Era, as we can confirm with the *Sanjū kaji shō* (『三十四箇事書』) attributed to Kōkaku, to the Kamakura Era, as we can see in the *Ichijō-shō* attributed to Shunpan. About this point see Hanano [2011].

exegesis of “putting in practice this intention will lead to the Contemplation of the Emptiness, of the Thusness and of the True Aspect,”<sup>34</sup> and 2) “the Threefold Contemplation of one’s own Mind as Subjective Wisdom (智ノ一心三觀) – Chapter 17, “Discrimination of Merits,” in the second half of the *Lotus Sūtra* (本門分別功德品), based on the exegesis of the passage related to “believing in and understanding the *Lotus Sūtra* Teaching even for a single moment (一念信解)” : “Believing in and understanding the *Lotus Sūtra* teaching even for a single moment represents in itself the key point for the establishment of the teaching received by the Originally Awakened Buddha.”<sup>35</sup> This means that “the Threefold Contemplation of One’s Own Mind as Subjective Wisdom” advocated by the Eshin Branch rests upon the teaching “believing in and understanding the *Lotus Sūtra* teaching even for a single moment,” the first in the theory of “the Four Stages of the Faith when the Buddha is still alive and the Five Classifications for the time after Buddha’s death (四信五品).” Here, the first stage of the faith refers to the state of faith attained by the ascetic through hearing that the Buddha’s lifespan is limitless at the time when Chapter 16, “Lifespan of the Tathāgata,” is preached.

B) Then, with regard to the “daily practice,” Shunpan says:

“You should not seek the Dharma outside this momentary activity of your mind. After this momentary activity of your mind, a second moment will not follow. This momentary activity of your mind is in itself the entire phenomenal world. In this momentary activity of your mind it will be produced a firm mental attitude. That is the “daily practise.” [...] If a plum tree is produced, it will appear as a plum tree, and if a cherry tree is produced, it will appear as a cherry tree. Outside of practicing this momentary activity of your mind, there is no practice. The entity of the momentary activity of your mind exists as produced in this precise instant. It will appear immediately as the entire phenomenal world. That is the Threefold Contemplation of One’s Own Mind as Subjective Wisdom.”<sup>36</sup>

From this passage, we can argue that the practice of the Threefold Contemplation of One’s Own Mind as Subjective Wisdom consists of a clear insight that this precise instant of mental activity coincides with and permeates the entire phenomenal world. However, this does not change the fact that the specific content of the so-called “daily practice” is not sufficiently clarified, in exactly the same way as the attitude shown in the *Tōkai kuden-shō* and the *Yamato no shō Shuri-shō*.

Nichiren’s view of the practice of *Lotus Sūtra* teaching too, like that of Shunpan, is believed to be based on the “the four stages of the faith when the Buddha is still alive and the five classifications for the time after Buddha’s death.” In C) the *Shishin gobon-shō* (『四信五品抄』, AW) from 1277, he indeed says: ““The four stages of the faith” and “the five classifications”

<sup>34</sup> “修撰其心觀一切法空如實相。” Translation by the author based on *Tendai-shū Zensho*, Vol. 9, p. 32.

<sup>35</sup> “一念信解即是本門立行首。” Translation by the author based on *Tendai-shū Zensho*, Vol. 9, 32.

<sup>36</sup> “問云、智一心三觀修行相如何。伝云、[...] 一念外不求法。此一念不統二念。此念即法界也。而此一念堅固心可起。是日用修行也。[...] 有口伝云、修境者、梅起梅現、桜起桜現如此。此念修起外無修行無。今起念実体有儘也。即直達法界顯。是智一心三觀也。” Translation based on *Tendai-shū Zensho*, Vol. 9, 32; 35.

