

*Zen  
Sanctuary  
of  
Purple Robes*

*Japan's Tōkeiji Convent Since 1285*

*Sachiko Kaneko Morrell  
Robert E. Morrell*

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of Purple Robes*

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View of the Matsugaoka Convent Complex from Engakuji's Great Bell Platform, Kita-Kamakura. (Tōkeiji Collection)

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In Fond Remembrance  
of  
Abbot Inoue Zenjo  
1911–2006



*the white bellflower  
certainly appears to have  
the buddha-nature!*

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The rain falling from one blanket of cloud  
accords with each particular species and nature,  
causing it to sprout and mature, to blossom and bear fruit.  
Though all these plants and trees  
grow in the same earth and are moistened by the same rain,  
each has its differences and particulars.

—*Lotus Sutra* 5, “Parable of the Rain”<sup>1</sup>

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## *Preface*

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In the entry for the fourth day of the seventh month in the year Kenchō 4 [1252], during the reign of Emperor Gofukakusa, the *Azuma kagami* (Mirror of the East, ca. 1270)<sup>2</sup> notes: “The sky was clear. At noon the wife of Yoshikage, Superintendent of Akita Castle, had an easy delivery of a girl . . . She was called Horiuchi-tono.” (In a little over three decades the child would grow up to be the nun Kakusan Shidō, founder of the Tōkeiji.)

Lady Horiuchi eventually married Hōjō Tokimune (1251–1284), the Kamakura military ruler who repelled the Mongol Invasions of 1274 and 1281.<sup>3</sup> Tokimune and his wife Lady Horiuchi both practiced meditation under the Chinese Rinzaï (Lin-chi) Zen monk, Wu-hsüeh Tsu-yüan (Mugaku Sogen, 1226–1286), whom Tokimune installed as founding abbot of Kamakura’s Engakuji (“Temple of Perfect Enlightenment”) in 1282. After Tokimune suddenly became ill and died two years later, Kakusan and her son Sadatoki, who succeeded his father as Hōjō regent, joined Wu-hsüeh in establishing the Matsugaoka Tōkeiji convent in 1285, within a stone’s throw of the Engakuji.<sup>4</sup> Lady Horiuchi was its first abbess, with the religious name Kakusan Shidō. Seven centuries later Wu-hsüeh’s monastic siblings continue to flourish side by side. The nuns’ right to wear robes of royal purple dates from the tenure of Princess Yōdō (1318–1396), daughter of Emperor Godaigo, and Tōkeiji’s fifth abbess (see chapter 4).

We first visited the Tōkeiji half a century ago. It was a time of magic, not far in imagination from the old Japan of Hokusai’s prints. The heavy, black tar road, down which today rumble packed busses and hip motorcyclists, thundering past Kita-Kamakura station, the Tōkeiji, Engakuji, Kenchōji, and on to the Hachiman Shrine and Kamakura proper, was still gloriously “undeveloped.” One could occasionally pass oxen along the dirt road, and when it snowed or rained, the shiny oiled paper of colored bamboo umbrellas glowed quietly. From the beach we could see that the wooden bridge connecting the peninsula and the tiny island of Enoshima was lined with stalls selling the local catch of clams and fish, and bowls of steaming noodles.

And far in the distance the outline of Mt. Fuji could be seen, unobscured by the industrial pollution that is today the mark of virtually every “advanced” country. We saw no young women frantically racing to Matsugaoka, but perhaps we just didn’t notice.

Many Japanese today have heard echoes of popular Edo accounts of the unhappily married woman who, if she could manage to toss a single clog over the walls of Kamakura’s “Divorce Temple” (Enkiridera), would be protected from her pursuers and could eventually arrange a separation from her husband. Predictably, historical records tell a less dramatic story, but one which touches issues basic to our understanding of interactions between church and state, convents in Japan, and Buddhist attitudes toward women.

#### PROJECT: AN IDEOLOGICAL PROFILE

Since jointly publishing a short article on the Tōkeiji two decades ago,<sup>5</sup> we have continued to collect material to expand it into a book, and within the past few decades Japanese studies have been blessed with an abundance of fresh research on every conceivable subject, with old assumptions challenged and new interpretations proposed.<sup>6</sup>

We decided that it was time to attempt a tentative ideological profile of abbess Kakusan and her convent tradition that has remained remarkably consistent for over seven centuries until the present day. Although Tōkeiji’s popular reputation rests on its role as “divorce temple” (*enkiridera*), this is only a relatively late spin-off of the temple as a well-functioning religious community and the broader concept of “sanctuary.” Contemporary popular references to the convent such as we find in the eighteenth-century “light verse” (*senryū*) or Edo period travel guides, often unintentionally provide confirmation that the Tōkeiji must be taken seriously as a Rinzai Zen religious institution, and not merely as a topic of gossip by Edo townsfolk.

Academic research today is often driven by some socioeconomic agenda or another—an approach we would rather avoid in favor of the comprehensive balanced narrative of transmitted ideas, ideals, and activities. Our story of Matsugaoka Tōkeiji is not about the mechanics of class or gender warfare, but about a sense of spiritual values and ideas as they were experienced in the late Kamakura period, when the Tōkeiji was founded, and transmitted through later generations. To this end we have included as many translations of primary materials as possible rather than second-hand speculation based on preconceived Western certainties.

We do not pretend, however, to present any “objective facts” as proof for this or that claim. Belief in the possibility of *any* so-called objective facts is surely a delusion, since every viewpoint includes a value judgment, as does the very selection of *what* one chooses to translate or discuss as well as *how* one goes about it. Although we favor close translations of primary materials over second-hand speculations, even translations are riddled with subjectivity. This means that we could not avoid “value judgments” even if we wished to. It also means that we do not

forfeit the right to express *opinions*, so long as we do not pretend that they are indisputable “facts.” Still, “objectivity” is a useful, if unattainable, ideal: a convenient fantasy (“expedient means?”).

#### CLEAR AND DISTINCT IDEAS AS A TOOL TO MANAGE INFORMATION OVERLOAD

If we were asked to give a name to our overall methodology, we might well call it “Pedestrianism.” As we use the term, it means something like walking slowly with our feet on the ground. This means that we put a premium on direct translations of primary materials—where the wheels (or, in our metaphor, the feet) actually touch the road. We also support the use of English equivalents of technical terms and titles whenever possible, listing the term in an index and the title in a “Cross-Referenced Index to Major Cited Texts.” Footnotes are fairly extensive, but are placed at the end of the book where they can easily be ignored or checked, along with the bibliography. Lineage charts are also provided for easy reference from the text. Our plan is to try to conjure up something of the feel and smell of the convent’s history through direct response to primary materials—sutras, poems, diaries, popular anecdotes and homilies. We try to avoid fashionably pretentious rambling at all costs.<sup>7</sup>

Our ideological profile of Kakusan (and many of her contemporaries) begins with a general overview of the major philosophical influences on her mind-set, including Shintō and Confucianism, as well as Buddhism. To examine one in isolation from the others is to invite finding causes that properly belong elsewhere—for example, the taboo against “blood pollution” in Buddhism rather than in Shintō. Today there are many conflicting opinions about these three modes of thought and behavior—for example, can we even speak of “Shintō” as existing before the eighteenth century, much less call it a “philosophy”? We will try to address such issues as they arise, relegate some to the notes, and then leave the rest to history. For the convenience of the reader, here is a short list of our conclusions, opinions, assumptions, and biases—with which he/she is free to disagree:

#### THE PRIMACY OF THE *LOTUS SUTRA*

The major ideological underpinning of Japanese Buddhism is the *Lotus Sutra*, not only throughout the Heian, Kamakura, and Muromachi periods, but even after Oda Nobunaga’s destruction of the Tendai sect’s Enryakuji on Mt. Hiei in 1571. This scripture insists on the possibility of, and even the necessity for, diversity of belief (*hōben*). The advocates of “exclusive choice” (*senchaku or senjū*)—Hōnen, Shinran, Nichiren, Ippen, and Dōgen—by rejecting the possibility of doctrinal plurality, set the stage for Buddhist parochialism, as well as the intolerance of the Edo nationalist ideologues (Hirata Atsutane et al.) and their legacy, twentieth-century militarism.<sup>8</sup>

## RELIGIOUS DISCOURSE: METAPHOR OR PHYSICS?

The rejection of the *Lotus Sutra's* religious pluralism (inclusiveness) in favor of sole-practice (“exclusive choice”) was often accompanied by an epistemological shift from viewing religious discourse as metaphor to taking it literally as physics—the perspective also common to most mainstream religious systems in the West (Judaism, Christianity, and Islam), the exceptions being the “mystics.” For Zen’s Hui-neng (638–713) or Shingon’s Kakukai (1142–1223), for example, birth in Amida’s Pure Land in the West (*saihō jōdo*) was a *metaphor* used to point to the ineffable attainment of enlightenment.<sup>9</sup> For most who followed Hōnen, however, the Pure Land was a *geographical* location. We can see an interesting expression of this attitude in painted representations of Hōnen’s disciple Rensei,<sup>10</sup> who, when traveling east would sit astride his horse in reverse position so as always to be facing west toward the Pure Land should Amida come enroute to escort him to paradise.

The two perspectives evidently coexisted peacefully enough until the Kamakura period. And for the modern TV or movie viewer, the “willing suspension of disbelief”<sup>11</sup> in the physical illusions of blinking colors on a screen is an everyday activity.

## NEW AGENDAS WITH CONTINUED SUPPORT FOR RELIGIOUS PLURALISM

The Rinzai (Lin-chi) Zen of Eisai (Yōsai, 1141–1215), Enni Ben’en (1201–1280), Wu-hsüeh Tsu-yüan (1226–1286), Mujū Ichien (1226–1312), Mugai Nyodai (1223–1298), Kakusan Shidō (1252–1305), their successors in the Five Mountains (*gosan*) movement, and many more, were able to establish their own agenda for Zen practice with great success—but without denying the possibility of, and indeed the necessity for, religious pluralism as set forth in the *Lotus Sutra*. Commitment to their own practice did not require them to reject the earlier schools of Tendai, Shingon, Kegon, Hossō, and Ritsu. Such accommodation is viewed by some as weakness; to us it is a spectacular achievement rarely realized in religious history.

## BUDDHISM’S POSITIVE IMPACT ON WOMEN

A difficult generalization to prove one way or the other, but it is fair to say that the jury is still out. Our statement is merely an *opinion*—just as is a statement to the contrary.<sup>12</sup> This would hardly be worth mentioning were it not for the fact that aspects of Japanese Buddhism have recently been under attack from some feminist apologists, and we must at least recognize the existence of the issues they raise to the extent that they impinge on our story, although they are not our major concern. We will try to address the issue in the process of creating our ideological profile, show-

ing Rinzai Buddhism's positive attitudes toward women as revealed in Mujū Ichien's *Mirror for Women* (chapter 2), the early contacts between the Tōkeiji convent and the neighboring Engakuji temple (chapter 3), the nuns' religious practice as described in *Tangled Weeds* (chapters 3 and 4), Abbess Tenshū's strong defense of the right of sanctuary for women at the Tōkeiji (chapter 5), Bankei's (1622–1693) clear defense of gender equality based on sound Buddhist principles in the face of a repressive Neo-Confucianism supported by the Edo military government (chapter 5), and, of course, the “divorce temple” interlude in the mid-Edo period, which was as effective a support for women as could be expected in such a restrictive social environment.

### THE SPECTRUM OF “ASYLUM” AND “SANCTUARY”

A form of social behavior may occur before we have a word to label it, and if we do find the word, it can absorb connotations over time that blur its focus. The simple act of seeking haven from harm by another individual or group, for whatever reason, would now seem to be enough to qualify as an act of seeking “asylum” or “sanctuary”—related, but not quite interchangeable, terms. We now have animal “sanctuaries,” “political asylums,” “diplomatic immunity” (the wording is different, but the reality is the same, as also in “tax shelter”), and “asylums” for orphans or the mentally ill. We also speak of “sanctuary” as refuge from civil authority—for Tōkeiji Abbess Kakusan (chapter 3), for the fictional Karaito (chapter 4), for the wife and children of Hori Mondo protected by Abbess Tenshū (chapter 5), and, finally, for women in the mid-Edo period seeking a place of safety, and eventually divorce, from their husbands (chapters 5, 7).

Although traditional Japanese has no specific words to name the social phenomena associated with the English terms “asylum” or “sanctuary” as they are used in the sense of “refuge” or “place of safety,” the social practice was also known in Japan, as one would expect. The modern Japanese term *ajīru*, adapted from the German *asyl* (cf., Fr. *asile*) sometime after the Meiji Restoration (1868), appears in academic writings, but the word is not yet sufficiently assimilated into the common vocabulary for it to be noted in standard dictionaries. Japanese has traditional words for “sanctuary” as “holy place,” of course, but not with the extended connotation of “refuge.”<sup>13</sup>

For four centuries after its founding, Tōkeiji's reputation was as a “Temple into which One Runs for Refuge” (*kakekomidera*), the specific association of “refuge” with “divorce” (*enkirū*) appearing quite late in its history. In the so-called Eleventh Month Incident (*Shimotsuki sōdō*) in 1285, Lady Horiuchi's (Kakusan) son, Hōjō Sadatoki, suspecting political intrigue, ordered the extermination of many members of her Adachi clan. It is probable that Kakusan would like to have seen her convent as a temple of refuge, of sanctuary for the innocent from political harassment. But were there any precedents? In the West, yes; but fewer in Japan. Certainly the *practice* of sanctuary has been prevalent in Japan, as it is in all societies; but the rationale



for that practice may differ according to time, place, and circumstances. The earliest formulation of a rationale for practice of sanctuary cited by Japanese scholars appears as late as the early Kamakura period.

During the Jōkyū Disturbance in 1221, when Myōe (Kōben, 1173–1232) was brought before Hōjō Yasutoki (1183–1242), leader of the Kamakura military government and Tokimune's great-grandfather, on charges of having given shelter to the defeated enemies of the state at his Kōzanji temple in the hills northwest of Kyoto, he replied by appealing to a higher authority. Myōe, a dedicated monk of the Kegon sect who shunned political maneuvering, was revered in his time by people of every sect as the model cleric. For nun Kakusan, the notion of a convent as sanctuary was probably inspired by Myōe's example. The issue of sanctuary/divorce is not specifically addressed in the Buddhist scriptures, at least those familiar to Kamakura Japanese. The oft-cited precedent appears in Myōe's biography.

At the time of the Great Disturbance of Jōkyū 3 [1221], the Commander of Akita Castle,<sup>14</sup> [Adachi] Yoshikage,<sup>15</sup> hearing that a large contingent of imperial forces was hiding in the mountains of Toga-no-o [site of Myōe's Kōzanji], sent a search party to seek them out. How can one imagine the uproar that ensued? The soldiers bound the Shōnin and led him away to the Rokuhara [headquarters of the Kamakura military in Kyoto], saying that he had been ordered to appear before the general, Lord Yasutoki [1183–1242].

Just as they arrived, Lord Yasutoki was in conference, seated among his followers and ranged around with warriors both above and below. Yoshikage, pushing the Shōnin ahead of him, came before Yasutoki and explained what had happened. When Lord Yasutoki was living at the Rokuhara some years earlier, he had heard of Myōe's virtue and his first response at their meeting was surprise. Filled with awe, he left his seat and gave Myōe the place of honor. Seeing what was happening, Yoshikage felt that he had probably blundered, and this sobered him up. This is what the Shōnin said:

“There is a report that I have given refuge to a large number of stragglers, and this is indeed true. The reason for their coming is perhaps because over the years people have come to hear my position on the matter. From the days of my youth after I left my first temple<sup>16</sup> and wandered about aimlessly here and there, I have not held steadfast even to the everyday principles of holy writ, which I entertain in theory. Moreover, I have lived withdrawn for many years without once giving thought to the affairs of the world.

“Now although the layman may talk of trying to make allies of others on the basis of social status, this is not the way a monk behaves. By chance such an idea may occur to him, but he will not pursue this train of thought. Why should I betray the slightest partisanship? Many have asked me to pray for a certain person on the basis of their relationship to that individual. And I reply to them: ‘I will indeed perform these prayers, if only to help you begin to pray for all the sentient beings who are submerged in the sufferings within the Three Paths.’<sup>17</sup> After we have brought them all up from the depths with our supplications, then surely we can pray for those momentary whims which are like dreams in this floating world. Minor matters do not take precedence over what is fundamental.’ Thus have I passed my years and months without giving a second thought to such concerns nor do I take seriously those who would ask me to offer special prayers in their behalf.

“Because this mountain temple is a site dedicated to the Three Treasures of Buddhism, it is a place where taking life is forbidden. Birds pursued by falcons, and animals fleeing from hunters all conceal themselves here just to survive. Thus I accept responsibility for the fact that soldiers fleeing from their enemies—their only thought being to save their lives—conceal themselves here in the roots of trees and the clefts of rocks. Could I, because I thought that otherwise I would have trouble with the authorities, heartlessly chase them away? And could I overlook their being seized by their enemies and deprived of their existence?”

“Long ago in an earlier life our original teacher, Skilled-in-Benevolence (Nōnin, i.e., Śākyamuni), even gave his body as food for a falcon, in the place of a dove, and on another occasion he offered his flesh to a starving tiger. I cannot aspire to such great compassion, of course. But how could I not do something under the present circumstances? I really felt that if I could, I would hide these stragglers in my sleeves or under my surplice. And I intend to help them next time and the time after that. If this is in violation of the way of good government, then you should without delay sever this foolish monk’s head.”

Deeply moved, Yasutoki dismissed all charges.<sup>18</sup>

Buddhism was never as autonomous in the countries of East Asia as the Christian church was in the West. From its inception there was little doctrinal incentive to establish a single center of authority. The first Three Councils in India, through the period of Aśoka (r. 269–237 BCE), did attempt to establish a common scriptural canon and general principles of belief and behavior, but not a single unified church. When Buddhism finally made its appearance in China and Japan, it was as an association of administratively independent sects often competing with one another while recognizing a common commitment to the Buddha’s teachings. Politically they were too disorganized to present a strong common front against secular authority. The eminent Chinese monk Hui-yüan (Eon, 334–416), pioneer of Amida pietism, might argue persuasively during a period of political disunity that “A Monk Does Not Bow Down Before a King” (*Sha-men pu-ching wang-che lun*), but Buddhism was eventually subordinated to the state by three major persecutions, and a monolithic Confucian political ideology.

The Buddhist sects in Japan fared somewhat better at the hands of the civil authorities than they did in China, at least until Nobunaga’s destruction of Tendai’s Enryakuji on Mt. Hiei in 1571, the decentralization of the powerful Honganji Pure Land Sect, and the establishment of Neo-Confucianism as the official ideology of the Tokugawa military regime. But they never enjoyed the autonomy of their Western counterparts such as the great abbeys of Cluny and Canterbury. This was unfortunate for both church and state. Institutions, like individuals, need rivals to keep them vibrant and growing. Ideological competition is healthy for society as a whole, since each side provides a check on the other’s excesses; it also has the positive merit of challenging all parties to learn from past mistakes. A state that succeeds in suppressing internal dissent from official policy enjoys only a Pyrrhic victory by deactivating a self-correcting mechanism for its own health and safety, and curbing the agency for rejuvenation.

During the great cultural flowering of the T'ang and Sung periods, Buddhism in China was a strong, progressive influence. When Neo-Confucianism insisted on total dominance, Chinese society stagnated. The same social philosophy drove the unchallenged Tokugawa police-state into decline.

