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(Re)inventing "Japanese Buddhism": Sectarian Reconfiguration and Historical Writing in Meiji Japan

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As John S. LoBreglio has recently pointed out,[1] Kashiwahara Yūsen,[2] Ikeda Eishun[3] and James E. Ketelaar,[4] all of whom contributed in many ways to our understanding of the development of "modern Buddhism" in Japan, are unanimous in regarding attempts to overcome traditional

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[1] LoBreglio 2005, p. 39. LoBreglio emphasizes the polysemy of the term *tsūbukkyō* 通仏教, which almost inevitably appears in any definition of "modern Buddhism" in Japan. According to the author, *tsūbukkyō* deserves clarification, since it is actually utilized by current historiography as a framework for describing movements of varying natures. For instance, LoBreglio argues that at least four categories can be placed under this rubric, that is, "pan-denominational Buddhism" (*zenshūhateki bukkyō* 全宗派的仏教), "interdenominational Buddhism" (*shūshū sōgo bukkyō* 宗々相互仏教), "interdenominational Buddhism" (*shūnai tsūbukkyō* 宗内通仏教), and "non-denominational Buddhism" (*mushūhateki bukkyō* 無宗派的仏教). LoBreglio 2005, pp. 39–53.

[2] Kashiwahara 1969, pp. 444–45.

[3] Ikeda 1994, p. 32.

[4] Ketelaar 1990, pp. 177–91, 227–28.

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sectarian boundaries as an essential condition for the "modernizing" of Japanese Buddhism. Indeed, it was in order to respond to the violence following the *shinbutsu* separation edicts (*shinbutsu bunri rei* 神仏分離令) of the early Meiji period that Japanese Buddhists organized, in the months after the Restoration, the Shoshū Dōtoku Kaimei 諸宗同徳会盟, the first trans-sectarian association of modern Japan. From the mid-1880s and through the following decades, scholars such as Inoue Enryō 井上円了 (1858–1919) attempted to reform (or in his own words, to "revitalize") Buddhism intellectually in a way which would transcend sectarian boundaries, as a religion adequate to the needs of the new state.[5] In 1900, a group of young activists began the publication of the periodical *Shinbukkyō* 新仏教 ("New Buddhism"), in which they claimed "not to acknowledge the need for maintaining traditional religious institutions and rituals," and called for a "non-denominational" Buddhism.[6]

Therefore, we cannot deny that the construction of a "Buddhism" unbound by sectarian shackles was, in a way, a rather common quest of modern Japanese Buddhists. However, despite the popularity of such attempts, it might also not be adequate to define "modernity" as the "age of trans-sectarian Buddhism." As Hayashi Makoto has pointed out, despite the many claims for trans-sectarianism in modern Japan, "in reality sectarian consciousness is strong," and it is as if "several unrelated Buddhist worlds" coexisted. Perhaps it is due to such sectarian understanding of Buddhism that, as Hayashi adds, "the need for placing one's own school in the overall [context] of Buddhist history" existed within modern Japanese Buddhist institutions.[7] Moreover, in recent years Hikino Kyōsuke, focusing on the Pure Land schools, has explained how the sort of "sectarian consciousness" that permeates modern Japanese sects did not appear along with the founder's activities back in the Middle Ages, but was a development of the late Edo period.[8]

Thus in a time when overcoming previous institutional borders had become an ideal, to comprehend the ways sectarian specificities were

[5] See Inoue 1987a and Inoue 1987b.

[6] The mission statement of the Shinbukkyōto Dōshikai 新仏教徒同志会 (which at the time of its establishment was named Bukkyō Shinto Dōshikai 仏教清徒同志会) was first published in the opening issue of the journal *Shinbukkyō*, in 1900. For its complete text, see, for instance, Akamatsu and Fukushima 1978, p. 6. In the original, the statement quoted here reads "*jūrai no shūkyōteki seido, oyobi gishiki o hoji suru no hitsuyō o mitomezu*" 従来の宗教的制度 及儀式を保持するの必要を認めず.

[7] Hayashi 2005, pp. 221–22.

[8] Cf. Hikino 2007.

maintained might add much to our understanding of modern Japanese Buddhism. To contribute to this discussion, I will analyze histories of Japanese Buddhism published during the Meiji period. By considering the question of what kind of narrative was put forward under the supra-sectarian banner of "Japanese Buddhism," I will attempt to understand one of the facets of the "modernization" of Japanese Buddhist thought.

The First "Histories of Buddhism in Japan"

The first history of Japanese Buddhism to be published in the Meiji period does not bear in its title the word commonly utilized when referring to "Buddhism" (*bukkyō* 仏教) in the modern Japanese language. Published in 1884, the work by Tajima Shōji 田島象二 (1852–1909) was titled *Nihon buppōshi* 日本仏法史 (A History of the Buddha-dharma in Japan). This indicates that at the time, the word *bukkyō* had not yet been established as the translation for the Western term "Buddhism," ideally a religion (or still, a philosophy) which would have originated in India and in its essence would transcend sectarian differences.[9] Until the Edo period, the words *butsudō* 仏道, *buppō* 仏法 and *bukkyō* were all used with different meanings, and far into the 1880s we can still observe such usage by Meiji Buddhists.[10]

[9] For a review of the recent literature on the modern concept of "Buddhism," its worldwide diffusion and its current predicaments, see Klautau 2009b.