preached in the “Discrimination of Benefits” Chapter are the Great Pillar of the practice of the *Lotus Sūtra* Teaching, the mirror for the period when the Buddha is still alive and for after His death.”<sup>37</sup>, and asserts that the first of the Four Stages of Faith, “believing in and understanding the *Lotus Sūtra* teaching even for a single moment,” and the first of the Five Classifications, “rejoicing on hearing the *Lotus Sūtra* (初随喜品),” are the very foundations of the Practice; “Zhànrán (湛然) said: “Believing in and understanding the *Lotus Sūtra* teaching even for a single moment’ represents the key point where the teaching of the Originally Awakened Buddha becomes established.’ In this view ‘believing in and understanding the *Lotus Sūtra* teaching even for a single moment’ when the Buddha is still alive, and ‘rejoicing on hearing the *Lotus Sūtra*’ for the period after Buddha’s death, are both at the same time the most precious treasure among the Hundred Worlds, Thousands of Thusnesses and Three Thousand Realms in a single instant of mental activity, and the source of all *buddhas* of the Ten Directions.”<sup>38</sup> So we can argue that Nichiren advocated that at these two stages, one can find the trigger to realize the principle of the unity of common human beings and the *buddhas*, that of the Three Thousand Realms in a Single Instant of Mental Activity, in order to gain Awakening at the stage of “practice beginner.” Moreover, D) with regard to the question “What is the practice that the beginner has to drop after Buddha’s death?” Nichiren answers: “He has to drop the practice of the Five *Paramitas* and set the practice of chanting *Namu-myōhō-enge-kyō* above all, like in the stage of “believing and understanding the *Lotus Sūtra* Teaching even for a single moment” and “rejoicing on hearing the *Lotus Sūtra*.”<sup>39</sup> In this way, for the practice of “believing in and understanding the *Lotus Sūtra* Teaching even for a single moment,” Shunpan suggested the Threefold Contemplation in One’s Own Mind as Subjective Wisdom, but did not clearly reveal the specific content of his method of practice. On the other hand, Nichiren, in his later days, came to recommend the invocation of the five characters of *Lotus Sūtra*’s Title. However, was Nichiren’s choice original to him? Or did Shunpan and his disciples also hold a view considering the *Lotus Sūtra*’s Title as displaying in some way the same meaning of “Contemplating the Three Thousand Realms in a Single Instant of Mental Activity”?

### 3.4 The view of the *Lotus Sūtra*’s Title in Shunpan and Nichiren’s “Orthopraxy”

A) In the *Isshin myōkai-shō* by Ejin, a contemporary of Shunpan and auditor of his lectures as well as Nichiren, there is a paragraph entitled “On the *Lotus Sūtra*’s Title *Myōhō-enge-kyō* displaying the same meaning of “Contemplating the Three Thousand of Realms in a Single Instant of Mental Activity (「妙法蓮華經首題表一念三千義事」) ”:

“Question: Does the *Lotus Sūtra*’s Title *Myō-hō-ren-ge-kyō* display the meaning of “Contemplation of the Three Thousand Realms in a Single Instant of Mental Activity? Answer: It

<sup>37</sup> Teihon: 1294, translated by the author.

<sup>38</sup> Teihon: 1295, translated by the author.

<sup>39</sup> Teihon: 1296, translated by the author.

has the same meaning. “Myō” displays the meaning of “a single instant of mental activity, the subtleness of the *citta-dharma* (mental phenomenon). [...] The *Commentary to the Chapter 17* says: “‘Believing in and understanding the *Lotus Sūtra* teaching even for a single moment’ represents the main point where the teaching of the Originally Awakened One becomes established.” You should reflect on it. “Hō” displays the Ten Worlds, the Ten Thusnesses, and the teaching of the Provisional and of the True Great Vehicle, the Three Thousand Realms as the entity of the entire phenomenal world[...] “Myō” (the Subtleness) itself is the Three Thousand Realms, and the Three Thousand Realms themselves are “Hō” (all phenomena)[...] The teaching of the “Three Thousand Realms in a Single Instant of Mental Activity” represents the heart of the *Lotus Sūtra*. We have to be aware that this truth is derived by breaking down the two characters of “Myō-hō” of the *Lotus Sūtra*’s Title.”<sup>40</sup>

Here it is supposed that the *Lotus Sūtra*’s Title do not represent merely a *sūtra*’s title, but the identification of common human beings, practice beginner, with the Un-produced Threefold Buddha-body. Thus, we can assume it would be not that surprising if the idea was born within Nichiren that a practice beginner can hold “communion” with the Subjective Wisdom grasping the Three Thousand Realms in One’s Own Mind and then attain the benefits preached by the Original Awakened One by invoking these five characters.

About this point Kubota [1977] points out that, at that time, the view of the *Lotus Sūtra*’s Title at Mt. Hiei remained a merely subjective description of how the mind works when it contemplates within itself the entire phenomenal world as the Three Thousand Realms, which differs from Nichiren’s view after his period of studying, which clearly and more concretely indicates the practice of invoking the five characters of Myōhō-rence-kyō as the main and most appropriate practice of the *Lotus Sūtra* Teaching. Kubota’s view, which alludes that the Tendai School was too “theoretical” while Nichiren was more “concrete” in matter of religious practice, takes its origin in Nichiren himself, when in the *Toki Jōnin-dono Gohenji* (『富木常忍殿御返事』, AW) from 1279 says: “There exists two types of Contemplation of the truth that the Three Thousand Realms are included in One Single Activity of Mind. The first is the Virtual one - or the theoretical understanding of this Truth, - and the second is the Concrete one – the effective inclusiveness of the Three Thousand Realms in One Single Activity of Mind. The time of Tendai and Dengyō correspond to the time of the Virtual one. Now has come the time for the Concrete one[...] The first is that preached by the Buddha as a “visible trace” in this world in the first half of the *Lotus Sūtra*. The second is that preached in the second half by the Original Awakened One.”<sup>41</sup> In other words, Nichiren suggests that his recommended method of practice make able every common beings to concretely realize