But Buddhism in both China and Japan could and did provide the individual with some moral defense against the overwhelming claims of secular authority. It could give Myōe, Nichiren (1222–1282), and Dōgen (1200–1253) grounds for appeal to principles of human behavior beyond the authority of the *bakufu*—they could dare to defy the military establishment because of their primary allegiance to the Buddha's Teaching.

During the three centuries from the destruction of Kamakura in 1333 until the fall of Ōsaka Castle in 1615, Japan was a country in exhausting disarray, with neither the Imperial Court in Kyoto (and Yoshino) nor the military government of the Ashikaga clan able to establish a recognized central authority. When the Tokugawa military dictators, Ieyasu (1542–1616) and his successors, finally performed this miracle, it could only be sustained by a draconian system of laws and social organization based on a rigid political philosophy of Neo-Confucianism. No doubt the times required stern leadership, but the price for peace included severe restrictions on personal liberties—and women were especially vulnerable.<sup>19</sup>

Buddhism could provide some relief, some alternative, some refuge from the oppressive legalism of the new age, but Buddhism itself was under attack, as it had been earlier in China, and its influence was also controlled and restricted. Under the new regime the convents of Tōkeiji and Mantokuji are to be celebrated for providing at least some women of Edo Japan a measure of relief and refuge from the stifling Confucian moralism.

As noted earlier, however, we wish to emphasize that Tōkeiji's "divorce" procedures to work around Edo legal issues was only an extension of its larger claim of "sanctuary," and a small part of its dedicated seven-century tradition of Rinzai Zen practice.

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As evening shadows lengthen we look back, nearly a quarter century, to the start of a project now finally realized. Our collaborative article, “Sanctuary: Kamakura’s Tōkeiji Convent,” appeared in the June-September 1983 issue of the *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* through the efforts of Nanzan’s James W. Heisig, W. Michael Kelsey, and Kyoko Nakamura. A few years earlier Sophia’s Michael Cooper had patiently edited our “Mirror for Women” and published it in *Monumenta Nipponica* (1980). Two main pieces were now in place for what we would come to see as part of a more ambitious project, and we are grateful to all who helped us in these tentative years. The article slowly expanded into a book-length manuscript as myriad influences, some friendly, some hostile, left their mark on the undertaking—and all deserve our thanks.

Even before we consciously embraced the project, the conditions making it possible and even likely were present: the Tōkeiji itself, and its abbot, Inoue Zenjō, with whom we had the good fortune to become acquainted in 1954 and his son, the current abbot, Inoue Shōdō, have been a constant inspiration and encouragement. To both we are most grateful.

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*Japan: A Short Cultural History*, by G. B. Sansom. Material from pp. 52–53, ©1931, 1943, 1952 by G. B. Sansom. Published by Stanford University Press, Palo Alto.

*Original Enlightenment and the Transformation of Medieval Japanese Buddhism*, by Jacqueline I. Stone. Published by University of Hawaii Press, 1999, Honolulu, p. 56 (last line) to p. 57 (line 15); p. 57 (line 40) to p. 58 (line 4). ©1999 Kuroda Institute.

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*There is not just one method for entering the Way,  
the causes and conditions for enlightenment being many.  
Once a person understands their general significance,  
he will see that the purport of the various teachings does not vary.  
And when he puts them into practice,  
he will find that the goal of the myriad religious practices is the same.*

—Prologue to *Sand and Pebbles* (1278–1283)<sup>1</sup>

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# 1



## *Winds of Doctrine: The World of Thought and Feeling in Late Kamakura Japan*

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In spite of her family's prominent position in the Kamakura military establishment, we know few details about Lady Horiuchi's life. But since she was raised in harsh times dominated by the Spartan ideals of the newly risen samurai class, we can make some confident inferences about the kind of person she must have been. We should envision neither a court lady of Heian society nor a disenfranchised woman of the merchant or peasant classes of the Edo period. Lady Horiuchi was nurtured in the mores of the samurai class. About the ideas, thoughts, and values that shaped her society—the native “Way of the Gods” (Shintō), Confucian social philosophy, and the maze of Buddhist theory and practice—we have an abundance of facts, but often as many views about how to construe them. Consequently, in order to avoid unnecessary confusion, we begin our story with a brief overview of these traditional religious and ideological underpinnings to Japanese ways of thought and behavior as they appear to us.

### SHINTŌ, THE “WAY OF THE GODS”

No assessment of Japanese thought and values in any period can be complete without taking into account Shintō, Confucianism, Buddhism, and, when possible, that amorphous array of folk beliefs which influenced these three relatively well-defined systems, but cannot be convincingly subsumed under any one of them—shamanism, mountain-worship, *yin-yang* magic (*onyōdō*), and belief in spirits of the dead known as *goryō*—a religious underpinning revealed to us by the great cultural historian Hori

Ichirō (1910–1974), to whose small but informative classic we refer the reader.<sup>2</sup> It is not difficult, of course, to meet Japanese today who vehemently deny any interest, knowledge, or connection with these traditional modes of thought and behavior, but their actions belie this. No society can avoid its past.

We can identify three main characteristics of Shintō: (a) the existence of numerous animistic “gods” (*kami*), (b) the importance of ritual purity/pollution as opposed to moral good/evil, and (c) a-rationalism, that is, the view that reason has limitations. Kakusan-ni and her contemporaries would probably not describe their beliefs quite this way, but their actions would bear them out.

### *Eight Million Gods (yaoyorozu no kami)*

The objects of worship in all Shintō cults were known as *kami*, a term for which it is difficult to find a translation. A famous student of Shintō, Motoori Norinaga (1730–1801), wrote:

I do not yet understand the meaning of the term *kami*. Speaking in general, however, it may be said that *kami* signifies, in the first place, the deities of heaven and earth that appear in the ancient records and also the spirits of the shrines where they are worshiped.

It is hardly necessary to say that it includes human beings. It also includes such objects as birds, beasts, trees, plants, seas, mountains, and so forth. In ancient usage, anything whatsoever which was outside the ordinary, which possessed superior power, or which was awe-inspiring was called *kami*. Eminence here does not refer merely to the superiority of nobility, goodness, or meritorious deeds. Evil and mysterious things, if they are extraordinary and dreadful, are called *kami*. It is needless to say that among human beings who are called *kami* the successive generations of sacred emperors are all included. The fact that emperors are also called “distant *kami*” is because, from the standpoint of common people, they are far-separated, majestic, and worthy of reverence. In a lesser degree we find, in the present as well as in ancient times, human beings who are *kami*. Although they may not be accepted throughout the whole country, yet in each province, each village, and each family there are human beings who are *kami*, each one according to his own proper position. The *kami* of the divine age were for the most part human beings of that time and, because the people of that time were all *kami*, it is called the Age of the Gods (*kami*).<sup>3</sup>

### *Pollution (kegare) and Ritual Purification (misogi)*

Shintō’s emphasis on ritual purity and pollution instead of moral good and evil has led some influenced by Western models of characteristic religious behavior to question whether Shintō should even be considered a “religion,” rather than a motley collection of national customs. The danger of projecting our own expectations on a foreign context can lead to perplexing conclusions: are *kabuki* and *nō*, for example, to be judged by the standards of Western drama? Did Saikaku write novels, short stories, or what? How do we classify *zuibitsu* (“writings following the brush”)? As

essays? . . . Nevertheless, however we may classify what has commonly been known as “Shintō,” and by whatever name we may call it, the values it preserves have been, and remain, a pervasive influence on Japanese behavior.

Concerning pollution (*kegare*) and ritual purification (*misogi*), the distinguished Shintō scholar, Muraoka Tsunetsugu (1884–1946), remarks:

If we now ask how badness and goodness were conceived in ancient Shinto, in what was later called a “moral sense,” the answer is that badness was pollution and goodness was purity. This was a very simple stage of moralistic conception—at that time the word “*tsumi*” (abomination) was identified with pollution (*kegare*). In the frequent appearances of the word “*tsumi*” in the Emperor Chūai chapter of the *Kojiki* [Record of Ancient Matters, 712],<sup>4</sup> and in the Great Purification liturgy (*ōharae no kotoba*)<sup>5</sup> the meaning is roughly the same. According to these references, such *tsumi* as defiling one’s mother was something which today would be classified as a moral “sin.” But natural disasters such as “disasters from birds on high” (*takatsutori no wazawai*) or “disasters from Kami on high” (*takatsukami no wazawai*)—as well as various physical disfigurements like albinism and skin growths—were also thought of as *tsumi*. Thus *tsumi* was pollution to the senses. On the opposite side of such simple thinking there existed, along with the taboo of pollution, a reverence for that which was pure and bright.

Purification (*harae*) was a means of removing *tsumi*. This was a ritual by which the body was purified and pollution expelled. The ceremony goes back to Izanagi’s self-purification at Ahakihara in Tsukushi after returning from Yomi where he came into contact with pollution.<sup>6</sup> It is recorded in the *Kojiki* that as a result of Izanagi’s act of purification three august Kami, including the Sun Goddess, were born. Thus the aim of exorcism was to attain purity from pollution: the spirit of the act is identified with *meijō shugi*. [Index definition, xvi: “brightness-purity-ism.”]<sup>7</sup>

We will have occasion to return to Shintō notions of ritual defilement and the need for lustration, especially as it applies to “blood pollution,” menstruation, discharges, childbirth, sexual intercourse (even though legal), and ceremonial impurity in general when we come to the much-discussed issue of women’s Five Obstructions (*goshō*) as briefly mentioned in the story of the Daughter of the Dragon King in the “Devadatta” chapter of the *Lotus Sutra*. Meanwhile it is well to remember that such notions as blood pollution are at the very core of Shintō and must be considered in any serious evaluation of Japanese *Buddhist* attitudes.

### *Feeling (awāre) vs. Rationalism*

Although all three major Western religions, and several prominent philosophers, like Kant, formally accept the notion that reason has limits and that their God is beyond human comprehension, each is convinced that its own anthropomorphic myth (which, at best, can only *suggest* the ineffable) is somehow “true” to the exclusion of all others. Over the centuries Western nations have been prepared to defend to the death—preferably the death of others—the “truth” of their own logolatry.



Since most Westerners are rationalists to the bone, however loudly we may publicly deny it, Motoori's assertion that human reasoning is quite limited and cannot know the unknowable takes us by surprise.

The acts of the gods cannot be measured by ordinary human reasoning. Man's intellect, however wise, has its limits. It is small, and what is beyond its confines it cannot know. To the human mind these acts appear to be remote, inaccessible, and difficult of comprehension and belief. Chinese teachings, on the other hand, were established within the reach of human intelligence; thus, to the mind of the listener, they are familiar and intimate and easy of comprehension and belief. The Chinese, because they believe that the wisdom of the Sage [Confucius] was capable of comprehending all the truths of the universe and of its phenomena, pretend to the wisdom of the Sage and insist, despite their small and limited minds, that they know what their minds are really incapable of knowing. But at the same time they refuse to believe in the inscrutability of the truth, for this, they conclude, is irrational. This sounds clever, but on the contrary, it betrays the pettiness of their intelligence. If my objector would rid himself of such a habit and reflect seriously, such a doubt as he has just expressed would disappear of itself . . .

The people of antiquity never attempted to reason out the acts of the gods with their own intelligence, but the people of a later age, influenced by the Chinese, have become addicts of rationalism. Such people appear wise, but in reality are quite foolish in their suspicion and skepticism about the strange happenings of the Divine Age which are quite different from the happenings of the human age . . .

Thus, the universe and all things therein are without a single exception strange and wondrous when examined carefully. Even the Sage [Confucius] would be incapable of explaining these phenomena. Thus, one must acknowledge that human intelligence is limited and puny while the acts of the gods are illimitable and wondrous. But it is indeed amusing that there are people who respect and believe in the Sage as one who had illuminated every truth of the universe and its phenomena, when in fact he explained only those things within the boundaries of his own intelligence.<sup>8</sup>

Shintō in the broadest sense—not to be confused with the recent so-called State Shintō between the Meiji Restoration in 1868 and 1945<sup>9</sup>—was also a part of Kakusan's world, and that of millions of Japanese before and after her. In one way or another it influences Japanese Buddhism, Confucianism, Christianity, Marxism, nationalism, aesthetics—everything. Somehow it works—and it is hard to imagine Japan without it.

#### CONFUCIANISM, THE SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY

Since “the early religion is almost entirely deficient in abstract ideas of morality . . . (its code being) not ethical but customary and ceremonial” (see Sansom's earlier comment), and Mahāyāna Buddhism might at best provide broad complementary values such as the altruistic Bodhisattva ideal or the notion of universal codependence to reinforce proper social behavior, it was left to Confucian social philosophy to supply its rationale and day-to-day directives.

Confucianism did not, of course, introduce social behavior to Japan; this had already existed for thousands of years. Its role was rather to reinforce and provide a rationale for already existing practice. The Japanese evolved their own varieties of Confucianism—and Buddhism—by selecting and emphasizing those features that were compatible with their indigenous mind-set and ignoring what was not. One technique for defining a society's distinctive “ways of thinking” is simply to compare how it assimilates a system of ideas and values—Buddhism, for example—with how this is done in other societies.<sup>10</sup>

The core of this very practical social philosophy is the Five Constant Virtues (*gojō*)—humanity (*jin*), rightness (*gi*), ritual decorum (*rei*), wisdom (*chi*), and trustworthiness (*shin*)—which people should practice in their behavior toward others if they wish to live in a stable society. We can recognize three major developments in this system: (1) the practical advice of Confucius (551–479 BCE) to civil servants in the feudal states of the Chou period in China; (2) the elaborated Han political system based on the original Confucian principles; and (3) the metaphysical Neo-Confucian philosophy developed from the Sung period on and adopted in Japan as the orthodox political system by the Tokugawa shogunate.<sup>11</sup>

Han Confucianism was the version first introduced into Japan and is conspicuous in the famous *Seventeen-Article Constitution* (Jūshichijō kenpō, 604) of Prince Shōtoku (773–621),<sup>12</sup> the convenient point of departure for our view of Japanese history, as distinguished from the prehistory of most of what is recorded in the *Record of Ancient Matters* (Kojiki, 712), the *Chronicles of Japan* (Nihon shoki, or Nihongi; 720), and what we can infer from anthropological studies of the Jōmon, Yayoi, and tumulus (*kofun*) periods.

In short, Han Confucianism was a major component of the early Japanese ideological mix until the introduction and encouragement of the Neo-Confucianism of Chu-Hsi (1130–1200) by Rinzai Zen's Five Mountains (*gosan*) movement in the Muromachi period, and later articulated by the government-sanctioned Hayashi Razan (1583–1657) school in the early Edo period.

The interaction between Shintō, Confucianism, and Buddhism over the centuries has been too complex to permit our simple disentanglement of one ideological thread from the other two, as we have seen with Shintō issues of ritual impurity and a-rationality in relation to Buddhism. Similarly, Confucianism not only adds a practical social philosophy to the Shintō-Buddhist ideological mix, but its associated judgments on social structure influence the functioning of the whole. Thus, Confucian attitudes toward Buddhist convents as social institutions are for the most part predictable—but perhaps not some of the details.

Under the *ritsu-ryō*<sup>13</sup> system of government, which was implemented at the beginning of the eighth century, state Buddhism was charged with maintaining the security and peace of the nation. Ultimate responsibility rested with the government-certified nuns and monks, who performed the ceremonies for the nation's welfare. The specific role of nuns is attested to by the *Regulations for Monks and Nuns* (Sōniryō) in the Yōrō Code of 718, which stipulated that monks and nuns had equal status. It is safe to assume that this ide-

ology encouraged the existence of a large number of convents during the Nara period. By the middle of the eighth century however, Confucian values, which upheld an unequal separation between men and women, had begun to penetrate Buddhist thought. As a result, nuns were prohibited from occupying seats of equal rank with monks at official gatherings and eventually began to be excluded from national religious ceremonies.<sup>14</sup>

Note that as late as the early Nara period the laws specified that “monks and nuns had equal status . . . [until] Confucian values, which upheld an unequal separation between men and women, had begun to penetrate Buddhist thought.” Confucianism has its virtues, but it can be a disaster for the rights of women, as is also evident during the Neo-Confucian dominance of the Edo period. Let us not rush to judgment about “Buddhist grievances” toward women until we see who else is playing in the game.

#### BUDDHISM: SOME CHANGES, MUCH CONTINUITY

Although the Tōkeiji has been a tangible manifestation of many interacting intellectual and social forces in Japan for more than seven centuries, our task here is to map the convent’s specific ideological pattern. Its close institutional (and even geographical) links with Engakuji align it with a major current of Kamakura’s relatively eclectic Rinzaï Zen movement—in contrast, say, to the exclusivity (*senjaku*) of the emerging sole-practice (*senju nembutsu*) Pure Land schools (Hōnen, Shinran),<sup>15</sup> the followers of the self-assured Nichiren,<sup>16</sup> and the Sōtō Zen of the inflexible Dōgen Kigen (1200–1253).<sup>17</sup>

For decades scholars have reminded us that “Kamakura Buddhism” may have had its roots in the thirteenth century, but it did not really flower until a century or so later.<sup>18</sup> The “old Buddhism” of Tendai, Shingon, and the even older sects of “Nara Buddhism” continued to provide the continuity of religious thought even as they declined. And the major sutra of Tendai, the central sect of “old Buddhism,” at least until the destruction of its headquarters at the Enryakuji on Mt. Hiei by Oda Nobunaga in 1571, was the *Lotus Sutra*.

#### *The Lotus Sutra (or Sutra of the Lotus Blossom of the Wonderful Law)*

To state the matter as plainly and unambiguously as possible, the *Lotus Sutra* has been the greatest and most influential scripture in the history of mankind for providing a clear rationale not only for the possibility of, but the absolute necessity for, diversity of religious belief. Since the goal of spiritual life is beyond form and beyond the grasp of human rationality (*musō munen*), many expedient metaphors may be employed to direct one’s attention to a spiritual goal according to a person’s specific needs and capacities. But no single rational formulation can possibly be “true” to the

exclusion of all others. This is not relativism in the sense that every belief and practice is just as good as any other: some are *better* than others for different people at different times and places, based on the principle of “Skillful Means” (*upāya, fang pien, hōben*); and every theoretical position is entitled to define itself in relation to “distinctions between doctrinal aspects” (*kyōsō hanjaku*):<sup>19</sup> Chih-i’s “Five Periods” (*wu shih, goji*; Hurvitz 1963, 230–245), “Kūkai’s Ten Stages of Religious Consciousness,”<sup>20</sup> the Kegon sect’s “Five Teachings” (*gokyo*) and “Ten Doctrines” (*jisshū*),<sup>21</sup> and so on.

The “Skillful Means” rationale for ideological diversity as repeatedly proclaimed in the *Lotus Sutra* is supported by the preeminent Mahāyāna philosopher, Nāgārjuna (Ryūju, ca. 150–250 CE):

All Mādhyamika [*Chūganha*] treatises take the two truths—Paramārtha Satya [*shintai*] and Saṃvṛti Satya [*zokutai*] as vital to the system; some even begin their philosophical disquisitions with the distinction. According to Nāgārjuna, “Those that are unaware of the distinction between these two truths are incapable of grasping the deep significance of the teaching of Buddha.” The doctrine is already well developed in the . . . *Prajñāpāramitā* texts [e.g., the *Heart Sutra*] besides *Saddharma Puṇḍarīka* [i.e., the *Lotus Sutra*] and similar Mahāyāna Sūtras.