[10] For instance, Hara Tanzan 原坦山 (1819–1892), who preceded Murakami Senshō as the first instructor of Buddhism at Tokyo (Imperial) University, utilizes the words *bukkyō*, *butsudō* and *butsugaku* 仏学 with different meanings in a lecture given in 1885. (See Akiyama 1909, p. 52. On Tanzan, see also Yoshinaga 2006 and Klautau 2009a.) Based on Ōsumi Kazuo's research on historical consciousness in medieval Japan (Ōsumi 1986), Shimazono Susumu argues the following:

> During the medieval period, the word *bukkyō* was already in use; however, its usage was limited. . . . The most common words in use were *buppō* and *butsudō*. *Buppō* was "widely used as a term encompassing everything related to Buddhism, such as the Buddha, bodhisattvas, doctrine, training, prayer, ritual, the clergy, temples and so on." . . . [In medieval Japan] *butsudō* and *buppō* were words emphasizing practice, while *bukkyō* was used to stress the kind of written truth statements exposed in Buddhist scriptures. . . . That after the Meiji Restoration it was the word *bukkyō* [and not the other two] which became of predominant usage indicates that matters which from the medieval to modern periods were understood in terms of the Buddhist dharma (*hō* 法) and path (*dō* 道), changed in a way such that they were now understood to exist as the Buddha's teachings (*kyō* 教). (Shimazono 2004, pp. 192–93.)

Also, in the fourth volume of *Genkai* 言海 (one of the first Japanese language dictionaries of modern Japan), published in 1891, we read the following definition for *bukkyō*: "The

According to Isomae Jun'ichi, *Nihon shūkyōshi gaisetsu* 日本宗教史概説 by Anesaki Masaharu 姉崎正治 (1873–1949), published in 1907, resembled the works *Bushidō* 武士道 (1900), by Nitobe Inazō 新渡戸稲造 (1862–1933), and *Cha no hon* 茶の本 (1906), by Okakura Tenshin 岡倉天心 (1863–1913), in that it was first published in English, and thus intended for an international audience, being only later "imported" into Japan. According to Isomae, "the casting of a language used for describing this type of Japanese indigenous tradition was first made possible through awareness of western attitudes."[11] Unlike the aforementioned works, Tajima's *Nihon buppōshi* was not written in English, but is similar to them in the sense that it was produced with the West in mind. Tajima asserts that his book was written as a gift "to [Ernest] Satow [1843–1929] from Great Britain."[12] Also, Tajima emphasizes that, besides the traditional works utilized to write Buddhist histories in East Asia, he also consulted "historical works in Pāli,"[13] which leads us to believe that, since he did not have enough knowledge to read in that language, he was acquainted with works on early Buddhism produced in Europe. Tajima's history, which was produced in the "annalistic form" (*hennentai* 編年体), basically arranged events regarding Buddhism in Japan (especially those related to the imperial court) in chronological order; however, Tajima emphasizes that, at times, he would "add his opinion."[14]

In 1884, the same year in which Tajima published his history, Ōuchi Seiran 大内青巒 (1845–1918), one of the champions of lay Buddhism in Meiji Japan, published his *Nihon bukkyōshi ryaku* 日本仏教史略 (Historical Outline of Japanese Buddhism). Originally planned as a multi-volume work, only the first volume, describing events from the introduction of Buddhism in the Japanese archipelago to the reign of Emperor Uda (in 897), was ever

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teaching of the Buddha. The Buddhist dharma" (*Hotoke no oshie* ホトケノヲシエ, *buppō* 仏法; Ōtsuki 1891, p. 898). On the other hand, *buppō* is defined as "the Buddhist dharma, the Buddha's teachings, the Buddhist way, the Buddhist doctrine" (*hotoke no nori* ホトケノノリ, *hotoke no oshie* 仏ノ教へ, *butsudō* 仏道, *bukkyō* 仏教; Ōtsuki 1891, p. 899). This too indicates that even during the latter part of the Meiji period, the semantic field of the term *buppō* was still much broader than that of *bukkyō*. We could surmise that this situation changed only after *bukkyō* became established as the translation for the English word "Buddhism."

[11] Isomae 2008, p. 46.

[12] Tajima 1884, vol. 1, p. 9a. Ernest Mason Satow (1843–1929) was a Japanologist and member of the British Consular Service in Japan from 1862 to 1883, and then from 1895 to 1900. The book *A Diplomat in Japan* (first published in 1921), based mainly on his diaries, narrates events between the years 1862 and 1869, and is often utilized as a historical source to understand the Bakumatsu period from a foreigner's perspective.

[13] Tajima 1884, vol. 1, p. 7a.

[14] Ibid.

published. The style is very similar to Tajima's *Nihon buppōshi*. Ōuchi also describes events chronologically within the framework of imperial reigns, adding his "opinion" on the subjects mentioned. In Ōuchi's case, the latter is done in an even more explicit way, for he adds the words "according to Aiai Koji 藹々居士" (one of Ōuchi's Buddhist names) before expressing his ideas. In his work, Ōuchi asserts the deep connection between the imperial court and the establishment of Buddhism in Japan, emphasizing the individual faith of each emperor, depicting this same faith as a sort of "model" Japanese Buddhists should follow thereafter: "It can only be said that one truly believes in Buddhism when one believes in it the way [Japanese] emperors have."[15]

About two years after the works of Tajima and Ōuchi, Miyake Setsurei 三宅雪嶺 (1860–1945), who would later become famous for his activities at the Seikyōsha 政教社 group, published his first book, *Nihon bukkyōshi, dai issatsu* 日本仏教史 第一冊 (History of Japanese Buddhism, First Volume; 1886). Miyake, who was neither part of the clergy nor an active member of lay Buddhist associations, was apparently scheduled to write subsequent volumes. However, these plans never became a reality. Despite its title, Miyake's work deals little with the history of Japanese Buddhism. Being the "first volume" of a collection, the contents of this book are limited to a "First Part" (*dai ichi hen* 第一編) which in turn is organized into three chapters: (1) "The Authenticity of Ancient History" (*koshi no shingi* 古史ノ真偽); (2) "The Meaning of *Kami*" (*kami no igi* カミノ意義) and (3) "Creation Theories" (*kaibyaku no setsu* 開闢ノ説). The reason that Miyake chose to focus on "Japanese Buddhism" in the first place was because it provided a means for him to clarify the "constant order" (*ittei no rihō* 一定ノ理法) inherent in the development and change of "religion in general" (*shūkyō ippan* 宗教一般).[16] Miyake seems interested in Buddhism mainly as a tool for understanding the evolution of this universal category, "religion," in Japan, and—unlike some of his predecessors—not in Buddhism *per se*.