<sup>40</sup> “尋云、若爾者、妙法蓮華經首題又表一念三千義耶。答、同有其義也。妙者、一念也。心法妙也 [...] 分別品疏云一念信解即是本門立行首云々可思之。法者、十界十如權実法也。新羅三千法体也。玄云、妙即三千、三千即法云々 [...] 一念三千ノ法華ノ肝心ナルコト妙法ノ首題ヨリ、クダキテ心得アワセル也。” Translation by the author based on *Tendai-shū Zensho*, Guketsu 1, 294.

<sup>41</sup> “一念三千の觀法に二つあり。一には理、二には事なり。天台・伝教等の御時には理也。今は事也... 彼は迹門の一念三千、此れは本門の一念三千也。” Teihon: 1522.

the Truth of ultimate oneness of common beings and the Buddha, while the Tendai School remains at the level of a merely theoretical understanding and description of it. But this view is not appropriate to understand the circumstances of Mt. Hiei at this time. It is more likely that Shunpan's lectures were not a place for practice but a place for studying. Moreover, as we can glimpse through quotations like those of *Tōkai kuden-shō* at 3.1., not only were there many different kinds of practice relating to the teaching preached in the *Lotus Sūtra* at Mt. Hiei during this time, but there did not yet exist a perception or requirement to limit them to a single main or "most appropriate" method. Therefore, we can presume that Shunpan intentionally chose to not clearly indicate its specific content, talking about the "Practice based on the Non-practice," and limited his dissertation to the description of how the mind works when it contemplates within itself the entire phenomenal world. In other words, more than an approach seeking above all to answer the question of "what is the main, or most appropriate, method of practice?" at Mt. Hiei during this time, the predominant approach was something like this: "if one gain the correct perception, it does not matter what kind of specific practice will pursue by himself." Meanwhile, to limit the practice of the *Lotus Sūtra* teaching to invoking the five characters of Myōhō-enge-kyō as Nichiren did after his period of studying reflects on the one hand the influence of Shunpan's lectures and the academic trends of Mt. Hiei at this time. But on the other hand, it is also highly likely that it was dependent on his personal reaction to practices like the invocation of Amida's name (称名念仏) recommended by Hōnen or the Shingon-type practices like the *Gumonjihō* (求聞持法) that Nichiren knew about in his youth at 17 or 18 years old.<sup>42</sup> The Tendai School in Shunpan's time, rather than lacking concreteness, probably set gaining the "right perception" above all, and based on this, the practitioner would conduct his practices, whatever they may be. In a word, an "Orthodox-type" approach. Besides this, we can talk about Hōnen and Nichiren's own approach as a type of "Orthopraxy."

#### In Conclusion

At the time of Nichiren's period of studying on Mt. Hiei, Shunpan was a figure of great importance. It is therefore natural for us today to consider the possibility that a lot of talented monks gathered to receive his guidance, the young Nichiren among them. There, Nichiren participated in Shunpan's lectures but merely as an auditor who was never accepted by Shun-

<sup>42</sup> In the *Shōmitsu-bo Goshō* (『聖密房御書』, AW) from 1274 or 1275 we read "This is a very important teaching. I always went to the place of the bodhisattva Kokūzō and offer to Him the chanting of His practice." ("これは大事の法門なり。こくうざう(虚空蔵)にまいりて、つねによみ奉らせ給ふべし." Teihon: 826.) And in the *Seichō-ji Daishū-chū* (『清澄寺大衆中』, AW) from 1276 we read "In the 28th day of the 5th month of the Kenchō Era, I came back to the village of Tōjō in the Country of Awa to repay my obligations to the bodhisattva Kokūzō." ("虚空蔵菩薩の御恩をほう(報)ぜんがために、建長五年四月二十八日、安房の国東条の郷..." Teihon: 1133.) And in the *Nanjō Hyōe Shichirō-dono Goshō* (『何条兵衛七郎殿御書』, AW) from 1264 we read "I knew about Hōnen and Shāndāo works when I was 17 and 18 years old." ("法然・善導等がかきおきて候ほどの法門は日蓮らは十七八の時よりしりて候き." Teihon: 319.)

pan and his followers as a “direct disciple.” In this case the theory considering Shunpan as a “master” of Nichiren most probably reflect the intention of the later disciples in Kyōto to gain the approval of Mt. Hiei after Nichiren’s death.