Paramārtha Satya . . . is the knowledge of the real as it is without any distortion . . . Categories of thought and points of view distort the real . . . [Paramārtha Satya] is beyond the scope of discursive thought, language and empirical activity; and conversely the object of these is saṃvṛti satya . . . Saṃvṛti satya is truth so called; truth as conventionally believed in common parlance . . .<sup>22</sup>

The real being truly indeterminate, it is, however, possible to utilise any means appropriate to the person in particular circumstances for leading him to the ultimate truth. There is no limit to the number and nature of the doctrinal devices that may be employed to realise this end. The only consideration is that the device must be suited to the spiritual temperament and needs of beings, like the medicine to the malady. This is the celebrated doctrine of *Upaya-kausalya* (excellence in the choice of methods [“skillful means”). Buddha is compared to a skilled physician who adjusts his remedies conforming to the nature and intensity of the disease of the patients; he does not, like a quack, prescribe one remedy for all . . . According to the nature of the malady to be cured the appropriate teaching could be used.<sup>23</sup>

Not only common notions of the layman, but philosophical viewpoints as embodied in systems of thought can be accorded some status and significance on the Mādhyamika notion of the empirical reality of the saṃvṛti and its transcendent (ultimate) ideality.<sup>24</sup>

The Japanese Tendai sect not only declared its acceptance of the idea of diversity but actually demonstrated its commitment in practice. Under its broad ideological umbrella supported by Skillful Means it encouraged the practice of Amida devotion,<sup>25</sup> meditation, scriptural study and recitation, esoteric ritual, and accommodation with Shintō *kami*—anything that might lead a person to enlightenment. It was intolerant only of intolerance—as in its attack on Hōnen for his insistence on

“sole-practice” calling the name of the Buddha Amida, and the denial of the possibility of any other religious activity.

The reader hardly needs to be reminded of the bloody persecutions, inquisitions, crusades, iconoclasm, religious bigotry, the expulsion of entire populations, and even genocide carried out endlessly in the West in the name of a One-and-Only True Something-or-Other: God, faith, practice, race, political creed, or socioeconomic certainty. Japan has certainly had her share of *political* brutality, but rarely, if ever, in the name of a one-and-only *religious* “truth.” For this the principle of Skillful Means, accommodation, expediency, supported by such scriptures as the *Lotus Sutra* can surely take much credit.

As for the Dragon Girl issue in the Devadatta chapter (chap. 12), we are among the many who totally agree with Professor Watson’s pithy summation:

Asked if there were any among his listeners who succeeded in gaining enlightenment, Manjushri mentions the daughter of the dragon king Sagara, a girl just turned eight, who was able to master the teachings. The questioner expresses understandable skepticism, pointing out that even Shakyamuni himself required many eons of religious practice before he could achieve enlightenment.

The girl herself then appears and before the astonished assembly performs various acts that demonstrate she has in fact achieved the highest level of understanding and can “in an instant” attain Buddhahood. Earlier Buddhism had asserted that women were gravely hampered in their endeavors by “five obstacles,” one of which is that they could never hope to attain Buddhahood. But all such assertions are here in the *Lotus Sutra* unequivocally thrust aside. The child is a dragon, a nonhuman being, she is of the female sex, and she has barely turned eight, yet she reaches the highest goal in the space of a moment. Once again the *Lotus Sutra* reveals that its revolutionary doctrines operate in a realm transcending all petty distinctions of sex or species, instant or eon.<sup>26</sup>

Perhaps not surprisingly, the *Lotus Sutra* is still under attack from opponents today—sometimes overtly, and sometimes implicitly by simply ignoring its philosophical and historical importance. While academic “objectivity” remains an ideal well worth cultivating as a public facade, it is no secret that economic and social pressures shape the direction, methodology, and conclusions of scholarly research far more than quiet reflection and simple reasoning with integrity. Today’s scholarship on Japanese Buddhism is dominated by the exclusivists, and the *Lotus Sutra* has few fashionable supporters. This is ultimately what determines its “truth” for our generation, not its genuine historical contributions to Japanese society nor its intrinsic religiophilosophical insights.

In his pivotal article on “The Enlightenment of the Dragon King’s Daughter in the *Lotus Sutra*”<sup>27</sup>—pivotal because it introduces the reader to the *Lotus Sutra*, especially the story of the Dragon King’s Daughter in respect to the issue of the Five Obstructions (*goshō*), which are central to many other articles of the collection—Professor Yoshida Kazuhiko concludes his overview by stating that “in effect the text

[of the *Lotus Sutra*] does nothing more than assert the value of the sutra by means of dazzling examples. I conclude, therefore, that *The Lotus Sutra* teaches that ‘The *Lotus Sutra* is a most wonderful sutra.’” In the next paragraph he dismisses conflicting views by Professors Tamura Yoshirō and Kino Kazuyoshi for “arbitrarily identifying concepts that meet present-day standards of logic to serve as the teachings of *The Lotus Sutra*.”<sup>28</sup>

As an example of Edo philosophers who do not follow these “present-day standards of logic” Professor Yoshida first cites the home-grown “Eighteenth-Century Rationalist” Tominaga Nakamoto (1716–1746), critic of Shintō, Buddhism, Confucianism, and then, creator of his own religion of humanity, “the religion of true fact” (*makoto no oshie*). Professor Yoshida quotes Tominaga on the *Lotus Sutra*: “*The Lotus Sutra* is, beginning to end, praise for the Buddha. There is nothing that constitutes doctrine and it should never have been called a sutra. *The Lotus Sutra* is nothing but a eulogy.”<sup>29</sup>

Professor Yoshida’s next authority is Hirata Atsutane (1776–1843),<sup>30</sup> perhaps the most rabid of Shintō National Learning scholars, who argued that “all twenty-eight chapters of *The Lotus Sutra* are nothing but boasts. There is nothing useful in it. If this angers anyone, let them show me what is useful about it.”<sup>31</sup> Atsutane would probably be the last person in the world to understand what is “useful” about recognizing that the opinions of others might be just as valid as his own—or even more so. He was the quintessential exclusivist True Believer.

### *Doctrinal Lineage of the Tōkeiji*

Whatever doctrinal and sectarian movements may have had their beginnings in the Kamakura period, it is clear that they were grounded in the scriptures, practices, and philosophies of the “old” sects of Nara and Heiankyō (especially Tendai, Shingon, Kegon, and Ritsu)—but also in the less systematic but pervasive influences of Shintō, and the adopted Confucian rationalizations of ancient social behavior.

We gradually come to understand more about these influences, how they share perspectives or differ from each other, and how they interact. In an attempt to sketch an ideological profile of an individual (or series of individuals)—in this case, Kaku-san Shidō and her spiritual descendants through seven centuries—we can begin by identifying the obvious sectarian lines of influence, extrapolating specific factual items which may shade or color the picture as we progress. Chart A, “Zen Lineage from Śākyamuni to the Tōkeiji,” may help to define the line of transmission through a muddle of details, claims, and counterclaims.

But identifying the obvious sectarian lines of influence is easier said than done. When one is citing the work of some authority in order to clarify a difference of opinion, it is often difficult to avoid the appearance of an “attack” on the individual writer or perhaps some prominent religious leader. On the other hand, if one does not support a difference of opinion with chapter and verse, he runs the equally dangerous risk of being charged with fabricating an imaginary distinction.

Our ideological profile of Kakusan and Tōkeiji's Rinzai Zen rests on distinctions recognized by several prominent contemporary scholars. The first is between the “new Buddhism” (*shin Bukkyō*) of the Kamakura innovators as opposed to the medieval “old Buddhism” (*kyū Bukkyō*) of Tendai, Shingon, and the Nara sects. In her brilliant work on *Original Enlightenment and the Transformation of Medieval Japanese Buddhism*, Professor Stone discusses “Trends in Interpreting Kamakura Buddhism”:

This [postwar] approach has regarded these new sectarian movements as a significant departure from the Buddhism of earlier times and therefore speaks of them collectively as the “new Buddhism” (*shin Bukkyō*). This category has in turn demanded the construction of its opposite—“old Buddhism” (*kyū Bukkyō*)—a term that replaced the older and less wieldy though more neutral expression *nanto hokurei* (i.e., the Buddhism of the temples of Nara and Mt. Hiei) . . . The opposition of *shin* and *kyū* in modern studies of Kamakura Buddhism has supported a number of academic stereotypes about a democratic, reformist “new Buddhism” arising in reaction to an elitist, degenerate, and outmoded “old Buddhism.” These clichés have become enshrined in a number of basic reference sources, such as the *Encyclopedia of Religion*, which asserts that founders such as Hōnen and Shinran were moved to seek new directions in faith because they “had become disillusioned by the empty ceremonialism, scholasticism and moral corruption that characterized the monastic life of their times.”<sup>32</sup>

These clichés are often encountered in current accounts of Japanese Buddhism and need no further examples in illustration. However, it is certainly possible to evaluate them quite differently than has been done until recently.

The second distinction that we need for our tentative ideological profile is between sects which emphasize “sole-practice,” “exclusive choice” (*senchaku* or *senju*), the rejection of the plurality of available Buddhist practices in favor of a single form, which thereby acquires absolute status, and those “inclusive” sects which accommodate diversity of theory and practice, as taught by the *Lotus Sutra* with its doctrine of “Skillful Means,” *upāya*, *hōben*. The rejection of the plurality of available Buddhist practices in favor of a single form is a frontal attack on the central doctrine of traditional Mahāyāna Buddhism.

Since our interests have always focused on concrete expressions of Japanese religion (Buddhism in popular literature, for example), rather than on its theoretical subtleties, we must rely on the work of dedicated Buddhologists to validate our comments on doctrine. We did not coin the distinctions between “new” and “old” Buddhism nor between “exclusivity” and “inclusivity,” although we have on occasion been taken to task for mentioning them. And so we feel that our best strategy at this point would be to introduce comments by Professor Bielefeldt, a recognized authority on Sōtō Zen's Dōgen (1200–1253):

Dōgen was an uncompromising exponent of pure Zen, who focussed almost exclusively on the lineage of Bodhidharma and had little use for the competing forms of Buddhism

that surrounded him in Japan; yet this very exclusivity expresses an approach to religion common to many of his contemporaries in the other Buddhist movements of the Kamakura reformation . . .

Despite their obvious differences, in very broad terms, the ideologies of all three of these famous religious thinkers [Dōgen, Shinran, Nichiren] can be seen as an attempt to define the true practice of the Tendai Buddha vehicle—a sudden practice to be based solely on the absolute truth of Buddhahood itself, not on the *upāya* of the relative teachings and gradual practices . . .

The spirit of the new Kamakura schools is often summarized by the expression “selective” (*senjaku*) Buddhism. This term, taken especially from Pure Land theology, refers first to the selection from a multiplicity of spiritual exercises (*shogyō*) of one practice for exclusive cultivation (*senju*). In Pure Land itself, of course, this practice was the recitation of Amitābha’s name (*nenbutsu*); for Nichiren, it was “discerning the mind” (*kanjin*), understood now in its esoteric sense as the recitation of the title of the *Lotus Sūtra* (*daimoku*). For Dōgen, it was just sitting. In one obvious sense the selection can be seen as a simplification of Buddhism and a reduction of its practice to a single, uncomplicated exercise accessible to all. Historically speaking, such simplification was no doubt linked to the new social conditions of Kamakura Buddhism and served as an important factor in the subsequent popularity of the new schools. Yet this historical view should not blind us to the fact that, for the founders of these schools themselves, the practices they selected were not merely easy ways to salvation but the only true ways to express the highest teaching of the one vehicle. As such, they were not merely *upāya*—expedient exercises based on man’s imperfection—but sudden practices derived from the principle of a higher perfection . . .

This radically sudden approach to Buddhist practice stands at the ideological heart of the exclusivity and sectarianism that we find in Dōgen and other Kamakura reformers. Their selection of the one practice was not merely a decision to specialize in a particular religious exercise but a commitment to the highest vehicle alone and a rejection of all other teachings as incompatible with it. Thus unlike classical Tendai—which sought to justify and embrace all versions of Buddhism as the expedient expressions of the one Buddha vehicle—Shinran, Nichiren, and Dōgen, like the Ch’an reformers of the T’ang before them, tended to see the one vehicle as exclusive: the highest *dharmā* alone was true; all else was false (or at least religiously irrelevant) and was to be abandoned.<sup>33</sup>

The exclusive group would include Hōnen (1133–1212), Shinran (1173–1262), Nichiren (1222–1282), Ippen (1239–1289),<sup>34</sup> and Dōgen (1200–1253); the inclusive group would comprise the sects of “old” Buddhism—mainly Tendai, Shingon, Kegon, and Ritsu—as well as most members of the Rinzai Zen tradition, including Eisai (Yōsai, 1141–1215), Wu-hsüeh Tsu-yüan (1226–1286), Enni Ben’en (1201–1280), Mujū Ichien (1226–1312), and the majority of those later in the tradition, which was quickly able to establish its administrative autonomy without feeling the need to declare its special meditation methods to be the one-and-only means to enlightenment.

The spirit of inclusiveness among some members of the “new” Buddhism’s Rinzai Zen sect is interpreted by some modern historians as a sign of moral deficiency, weakness of will, or philosophic confusion.



For him [Eisai] Rinzai meant the “quintessence of all teachings and the summation of the Buddha-Dharma.” Yet despite his convictions, Eisai lacked both the ability and the will to carry out his dream of founding an independent Japanese Rinzai school. He was hindered not only by his outward and inward ties to Tendai, but also by his propensity to syncretize and harmonize, which became more of an obstacle as he advanced in years . . . In a word, his life’s work resulted in important, indeed pioneering achievements, but failed to accomplish the final breakthrough.<sup>35</sup>

Historians of religion tend to favor the single-minded, self-righteous extremist who not only has found “truth” for himself, but who insists that his is the *only* “truth,” which everyone else must follow. To believe that one’s own is “best”—certainly for oneself, and possibly for all mankind—is one thing; to insist that it is the “sole” means to religious enlightenment/salvation—the one-and-only true and possible belief for everyone—is quite another. By this criterion, Hōnen, Nichiren, Shinran, and Dōgen make the grade—but Eisai and Enni do not.

The syncretic Enni Ben’en (1201–1280), we are told, also “made room for the teachings of Zen, mikkyō, and Tendai, but . . . they were ranked vertically, with Zen—let it be stressed—at the top . . . and although Enni, who taught the Zen of his Chinese master Wu-chun [also the mentor of Engakuji’s Wu-hsüeh Tsu-yüan], did not himself actually establish a fully independent Zen school in Japan, he did “set Zen firmly on its way to full independence.”<sup>36</sup> Apparently Enni may have been an improvement over Eisai, but he was still lacking.

Perhaps . . . but he was also enormously successful with the establishment of the Tōfukuji and “the Shōichi lineage [which] flourished as one of the two most numerous and powerful of the *gozan* schools.” On his return from training in China, Enni introduced to Japan the monumental, syncretic *Mirror of Sectarian Differences* (Sugyōroku, T 2016, v. 48: 415–957)<sup>37</sup> as well as the first books on Sung Neo-Confucianism to reach Japan.

Enni’s syncretism grew out of confident conviction rather than indecisiveness, fear of social pressures, or intellectual muddle. While committed to his own version of Zen as the “best” religious practice, he saw no reason to insist that his way was the “only” way to enlightenment. The *Lotus Sutra* provided him with a sound rationale for appreciating, not just tolerating, the entire spectrum of beliefs—including Buddhism, Taoism, Confucianism, and, had he been aware of them, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam.

The conscious emphasis on such syncretism evidently had a long history in China. It is implicit in the *Mirror of Sectarian Differences* compiled in the tenth century by Yen-shou, but even much earlier in the *Lotus Sutra*. The theme of the Unity of the Three Creeds (Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism) was a prominent painting motif (*sankyō-zu*) in Rinzai Zen’s Five Mountains (*gosan*; or *gozan*) movement of the Muromachi period, and into the Edo period with another Rinzai master, Sengai Gibon (1750–1837).<sup>38</sup> Professor Rosenfield provides us with an excellent example of the theme that brings together several principals in our story: Wu-chun-

Shih fan, bearer of the Chinese Rinzai Zen tradition to both Engakuji's Wu-hsüeh (Mugaku, spiritual guide of nuns Kakusan and Mugai), and Enni (spiritual guide of Mugai and monk Mujū):

Most early poems and inscriptions on the subject have a positive air and stress that the unity of the three creeds is greater than the sum of the parts. An important example is the prose-poem written on a lost painting of the theme by Wu-chun Shih-fan (1177–1249). As the abbot of the Wan-shou-ssu near Hangzhou, Wu-chun was perhaps the most important single figure in the flowering of the Southern Sung Ch'an community; a painter and calligrapher, he was a strong supporter of the concept of the Unity of the Three Creeds as seen in this translation:

The one is three.  
 The three are one.  
 The three are one.  
 The one is three.  
 Apart, they cannot be separated.  
 Together, they cannot form a group.  
 Now, as in the past,  
 they join together  
 In silence,  
 For the simple reason  
 That within the creeds  
 Are many vessels.

Two disciples of Wu-chun undoubtedly helped to implant the doctrine of the Unity of the Three Creeds in Japan. The Japanese priest En'i Ben'en (1202–1280), later known as Shōichi Kokushi, studied with Wu-chun and after returning to Japan founded Tōfukuji. Records show that in 1275 he lectured to the Retired Emperor Kameyama on the subject. The other disciple was Wu-hsüeh Tsu-yüan (1226–1286), a Chinese monk who traveled to Japan and founded the great Kamakura monastery of Engakuji.<sup>39</sup>

In his *Sand and Pebbles* (3:8) Mujū tells us that once when his mentor Enni reproved him for excessive hospitality during a trip (in 1264?), Enni supported his remarks with a reference to the *Profound Meaning of the Lotus Sutra*, by the preeminent T'ien-t'ai philosopher, Chih-i.<sup>40</sup> Enni became abbot of Kyoto's Tōfukuji in 1255 and by 1264 was a well-established and respected figure in Buddhism. Had he wished, he could easily have found a reference other than Chih-i and the *Lotus Sutra*. But he did not. New practices were introduced, but the solid accommodating substratum of Mahāyāna Buddhism continued, unapologetic, at least in Rinzai Zen—the tradition of Wu-hsüeh's Engakuji, Enni's Tōfukuji, Kakusan's Tōkeiji, and Mujū's Chōboji.



FIGURE 1. Suigetsu Kannon (“Kannon Viewing the Reflection of the Moon on Water”), Muromachi period. Kanagawa Prefecture designated Important Cultural Property (Jūyō bunkazai). (Tōkeiji Collection)

Topic from the Devadatta chapter of the *Lotus Sutra*

<i>watatsu umi no</i>	From the depths
<i>soko yori kitsuru</i>	of the ocean rising up,
<i>hodo mo naku</i>	in an instant
<i>kono mi nagara ni</i>	she attained perfection—
<i>mi wo zo kiwamuru</i>	her body just as it was.

—Fujiwara Michinaga (966–1027),  
*Shinkokinshū* SKKS 1928.<sup>1</sup>

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2

*Mujū Ichien's* Mirror for Women  
(Tsuma kagami, 1300):  
*A Buddhist Vernacular Tract*  
*of the Late Kamakura Period*



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An obvious place to begin our search for such factual items bearing on the mind-set of a woman of the military class in the last decades of the thirteenth century would be all kinds of available literature from that time, not necessarily—or even primarily—the official pronouncements of church or state, literarily or historically important, but writings of a more casual nature, whose author had no more ambitious agenda, perhaps, than to tell a good story. The great scriptures, commentaries, and historical records all have their uses, of course, but the popular literature of tales and unpretentious religious tracts may tell us more about the actual workings of a society than its authors could ever have imagined.