A few years later, in 1892, Katō Totsudō 加藤咄堂 (1870–1949) published his *Nihon bukkyōshi* 日本仏教史.[17] In the foreword to this work, the educator

[15] Ōuchi 1884, pp. 44b–45a.

[16] Miyake 1886, p. 10.

[17] In fact, between Miyake's book in 1886 and Katō's in 1892, there is one more work that, despite not being titled "History of Japanese Buddhism" or any variant thereof, is still very close in nature to this type of work. In 1890, Shimaji Mokurai 島地黙雷 (1838–1911) and Ikuta (Oda) Tokunō 生田 (織田) 得能 (1860–1911) published their *Sangoku bukkyō ryakushi* 三国仏教略史 (An Abridged History of Buddhism in the Three Lands), in three volumes, the

Sawayanagi Masatarō 沢柳政太郎 (1865–1927), a lay Buddhist himself, asserts the following:

> I believe we should greatly reform Buddhism, adapting it to the situation of the new society. . . . There are those who call themselves reformers of Buddhism. . . . How can we reform Buddhism? I believe Buddhism will shine [again] if we revert it back to its ancient form. [That is,] for Buddhism to flourish greatly, the most important thing is to turn it back in time, and not to reform it. If one doubts this, one should look at Buddhism's ebbs and flows throughout history.[18]

Thus Sawayanagi, who probably had in mind the words of Inoue Enryō when composing the above,[19] emphasizes historical writing as a device for "reviving" Buddhism. Katō, the author himself, goes on to assert the necessity of historical knowledge about Buddhist history as a means for "awakening" the clergy: "The first purpose of this book is to summarize the

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last of which is dedicated to Japan. Shimaji and Ikuta are much like their predecessors since they simply list historical facts that took place within the reigns of each emperor. *Sangoku bukkyō ryakushi* is also ground-breaking in the sense that its considerations on the life of Śākyamuni are based on what was then the cutting edge of European Buddhist studies. In the introduction to the first volume, we read the following: "There is no agreement as to when the Buddha was born and died (*shusse nyūmetsu* 出世入滅). Traditionally, there have been thirty-three different types of explanations. . . . [However, the dates] 478 B.C.E. (*keiō kigai* 敬王癸亥) according to [Alexander] Cunningham [1814–1893] and 477 B.C.E. (*keiō kōshi* 敬王甲子) given by [Friedrich] Max Müller [1823–1900] are approximate" (Shimaji and Ikuta 1890, *hanrei*, pp. 1a–b). For an analysis of Śākyamuni's biography as presented in *Sangoku bukkyō ryakushi*, see Okada 2005. Kishida (Wada) Ukiko also makes some brief comments on this work (see Kishida 2006, pp. 6–7). James E. Ketelaar too provides some interesting insights on the subject. He writes, "Originating in India and undergoing various permutations and 'specialization' in China, Buddhism gradually 'evolved' eastward (*tōzen*) culminating in its 'Japanese' manifestation" (Ketelaar 1990, p. 195). However, this "three land" understanding of history is not a construct of modernity; on the contrary, it formed the basis of ancient and medieval Japanese cosmology (see, for instance, Ichikawa 2005). Nevertheless, Shimaji and Ikuta's narrative was also heavily influenced by the theories of Herbert Spencer (1820–1903), at the time in vogue among Japanese intellectuals. In this sense, one could even argue that these two authors were perhaps responsible for re-creating "three land" narratives into a "modern" framework.

[18] Katō 1892, "Nihon bukkyōshi jo" 日本仏教史序.

[19] For instance, see the following assertion by Inoue: "Having given up the ambition of creating a new religion, I have decided to reform Buddhism, and make it the religion of the civilized world (*kaimei sekai* 開明世界). This is a decision of the eighteenth year of Meiji (1885), the year I began [my task of] reforming Buddhism" (Inoue 1987b, p. 337).

history of Japanese Buddhism (*Nihon bukkyō rekishi* 日本仏教歴史), somewhat satisfying the expectations of today's general public and, moreover, attempting to awaken the clergy, lost in dark slumber and deep inebriation."[20] As for the format of Katō's work, he "avoid[s] the annalistic style of previous Buddhist histories, attempting, as much as possible, to clarify with a critical eye the causal connection [between events]."[21] This approximates him (and therefore Japanese "Histories of Buddhism" as a whole) even more to "modern" historical writing, which seeks to logically explain matters in terms of cause and effect.