Among the specific content of Shunpan’s lectures and theories we can reconstruct reading the works compiled by his disciples, as Shinga and Ejin: 1) The “Threefold Contemplation in One Own Single Mind as Subjective Wisdom” preached as the ultimate meaning of the religious experience suggested by the Tendai School; 2) That the content of such a Contemplation is expressed by the five characters of the *Lotus Sūtra*’s Title, and 3) that the tendency to identify the condition of a common being to that of the Original Awakened Buddha of Chapter 16 of the *Lotus Sūtra*, tendency founded also in the Nichiren’s N-AWs mentioned in the footnote n.1, was still strongly present at Mt.Hiei in the 13th century. Here, we are able to suppose with a high probability that the influence of Shunpan’s lectures was effectively one of the main factors leading Nichiren to decide to limit the entire system of Buddhist practice to the invocation of the five characters of the *Lotus Sūtra*’s Title.

About this point, past researches asserted that Mt. Hiei at that time remained to a merely subjective and too theoretical description of the mind when it contemplates within itself the entire phenomenal world, while praising Nichiren’s concreteness in matter of practice after his period of studies, who is supposed to more specifically indicate the invocation of the five characters of Myōhō-rengē-kyō as the main and most appropriate Buddhist practice. Thus, in the background of Nichiren’s choice, most probably starting also from an attempt to respond to the invocation of Amida’s name suggested by Hōnen and to the other various Esoteric practices of invocation known by him in his youth, we can see the remarkable dissimilarity between his “orthopraxistic” attitude and the “orthodoxistic” attitude of Mt. Hiei, which demonstrates lesser selective tendencies about which could be the most appropriate religious practice. This implies the necessity to bring out what kind of religious practices were concretely conducted at Mt. Hiei of 13th century, but I will leave the matter to the next researches.

〈略号および使用テキスト〉

- AW An “autographical writing,” presently remaining fully or partially in the collection of the works directly compiled by Nichiren.
- N-AW A “non-autographical writing,” that presently not remain in the collection of autographical works or never been existed as a manuscript written directly by Nichiren.
- T Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō 大正新修大藏經.
- Teihon *Shōwa Teihon Nichiren Shōnin Ibun* 昭和定本日蓮聖人遺文, Rissō Daigaku Nichiren Kyōgaku Kenkyūjo 立正大学日蓮教学研究所, Minobu-san Kuon-ji 身延久遠寺, 1971.

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## 俊範教学と日蓮への影響関係についての一考察 —日蓮の叡山遊学期を中心に—

ジッリオ エマヌエーレ・ダヴィデ

日蓮遺文には、日蓮自身に帰されつつも彼の真作かどうかについて即断できないという写本遺文がある。その多くは、日蓮没後に初めて文献化された中古天台義の影響下で後代の弟子によって作られた可能性がある。しかし、中古天台義には13世紀に既に口伝の形で流れていたはずのものがあつた、日蓮の真作で明確に扱われる資料もある。問題は、日蓮はいつどこで誰からどのような天台義を学んだか、当時の叡山教学はいかなるものだったか、それは日蓮にどのような影響を与えたかである。本校では、叡山遊学期の日蓮に関わる先行研究を読み直し、その成果を組み合わせることで、叡山遊学期の日蓮とその「師」とされた俊範法印との関係を、写本遺文にも見られる天台義への理解の手段として、再検討していく。

俊範の「法華修行得果論」、「法華本門修行論」、「一心三観論」と日蓮に見られる Orthopraxy (正行中心主義) との関係を検討した結果、次の見解に至つた。1) 叡山遊学期の日蓮は俊範の講義に参加はしたが、単なる一聴講者でしかなく、俊範を日蓮の「師」の一人とする従来の説は後代の弟子によるものである。2) 俊範講義の内容では A) 「円密一致」、B) 宗教体験としての「智一心三観」、C) それが法華題目の五字「妙法蓮華経」に表されているという理論、D) 日蓮の多くの写本遺文と同様な「凡夫」「初心者」の有りの儘を肯定する理論が13世紀後半には既に存在していた。3) 日蓮が当時の叡山で行われていた多種類の宗教的実践方法の中から、付帯的であつた法華題目の唱題行を撰びとり、仏道修行の中心へと限定付けたことに、若いころに触れていた浄土系称名念仏と真言系口密への応えと、俊範講義の影響が見られる。4) 日蓮の「正行中心主義」への強い方向性と、修行の選択に対して何らかの限定付けを取って行わずに宗教体験をどう考えればよいかについて議論し続ける当時の叡山教学の“Orthodoxy (正見中心主義)” との根本的な設定違いが透けて見える。