In 1300 the Rinzai Zen monk Mujū Ichien (1226–1312) wrote a discourse in vernacular Japanese as a kind of Buddhist handbook, and he called it the *Mirror for Women* (Tsuma kagami).<sup>2</sup> Mujū was most probably born in the city of Kamakura, received his early training there at Eisai's Jufukuji,<sup>3</sup> traveled and studied extensively, eventually becoming abbot of Chōboji temple in what is now Nagoya, where he wrote his well-known collection of “tale literature” (*setsuwa*), the *Collection of Sand and Pebbles* (Shasekishū, 1279–1283),<sup>4</sup> many of whose anecdotes and comments are based on contemporary events: he makes a special point, in fact, to avoid twice-told tales and to assure us that he either witnessed the incident himself, or heard about it from an impeccable authority. The *Mirror* is similar in style to *Sand and Pebbles* in its doctrinal diversity, in the rather terse treatment of the anecdotes which illustrate a moral and, in an occasional flash, even the humor for which Mujū is noted.

Since Kakusan was Mujū's junior by twenty-six years and he became abbot of the Chōboji in Nagoya in 1262, when she was only ten, it is quite possible that they never met, although they did share the same Kamakura of samurai principles and religious ferment. They also shared the liberal religious values of Shih-fan's disciples, Wu-hsüeh (Mugaku) and Enni, as well as Jufukuji's Eisai; and it is also probable that they had a number of friends, acquaintances, and maybe even enemies, in common. After the death of her husband, Tokimune, Kakusan Shidō built the Tōkeiji in 1285, retiring there as its founding abbess. Fifteen years later (1300), Mujū, in his seventy-fifth year, composed the *Mirror for Women* at his country temple in Nagoya. But the Kamakura of his youth appears quite frequently in his works, and it is difficult to think of any other contemporary writer more likely to have understood Kakusan's world.

However, we have noted over the years that whenever the *Mirror* is mentioned, the same short paragraph is invariably cited to support an anti-feminist charge against the essay, its author Mujū Ichien, and the position of Buddhism in general toward women. We would like to set the record straight. If the reader has the time and interest, our first recommendation is not to rely on any second-hand comments, including our own, but to carefully read what Mujū himself actually says, in this work and others.<sup>4</sup> Accordingly, we now offer a complete translation of the *Mirror* so that it can be judged in its totality, without selective editing. We do not pretend that the *Mirror* is one of Japan's great literary monuments—but it can probably tell us more about commonly accepted Kamakura attitudes toward women and Buddhism than any other writing, including the great military epics and celebrated religious tracts.

#### THE MIRROR FOR WOMEN (Tsuma Kagami, 1300)

Difficult to attain is birth in human form.<sup>5</sup> But although we may now have attained it and may have seen with our eyes the impermanence of the cycle of birth and death, we may not feel this in our hearts, and then we are like trees and stones. Difficult to encounter is the Buddha's teaching. But although we may have now encountered it, it may move our ears but we do not learn from it: we are just beasts in human skin. Not knowing who we are, we have been led astray by our thoughts, just as the drunkard, unaware that he is intoxicated, scorns the sober, and just as those who slumber through the long night doze on without knowing their dream to be a dream.<sup>6</sup> And after we have provided for the body, in the end it disappears like dew on the tombs at Pei Mang; and after a careful upbringing, we ascend futilely in the crematory smoke of Tung Tai.<sup>7</sup>

To sustain ourselves, we shorten the lives of other living beings to satisfy our appetites, blindly coveting and scheming after clothing and food, intoxicants that impede our practice of the Buddha's Teaching. It is said that the nectar of the present life becomes the hot iron pills to torment us in the next. How foolish, that for

the sake of indulging this temporary form that lasts but a moment we jeopardize our physical and mental being through lifetimes of untold ages. Seeing such behavior the heavenly beings and immortals wring their hands in dismay and shame, while the gods and buddhas grieve with heavy hearts. Those who receive the blessings and karmic reward of rebirth in the heavens exult in their pleasures and are not moved to despise this defiled world, while those afflicted with misfortune and the painful retribution of birth in the three evil paths are sorely hurting and think no more of seeking the Way of the Buddha.<sup>8</sup>

Life in this world is the boundary between future misfortune and happiness, the middle ground between good and evil. The odds of being reborn in human form against the likelihood of transmigrating through the subhuman evil paths can be compared to the dirt under one's nails as against that of the entire world.<sup>9</sup> Those who encourage evil and neglect good during this life generate and amass only evil karma in their hearts.<sup>10</sup> Greed (*ton'yoku*) is the karmic cause for birth as a hungry ghost (*gaki*): when this body is discarded, it reappears as a hungry ghost. Anger (*shin'i*) is the karmic cause for rebirth in the hells (*jigoku*): at death it becomes the fire of hell to scorch. Stupidity (*guchi*) is the karmic cause for rebirth as an animal (*chikushō*): in the next life one assumes the form of a beast, and is then subjected to the agony of slaughter. And those who foment dissension and take delight in combat fall into the way of the hostile spirits (*asuras*) with misfortune as their lot. And even though we may have observed the Five General Prohibitions<sup>11</sup> and are by chance reborn into the human world, those who were stingy and greedy are reborn into poverty, the haughty are reborn to low estate, those who abused others now experience life as deaf mutes, those of little faith become the blind and deaf, and those who violated the commandments are reborn with bodies having defective organs of sense. The man who observed the commandments has his six organs of sense intact,<sup>12</sup> the kind-hearted person who was generous to others is reborn into a prosperous family. Those with sensibility who respected the rights of others are reborn with high rank; those with hearts of compassion can look forward to a long life, the long-suffering can hope for well-being, while those who delighted in taking life will have but a short span of life and many ills. Those who maintained both morality and the practice of meditation, but in whom spiritual pride was strong, will receive the reward of rebirth in the heavens; but when their pleasures are exhausted, they are depressed by the Five Marks of Decrepitude<sup>13</sup> and of rebirth into a lower stage of existence. In the end they plummet into the hells. It is like an arrow shot into the sky: when the force of the arrow is spent, it falls again to the ground.

It is said that those who are filial to their parents according to the requirements of conventional morality and those who construct stupas and perform other meritorious acts of virtue will all attain blessed rebirth in the heavens and for a period of time happiness will be their lot. But this is not the conduct that leads to enlightenment, the true Buddha-fruit. Be that as it may, one is at least born into favorable circumstances in proximate relationship to the Buddha's Law instead of falling into the evil paths and experiencing misfortune. Now, what we may call the way of attaining

enlightenment is as follows. In general, man's karmic retribution, for better or worse, depends on whether he has observed or violated the precepts in a former life. Although all men complain of the discomforts of their lot in this life, they do not sow the seeds by which fruitful results may be obtained in the life to come.

We say that a man is wise who takes care of himself, looks after others, visits his parents' birthplace, and acts to requite the benefits which have accrued to him over several lifetimes. The household of a man who accumulates good deeds prospers, while the family of one who cultivates wickedness is destroyed.<sup>14</sup> When a man has committed no evil, why should he worry? They tell of men who spend a considerable portion of their wealth performing acts of merit in the discharge of filial obligations toward parents, teachers, and superiors. Nevertheless, only a seventh part of the merit redounds to the advantage of the deceased, while six-sevenths benefits the doer of the action. A man may neglect the Buddha's Law himself from the mistaken notion that he has descendants who will pray for his deliverance. But not to seek the Way of the Buddha oneself is foolishness indeed.

And even if people speak of diligently disciplining themselves out of a sense of obligation to discharge their filial duty, some live to win respect and anticipate improving their reputations thereby. Others, disliking the local priest, send to a distance to invite a celebrant for their service, snubbing the priest with whom they are out of favor for one with whom they are on friendly terms, rejecting the estranged one and soliciting the friend. But this is contrary to the indiscriminating, impartial compassion of the Buddha. When a man shows favoritism in the choice of celebrant, not only does he acquire no merit but he also courts immorality. On the other hand, there are those who, prospering from the meritorious acts of their forebears, take refuge in the *sangha*, sponsoring the recitation of the marvelous scripture of the eight books of the *Lotus Sutra*, or arranging for groups of people to conduct the uninterrupted recitation of the name of Amida. Because of the truly invincible merit of these activities, there can be no doubt that their karmic affinities to these celebrants will be profound; such activities provide material benefits in the next life and establish an indirect karmic affinity to the Buddha's Law.

Our actions may be of such merit as to help the blessed spirits of parents, teachers, and superiors, the objects of our solicitude. But although we may transform their grave crimes into minor ones, or change a life of misfortune to happiness, our own actions cannot be the infallible road to birth in the Pure Land for both donor and recipient. The reason is that "all sentient beings have the Buddha-nature";<sup>15</sup> it is the seed in all men through which they may become Buddhas. Those who understand the esoteric teachings, knowing and manifesting the Buddha-nature which is within their hearts, presently reach the state in which their very bodies become the Buddha (*sokushin jōbutsu*). On the other hand, the devotees who recite the *Lotus Sutra*, by virtue of the state in which the six bases of perception are purified, freely experience transcendent powers. There are those who speak of gradually acquiring merit by following the Five Practices (*goshu no gyō*) and of all becoming Buddhas, and ultimately they enter upon the Way of the Buddha. The various Buddhas of the

Three Worlds and the Tathāgatas in the Ten Directions (*sanze no shobutsu*) all realize and manifest the lotus flower of the Buddha-nature in their own hearts and take this as their seat. Those who cannot come to this realization in the present life may be born in the Pure Land by relying on Amida's Original Vow, cherishing the virtue that will make possible the opening of the flower and bearing in mind that they will eventually attain this enlightenment. The so-called virtue which will make possible the opening of the flower (*kekai no tokuyaku*) is the potential to make manifest the lotus flower of the heart, which is innate and without beginning, and this is accomplished by virtue of the incomprehensible Other Power of the Original Vow by calling on the name of Amida.

Thus one's practice of the *nembutsu* results in one's own birth in the Pure Land rather than another's. Nor are we to imagine that having another person call upon the name of Buddha or recite the scriptures can be a direct cause of our own birth in the Pure Land and the attainment of Buddhahood, or that of our parents, teachers, or superiors who are the object of solicitude. The fact is that even though a deep determination to transfer merit to others, substituting light for heavy retribution, may result in felicitous karma through which those other people receive rebirth into a good life, at one moment they rise, only to fall in the next, for the karma of retribution is not exhausted. There are those who do not strive to observe these principles, to follow the teachings of the Tathāgatas difficult to encounter through lifetimes of untold ages, to extricate themselves from the round of birth and death, to improve the conditions of birth for their parents to whom their debt of gratitude is profound, and to pray for their teachers and superiors. Such people are not aware that, by yielding in the general direction of their karmic retribution and acting on the provocation of evil affinities, the wickedness that they create day and night and the sins that they commit morning and evening are higher than the mountains and deeper than the ocean. How sad this is! In the *Lotus Sutra* it is said that when we cannot see our own faults, there is something missing in the observance of the precepts.<sup>16</sup> People see and criticize the faults of others, but they do not realize their own failings.<sup>17</sup>

We take into account the impermanence of others, but ignore our own. Those who do understand this principle we consider wise men or sages. People ordinarily think that wisdom consists in cleverly figuring out the ways of the world and diligently manipulating others to consolidate their estate, passing it on to heirs and later generations; that is, in setting themselves up and teaching others to act in this way.<sup>18</sup> But since we err in attaching importance to mundane affairs and in becoming estranged from the Buddha, this worldly wisdom is thought to be one of the Eight Impediments (*hachinan*) to spiritual progress, an enemy who invites us to rebirth in the Evil Paths. The disposition to store up treasure is called "covetousness," and it is a serious offense drawing down upon us karma which results in transmigration. The *Lotus Sutra* says that our various misfortunes have their basis in greed.<sup>19</sup> Those who torture their hearts and ruin their lives for the sake of material things are foolish indeed.



Certainly we may speak of a lifetime having run its course, but desire is not exhausted and this joins one lifetime to another. When a man is prosperous, he regrets that even a thousand mouths to feed are too few; but when he is poor, he laments that a single body is a great burden. Those who have land worry about their land, those with houses worry about their houses, and those with family and friends fret about them. If we are attached either to having or to not having, we will have worries. And after a lifetime of grief and worrying, there is still no end to it. It is said that we should define prosperity as having few desires and recognizing what we have as sufficient, and poverty as having many desires and being dissatisfied. To have little but to see it as enough and not to torment oneself may be called prosperity. People may consider a person prosperous, but if his desires are too many as to afflict both body and soul, this is a kind of poverty. A fool has remarked, "You call a man wise, but his heart is given to anger and coveting material things; when it is cold he seeks clothes and when he is hungry he needs food. Thus his cupidity does not differ in the least from that of a foolish layman."

Accordingly, we must distinguish two kinds of "wise man." The first, never having opted for the Way, makes fame and fortune his goal in life. In order to prosper for a short time in this life, he takes advantage of the uninformed layman. In order to indulge himself in material goods, he learns the doctrines of Buddhism, recites the basic scriptures, and appropriates the title of "wise man." He propagates heretical doctrines<sup>20</sup> as truth and collects alms for this, flattering the donors. He may pray for the reward of blessed birth, he may practice difficult austerities and make vows to his object of devotion, and he may live alone in a hermitage giving the appearance of being a wise and holy man. But inasmuch as his insincere, self-deceiving behavior is grounded in great cupidity, his anger and coveting of material things are even more foolish than those of a fool. Because he defiles the pure Buddhist teaching and makes it an unclean thing of worldly desire, he is worse than the man who acts out of ignorance.

The second kind of "wise man" has a modest nature and deep compassion. Such men desire enlightenment and deeply appreciate the great importance of birth and death. They promote the Way of the Buddha, seek out good companions, follow the teachings of the faith, and observe the Buddha's commandments. So it cannot happen that they harm either themselves or others, or that they suffer loss either in this life or in the next. Consider the "anger" of the wise man who assumes a hundred guises as one's true friend in the faith. He regrets that the wicked give free rein to their emotions, following the promptings of passion, and that they submit to the temptation of evil influences, piling up karma upon karma and adding evil to evil. But the sage uses his "anger" as a Skillful Means (*hōben*) to eradicate this behavior, and thus reinforces the moral injunctions. In the aspect of subjugation, even the Buddha gives the appearance of anger by donning the armor and taking the bow and arrow of those figures in the group of Bright Deities (*myōōbu*) and of the heavenly beings in the outer square of the mandala (*gaibu no tentō*). Since the wise man knows that in all phenomena there is no self-nature, he is not deeply attached to material

possessions. He wishes to promote that which will not affect transmigration and so he temporarily accumulates material goods so that he may practice the Law of the Buddha, benefit his physical body, and thereby venerate the dharmakaya. Although in the eyes of the foolish he appears to act just like an ordinary layman, the wise man shrewdly aims to turn this to advantage in converting others. Thus all things are variant teachings of the Buddha; some strictly conform to the rules of morality and others are exempt, but all are Skillful Means of the Great Sage [i.e., the Buddha] who knows the borderline between foolishness and wisdom.

For example, there were once three men standing on a bank peering into a deep pool. On hearing the command to jump, one of them recklessly dives in and loses his life by drowning. He acted like a child, like a drunk, like a man mad with delusion. Without distinguishing between right and wrong, he was deluded as to the operation of cause and effect. He was not aware that the water was deep and he did not realize that he might drown. We foolish people are just like this. Associating with bad companions and committing evil, we sin and then we die; and when we covet material goods, it is as though we do not realize that in the next life we will fall into the Evil Paths and not enter nirvana.

When the second man is told to jump, he does not move. He clearly understands the operations of the phenomenal world and knows the facts about liberation from it: to jump into the abyss is certain death, and by creating bad karma one will assuredly fall into the Evil Paths. He is acquainted with what is said about shunning evil and cultivating good, and he clearly understands the rationale for cutting off delusion and realizing the truth. He is a man who perceives all that a fool's eyes are capable of observing, and he is admired by ordinary people.

The third man is told to jump and he immediately dives in. This man has the freedom of the waterbird in water, of the fire-rat in fire. Although he enters the water, it is like being on land; and although he is on land, it is like being in the water. The mind of the sage is also like this. He is completely untroubled by the problem of good and bad karma, nor is he vexed by the cleanness or impurity of the water in the great ocean.<sup>21</sup> It is as though he does not mind the impurity of the land. Within the general defilement, he employs delusion to attain what is of primary importance. An ancient has said, "The sins committed by a sage are like an iron pot—it may be large, but it does not sink. The sins of the foolish are like gravel—it sinks, although it may be light as sand."

There is the case of Lady Mallika's observing the precepts although using intoxicants, and that of Vasumitra's "pure living through licentiousness," and it cannot be denied that these women were sages.<sup>22</sup> Although the Buddha Śākyamuni alone is exalted in the Three Worlds and is a Tathāgata since remote antiquity, he had three children by three women. These were the *bhikkus* Upavāna, Rāhula, and Sunakkhatta. But we do not speak of the Buddha as being impure. Prince Shōtoku was a manifestation of the Kuse Kannon<sup>23</sup> and manifested himself in our country in order to propagate Buddhism. Nevertheless, he had five children. Moreover, although he attacked Moriya and committed the crime of murder,<sup>24</sup> we cannot speak of him as the "immoral

prince.” All of these actions were the exalted behavior of bodhisattvas, virtuous deeds performed in the state of Buddhahood, Skillful Means to help sentient beings. Having noted that karma and liberation are one, the sage understands and manifests the principle that good and bad are inseparable, and he realizes the identity of illusion with enlightenment. And so he states that the Middle Way is to be found in a single color and a single taste.<sup>25</sup> Even the falsity of wild words and specious phrases<sup>26</sup> becomes instrumental in turning the wheel of the Law. The Buddha benefits beings with both good and evil, clearly seeing the two as indeterminate. The ordinary man dimly perceives the distinction between right and wrong, and so he loses his way in the Law which is before his very eyes. Everyone can recognize the behavior of the fool, but only the sage is able to appreciate the behavior of the sage.

Some time ago in Nara lived two monks called Chikō and Raikō.<sup>27</sup> Their bond of friendship was more precious than gold and they exchanged fraternal vows. During his entire life Chikō never occupied his time frivolously. He constantly practiced difficult austerities, sat in meditation without lying down to rest, called on the name of the Buddha, recited the scriptures, performed ceremonies, and offered up incense. Raikō, on the other hand, spent all his life lying lazily in bed, sleeping day and night, and neither recited the scriptures nor did anything to honor the Buddha. But none of us can evade the fact that “all living things must perish,”<sup>28</sup> and Raikō, despite his pledges of friendship, preceded his friend in death. Chikō wondered what evil path Raikō had fallen into, and what punishments were meted out to him for having wasted all his time and having made no serious religious effort. He mourned for him and invoked the gods and buddhas, praying in sorrow that he might learn Raikō’s place of rebirth.