Our next "History of Japanese Buddhism" was published a few years later, in 1895. At first scheduled for more than one volume, this work met a similar fate as many of the Meiji-period Japanese Buddhist histories: *Nihon bukkyō rekishi* 日本仏教歴史 by Aizawa Somei 相澤祖明 (n.d.) and Watanabe Dōrin 渡邊童麟 (n.d.) also ended with its first volume. The authors begin by affirming that "in all parts of the world and in every age, in all places where humankind exists, so does religion," thus asserting the universal character of that category.[22] However, they also affirm that, despite originating in India and being imported into Japan from China and Korea, after having "shared ebbs and flows with the Japanese state for over a thousand and three hundred years, today it advances more than ever, and under the title of *Japanese Buddhism* is in the course of overwhelming the world."[23] Furthermore, Aizawa and Watanabe describe the objective of their work as follows:

> The primary motivation for organizing this book is that we believe it will work mostly in favor of the Japanese nation. How did Buddhism change Japanese people's thought? How did it benefit the nation, and how did it harm it? Which doctrines and sects flourished in certain periods? Based on the examination of these questions, we will consider the present and future of Buddhism.[24]

Despite the points it has in common with previous histories of Japanese Buddhism (e.g., emphasizing the relation between Buddhism and the "Japanese people"), Aizawa and Watanabe's work also reveals new trends in terms of historical writing. First, it departs definitively from the previous annalistic style: matters are arranged in chapters, where their origin and development

[20] Katō 1892, p. 1.
[21] Ibid., p. 2.
[22] Aizawa and Watanabe 1895, p. 1.
[23] Ibid., p. 4. Emphasis added.
[24] Ibid., *reigen* 例言, p. 1.

(and sometimes decline) are explained. Second, *Nihon bukkyō rekishi* does not deal exclusively with affairs regarding "national history" (*kokushi* 国史), but in order to help the reader "connect doctrine (*kyōri* 教理) and history (*rekishi* 歴史)," the authors also provide the "essentials" (*kōyō* 綱要) of each sect's teachings.[25] (However, since this series was limited to its first volume, only the doctrinal overview of the six Nara schools is provided.)

As observed above, when considering works on the history of Japanese Buddhism published between 1884 and 1895, we might point out the following general characteristics: (1) their authors were not necessarily connected to the Buddhist institution—most of them were lay followers, or, in the case of Miyake, had no connection at all with Buddhist institutions; (2) some of these works utilize the emperor as the axis of their narrative; (3) they emphasize the shift between the traditional "annalistic" format and more "modern" styles. In the next section, I will focus on the works of Murakami Senshō 村上専精 (1851–1929), who took historical writing on Japanese Buddhism to a new level.

"Academic" Studies of Buddhism and the Role of Murakami Senshō

In fact, another matter that probably influenced Aizawa and Watanabe's history was the publication of the academic journal *Bukkyō shirin* 仏教史林 beginning in 1894. This periodical was edited mainly by Murakami Senshō and two of his students, Sakaino Kōyō 境野黄洋 (1871–1933) and Washio Junkyō 鷲尾順敬 (1868–1941), and its first issue was published on April 8, the "holy day of the Buddha's birth" (*butsu tanjō no seijitsu* 仏誕生の聖日). It was issued until March of 1897, and in October of that same year Murakami, Sakaino and Washio published the first volume of their *Dai Nihon bukkyōshi* 大日本仏教史, which they produced in collaboration. From the "publication announcements" on the back of this book, we know that *Dai Nihon bukkyōshi* was at first scheduled for five volumes; however, as happened to several histories of Japanese Buddhism during the Meiji period, it did not go beyond its first volume.

Murakami, the center of this enterprise, is a paradigmatic character in the sense that he lived at the time of transition from traditional scholasticism to modern scholarship. However, considering his support of the *daijō hibussetsu ron* 大乗非仏説論 (that is, the assertion that the Mahayana scriptures were not expounded by Śākyamuni), we can conclude that his actual commitment was to modern scholarship as opposed to traditional scholasticism.

[25] Aizawa and Watanabe 1895, *reigen*, p. 1.

He emphasized both "historical" and "comparative" research as a means for comprehending the essence of the various "Buddhisms," a tendency which was already becoming clear in *Dai Nihon bukkyōshi*. Nevertheless, in this section I will focus on Murakami's *Nihon bukkyōshi kō* 日本仏教史綱, published in two volumes between 1898 and 1899, in order to consider the changes in style that marked the histories of Japanese Buddhism from that period onward. Murakami describes the spirit of his endeavor as follows:

> There are . . . aspects that deserve research, such as *the comparative research on Buddhist sects*. Recent trends of European studies in comparative religions (*hikaku shūkyōgaku* 比較宗教学) have already arrived in our country. However, when we observe the situation of the Buddhist world in present-day Japan, [we conclude that] doctrine is split apart, and no one is attempting to unify it. Sects are in disagreement with each other, but no one does anything to change this situation. Therefore, since I knew of those trends in comparative religious studies, I felt the need for comparative research on [Japanese Buddhist] sects. Based on that, I changed my research methodology after 1898. That is, in terms of historical research, I decided to focus on the intellectual development of doctrinal history rather than a factual history related to social phenomena. In terms of doctrinal research, I decided to perform research comparing the sects rather than focusing on them separately, in an attempt to unify them harmoniously (*tōitsuteki gōdō chōwa* 統一的合同調和).[26]

It will not be possible here to consider each chapter of Murakami's book in detail (see appendix 2 for a translation of the table of contents). However, it may suffice to say that he provides a chapter for each sect (especially those that survived until the modern period), where he describes their establishment, main doctrines, and to an extent, later development. With Murakami's work, the doctrine of each sect and the social and intellectual endeavors of "eminent monks" are brought to the "center stage" of Buddhist narrative. The "six Nara schools" are dealt with only in general terms. For the sects established after the Heian period, however, chapters describing their doctrines, the founders and their disciples are provided. However, unlike some of his predecessors, Murakami gives only secondary importance to the relations between Buddhism and the imperial court: the most explicit reference to that connection is in the section on ancient Buddhism, where Murakami

[26] Murakami 1901, *shogen* 緒言, pp. 3–4.