One night in a dream Raikō appeared and spoke to him. “During my lifetime,” he said, “by coming to comprehend the true state of things, I finally realized the Buddha’s fruit of enlightenment. But how vain it is that you should spend all your life in religious exercises based on appearances. In the end you will not attain the fruit of the Buddha’s Law which is Wisdom, nor will you exhaust the karmic retribution of birth and death.” Chikō awoke from his dream and, as a result of this experience, he too entered the gate of the formless teaching and realized enlightenment. Similarly, Taichō<sup>29</sup> became a disciple of the Great Teacher. He was highly commended by the Great Teacher as “the Reclining Ascetic,” and thus he was not unlike Raikō.

The popular maxim, “The sleep of a wise man is better than the feverish activity of a fool,” also expresses this idea. Without wasting a moment during the twelve divisions of the day a person may diligently exert himself in the *nembutsu* and sutra reading, cultivate religious rites through the burning of incense; he may perform the exercises of the Three Mysteries (*sammitsu*) of body, speech, and thought, and train himself in austerities during the three periods of the day. But because he does not view his physical self as ultimately unsubstantial and because he acts for personal gain, his formal religious exercises result in only apparent benefits in the phenomenal world. His name will be broadcast both far and near, and his virtue will be noted by high and low, but he will not necessarily experience enlightenment, the

fruit of the Buddha. People venerate as a buddha anyone who, in the eyes of ordinary men and fools, excels in religious exercises and is endowed with honor and virtue. But there is no certainty that release from birth and death and the attainment of enlightenment will follow from his actions and character, nor from his wisdom and cleverness. Although Devadatta read countless scriptures, he did not escape the fires of hell; and although the Holy Man of Shiga Temple made great progress in the practice of the Three Mysteries, it is said that he became a blue demon because of a single delusive thought.<sup>30</sup> The indirect benefits of performing religious acts may accumulate and one's virtue may be outstanding, but when the mind-ground is darkened and a man is neither in accord with his original state nor in conformity with his self-nature, then he does not attain the Buddha-fruit. Having performed religious exercises, he will not at first transmigrate through the Six Paths (*rokudō*). Since he was an exception to the general run of fools, arrogance and pain only gradually arise in his heart, but in the end he will fall into the world of the devils. Nevertheless, his affinities to the Buddha's Law will not be in vain. Having suffered torment in the world of the devils for a long time, he will eventually enter upon the Way of the Buddha.

In general it is difficult to recognize a sage's blessedness or sinfulness through his observance or transgression of the Law, for it is not easy to fathom his motivation. There is also the breed of dim-witted monk who rashly shaves his head and dyes his garments, taking the title of "monk." But he does not observe a single regulation of either the Hīnayāna or Mahāyāna. Among all the spiritual paths within the two modes of teaching, true and provisional, he does not follow a single school. His thoughts of vulgar greed are identical to those of the ordinary man, and his spiritual neglect and lack of faith surpass even those of the inherently unreceptive. For such a fellow to hold forth on the gods and buddhas, accepting people's spiritual trust and receiving many donations, is like a fool swallowing a sword upside down, or like the summer insects which fly into the fire, attracted by the colors of the flames. Because he plays at being a monk, he does not requite his obligation to the country by ministering to its needs; he is involved in religious practices, but he does not really perform them. He lacks the virtues of both Inner Realization and Outer Function (*naishō geyū no kudoku*) and is thus neither layman nor monk. Although he passes his entire life without incident, indulging himself in the ways of the ordinary man and deceiving the stupid, in the hereafter he is as sure to fall into the Evil Directions of rebirth as he would hit a target as big as the whole world. Those who covetously accept donations in the name of the gods will in all probability be reborn as snakes; those who improperly accept alms for the sake of the Three Treasures (*sambō*) will surely fall into the animal world at rebirth.

They say that there used to be a distinguished priest called Shōgetsu Shōnin,<sup>31</sup> who lived in the days of the Retired Emperor Sanuki. He was exalted in wisdom and excelled in religious practice so that no one in Kyoto or Nara could compare with him. By virtue of being spiritual adviser to the Retired Emperor, he made his presence felt throughout town and country.

But the principle that what is born must perish makes no distinction between wise and foolish. The Shōnin contracted a grave illness and presently was dispatched to another world. After three or four years had passed, the Shōnin one night appeared in a dream to the Retired Emperor and addressed him. “From tomorrow I plan to join your august household, and I hope that you will be sympathetic with my plight.”

“I have always relied on you as my teacher and this can never change,” replied the Retired Emperor in great astonishment, and he pondered this strange affair until day broke.

That day a white horse, fat and sturdy, was brought in from Ōshū. Recalling his dream, the Retired Emperor wondered at this most extraordinary occurrence. He inquired whether the horse had a name. “He is called Terutsuki (literally, ‘Shining Moon’),” was the reply.

“Terutsuki” is written with the same characters as Shōgetsu, the name of the Shōnin. His statement, “I will come tomorrow” must have referred to this horse, thought the Retired Emperor, filled with melancholy wonder, and he took especially good care of the animal. Here was proof before one’s very eyes that the monk had fallen into the animal realm on account of the evil karma accrued by his accepting donations with a heart in darkness, for he had not realized his self-nature.

In the days of the rule from Sagami province in Kantō, feudal lords from Ōshū had assembled in Kamakura and someone asked, “Why is it that we do not have so many horses from Ōshū presented as tribute nowadays as formerly?” “The reason is this,” came the reply, “nowadays, we do not have so many high-ranking priests.” The response was made with the thought in mind that a dull, unenlightened prelate will surely be reborn as a fine horse.

When a strict virtuous priest appears in the world, the great protection and support he affords his confreres and associates may be but an imperfect expression of compassion. It is not compassion dispensed impartially but applied to those near at hand. At rebirth the priest may fall into the animal realm because of dullness and stupidity, the nonrealization of enlightenment, the careless acceptance of others’ trust, or the coveting of donations. But by virtue of the considerable compassion through which he helped and supported others, he might be reborn as a cart ox to be carefully tended, or as a ceremonial horse with plenty to eat. The order of things is inevitable—of this there can be no doubt. Anybody wishing to discern the order of things and act sensibly will ponder these matters well.

Another recent event occurred some twenty years ago. At Shinheiji in Etchū province there was a monk called Chimyōbō,<sup>32</sup> who coveted the donations of the faithful and thereby made a livelihood. One day he led a large group of parishioners on a Zen meditation pilgrimage up Mt. Tateyama, and the party came to a place where a chain was let down to scale the rocks. As the people were climbing up they saw Chimyōbō at the head of the column, dressed in a light white gown and black robe, change into a cow and wander aimlessly into a ravine. The pilgrims were struck dumb. They called out the priest’s name over and over again, but only the lowing of

a cow was heard in reply, and then there was complete silence. The parishioners went on to the temple as planned and then started back.

"Here was where we lost the priest," they remarked on returning to the spot. Again they repeatedly called out the priest's name, and they saw him climbing up from the valley in the form of a mottled cow. Presently the lowing of a cow was heard from a distance and then he disappeared.

It is also related that once in Sanuki province a dim-witted, unenlightened monk was seated with a novice before a fire. The monk dozed off, nodded his head, and then several times bit the edge of a Sanuki grass mat. The novice who was sitting with him thought this strange and asked the monk what he had been dreaming about in his sleep.

"This is what happened. I remember passing along a certain road. Then I had a mouthful of the green grass growing there, and it tasted so good that I tried it two or three times more. And then I woke up." Here is proof of a man falling into the animal realm while still in the present life. Although it is rare for this to happen in the present life, there is no doubt that it takes place in the future life.

As for that crowd of deluded laymen who choose to support the self-serving monk, their donations accumulate and cause him to fall into the Evil Directions. Thus their good will spells his ruin and they can receive no meritorious reward from their benefactions. It is said that one should not choose a priest on the basis of friendship, but impartially and without discrimination. As the Great Teacher of Mt. Kōya said, "With a single bowl of coarse food one fulfills the Ten Obligations."<sup>33</sup>

The mass of men sink or float in the sea of birth and death in accordance with their state of mind. The man of deep resolve who would escape the round of birth and death will certainly realize enlightenment, while the man without this resolve continues to transmigrate, receiving the retribution of rising and falling in the sea of mortality. Those who do not make use of the way things operate are stubborn and incorrigible, wretched people who nullify the efforts of the various Buddhas to help sentient beings and who behave carelessly as regards the skillful devices of the patriarchs.

When we consider the long eras of transmigration in the past, what retribution have we not experienced through the Six Paths of life in the Three Worlds? In the upper regions we have lived an eternity on the raised platforms in the heavens of Indra, Brahma, and the Cakravartin Kings; and in the lower regions, where the flames burn furiously, how many times have we been scorched? Whether we are flying animals soaring through the air or creatures of the current concealed in the water, deer in the mountains or insects in the field, all beings who dwell in the Three Worlds of phenomena and arise through the four methods of generation receive their proper place, high or low, in the order of things. Everything in this unenlightened world is produced through moral causation and is like a traveler's one-night lodging, or like an infant's fleeting game. How sad this is! Although we have all experienced the rising and sinking through the four forms of birth, we have not yet attained the pure golden physical body of the Buddha. We are thoroughly familiar

with the byways through the Six Paths of existence, but we have not yet inquired about the state of impartial and marvelous enlightenment which is the fruit of the Three Virtuous Positions (*sangen*) of the bodhisattva and the Ten Characteristics (*jūshō*) of the saint.

Why is it that we prefer the lowly dwelling in which we have already passed our lives rather than looking forward to the high ground of Buddhahood where we have not yet trod? Even if we found ourselves in the position of a king, what would it avail us? When the saints come to take us to the lotus throne in paradise, they do not discriminate against even those who live within doors of wattle. It is characteristic of death that it varies neither for warrior nor for slave. It speaks without yielding to the graceful and without fear to the strong, in wrathful guise as guardians of hell and with stern words: “When a man has created no evil karma, he will receive no torment, for punishment is in proportion to the evil done. Thus it is for all sentient beings.” Someone has said, “In the garden of hellish torment will you not cry out, though you try not to? And when the saints come to the wattle door, will you not smile in spite of yourself?”

Even if a man is lord of a province, compared to the king of the whole country, he is like an ordinary person with respect to his superior. So also, although the results of a man’s actions bring him to the level of the great rulers Indra and Brahma, yet compared to the highest levels of enlightenment, it is as mud to a cloud. The gods in the heavens see the span of human life as even more evanescent than that of the May fly that is born in the morning and does not live till evening; they see the human body as inferior to that of an ant or a frog. So to be born a man and to fix one’s attachments to the human world without aspiring to the joys of the Pure Land is to be like the insect that feeds on the bitter smartweed without knowing what sweetness is. We are only a thought away from joy or sorrow, which have no more reality than yesterday’s dream. Just as the moonbeams shift imperceptibly and the rays of the sun decline silently, so we are unaware that the demands of impermanence are upon us. Neither those who mingle in the cities nor those who hide away among the rocks can escape the fact that what is born must die. Even the arcane methods of those wizards who ride the clouds and place themselves in jars are to no avail; the order of nature is that we love life and that we lose it. We cannot determine which shall pass first—the old or the young, the dew on the branches or the moisture at the roots. By this rule also do the wise perish, nor do the foolish remain behind. With the knowing air of those who realize the principle that all created things are impermanent, we should be surprised at nothing.

Once the Buddha and Ananda were walking about in a town begging alms. When evening came, Ananda approached the Buddha and said, “Today when I was begging I saw something extraordinary.” When the Buddha asked what it was, Ananda replied, “This morning when I went to a certain house I saw a number of laymen seated in a circle, their cups filled with sweet drink and their trays laden with good cheer. They feasted and took their pleasure, making music, dancing, and singing of a thousand autumns to celebrate long life. There they were at the prime

of life. The abundance of their wealth and honors was like the pleasures of the Third Dhyana Heaven. Returning later to that place, I heard that the winds of impermanence had suddenly blown for the head of the house. His life, like dew on grass, had quickly faded away and the breath-snatching demons vied with each other to get to him. His body, which had been dependent on so many things for its existence, was broken for no particular reason. Then his wife and children looked up to heaven and mourned his passing, while the entire family prostrated themselves on the ground and grieved. People from far and near came to attend his funeral, while friends and strangers alike made condolence calls. Those who saw, wept; those who heard were distressed at heart. What a startling spectacle!”

Then the Buddha spoke. “I too saw something strange while on my rounds to beg alms today. I came upon a house whose gates were high with prosperity, with the owner’s wife and children and all his relations flourishing. But even a man who at the prime of life is given over to wealth and status, well-born and provided with every ability and virtue—even he cannot escape the uncertainty of life, cannot avoid the principle, ‘All who flourish are destined to decay.’<sup>34</sup> How strange is the vanity of human life, like that of the Mayfly born in the morning but not living to see the evening.”

The impermanence of life and death is not subject to our control, and it is rare for a person to be reborn as a human being. A man ages and does not return to youth. Neither warehouses full of supplies nor boxes overflowing with treasure can buy life; nor can they be used to bribe away the retribution for past actions. Both the wizardry of T’eng Tsu and the magic of Huai-nan Tzu were useless beyond the limits of the phenomenal world, and neither man attained to eternal life of the Law Body. “Finally after a thousand years the pine tree decays, the Rose of Sharon glories in the flowering of a single day.”<sup>35</sup> Rakuten says,

The old grave—from what era the man who lies there?  
He has returned to earth and we know neither his clan nor name.  
And what has become of Hsi Shih’s face and figure?  
With the spring wind the hundred grasses sprout again.<sup>36</sup>

Ah, vanity! Although we hear the vesper bell, we are not mindful of its message of impermanence. Passing the day frivolously without practicing the Way of the Buddha to make provision for the next life, we have no compunction about piling karma which leads to transmigration. We would flatter society to promote our worldly interests, and all for the sake of one season of a life which will not last. After spending our nights idly without accumulating merit through chanting the scriptures and the name of the Buddha, or without setting aside time for meditation, we are not startled by the birds announcing the start of a new day. We continue to think of worldly affairs and do not regret wasting our energy on fame and fortune. Although we hear the sound of the drum of time, the light of the sun and moon glides softly by, and those who have come to this state approach the future without



realizing that their bodies are growing old. People pay no attention to the principle of impermanence and do not rectify their deluded hearts. Every moment is mutable and all things lack self-nature. Those with clear vision see the interval between life and death, knowing it to be a mere fraction of a second. When they consider the matter carefully, they realize that all that we think and all that we do must without exception revert to impermanence. The myriad things of the world are produced by causation and destroyed by causation. What has a beginning has an end; every moment has a beginning and an end. Where, then, do we get this idea of permanence?

Long ago in China lived a man called Pei Sou.<sup>37</sup> Aware of the inconstancy of the world, he served his lord without courting fame or fortune and with no thought of laying up treasure. Secluding himself in a residence in the northern part of the capital, he put together a heritage of brushwood for lodging, clothed himself in hemp garments to ward off the cold, gathered wild plants and picked fruit to satisfy his hunger, and thus passed the months and years while the days and nights slipped by. When he heard something pleasant or heard something distressing, he always wore the same faint smile. This was because he knew well the fact of impermanence—that in the end neither pleasure nor distress is of long duration, and that both good and evil become as a dream. The fact that people today speak of a faint smile as “the Pei Sou smile”<sup>38</sup> comes from the behavior of this man. And so it was that the Retired Emperor Go-Toba remarked in his poem of lament at his exile in Oki:

<i>Itsu to naku</i>	All of a sudden
<i>Kita no okina ga</i>	I find myself like the Old Man
<i>Gotoku seba</i>	Of the North:
<i>Kono kotowari ya</i>	And so I ponder
<i>Omoire nan</i> <sup>39</sup>	The meaning of it all.

Since all things follow the law of causality and are the results of karma from a previous life, they should neither depress nor elate us unduly. We are beings reborn by reason of the necessity of causality: the good or evil effect necessarily flows from the good or evil cause. These two forces of good and evil act together as the karma for transmigration and determine the retribution that we receive as a rise or decline in fortune. By cultivating good in social relations, we experience worldly happiness; by practicing the Way of the Buddha, we attain enlightenment, the fruit of Buddhahood. “Small cause, great effect” means that by virtue of a trifling karmic cause for good or evil we experience greatly the good or evil effect. It is like sowing a single plant or seed tree and reaping a hundred thousand berries.

A person with his mind set on the Way, having had his faith aroused by hearing the Law, will observe his religious practices both in the present and in the future. One who basically has no aspiration for enlightenment is not disposed to grieve or regret not having taken care of the One Great Matter (*ichidaiji*) in this round of birth and death, and will not do so in the future. The good man delights in good,

the bad man delights in wickedness. When a man capable of knowing something has no real interest in it, he cannot really grasp its nature. Conversely, the uninformed man who has a genuine interest in something will be able to grasp the spirit of that of which he has no theoretical understanding. The person without emotional commitment is one who does not know, while giving the appearance of knowing. How sad this is! Although the Buddha has admonished us against it, we seek fame and profit from morning to evening, and we make the passions and evil karma our business day and night. So when, having raced recklessly through life, we come to die, we are racked by death throes. Delirious and mad, we see the Evil Paths appear before us, but the lifetime of shame revealed before the entire world is not the fault of others but of ourselves alone. The passions have been our friends who have come a long way with us from the beginningless past. Although they afflict the heart and destroy the body, they are enjoyable and hard to abandon. Having now for the first time encountered the Law of the Buddha, we find it alien and hard to get accustomed to. An ancient has said, "It is better to die with the wise than to live with the foolish." If we know a person of wisdom and piety to be a messenger from the various Buddhas, we should take refuge and offer oblations to him. But if he comes with bad karma and deceptive friendship, know that he is a messenger from the jailers of hell and do not approach him. This is because everyone shapes his behavior according to his friends.

The *Sutra of the Golden Light*<sup>40</sup> speaks about a man who cultivates goodness and observes the Buddha's Law. Although the owner of the land where the man lives and whose food supports him may be unaware of the man's virtuous actions, he does support him and so will receive a seventh part of the merit generated. Similarly, although the owner may be unaware of the wicked deeds of a bad man, he will receive a seventh part of the evil retribution generated on account of the sins accumulated by supporting the man. Also if a man maintains his life by taking care of himself and revering the Buddha, avoiding an early death and taking refuge in the Three Treasures, then he will know that he is in conformity with the will of the Gods, Buddhas, and the Three Treasures.

It is customary for the ordinary man to think well of those who bear a resemblance to his own self. If his mood changes, he will not help that other person, however great the need. But the gods and buddhas have compassion impartially available to all as to an only child. Because the mind of ordinary sentient creatures think in terms of likes and dislikes toward this and that, they differ from the thinking of the Buddhas and deviate from the intentions of the gods. Moreover, our meritorious virtue piles up merit and this is through the grace of the luminous deities of Shintō and the Three Treasures of Buddhism. But if we offer up prayers and perform meritorious and virtuous acts while annoying others and deceiving the clergy, this will certainly invite calamity and pile up bad karma; there will be no positive benefit, for such conduct is like painting a picture on water.<sup>41</sup>

Many serious instances of the sins of women, among the unregenerate who are all deluded, are cited in the sacred scriptures and commentaries. Because they are so

numerous, there is no time to discuss them in detail. The Preceptor (Risshi) Tao-hsüan<sup>42</sup> says,

“Basically there are the seven grave faults (*shichishu no toga*) of women:

1. Like the myriad rivulets flowing into the sea, they have no compunction about arousing sexual desire in men.
2. When we observe women in a house, we see that their jealous disposition is never idle. Friendly in speech, in their hearts is malice; with no thought for others, they are concerned only with their own affairs.
3. Having a disposition prone to deceit, they smile at a man even before he has said anything. In their speech they say that they empathize, while in their hearts they are distant and cherish thoughts of envy. A person who faces you but whose thoughts look the other way is said to be prone to deceit.
4. Neglecting their religious practices and concentrating on how they may deck themselves with fine clothes, they think of nothing but their appearance and desire the sensual attentions of others. Their hearts are attached to desire without regard to whether the object of their attention is closely related or distant.
5. Guided by deceit, their honest words are few. They often vow to bring evil to others without fearing that they are piling up sins for themselves.
6. Burning with fires of desires, they have no shame toward others. Their hearts deluded, they fear not the tip of the sword; as though drunk, they know no shame.
7. Their bodies are forever unclean, with frequent menstrual discharges. Seeing that both pregnancy and childbirth are both foul and the afterbirth unclean, the evil demons vie for possession while the good deities depart.