dedicates two chapters to "The building of temples and the devotion of the imperial and aristocratic households" (*kōshitsu kizoku no kie oyobi shoji no zōei* 皇室貴族の帰依及び諸寺の造営).[27]

As is well known, Buddhist doctrine and the lives of eminent monks were traditionally narrated under two different genres, *kakushū kōyō* 各宗綱要 (outline of the essentials of each sect) and *kōsōden* 高僧伝 (biographies of eminent monks), respectively. We could say that, by placing these two styles together under the rubric of the "History of Japanese Buddhism," Murakami inaugurated a new era in the historical writing of Buddhism. As Ketelaar has pointed out previously, during the Meiji period, *Hasshū kōyō* 八宗綱要 (The Essentials of the Eight Sects) by Gyōnen 凝然 (1240–1321) was "rediscovered."[28] In that same context, the *kakushū kōyō* begins to be utilized as a means by which each sect could re-imagine itself under the modern banner of "Buddhism," without necessarily losing its individual characteristics. According to Ketelaar, the emphasis and production of works in the *kakushū kōyō* style during the Meiji period were essential conditions for the rise of what he called "cosmopolitan Buddhism." While I do not intend to question this point specifically, I would add that from the mid-1890s and throughout the 1900s, as "histories of Japanese Buddhism" following Murakami's style became more common, *kakushū kōyō* works gradually lost their previous vitality (see appendix 1 at the end of this article).

That a traditional medium such as *kakushū kōyō* was reconstructed within the framework of the "History of Japanese Buddhism" is probably related to the fading of works of the *kakushū kōyō* genre after the mid-1890s. This can also be said of the *kōsōden* style. For instance, in the introduction to the *Kakushū kōsōden* 各宗高僧伝 (Biographies of Eminent Monks of Each Sect) by Kuruma Takudō 来馬琢道 (1877–1964), published in 1900, we read:

> I organized this book in order to inform the world of the true character of eminent monks; therefore I entitled it *Kakushū kōsōden*. I have also chosen the words *Retsudentai Nihon bukkyōshi* 列伝体日本仏教史 as the title heading. Despite my intent being rather in the latter, I fear that people would find it hard to comprehend, so for the time being I decided to use the former.[29]

Murakami Senshō's *Nihon bukkyōshi kō* can be said to mark a shift in that what had been essentially a "Buddhist" narrative was brought into the

[27] Murakami 1898–99, vol. 1, pp. 54–58, 171–75.
[28] Cf. Ketelaar 1990, pp. 177–84.
[29] Kuruma 1900, *reigen*, p. 1.

realm of "academic Buddhist studies" (*akademizumu bukkyōgaku* アカデミズム仏教学) due to his authority as a Tokyo Imperial University professor. From Murakami onwards, the "history of Japanese Buddhism" becomes a discursive space for describing the doctrines of each Japanese Buddhist sect and the social role of their founders. We could also mention that, due to his position within academia, the new style he developed crossed the boundaries of Buddhist studies (*bukkyōgaku* 仏教学) and would influence scholars from such diverse areas as national history (*kokushigaku* 国史学), philosophy (*tetsugaku* 哲学) and ethics (*rinrigaku* 倫理学).

Conclusion

We have briefly described Meiji-period attempts to write the "History of Japanese Buddhism." The first phase of these attempts can be described, roughly, in the following manner: (1) they are not discourses put forward by members of the clergy, but by lay Buddhists and suchlike; (2) some of them assert a deep connection between the emperor and "Japanese Buddhism"; (3) a departure from traditional "annalistic" styles is emphasized. However, after Murakami, the "History of Japanese Buddhism" becomes a discursive space for the description of sectarian doctrine and lives of eminent monks. Sakaino Kōyō and Washio Junkyō, students and colleagues of Murakami, not only utilized the new framework put forward by their teacher, but also changed it in their own manner. For instance, Sakaino, who as one of the leaders of the "New Buddhism Movement," supported a "non-denominational Buddhism," also asserted that the "History of Japanese Buddhism" should be written by focusing on the "facts of each sect of Buddhism" and their "leading figures."[30]

Despite the fact that I cannot give a definitive answer as to exactly why narratives put forward under the guise of *kakushū kōyō* and *kōsōden* were somehow absorbed by the "History of Japanese Buddhism," I do believe it is possible to conclude the following from the above discussion: Murakami Senshō, at the same time a servant of the government and member of the Buddhist clergy, put forward, within the framework of the "History of Japanese Buddhism," a narrative that emphasized the specificities of contemporary Japanese sects. By doing so, he could fulfill both his "religious" and "public" functions. By rewriting the past of each distinct sect as part of a common history (that is, as part of "Japanese history"), Murakami played an important role in the unfolding of "Japanese Buddhism" into modernity.

[30] Sakaino 1911, *jogen* 序言, p. 1.

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APPENDIX 1
Kakushū Kōyō Works in Modern Japan

Year	Title	Author
M. 9 (1876)	*Hasshū kōyō-shō* 八宗綱要抄	Gyōnen 凝然
M. 11 (1878)	*Hasshū kōyō keimōroku* 八宗綱要啓蒙録	Kusunoki Senryū 楠潜竜
M. 11 (1878)	*Hasshū kōyōshō kōkai* 八宗綱要鈔講解	Fukuda Gidō 福田義導
M. 14 (1881)	*Hasshū kōyō kōshō* 八宗綱要攷証	Fujii Genju 藤井玄珠
M. 15 (1882)	*Hasshū kōyō-shō* 八宗綱要鈔	Gyōnen
M. 18 (1885)	*Hyōchū hasshū kōyō* 標註八宗綱要	Gyōnen
M. 18 (1885)	*Hyōchū hasshū kōyō*	Gyōnen
M. 19 (1886)	*Hyōchū hasshū kōyō*	Gyōnen
M. 19 (1886)	*Hyōchū hasshū kōyō*	Gyōnen
M. 19 (1886)	*Bukkyō jūnishū kōyō* 仏教十二宗綱要	Ogurusu Kōchō 小栗栖香頂
M. 19 (1886)	*Bukkyō kakushū taii* 仏教各宗大意	Ishimura Teiichi 石村貞一
M. 20 (1887)	*Gōtō jūnishū kōyō: Tōyō tetsugaku hikkei* 鼇頭 十二宗綱要：東洋哲学必携	Machimoto Tonkū 町元呑空
M. 20 (1887)	*Gōtō jūnishū kōyō: Tōyō tetsugaku hikkei*	Machimoto Tonkū
M. 20 (1887)	*Kanchū hasshū kōyō* 冠註八宗綱要	Gyōnen
M. 21 (1888)	*Tsūzoku jūshichishū kōyō* 通俗十七宗綱要	Itō Yōjirō 伊東洋二郎
M. 21 (1888)	*Hyōchū hasshū kōyō*	Gyōnen
M. 21 (1888)	*Hyōchū hasshū kōyō*	Gyōnen
M. 21 (1888)	*Kandō hasshū kōyō* 冠導八宗綱要	Gyōnen
M. 21 (1888)	*Hasshū kōyō: Keimō* 八宗綱要：啓蒙	Machimoto Tonkū
M. 21 (1888)	*Hasshū kōyō kōgi* 八宗綱要講義	Yanagizawa Kōson 柳沢迎存
M. 22 (1889)	*Kanchū hasshū kōyō*	Gyōnen
M. 22 (1889)	*Hasshū kōyō shiki* (*Tsuki hasshū kōyō bunka*) 八宗綱要私記 (附八宗綱要分科)	Gonsoku Gijō 勤息義城
M. 22 (1889)	*Hasshū kōyō-shō keimōroku* 八宗綱要鈔啓蒙録	Kusunoki Senryū
M. 23 (1890)	*Hyōka bōchū: Hasshū kōyō* 〈標科傍註〉 八宗綱要	Gyōnen
M. 23 (1890)	*Juken hikkei: Hasshū kōyō mondai tōan* 〈受験必携〉 八宗綱要問題答案	Mano Junkai 真野順戒
M. 23 (1890)	*Meiji shoshū kōyō* 明治諸宗綱要	Yoshitani Kakuju 吉谷覚寿
M. 24 (1891)	*Juken hikkei: Hasshū kōyō mondai tōan* 〈受験必携〉 八宗綱要問題答案	Mano Junkai

Organizer, etc.	Publisher
Enge 円解	Nagata Bunshōdō 永田文昌堂
Atsumi Kaien 渥美契縁	Tōha Honzan Kyōiku-ka 東派本山教育課
—	Nishimura Kurōemon 西村九郎右衛門 (Gohōkan 護法館)
—	Akazawa Yūkai 赤沢融海
Sakai Saisei 酒井最正	Nishimura Kurōemon (Gohōkan)
Kuroda Shintō 黒田真洞	Ōmuraya Sōbē 大村屋総兵衛
Kuroda Shintō	Yamashiroya Fujii Sahē 山城屋藤井佐兵衛
Kuroda Shintō	Izumoji Bunjirō 出雲寺文次郎
Kuroda Shintō	Bunkōdō 文光堂
—	Bukkyōsho Eiyaku Shuppansha 仏教書英訳出版舎
—	Ishimura Teiichi (Yoshikawa Hanshichi 吉川半七)
—	Nunobe Bunkaidō 布部文海堂
—	Nagata Bunshōdō
Sugihara Shundō 杉原春洞 and Sebe Etō 瀬辺恵燈	Hōzōkan 法蔵館
—	Kichūdō 其中堂
Kuroda Shintō	Terada Bunchōdō 寺田文彫堂
Kuroda Shintō	Nishimura Kurōemon (Gohōkan)
Sugihara Shundō and Sebe Etō	Hōzōkan
—	Fujii Bunseidō 藤井文政堂
Gyōkai 行誡	Nagata Bunshōdō
Horie Keiryō 堀江慶了	Nishimura Kurōemon (Gohōkan)
—	Sawada Bun'eidō 沢田文栄堂
Atsumi Kaien	Hōzōkan
Machimoto Tonkū	Izumoji Bunjirō, tō 出雲寺文治郎・等
—	Mano Junkai
—	Zeshinkai 是真会
—	Mano Junkai