The foolish find such things attractive, but the wise are repelled.”<sup>43</sup>

#### TRANSLATORS' COMMENTARY

For some Western scholars, this short paragraph is the basic message of *Mirror*, and all that comes before and after is simply ignored. A very distinguished scholar of Japanese Buddhism sees it as “a good summary of the Buddhist grievances toward the ‘weaker sex’.” [footnote numbering refers to *our* notes]:<sup>44</sup>

In his *Mirror for Women* (*Tsuma kagami*), Mujū Ichien provides a good summary of the Buddhist grievances toward the “weaker sex.”<sup>45</sup> He lists as the “seven vices” of women their lack of compunction about arousing sexual desire in men, constant jealousy, deceitful ways, frivolous attachment to their own appearance, duplicity, shameless desire, and, last but not least, their defilement by menstrual blood and blood of childbirth.<sup>46</sup> Mujū’s enumeration is actually borrowed from the Chinese Vinaya reformer Daozuan, who, in his “Rules to Purify Mind and Maintain Insight,” also observed: “The four hundred and four grave illnesses have their origin in last night’s undigested food; the suffering in the

eight places where one is unable to see the Buddha or listen to the Dharma has as its source—woman.”<sup>47</sup> Significantly, most of these sins are attributed to the ability to arouse sexual desire in men. Thus, what would be perceived as a male problem becomes the cardinal sin of women.

The Buddhist essayist Kamo no Chōmei (1155–1216), a contemporary of Mujū, was also convinced that women are “all by nature perverse.”<sup>48</sup> Both Chōmei and Mujū, despite their upper-class backgrounds, were steeped in popular prejudice.

The source of the inflammatory charge, Tao-hsüan's *Rules to Purify Mind and Maintain Insight*, actually refers to “women's ten evil actions” (*nyonin jūkugō*), which Mujū abridges and muddles into “seven grave faults” (*shichishu no toga*). Tao-hsüan's item 6, for example, claims that women tend to mistreat their husbands by fault finding and flirting; item 7 accuses them of flattery and falsehood; item 8 charges them with greed, and ingratitude toward their parents; item 9 sounds almost like a Confucian indictment of the wicked daughter-in-law; and, finally, item 10 is an astonishing litany of blood and guts by a pathological misogynist—Tao-hsüan, perhaps, but not Mujū.<sup>49</sup>

How did Tao-hsüan's *Rules* find their way into Mujū's discourse? The known facts of Mujū's life provide a simple explanation. He tells us that after leaving the Hōonji temple in 1253, he applied himself to the regulations for priestly behavior (*ritsugaku*) for six or seven years. Biographical details and clues from his writings suggest that he probably studied during this time under Eizon (Shiembō, 1201–1290) at the Saidaiji in Nara; we have a record of Eizon visiting the Chōboji in 1262, the very year that Mujū became its abbot.<sup>50</sup>

Mujū does not tell us why he decided to write the *Mirror*, but the prominent role of women in the establishment of his Chōboji temple may have been a factor. The temple was originally established under Tendai auspices by Yamada Shigetada in 1179 as a memorial to his mother. Shigetada later sided with Emperor Go-Toba during the Jōkyū Disturbance (1221) and eventually committed suicide. His brother, Akinaga, also involved in the unsuccessful uprising, escaped beheading through divine intervention. Akinaga's son, the lay priest Dōen, and Dōen's wife, Sukeko, became Mujū's disciples and supported his reconstruction of Chōboji following a fire after Mujū had taken residence there in 1262. It is probable that Shigetada's mother and Sukeko, both of whom were prominent in the fortunes of Chōboji, and thus of Mujū himself, were in his thoughts when he composed *Mirror*.

In 1300 Mujū was in his seventy-fifth year and given to the nostalgia and reminiscence of old age, traits seen conspicuously in *Casual Digressions* (*Zōtanshū*, 1305) a few years later. Two decades earlier, when Mujū began writing his preface to *Sand and Pebbles* in 1279, he was already commenting on his old age; and in the book's epilogue, dated 1283, he apologizes for any errors because of his lack of reference materials:

Living in a thatched mountain hermitage out in the country, I have only my own heart and mind to rely upon, for I am without books, and I have set down only the simplified

essentials of these things as they have happened to occur to me . . . The citations from literary works and the names of men of old are, I think, correct, but there may be many inadvertent errors. I hope that some future scholar will make the necessary corrections and disseminate them.<sup>51</sup>

Thirteen years later when he begins writing the *Mirror for Women*, Mujū is still at the Chōboji, and thirteen years older. He begins as one would expect—with a statement about the human (not gender-specific) condition. Women may differ from men in some ways, but essentially, we are all human beings: “Difficult to attain is birth in human form.” He then continues with admonitions and examples of right behavior that apply equally to men or women: the action of karma and transmigration, the importance but limitations of vicarious benefits, the dangers of favoritism, the value of calling on the name of Buddha Amida (*nenbutsu*), and so on.

Finally, when he is more than two-thirds of the way through the discourse, it suddenly occurs to the aging monk that since he is writing for *women*, perhaps he should say something specifically addressed to them. But why did he not think of this earlier? Because the goal of Buddhism—enlightenment, nirvana—ultimately transcends such mundane distinctions as gender, or even species.<sup>52</sup> While societal conventions may influence the shape of Buddhism’s institutional manifestations, gender and species are incidental to its primary goal—spiritual liberation (*gedatsu*).

So what does Mujū select as an appropriate text for his sermon to women? A passage from some famous sutra? The *Tale of Genji*? A familiar Japanese book of maxims? No. Rather, he vaguely recalls a list of allegations about women devised in the seventh century by the Chinese monk Tao-hsüan, which he had studied four decades earlier and apparently had not rehearsed since that time.

As noted earlier, Professor Faure refers to Mujū’s seventh (Tao-hsüan’s tenth), concerning defilement by menstrual blood and blood of childbirth as “last but not least.” For us it is both last and least. Mujū also touches on Shintō’s blood (and death) taboo’s in *Sand and Pebbles*, not to criticize either women or Shintō, but to try to reconcile apparent disparities with Buddhism.<sup>53</sup>

In Professor Miyasaka’s modern edition, complete with headnotes, Tao-hsüan’s *Rules* occupies less than a page. If we were to evaluate Mujū on his accuracy and seriousness of presentation, a grade of “C” would probably be a gift. He would certainly be astonished to see his casual ramblings under such serious scrutiny a millennium later.

Mujū is then on his way again into more familiar territory—human frailty, but not blood pollution: the humorous anecdote of Cīñcā who hid a bowl over her stomach and falsely accused the (historical) Buddha of making her pregnant [jealousy]; Yajñadattā, who looked into a mirror and thought she had lost her head [delusion]; Lady Vaidehi, and the *Lotus Sutra*’s daughter of the Dragon King attaining buddhahood [both positive]; and so on with gender-neutral admonitions: “If a woman is aware of the great burden of sin which women bear, she will revise her attitudes and reject the business of fame and fortune in this world of a single dream, betaking herself to the practice of the Buddha’s Law, which helps us from life to life

and from world to world.” For the word “woman,” substitute “man” or—better still, “warrior.” Are a woman’s dreams of “fame and fortune” any worse than those of a man—especially those of a warrior? Is her “world of a single dream” any shorter than that of a man or warrior?

In short, if a case is to be made for Japanese Buddhist misogyny, we do not think it will get much support either from the *Lotus Sutra* or Mujū Ichien.



When the Buddha was still in this world there was a woman named Cīncā, who from the first had belonged to a family of unbelievers and was deeply jealous of him. With the idea of bringing shame to the Buddha, she attached a cord to a bowl which she hung around her neck and down over her stomach beneath her clothes, and then went to where the Buddha was expounding the Law. Wending her way into the area where bodhisattvas, *śravakas* (*shōmon*), and beings from the heavenly worlds were thick as dense vegetation, she faced the Buddha and stroked her stomach. “Look at this! I am pregnant with the Buddha’s child,” she cried, abusing him and declaring that she would give birth and disgrace the Buddha. Now one of the Buddha’s disciples, the holy Maudgalyāyana, excelled in supernatural powers. Seeing what was taking place, he transformed himself into a mouse and chewed through the cord holding the bowl, which then fell before the Buddha. As the woman’s stomach vanished, the Buddha’s shame was transferred to Cīncā and she paled with vexation.<sup>54</sup>

Again in India there lived a woman called Yajñadattā whose mind was as restless as a monkey’s. Once when she held up a mirror that she might admire her face, she became extremely agitated at not being able to see herself. “I have lost my head! What has happened?” she cried. Utterly distraught, she shrieked at the heavens and pounded the earth, but in the end she was never able to see her head. All sentient beings possess the Buddha-nature, which can never leave us even for a short time. But because we do not show forth the moon of our inner nature, for it is obscured from view by dense clouds of delusive thought, we are regarded as the unregenerate, forever sunk in the mire. Although Yajñadattā did not actually lose her head, she lost it in the sense that in the agitation of her heart her mind clouded over.<sup>55</sup>

In China national calamities are said to have originated with three women. And in our own country Emperor Go-Toba fomented an insurrection at the instigation of a woman and was ultimately sent into exile.<sup>56</sup> Such cases are common, it is true, but there are also among women many instances of deep compassion and religious aspiration. The *Sutra of Meditation on the Buddha Amitayus* contains the account of Lady Vaidehi,<sup>57</sup> and the *Lotus Sutra* speaks of the daughter of the Dragon King attaining Buddhahood.<sup>58</sup> If a woman is aware of the great burden of sin women bear, she will revise her attitudes and reject the business of fame and fortune in this world of a single dream, betaking herself to the practice of the Buddha’s Law, which helps us from life to life and from world to world. Throughout life, evil advances and the good retreats; there are actions which simply take us “from darkness to darkness”<sup>59</sup> and from the depths submerge us into even lower depths. Karma is like a balance—it pulls to the heavier side. We may weigh and

determine which was greater between the good and bad of a person's life, between the good and bad karma which he generates during a year, a month, a day, a moment. When evil is dominant, he will fall into the Evil Paths; when virtue is dominant, he will attain good rebirth. The recording angels meticulously note the smallest error on their tablets.

The *Great Calming and Insight*<sup>60</sup> says: "Heaven knows our hidden sins; how can we not feel shame before heaven? But only if we are found out will others come to know of our sin and we feel shame before men." Although we say that we do not take life or steal what belongs to others, the fact that we even entertain the thought is not without blame. As a man goes through a day and a night he has innumerable [literally 840,000,000] thoughts, all of which produce karma leading us to the Three Evil Paths. We may not actually commit evil and we may be disposed to move toward the good and to shun wickedness, but we cannot maintain this ideal for long. One moment we float, the next moment we sink. And so, taking as our ground the mind<sup>61</sup> that eliminates the bad and cultivates the good, we should establish a course of behavior that will enable us now to detach ourselves from the round of birth and death and to realize enlightenment. This course of action consists in mind-ground training (*shinji shugyō*) and in reciting the name of the Buddha (*kushō nembutsu*). These two activities are not the province of the well-versed and the learned, nor does it argue about having wisdom or not having wisdom. But if a man with strong faith follows the Buddha's teachings, applying himself day and night without deviating from the admonitions of the wise, then obtaining immediate release from the round of birth and death and attaining enlightenment will be easier than pointing to the palm of his own hand.

This mind-ground is the locus of religious practice promoted by the Four Houses of Mahāyāna,<sup>62</sup> together with the Zen sect. To become spiritually aware "within the teaching"<sup>63</sup> is like seeing the moon through being instructed by others; to become spiritually aware "outside the teaching" is like seeing the moon for oneself. The original Buddha, who is the essential Mind of all sentient beings, is like the fullness of the moon above the clouds shining brightly in a mirror. The clouds that hide this moon are delusive thoughts that arise in response to the various circumstances of the world. In reply to the question, "What manner of thing is the mind before the world of dust is removed?" the Zen sect refers to its appearing brightly as a place where "a single thought does not arise" (*ichinen fushō*). According to the doctrinal sects, it is "mind-ground without form" (*musō no shinji*). Because "not a single thought arises" when we are in accord with this mind, then, although the multiplicity of phenomena appears, all these things are as one to the Mind, and there is nothing to induce rebirth. Accordingly, there is no falling into the Evil Paths and no birth in the Pure Land. This is because the man who now seeks birth in the Pure Land ultimately opens himself to enlightenment. The recollection of that which we fear, that which in any way affects us, that which touches our hearts and moves our minds (whether of the Buddha's Law or secular affairs)—all this is let lie. That which separates us from our Original Lot (*honbun*) is like the gap between heaven and earth. In spontaneously attaining our Original Lot by this means, we do not make

use of the Buddhas and the patriarchs. And there can be no way for all the Buddhas of the Three Worlds or the Tathāgatas of the Ten Directions to manifest this enlightenment to us without our experience of this mind-ground.

Recitation of the name of the Buddha does not take into account sharpness or dullness of disposition, nor does it weigh the relative merits of sinfulness and blessedness. Relying directly on Amida's Original Vow, it does not ally itself with other forms of religious practice. It concentrates on the single-minded recitation of the Holy Name, an action that assures birth in the Pure Land. But the "one mind" is actually three attitudes of mind, and the "three minds" are the single word "faith."<sup>64</sup> So if we conform to this single word "faith," we should reject the notion of "three minds." And if we settle on the practice of the Buddha's name, we should reject the concept of "faith." According to the Pure Land patriarchs, Shan Tao (Zendō, 613–718) and others, the differentiation of the "three minds" is made so that all will be brought to faith and submission to the practice of *nembutsu*. One does not build a house without scaffolding. But after the house has been built, there is no reason to leave the scaffolding in place. If a person is building the house of the *nembutsu*, he may dispense with the scaffolding of the doctrinal teaching. The ordinary religious practitioner stagnates in the holy teaching concerning the "three minds" and such; neglecting the practice of the *nembutsu*, he occupies himself with his own wit and understanding while paying no heed to pious submission. Consequently, a little knowledge is a hindrance to enlightenment and obstructs the acquisition of the true disposition for birth in the Pure Land. Such people are inferior to the most foolish layman.

Among ordinary laymen who on occasion recite the *nembutsu* there are many who attain birth in the Pure Land because, lacking learning or ego, they rely solely on Amida's Original Vow. This is why the great wisdom which is *prajñā* (*hannya no daichi*) is the same as foolishness. Even a monkey who has learned the behavior of the self-enlightened will bear witness to the fruits of the Holy Teachings; and as for the parrot who mimics the *nembutsu* with its mouth, a lotus flower grows from the tip of its tongue.<sup>65</sup> Without calculating whether the karmic effects of our action will be direct or indirect, and disregarding the relative merits of the occasion, we just wholeheartedly recite the Holy Name. This brings forth the twofold reward of environment and person which Amida promised in his special vows. When we say the name, this is the Pure Land. When we do not say the name, this is not the Pure Land and we are sinners. The mark of the man who believes in the Original Vow and concentrates on the One Great Matter of detachment is that he spontaneously wishes to recite the *nembutsu*, and he continues to do this without interruption. A man may chirp about the teaching of the Pure Land, converting others who give him the title of "sage." He may think about the future life and about the respect of other people. But when he exhorts others without himself practicing the *nembutsu*, then those who are exhorted will attain the Pure Land, but the exhorter will not.

Moreover, among the Three Activities of Body, Word, and Thought,<sup>66</sup> the cultivation of a superior mind-ground training is "thought-activity," the recitation of



the *nembutsu* is “word-activity,” and the observance of the commandments and the rectification of behavior is “body-activity.” In addition, according to Shingon esoteric teaching there are the doctrines of Mahāvairocana being the Law Body, the reality of the Three Worlds, and the bliss of enlightenment enjoyed by the Buddha himself. If a man’s actions do not conform to these conditions, it is rare for him to enter into the Way of the Buddha, even though he be a bodhisattva of the Ten Directions. But although he be a layman, if he has firm faith, possibly as the result of the fruition of past acts, then without the least compunction he performs neither mudras, mantras, the Fire Service, nor the Lustration Rite. Transcending the teaching mode, he elucidates the meaning of “attaining Buddhahood in this very body” (*tōdai jōbutsu*), and has no reservations at all concerning the employing of such methods as the Mantra of Light (*kōmyō shingon*).<sup>67</sup> This method is the apex of the various sects, the essence of the myriad teachings, the basis of the unity between Buddha and sentient beings, the secret principle of all the esoteric truths about the relative and the absolute. It is said that its words, expressions of the tongue, are all *mantras*; its physical manner, expressions of body, are all *mudras*; and that which the mind performs in its execution is *samadhi*. The thorough realization of this notion is the esoteric insight of Shingon. One cannot describe it in terms of the teachings of the other sects.

The various other sects are all based on the words of Śākyamuni, the Transformation Body of the Buddha; Shingon is the discourse of Mahāvairocana, whose self-nature is the Law-Body. Since Shingon is a method that transcends the fruition of Buddhahood through action, even those at the level of the Three Virtuous States of the Bodhisattva or the Ten Characteristics of the Saint cannot get a glimpse of it. For those who become acquainted with this teaching, it is the Vehicle of Quick Penetration to the Divine (*sokushitsu jinzūjō*) which reveals the sudden goal of impartial and marvelous enlightenment while eliminating the progression of stages. When, having had the rare good fortune of being born a human, we cultivate our spiritual life according to the Buddha’s teaching while at the same time practicing this method, then we directly conform to the state of “attaining Buddhahood in this very body.” When those who do not take advantage of this opportunity practice the Law of the Buddha according to some other way as their feelings move them, they too will finally cross the sea of tribulation which is life and death, although not so quickly.

Although the Buddha specifically said that he preached the Mahāyāna to carry sentient beings across life to the other shore of enlightenment, it is because many of average or inferior capacity were left out that he preached the provisional Law of the Hīnayāna. But a man does not become a monk merely by shaving his head and dyeing his robes; if he has compassion and faith and wishes to accumulate merit by practicing the Way of the Buddha, then he is a real monk, although he may have the appearance of a layman. The spiral-haired Brahma and householder Vīmalakīrti, although they assume secular forms, are high-ranking bodhisattvas, great mahasattvas.<sup>68</sup> In Japan Prince Shōtoku and Layman En<sup>69</sup> both looked like laymen, but they were both great incarnate beings. The followers of the Two Vehicles<sup>70</sup> all had

the appearance of monks, but their hearts were niggardly and narrow, and they turned away from the full realization of the Way of the Buddha. Worse still, ordinary people in this degenerate age shave their heads and dye their robes, but they do not practice the Buddhist austerities. Those who casually learn the doctrines treat the Buddha's Law as a game, and because the Law is really a means to ferry people across this material life, it becomes a source of deceit and perplexity. This is an unspeakably wretched business.

Inasmuch as natural dispositions are not all identical, the teaching has myriad differences. The Mahāyāna, Hīnayāna, provisional and absolute teachings are all discourses of the one teacher Śākyamuni. This is to attract those who have an affinity for the Buddhist teaching by sampling and suggesting a partial version of what has been said. When a man who practices one version of the Way of the Buddha vilifies another because it differs from his own sect, he cannot avoid the sin of slandering Law. It has been said that a man who slanders the methods of another out of attachment to his own beliefs will surely suffer the pains of hell even though he observes the commandments. However, if there is an occasion to promote the Mahāyāna by persuading people to convert, there is great advantage in breaking their attachment to the Hīnayāna and drawing them into the Mahāyāna. But under no circumstances should one reject the Mahāyāna and enter the Hīnayāna. The difficult and painful practices are for the foolish; easy conduct and practice are for the wise.

The *Lotus Sutra* speaks of obtaining "the pleasures of this world and the pleasures of nirvana." "Pleasures of this world" means having goods in abundance and not lacking food or clothing. Wining, dining, enjoying, being well thought of by others—all these are called "pleasure." It is pleasure to nourish the feelings with momentary titillations, but in the long run this becomes the business of transmigration, bad karmic cause leading us "from darkness to darkness." The pleasure of nirvana is the pleasure of the fruits of Buddhahood. The "pleasurable activity" of the wise man is taking the world of phenomena as the place to realize the Way, taking the body and mind as the Buddha-land, and taking the Three Mysteries as the object of worship, so that whether walking, standing, sitting, or lying, not the slightest interval of time is unavailing. Entering the meditation of the Holy Ones, we see the mandala of the various Buddhas. And when we face that mind-ground, which is neither "phenomenal world" nor "place to realize the Way," that place where no dharma of consciousness arises is the exercise hall of all the Buddhas. When the Cosmic World of Phenomena<sup>71</sup> becomes one's own body, then "there is no distinction between mind, Buddha, and sentient beings."<sup>72</sup> This place is not visited by the foolish, nor can they attain even to the initial determination toward perfection and the highest levels of attainment.

The greatest fruits of Buddhahood to be realized from the Hīnayāna are considered to be far inferior by the Buddhas of the Mahāyāna. *The Explanation of the Mahāyāna* says, "Attaining the name of 'Buddha' by self-cultivation is later viewed as a joke."<sup>73</sup> That is, although a man may be called a Buddha according to the Hīnayāna, when viewed later from the standpoint of the Mahāyāna, he becomes a thing of amusement. A man who would practice the Way of the Buddha should

never stop along the way saying that he has attained what in fact he has not attained, or that he has realized what in fact he has not realized. The rope attached to the well bucket is short, and so a person should not imagine that he has exhausted all the water in the well. To think that one has attained what actually has not been attained proceeds from an inferior disposition. By virtue of the pride that we all carry in our hearts, we do not learn even that portion of the Buddha's Law that can be learned, nor study even those parts of the Holy Teaching that can be studied. Vilifying our teachers and dragging down others, in the end we become foolish blind men. There is no greater enemy than indulging oneself in careless activities through pride.

The *Great Calming and Insight*<sup>74</sup> says: "The Great Sages in their wanderings all sought the Law without respect to the source. The Youth of the Himalayas [i.e., Gautama] took half a verse from an *asura*, and Indra venerated an animal, taking it as his teacher." Just as their resolve to practice the Buddha's teachings was so great, we too should take advantage of our youth and not neglect religious practice. It will do us no good to regret having ignored the One Great Matter and to have vainly passed our span of life creating karma leading to transmigration. To place the obsessions of the deluded mind before all else is not to know how to distinguish jewels from seaweed.

I do not care about the laughter of those who will come later and read this. Nor does it benefit me at all that I have collected together these leaves of words like free-floating grasses, diverting myself with a water-soaked reed that traces my thoughts as they ripple through my mind. But should a woman make these precepts her constant companion [as she would a mirror], she will show herself to be a person of sensibility, a follower of the Way. And so I give this work the title, *Mirror for Women*.

Postscript: The book says: "This work was composed by the Elder, Mujū Ichien, founder of Chōboji." We may say that it is "perfectly good and perfectly beautiful,"<sup>75</sup> a straight path of Skillful Means to benefit sentient beings, transforming the ordinary person into the sage.



Almost four centuries after Mujū composed his *Mirror for Women*, Bankei Yōtaku (1622–1693), the noted Rinzai Zen monk who flourished in the late seventeenth century in the period between Takuan Sōhō (1573–1645) and Hakuin Ekaku (1685–1768), made the following comments in a sermon delivered in 1690, well into the Edo period:

If we do not attain Buddhahood, we sever the root which is Buddha-mind (*bushhin*). Be firm in the principle of the Unborn (*fushō*), and do not stray from it. Henceforth always be aware that men have Buddha-mind, and women also have Buddha-mind. Some say that with their Buddha-mind women cannot attain Buddhahood, and such remarks cause women distress. But this is utter nonsense. There is absolutely no difference between men and women in this respect—men experience the Buddha-state (*buttai*, i.e., they are inherently Buddhas) and women also experience the Buddha-state. Never doubt it. When we understand *the principle of the Unborn (fushō)* we know that all men and women are equally Unborn. They all experience the Buddha-state.<sup>76</sup>

*We dyned this [day] at a towne called Camacra,  
w'ch in tymes past (500 yeares since) was the greatest cittie in Japon,  
& (as it is said) 4 tymes bigger then Miaco or Edo is at pr'sent,  
and the tono or kyng of that place, called [Yoritomo],  
was cheefe commander or Emperour in Japon,  
& the c[h]eefe (or first) that took the authoretie royall  
from the Daire who was the suckcessor to Shacke.*

—Richard Cocks's *Diary*, entry for 18 October 1616<sup>1</sup>

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### 3



## *Abbess Kakusan and the Kamakura Hōjō*

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### MINAMOTO YORITOMO AND THE MATSUGAOKA LEGENDS

As only the “second Englishman in Japan,”<sup>2</sup> and at a time of civil unrest when sober historical fact could not easily be disentangled from popular rumor and exaggeration, Cocks can be excused for his inaccuracies. But in comparing accounts of Kamakura at the peak of its prosperity, several generations after Yoritomo, with what he saw of the ravaged Japan and nascent Edo (later Tokyo) of the early seventeenth century, his remarks were probably not as far-fetched as they may appear today. Politically, if not materially, the military government (*bakufu*) established at Kamakura in 1192 was the new center of the nation, although in principle the “authoretie royall” still remained with the imperial court (*Daire*, i.e., *Dairi*, the “Palace”) in Kyoto.<sup>3</sup>

Any account of medieval Kamakura might well begin with the insurrections of the Hōgen (1156) and the Heiji (1159) eras, for here were the first major rumblings of the quake that would shatter the authority of the court and its accompanying social and religious institutions. The military class would then dominate the cultural as well as the political life of the country until the next great social change, the unification of warring factions by Oda Nobunaga, Toyotomi Hideyoshi, and Tokugawa Ieyasu, and the establishment of the merchant-oriented Tokugawa peace early in the seventeenth century.<sup>4</sup>

The two insurrections had their origins several centuries earlier. As the members of the imperial clan proliferated, an increasing number of candidates vied for the relatively fixed number of available court positions. The Taihō Code of 702 had the foresight to provide that the sixth generation from a sovereign be deprived of its imperial prerogatives and given a family name and ordinary titles of nobility. Two

major clans subsequently developed—the Taira (Heike) and the Minamoto (Genji). The main Taira line descended from a great-grandson of Emperor Kammu (737–806) who was given the new surname in 889. From this individual, Taira Tadamochi, descended the rebel Masakado, as well as Kiyomori (1118–1181) and his clan, whose defeat by the Minamoto of Kamakura is told in the epic *Tale of the Heike* (Heike monogatari). In turn the Minamoto clan was gradually superseded by the Kamakura Hōjō regents, and the Odawara Hōjō, who controlled the Kantō area during the late Muromachi period.

Although the Minamoto surname was given to a number of imperial children, the most prominent descendants were in the Seiwa-Genji line from a grandson of Emperor Seiwa (850–880), Minamoto Tsunemoto (894–961), whose posterity included the Kamakura Minamoto (Yoritomo, Yoshitsune, et al.), the Ashikaga shoguns, and the Kamakura branch of the Ashikaga, from which Tōkeiji's Kitsuregawa family later derived.

As the various clans attempted to extend their political control in several parts of the country, conflicts inevitably arose whose details would tax the endurance of the most patient of readers. To shorten a very long and complicated tale, we begin by observing that the Taira came out the winners from the Hōgen and Heiji Disturbances. Their leader, Kiyomori, became military dictator to “protect” the interests of the throne and his power extended so far that he was even able to marry off a daughter into the imperial house. (This was Tokuko, wife of Emperor Takakura [1161–1181] and mother of Emperor Antoku [1178–1185], who retired to Jakkōin convent as Kenreimon’in after her son drowned at the decisive Battle of Dannoura.) The leader of the Minamoto faction, Yoshitomo (1123–1160), succumbed during the Heiji Disturbance, but his sons Yoritomo and Yoshitsune survived in exile and obscurity until the tide of fortune turned in their favor.

Minamoto Yoritomo (1147–1199) provides our earliest legendary and historical associations with Matsugaoka (Tōkeiji). After being spared by Kiyomori in 1160, he was exiled to Izu Province (Shizuoka Prefecture), where he met the flamboyant Shingon monk, Mongaku (1120–1199),<sup>5</sup> who was banished by Emperor Goshirakawa in 1173 for his importunate solicitation of funds to restore the Jingōji.<sup>6</sup> At Mongaku's instigation, Yoritomo began to rally the Minamoto forces against the Taira in 1180, and by 1185 was “cheefe commander” of all Japan.

Meanwhile, in 1181 at Midarebashi in Kamakura's Zaimokuza district, Yoritomo built the Fudarakuji as his private oratory, with Mongaku as founding abbot (*kaisan*). The temple's original bell, cast many years later during the temple's reconstruction in 1350,<sup>7</sup> was subsequently removed and then discarded along the Yamanouchi thoroughfare sometime during the following century and a half. Tradition says that it was excavated on Tōkeiji property after the convent's original bell was plundered at the time of the battle for Odawara Castle in 1590. The Fudarakuji bell now hangs at the Tōkeiji.

In the early years of the Gempei War (1180–1185) Kiso no (Minamoto) Yoshinaka (1154–1184) successfully led the Minamoto forces against the Taira, and he is

a central hero of *The Tale of the Heike* (Heike monogatari). But his popularity, like that of Yoshitsune a few years later, was a threat to Yoritomo, who plotted to destroy him. This is the setting for *Karaito sōshi*, a late Muromachi-early Tokugawa story (*otogizōshi*) on the theme of filial piety. In 1183 Yoshinaka was general of one of the two main branches of the Minamoto army. Karaito, daughter of Tezuka no Tarō Mitsumori, Yoshinaka's retainer, served at Yoritomo's headquarters in Kamakura. Having informed Yoshinaka of her lord's plot against him, she was given a sword with which to assassinate Yoritomo. The sword was discovered under her robe, but Karaito insisted that she was carrying it simply as a memento of Yoshinaka. Unconvinced, Yoritomo ordered that she be held at Matsugaoka until the matter could be investigated. When a retainer was later sent to the convent to fetch Karaito, the abbess refused to surrender her, claiming sanctuary. For the time being Yoritomo relented but later Karaito was captured by the arch-villain, Kajiwara Kagetoki (d. 1200), as she attempted to flee to her native province of Shinano. Yoritomo imprisoned her in a cave, but Karaito was eventually released through the help of her daughter, Manju, whose dancing pleased Yoritomo.

The year 1285 has generally been accepted as the date for the Tōkeiji's founding. Did the anonymous author of *Karaito*, fully aware that it was an anachronism, refer to Matsugaoka so that he might include the convent's right of sanctuary? Or did he perhaps subscribe to the minority view also found in *The Kamakura Story* (Kamakura monogatari, 1659) of Nakagawa Kiun:

In the days of the Great Commander of the Right [Yoritomo]<sup>8</sup> there was a temple here called Dōshinji. Lord Yoritomo's aunt [Lady Mino]<sup>9</sup> became a nun and was abbess of this convent. From this time the temple continuously prospered. (See chapter 6, "Tōkeiji in Edo Guide Books" for complete translation.)

There are no historical records to support the view that Lady Mino founded the Tōkeiji, and it was questioned even by most later Edo commentators.

#### THE JŌKYŪ DISTURBANCE AND MYŌE SHŌNIN

With the defeat of the Taira at Dannoura in 1175, Yoritomo was in effect the administrative head of the entire country, but it was not until 1192 that he was awarded the title "Barbarian-subduing Great General" (*seiitaishōgun*), or simply, Shōgun. After Yoritomo's death the title was assumed in turn by his two sons, Yoriie (1182–1204) and Sanetomo (1192–1219), both of whom were assassinated. New shoguns were appointed, but the administrative authority had already passed into the hands of the Hōjō. Tokimasa (1138–1215), father of Yoritomo's wife Masako (1157–1225), headed a council of state to decide policy after Yoritomo's death in 1199. But by 1205 he was replaced by his son Yoshitoki (1163–1224), counted as the second (sometimes the first) in the succession of regents (*shikken*) who were the

real power behind the figurehead shoguns. Of course, the emperor with his court in “Miaco” was still the nominal head of state and there would be two major efforts to restore his real authority. The first was the attempt by Emperor Gotoba (1180–1239) in the Jōkyū Disturbance of 1221. The imperial faction was quickly routed by the Kamakura warriors under the command of Hōjō Yasutoki (1183–1242), who would become regent in 1224. The bakufu troops invaded Miyako and then pursued what remained of the defeated army into the mountains. (Sansom 1958, 376–84; McCullough 1964.)

This was the occasion for the meeting between Yasutoki and the celebrated Kegon cleric, Myōe Shōnin (Kōben, 1173–1232), abbot of the Kōzanji, in the hills northwest of the capital. Myōe’s defense of the Kōzanji as a sanctuary for those fleeing social oppression may well have influenced the thinking of Tōkeiji’s Kakusan, who knew the story well. (See preface.)

#### THE KAMAKURA RELIGIOUS SCHISM

In the preface and chapter 1 we addressed some of the specific issues concerning Kakusan’s founding of the Tōkeiji in 1285 as a convent in the Rinzai Zen tradition with close ties to the neighboring Engakuji temple and an inclusive religious posture reflecting the liberal Heian ideals reflected in the *Lotus Sutra*, and an accommodation with both early Shintō and Confucianism. We now place the convent more generally in an overview of early Japanese Buddhism and its changing landscape during the Kamakura period. Since the introduction of Buddhism to Japan in 538 (or 552, by some accounts), its diverse sects had served their times well, being the main component of the ideological soil that supported the literary and artistic flowering of Asuka, Nara, and Heian. Eventually Nara’s Hossō, Kegon, and Ritsu sects were complemented by the Tendai sect of Saichō (Dengyō Daishi, 767–822) and the Shingon sect of Kūkai (Kōbō Daishi, 774–835). The Mahāyāna had always held that new forms of Buddhism would arise to meet the changing needs of different times and places. And no system of thought and practice was without its inherent weaknesses, however its benefits might outweigh these for a time. Sooner or later the new problems of changing times would require other answers.

During the late Heian and early Kamakura period, the leaders of the older sects recognized the need for renewal and the elimination of clerical abuses. But Hossō’s Jōkei (Gedatsubō, 1155–1213), Kegon’s Myōe (Kōben, 1173–1232), Tendai’s Jien (Jichin, 1155–1225), and Ritsu’s Eizon (Shiembō, 1201–1290) had to confront not only the enormous practical problems of institutional reform, but also the widespread debilitating notion that during the period of the Decline of the Law (*mappō*), one could at best delay the inevitable degeneration of all social institutions. This period was calculated as having begun in 1052 and although the notion was not universally accepted—notably, not by the Shingon sect nor Sōtō Zen’s Dōgen—it was too pervasive to ignore. So in addition to attempts to revitalize the traditional sects,

new movements stressing one or another aspect of the earlier traditions developed with simplified programs of devotion.

In 1175 Hōnen Shōnin (Genkū, 1133–1212) left Tendai's Mt. Hiei to advocate the Sole-Practice Calling upon the Name of the Buddha Amida (*senju nembutsu*), for what has been traditionally considered to be the founding of the Jōdo (Pure Land) sect. Devotion to Amida had been incorporated into the beliefs and practices of the earlier sects, but for Hōnen, or at least for his more extreme followers, there was now a major difference. Recitation of the name of Amida was no longer merely an adjunct to meditation during the Latter Days of the Law; it was the *sole practice* which could produce results, birth in Amida's Pure Land of Supreme Bliss (Gokuraku Jōdo). All other practices were not merely inferior or even useless—they might even be an obstacle to salvation as an egoistic assertion of “self-power” (*jiriki*).

When Hōnen's major statement of his religious position, the *Collection of Passages [bearing on the Original Vow of Amida]* (Senjaku [hongan nembutsu] shū) was made public after his death, it was immediately criticized by Kegan's Myōe in his *An Attack on the Bad Vehicle* (Saijarin) for its exclusive stance, and for denying the need to “raise the desire for Enlightenment” (*hotsubodaishin*).<sup>10</sup> Hōnen's disciple Shinran (1173–1262) replied to this with his *Teaching, Practice, Faith, and Enlightenment* (Kyōgyōshinshō) in 1224, the date assigned for the founding of the Jōdo Shinshū (True Pure Land) sect. Today these two sects constitute the largest body of Japanese Buddhists.

The *nembutsu* practice has at least a surface resemblance to the recitation of the title (*daimoku*) of the *Lotus Sutra*<sup>11</sup> proposed by Nichiren Shōnin (1222–1282) in 1253. Nichiren's attacks on other sects as inappropriate to the Latter Days of the Law, as well as his criticism of *bakufu* policy, led to difficulties with the Hōjō regents, especially with Kakusan's husband, Tokimune (1251–1284).

The other major movement of the Kamakura religious revival was Zen, whose Lin-chi (Rinzai) tradition was introduced to Japan by Myōan Eisai (or Yōsai, 1141–1215) after returning from his second trip to China in 1191. The Shōfukuji that he constructed that year near Fukuoka in Kyūshū was the first Zen temple in Japan. The first Zen temple in Kamakura was the Jufukuji, established in 1200 as a memorial to Yoritomo by his widow Masako, who appointed Eisai its abbot. Keninji, the center of the new movement in Kyoto, was completed in 1205. (See Collcutt 1981.)