Year	Title	Author
M. 26 (1893)	*Bukkyō taii: Tsūzoku jūshichishū kōyō* (2nd edition)〈仏教大意〉通俗十七宗綱要 (第二版)	Itō Yōjirō
M. 26 (1893)	*Hasshū kōyō-shō keimōroku* (2nd edition)	Kusunoki Senryū
M. 27 (1894)	*Hasshū kōyō-shō kōjutsu* (*Furoku: Yūshinnichijishū kōyō*) 八宗綱要鈔講述 (附録・融真日時宗綱要)	Gyōnen
M. 27 (1894)	*Meiji shoshū kōyō*	Yoshitani Kakuju
M. 28 (1895)	*Hasshū kōyō: Bukkyō tsūzoku kōgi*	Oda Tokunō 織田得能
M. 29 (1896)	*Nihon bukkyō kakushū taishi* 日本仏教各宗大旨	Izumi Jōshin 泉静真
M. 29 (1896)	*Bukkyō kakushū kōyō* 仏教各宗綱要	Bukkyō Kakushū Kyōkai 仏教各宗協会
M. 32 (1899)	*Tsūzoku bukkyō kakushū kōyō* 通俗仏教各宗綱要	Kuruma Takudō 来馬琢道
M. 36 (1903)	*Bukkyō kakushū genri tsūron* 仏教各宗原理通論	Watanabe Sōzen 渡辺宗全
M. 42 (1909)	*Hasshū kōyō kōgi*	Sakaino Kōyō 境野黄洋
T. 5 (1916)	*Hasshū kōyō kōwa* 八宗綱要講話 , 2 vols.	Sakaino Kōyō
T. 8 (1919)	*Bukkyō kakushū taii* 仏教各宗大意 , 2 vols.	Itō Giken 伊藤義賢
T. 15 (1926)	*Bukkyō kakushū taii*, 2 vols.	Heian Senshū Gakuin 平安専修学院
S. 2 (1927)	*Hasshū kōyō kaisetsu* 八宗綱要解説	Kashiwahara Yūgi 柏原祐義
S. 2 (1927)	*Hasshū kōyō kōgi*	Bukkyō gakkai 仏教学会
S. 3 (1928)	*Tsūzoku bukkyō kakushū yōgi* 通俗仏教各宗要義	Ono Seishū 小野清秀
S. 5 (1930)	*Hasshū kōyō kōwa*	Sakaino Kōyō
S. 7 (1932)	*Kōhon hasshū kōyō shō* 講本八宗綱要鈔	Gyōnen
S. 15 (1940)	*Bukkyō kakushū kōyō*	Kobayashi Ichirō 小林一郎

Organizer, etc.	Publisher
Tajima Shōji 田島象二 (preface)	Kichūdō
Atsumi Kaien	Hōzōkan
Yoshitani Kakuju	Hōzōkan
—	Hōzōkan
—	Kōyūkan 光融館
—	Tetsugaku Shoin 哲学書院
Shimaji Mokurai 島地黙雷 , ed.	Baiyō Shoin 貝葉書院
—	Kōmeisha 鴻盟社
Inoue Enryō 井上円了	Bunmeidō 文明堂
—	Tōyō Daigaku Shuppanbu 東洋大学出版部
—	Heigo Shuppansha 丙午出版社
—	Kendō Shoin 顕道書院
—	Kōkyō Shoin 興教書院
—	Hōbunkan 法文館
—	Bukkyō Gakkai
—	Fujii Sahē 藤井佐兵衛
—	Heigo Shuppansha
Ryūkoku Daigaku 竜谷大学 , ed.	Ryūkoku Daigaku Shuppanbu 竜谷大学出版部
—	Daijō Bukkyōkai 大乗仏教会

APPENDIX 2
Tables of Contents of Meiji-period "Histories of Japanese Buddhism"

(1) Tajima Shōji. *Nihon buppōshi*. (2 vols. Senshindō, 1884.)
No table of contents.

(2) Ōuchi Seiran. *Nihon bukkyōshi ryaku*. (1 vol. Chōmeisha, 1884.)
The names of each emperor from Kinmei 欽明 to Uta 宇多.

(3) Miyake Yūjirō (Setsurei). *Nihon bukkyōshi: Dai issatsu*. (Shūseisha, 1886.)
Part 1 "Religion [in Japan] before the arrival of Buddhism"
Chapter 1 "The Authenticity of Ancient History"
Chapter 2 "The Meaning of *Kami*"
Chapter 3 "Creation Theories"

(4) Katō Kumaichirō (Totsudō). *Nihon bukkyōshi*. (Yoshikawa Hanshichi, 1892.)
Chapter 1 "An overview of Buddhism before its arrival to Japan"
(Brahmanism and the philosophy of its age; A brief account of the Buddha's life; The conflict between Mahayana and Hinayana; The thirteen sects of China)
Chapter 2 "From the arrival of Buddhism to the end of the Nara period"
(People's religiosity before Buddhism; The clash between Shinto and Buddhism; Prince Umayado 厩戸; The spread of Buddhism; The *honji-suijaku* 本地垂迹 theory; The six schools of Nara; Influence upon social works; Chronological table)
Chapter 3 "From the beginning of the Heian period to the destruction of the Taira clan"
(The situation of Buddhism during the Heian period; The founding of the Tendai and Shingon sects; The lives of Saichō and Kūkai; The rise and fall of imperial power; The flourishing of the Easy Way [*igyōdō* 易行道]; The influence of Buddhism upon literature; Chronological table)
Chapter 4 "From the founding of the Shogunate by Yoritomo to the destruction of the Hōjō clan"
(Social conditions and the flourishing of Buddhism; The founding of Jōdo, Zen, Shin, Nichiren, etc.; An overview of the lives of Genkū, Eisai, Dōgen, Shinran, Nichiren and so on; Buddhism becomes regarded as a doctrine of world renunciation [*enseikyō* 厭世教]; Chronological table)

Chapter 5 "From the fall of the Hōjō clan to the beginning of the Tokugawa Bakufu"
(Buddhism becomes a toy; Conflicts between the clergy and feudal lords; Rennyo's restoration of Shinshū; The decline [in prestige] of the imperial family; Buddhism and the arts; Chronological table)
Chapter 6 "Buddhism during the Tokugawa period"
(The Christian invasion; The protectionist policy of the Tokugawa clan; The seeds of the *haibutsu-kishaku* 廃仏毀釈; Loyalist clerics [*kinnōka* 勤王家]; Buddhist literature; Chronological table)
Chapter 7 "Meiji Buddhism"
(The *haibutsu-kishaku* events; The establishment of the Ministry of Doctrine [Kyōbushō 教部省]; The constitution of the Great Teaching Institute [Daikyōin 大教院]; Buddhist clerics study abroad; The separation between church and state; Buddhist movements; The current situation of Buddhism; The future of Buddhism; Chronological table]);
Appendix (Chapter 1 "An outline of Buddhism"; Chapter 2 "Considerations on the *honji-suijaku* [theory]).

(5) Aizawa Somei and Watanabe Dōrin. *Shinsen Nihon bukkyō rekishi*. (1 vol. Kokubosha, 1895.)
First Volume: Ancient history (*jōseishi* 上世史)
Chapter 1 "Major trends in the history of Japanese Buddhism"
Chapter 2 "[The situation] before the arrival of Buddhism"
Chapter 3 "The arrival of Buddhism"
Chapter 4 "The strife between the Soga 蘇我 and Mononobe 物部 clans"
Chapter 5 "A biography of Shōtoku Taishi" 聖徳太子
Chapter 6 "Charity work"
Chapter 7 "The origins and position of [Buddhist] nuns"
Chapter 8 "The *honji-suijaku* theory"
Chapter 9 "Ranks and titles and the official government control of Buddhism"
Chapter 10 "The origins of Buddhist funerary rites"
Chapter 11 "The emperor, his subjects, and their reverence for Buddhism"
Chapter 12 "Buddhism and politics"
Chapter 13 "The influence [of Buddhism] in literature"
Chapter 14 "Buddhism and the arts"
Chapter 15 "The Sanron 三論 school"
Chapter 16 "The Jōjitsu 成実 school"
Chapter 17 "The Hossō 法相 school"

Chapter 18 “The Kusha 倶舎 school”
Chapter 19 “The Kegon 華厳 school”
Chapter 20 “The Ritsu 律 school”
Chapter 21 “The arrival of Zen”

(6) Murakami Senshō, Sakaino Kōyō and Washio Junkyō. *Dai Nihon bukkyōshi*. (1 vol. Sakugenkutsu, 1897.)
Ancient History (*Jōseishi*):
First Period:
Chapter 1 “The introduction of Buddhism and the accomplishments of Shiba Tatto 司馬達等”
Chapter 2 “The conditions of Baekje’s tribute and the friction between the Soga and Mononobe clans”
Chapter 3 “Buddhism during the court of Suiko 推古 and the achievements of Prince Shōtoku”
Chapter 4 “The origins of the Sanron and Jōjitsu schools and the achievements of its eminent monks”
Chapter 5 “The history and doctrinal lineage of the Sanron school”
Chapter 6 “Sanron school doctrines and their classification”
Chapter 7 “The transmission and doctrines of the Jōjitsu school”
Chapter 8 “A chronology of the Buddhist world”
Second Period:
Chapter 9 “Tendencies of Buddhism after the Taika 大化 reform”
Chapter 10 “The origins of the Hossō and Kusha schools and the achievements of their eminent monks”
Chapter 11 “The history and doctrinal lineage of the Hossō school”
Chapter 12 “Hossō school doctrines and their classification”
Chapter 13 “The history and doctrines of the Kusha school”
Chapter 14 “The secret transmission of the esoteric school (*himitsushū* 秘密宗)”
Chapter 15 “Laws and ordinances regarding nuns”
Chapter 16 “The building of great temples”
Chapter 17 “The foundation of *kokubunji* 国分寺 temples and the beginning of Buddhist services”
Chapter 18 “The construction of Tōdaiji 東大寺 and rituals for the installation of the *daibutsu* 大仏”
Chapter 19 “The transmission of the Ritsu school and the achievements of its eminent monks”
Chapter 20 “The history and doctrinal lineage of the Ritsu school”

Chapter 21 "Ritsu school doctrines and their classification"
Chapter 22 "The transmission of the Kegon school and the history of its doctrinal lineage"
Chapter 23 "Kegon school doctrines and their classification"
Chapter 24 "Buddhism at the end of the Nara period, one"
Chapter 25 "Buddhism at the end of the Nara period, two"
Chapter 26 "The influence of Buddhism in literature, arts and crafts"
Chapter 27 "A chronology of the Buddhist world"

(7) Murakami Senshō. *Nihon bukkyōshi kō*. (2 vols. Kinkōdō, 1898–1899.)
First Volume:
Introduction/ First Period "The age of Sanron and Hossō":
Chapter 1 "The original transmission of Buddhism and the strife between the Soga and the Mononobe/Nakatomi 中臣 clans"
Chapter 2 "The promotion of Buddhism by the Suiko court and Shōtoku Taishi's achievements"
Chapter 3 "The transmission of the Sanron and Hossō schools"
Chapter 4 "The origins and doctrines of the Sanron and Jōjitsu schools"
Chapter 5 "The transmission of the Hossō school and its great monks"
Chapter 6 "The origins and doctrines of the Hossō and Kusha schools"
Chapter 7 "Trends after the Taika reform"
Chapter 8 "The construction of the Tōdaiji and *kokubunji* temples"
Chapter 9 "The transmission, origins and doctrines of the Kegon school"
Chapter 10 "The transmission of the Ritsu school and the achievements of Ganjin 鑑真"
Chapter 11 "The origins and doctrines of the Ritsu school"
Chapter 12 "The building of temples and the devotion of the imperial and aristocratic households: one"
Chapter 13 "The relationship between Buddhism and politics"
Chapter 14 "[Government] institutions related to Buddhism, one"
Second Period "The age of Tendai 天台 and Shingon 真言":
Chapter 1 "The foundation of the Tendai and Shingon sects and [their founders'] travels to China in search of the Dharma"
Chapter 2 "Trends in Nanto 南都 Buddhism"
Chapter 3 "Dengyō Daishi 伝教大師 and his disciples"
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