Others followed Eisai's lead. Enni Ben'en (1202–1280) returned from study in China to become abbot of Kyoto's Tōfukuji in 1239, and his disciple Mukan Fumon (1212–1291) became founding abbot of the influential Nanzenji during the last year of his life. The Zen practice of Eisai and Enni accommodated other religious beliefs, and in general, Japanese Rinzai has tended to be syncretic. Eisai had been well received by the Minamoto military establishment, and the Hōjōs continued to be ardent supporters. By Tokimune's day the movement had developed substantial roots in Japan. His father, Tokiyori (1227–1263), was also a serious student of Zen



meditation (*zazen*). In 1249 he began construction of, and in 1253 completed, the Kenchōji—perhaps the first Zen monastery in Japan entirely independent of earlier, especially Tendai, affiliations—and installed the Chinese Rinzai monk, Lan-ch'i Tao-lung (Rankei Dōryū, 1213–1278, posthumous title, Daikaku Zenji) as its founding abbot (*kaisan*). When Lan-chi died in 1278, he was succeeded by another Chinese immigrant, Wu-hsüeh Tsu-yüan (Mugaku Sogen, 1226–1286, posthumous title, Bukkō Zenji), whom we met earlier (see especially Chart A). After the defeat of the Mongols in 1281, Tokimune began construction of another large Zen temple as a monument to the warriors on both sides who had fallen in battle.<sup>12</sup> The Engakuji was completed in 1282 and Wu-hsüeh was installed as its founding abbot. Eventually a system of “Five Mountains” (*gosan*)<sup>13</sup> evolved, groupings of the five major Rinzai monasteries in Kamakura and Kyoto. At first there was a total of five, and later, five for each city, with Kyoto's Nanzenji having jurisdiction over all. Under the Ashikagas the ranking changed from shogun to shogun, but a tentative early grouping from the period of Emperor Godaigo is as follows (1334–1336):<sup>14</sup>

- |             |            |
|-------------|------------|
| 1. Nanzenji | [Kyoto]    |
| (Daitokuji) | [Kyoto]    |
| 2. Tōfukuji | [Kyoto]    |
| 3. Kenninji | [Kyoto]    |
| 4. Kenchōji | [Kamakura] |
| 5. Engakuji | [Kamakura] |

Kamakura's Great Buddha (Daibutsu) also dates from the middle of the thirteenth century. In 1243 a wooden image of Amida, twelve meters tall, was constructed to fulfill a vow by Yoritomo to build a large Buddha. After this was destroyed by typhoon, a comparable (11.3 m.) image was cast in metal in 1252, coincidentally the year of Kakusan's birth. The Jōsenji, which maintained it, was originally a branch temple of Tokiyori's Kenchōji, but priest Yūten (1636–1718) centuries later changed the temple name to Kōtokuin and affiliated it with the Jōdo sect. A tidal wave swept away the statue's enclosure in 1459, and since then it has stood open to the elements. But it was still standing in 1616, when it was seen and entered by Richard Cocks. It can still be seen today.<sup>15</sup>

#### TOKIMUNE AND LADY HORIUCHI, THE NUN KAKUSAN

The monumental (although sometimes questionable) *Lineages of the High and Lesser Aristocracy* (Sonpi bunmyaku), compiled by Tōin Kinsada (1340–1399) lists Lady Horiuchi as the last of Yoshikage's eleven children, identifying her as “the mother of Taira [i.e., Hōjō] Sadatoki, with the posthumous name (*gō*) of Chōon'in.”<sup>16</sup> *Lineages* does not mention her in Tokimune's entry as his wife—but then it rarely, if ever,

identifies a male's consort. Among Horiuchi's brothers was Adachi Yasumori (1231–1285),<sup>17</sup> who is sometimes mistaken for her father. The confusion probably arose since Yasumori succeeded as head of the Adachi clan when Yoshikage died in 1253, the year after Horiuchi's birth, and Yasumori raised her as his own child. Yasumori was among the victims of the purge of suspected conspirators by Horiuchi's son and Tokimune's successor, Sadatoki (1271–1311), during the Eleventh Month Incident (*Shimotsuki sōdō*) of 1285.

Lady Horiuchi was nurtured in the tradition of Kiyomori's wife, Nii-dono,<sup>18</sup> who sank beneath the waves with the child Emperor Antoku at the Battle of Dan-no-ura; of Yoshitsune's mistress, Shizuka Gozen; of Yoshinaka's wife, the warrior Tomoe; of Yoritomo's wife, Masako, the "Nun Shogun"; of Horiuchi's aunt, Matsushita Zenni, whose thrifty patching of *shōji* is extolled in *Essays in Idleness*;<sup>19</sup> and of the aristocratic but forceful wife of Fujiwara Teika's son Tameie, the nun Abutsu (d. 1283).<sup>20</sup> Our modern stereotype of the traditional Japanese woman as docile and exploited is a product of the Edo period.

Another exceptional woman of the time was the famous nun, known by her religious name (*dōgō*) as Nyodai (1242–1298)<sup>21</sup>—but also by her "posthumous names" (*imina*, often conferred before death) as Mugai or Mujaku-ni.<sup>22</sup> Like Kakusan, Nyodai was a disciple of the Chinese master at Kamakura's Engakuji, Wu-hsüeh Tsü-yuan (Mugaku Sogen, 1226–1286; see Dumoulin 1990, 31ff., 454). It is probable that Nyodai was the daughter of Kakusan's brother, Yasumori, and thus, her niece. Some sources state that she was married to the scholarly Kanazawa (Hōjō) Sanetoki (1225–1276),<sup>23</sup> and that she took the tonsure after his death; others suggest that she married Sanetoki's son, Kanazawa (Taira) Akitoki.

In any case, regent Tokimune invited Wu-hsüeh (Mugaku) in 1279 to be abbot of the Kenchōji, and then of the newly built Engakuji in 1282. Mugaku's tenure in Kamakura was thus a mere six years. If Nyodai began her Zen practice after Sanetoki's death, and under the direction of Mugaku, we might speculate that this would have been around 1279. Kakusan's encounter with Mugaku seems to have been a bit later, but it is reasonable to assume that Nyodai and Kakusan were acquainted during the few years before Mugaku's death.

"Mugai . . . became the first woman in Japan fully qualified not as a nun but as a Zen priest (Zen *sō*)" (Ruch 1990, 505). Subsequently, she founded and served as abbess of Keiaiji temple in Kyoto, and built convents that paralleled Rinzaï Zen's Five Mountains organization of temples in Kyoto—an administrative structure that later extended to Kamakura and included the Tōkeiji.

Horiuchi's future husband, Hōjō Tokimune, had been born a year earlier (1251) at the Adachi residence in Kamakura's Hase-Amanawa neighborhood. If the two children did not actually live under the same roof, they were surely acquainted during their earlier years. Horiuchi was raised at the Adachi residence in the shadow of her stern aunt, Matsushita Zenni, who would also become her grandmother-in-law by marriage. (Matsushita's dates are uncertain, but her influence would have been felt, if not her physical presence.) Tokimune's father, Tokiyori (1227–1263),

was the object of Matsushita's lesson on thrift recorded in *Essays in Idleness* (Tsurezuregusa). The young girl's father, Adachi Yoshikage (1210–1253), died when she was a year old and, as we have noted, his paternal role was assumed by her older brother, Yasumori.

Tokimune was ten and Lady Horiuchi was only nine when the two were married in 1261. By the customs of the time they were neither too young nor too closely related. The couple then moved from the Adachi's to Tokimune's own residence. Since we know that Lady Horiuchi would later found a convent famous for providing sanctuary for harassed wives, we may wonder if this may have been influenced by her relationship with Tokimune. But there is no reason to believe that Tokimune was an inconsiderate husband, and we will see that there were other sufficient reasons for Horiuchi's action.

Tokimune succeeded Masamura (1205–1273) as the eighth Hōjō regent in 1268, when he was still in his teens. His administration faced two great challenges: the Mongol invasions of 1274 and 1281. After Khubilai, the Great Khan of the Mongols, became Emperor of China and set up his capital at Peking in 1264, he sent a series of messages demanding that the Japanese submit to his rule. When they refused, the Khan sent a fleet of ships from Korea to the northern coast of Kyūshū in 1274. As many as 13,000 Mongol, Chinese, and Korean troops perished when the invading force was repelled by the Japanese garrisons, aided by inclement weather. Khubilai assembled an armada for the second invasion in 1281 but this met an even more disastrous fate, with casualties to the mainland army approaching 100,000.

The famous Venetian traveler, Marco Polo (ca. 1254–1324), was in China from about 1274 until 1291. Although he never reached Japan, he devotes several pages of his *Il Milione* to the country, and to the second Mongol invasion, from second-hand report. Marco dictated the account of his travels—the first of many issues that stand between the author and ourselves. How much of the text was interpolated by the scribe? The original manuscript does not survive, and copies and adaptations were made freely before a degree of standardization was made possible before printing was “invented” in Europe centuries after it was used in China and Japan. And this enormously popular success was received “not as history, geography, or travel but as a fantastic romance” (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 15th ed., v. 14, p. 759). Predictably, the textual problems of *Il Milione* are enormous, but, fortunately, not our concern here. In the notes we include this excerpt as just such a “fantastic romance.”

We do not wish to refute, but merely to call attention to some of the more outlandish assertions: the Zipangu people were said to “have gold in the greatest abundance, the sources being inexhaustible . . .” (Marsden/Masefield 1987, p. 324). For gilding the great bronze statue of Birushana during the construction of Nara's Tōdaiji in the eighth century, the Japanese conducted an extensive search of the islands for gold, finally discovering a sufficient quantity in Mutsu, the northernmost province of Honshū. The reference to cannibalism is preposterous, as is the entry of Mongol (Tartar) troops into Kyoto (Miyako). The Mongols were quite aware of the

Hōjō military government in Kamakura with whom they had had communication for several decades before the invasions, but Marco, in a rather muddled account, mentions only a “king” in “the principle city of Zipangu.” Still, a fantastic romance can be even more persuasive than sober factual historical accounts in influencing popular opinion, and *Il Milione* retains its charm for us today even if we cannot take its stories seriously.<sup>24</sup>

The Hōjō policies saved Japan from a long and possibly catastrophic war, but their own administration was fatally wounded. The costs of defense had been enormous and the military government did not have the material resources to reward those who had repelled the invaders. The Hōjō gradually lost the confidence of their supporters, and in 1333 Kamakura was razed by the troops of Nitta Yoshisada. Within a few years the Ashikagas were the military rulers of the country.

For the two decades following 1266, when the first of the Khan’s demands was received, both the court in Kyoto and the *bakufu* in Kamakura had been totally preoccupied with the Mongol threat. It was on the occasion of the third demand in 1271 that the fiery religious reformer Nichiren (1222–1282) sent letters to Tokimune and other prominent leaders, denouncing the government for not meeting the challenge by adopting his program for religious reform. Beginning with the famous declaration *The Establishment of the Legitimate Teaching for the Security of the Country* (Risshō ankokuron, 1260) presented to Tokimune’s father, Tokiyori, this was merely the last of a series of attacks directed at the secular establishment and at the other sects of Buddhism. Summoned before the authorities, Nichiren was unrepentant:

In casting me aside, Japan throws down its pillar of support. Any day there will be rebellion and fighting and warriors from other countries will come and kill and take prisoners. The Kenchōji, Jufukuji, Gokurakuji, Daibutsu, Chōrakuji—all the *nenbutsu* and zen temples—should be burned to the ground and their priests beheaded at Yuigahama, or Japan will be destroyed.<sup>25</sup>

Nichiren was at first sentenced to be executed at a spot in Kamakura known as The Dragon’s Mouth (Tatsu no Kuchi), but “by some unexplained stroke of fortune” (Sansom 1958, 428), on the twelfth day of the ninth month his punishment was commuted to exile on the island of Sado. Pious tradition counts the event among Nichiren’s Four Major Persecutions (*shidai-hōnan*), and considers his release to have been a miracle. But in a letter Nichiren himself wrote in 1276,<sup>26</sup> he evidently later understood that he had escaped execution because Tokimune’s wife was pregnant and that killing, especially a monk, would have been inauspicious. At the time, however, he expected to be beheaded.

On the second day of the twelfth month in 1271 Lady Horiuchi, at the age of nineteen, safely delivered a boy, Hōjō Sadatoki (1271–1312), who would succeed his father as regent in 1284 and, shortly thereafter, assassinate many members of his mother’s Adachi line.

## THE FOUNDING OF MATSUGAOKA TŌKEIJI (1285)

As we have seen, both Tokimune and Lady Horiuchi were spiritual disciples of Engakuji's Wu-hsüeh Tsu-yüan (Mugaku Sogen), not merely as donors for temple building but as active participants in meditation exercises. When Tokimune unexpectedly became ill early in 1284, both he and Lady Horiuchi took the tonsure and put on the robes of monk and nun under the guidance of Wu-hsüeh, who composed several Chinese verses on the occasion.<sup>27</sup>

**Shidō Daishi (i.e., Kakusan) Takes the Tonsure**

For countless aeons all has been a dream,  
And none can tell the length of the road ahead.  
Love and gratitude are severed by one sword stroke,  
The sun burns, and fragrant are the myriad trees.

**Donning the Habit**

“Front threes and threes, back threes and threes,”<sup>28</sup>  
It is important only to bear what is anticipated.  
The thread's shadow just as it is, for the first time  
We achieve “adornment with the marks of hundredfold merit.”<sup>29</sup>

Sadatoki was only thirteen when he succeeded his father as Hōjō regent in 1284. During the following year he and his mother collaborated to establish the Tōkeiji,<sup>30</sup> Sadatoki as the convent's financial patron (*kaiki*) and Kakusan as its abbess-founder (*kaisan*) (see Figure 2).

Tokimune's private residence had been in Kamakura's northern Yamanouchi (“Within the Mountains”) district, so that the regent was often referred to as Yamanouchi-dono. This is also the neighborhood of the Kenchōji, the Engakuji, the Saimyōji (where Tokimune died), and, from 1285, Matsugaoka Tōkeiji, a few hundred yards from the main gate of the Engakuji, in what is today Kita (North)-Kamakura. From her convent Kakusan could fondly view her old home where she had lived with Tokimune. There is every reason to believe that Kakusan and Tokimune enjoyed a happily married life. They evidently were acquainted from childhood, and the couple shared common interests—Rinzai Zen, for example.

There is no indisputable evidence that Kakusan was ever concerned with the question of divorce, either for herself or for others. For the origins of Tōkeiji's subsequent reputation as a “divorce temple” (*enkiridera*) we must rely on much later Tokugawa traditions, which may tell us more about current practice than about the sober historical facts.<sup>31</sup> They must be examined skeptically, but not dismissed out of hand. According to one late record of uncertain date and authorship, Kakusan asked her son, Sadatoki, to establish regulations at the Tōkeiji for women who asked for divorce from oppressive husbands. Sadatoki is said to have forwarded the request to the emperor, who approved it (Hozumi 1924, 36–37).

But the Tōkeiji's role in divorce proceedings, especially during the Tokugawa period, is more likely the outgrowth of its earlier, more general, function of asylum. For Kakusan, the seeds of the notion of a convent as sanctuary may have been planted by the well-known anecdote of Myōe's hiding stragglers at the Kōzanji; and these seeds may have been germinated by events late in the very year of Tōkeiji's founding.



FIGURE 2. Kakusan Shidō (1252–1305), Matsugaoka Tōkeiji's founder and first abbess (1285). Sculpture. (Tōkeiji Collection)

When Kakusan's son, the young Sadatoki, succeeded Tokimune as regent in 1284, his major advisers included Kakusan's brother, Yasumori, and a certain Taira Yoritsuna (d. 1293). The two were ambitious rivals, and Yoritsuna managed to convince Sadatoki that Yasumori was plotting to become shogun. In what is known as the Eleventh Month Incident (*Shimotsuki sōdō*) during the eleventh month of 1285, Sadatoki ordered the extermination of Yasumori, his son Munekage, and many other members of the Adachi clan. It is reasonable to assume that Kakusan would have wanted to provide refuge at least to the people of her family who were innocent of any wrongdoing. And perhaps she did: the historical record gives us no details. But the incident is certain to have influenced her views on sanctuary far more than any supposed dissatisfaction with her husband, Tokimune.

#### KAKUSAN AND THE GARLAND SUTRA

In addition to being the central scripture of Myōe's Kegon sect, the *Garland* ("Flower-Wreath") *Sutra*<sup>32</sup> is considered to be a major exposition of the Buddha's teachings by most Japanese sects, notably Shingon, Ippen's Ji sect of Kamakura Amidism, and the Zen (Ch'an) schools in both China and Japan. While Zen's characteristic stance is that *ultimately* it is a transmission of the Dharma outside the scriptures (*kyōge betsuden*) and that it does not depend on letters and words (*furyū monji*),<sup>33</sup> its *provisional* teaching rests largely on the *prajñāpāramitā* group of sutras, and on the *Garland Sutra*. Instances of this influence can be seen in Hui-neng (Enō, 638–713), the noted patriarch of Chinese Zen, who is said to have become enlightened on hearing as a child the recitation of the *Diamond Sutra*<sup>34</sup> and in Kuei-feng Tsung-mi (Keihō Shūmitsu, 779–841), simultaneously revered as a patriarch of the Chinese Hua-yen (Kegon) sect and of the Ho-tse (Kataku) branch of Ch'an.<sup>35</sup> Kakusan's world of Zen was strongly influenced by the thought of the *Garland Sutra*, to which she herself had a special affinity. The indications are sometimes only fragmentary and suggestive, but taken together they form a coherent pattern. For example, Case 35 of the *Blue Cliff Records*, to which Wu-hsüeh alluded at the time she took the tonsure, has as its setting China's Mt. Wu-t'ai (Godaisan), among whose temples Ch'ing-liang-ssu (Seiryōji) and Ta-hua-yen-ssu (Daikegonji) have deep associations with Kegon thought.

During the year following Tokimune's death, Kakusan undertook the staggering task of copying the entire text of the eighty-fascicle *Garland Sutra* in his memory.<sup>36</sup> This was formally presented at the third memorial anniversary and later enclosed in the Garland Stupa (Kegontō), which Sadatoki erected at the Engakuji for the occasion. The stupa was destroyed by fire in 1374, and the present whereabouts of Kakusan's copy of the sutra is unknown, if it exists at all.

In the *Recorded Sayings of Zen Master Fo-kuang*,<sup>37</sup> Wu-hsüeh includes high words of praise for Tokimune and Kakusan, which should not be dismissed merely as flattery toward his most influential and generous benefactors. It is a major insight

among the skimpy biographical fragments surviving from these early times, and it tends to confirm the view that Tōkeiji's founding abbess was a woman of forceful determination in the mold of her aunt, Matsushita Zenni, and Yoritomo's wife Masako, rather than, say, Giō or Kenreimon'in. Kakusan's copying of the *Garland Sutra* and the Tōkeiji constructions both occurred within a year or two of her losing her husband and many close members of the Adachi family. Wu-hsüeh says:

For the third anniversary commemoration of Hōkōji-tono [Tokimune], Kakusan Daishi offered up a copy of the larger *Garland Sutra* which she herself transcribed. When shall we ever again see the likes of the venerable Kakusan's copying the eighty-one (*sic*) chapters of the wonderful *Garland* scripture (*Kegon myōten*) within a year to present to Hōkōji-tono? Her action far exceeds that single step of skillful means (*ippo hōben*) required to "turn the body"<sup>38</sup> [from illusion to enlightenment] thus, it is spring in which the orchards overflow. Moreover, it is said that the life of man is a hundred years but those are rare who reach even seventy. Hōkōji-tono was not even forty when he died, but his achievements exceeded those of a man of seventy. Note that while governing the country and bringing peace to the world, he displayed neither joy nor anger, nor did he show pride or solicit compliments. This shows him to have been a great man of our time.

In Kōan 4 (1281) a million enemy forces were in Hakata [during the second Mongol Invasion], but Tokimune was not in the least perturbed. Every month he would invite this old monk and other priests to converse with him, and he himself delighted in the Law and enjoyed the practice of meditation. In the end the Buddha responded with heavenly reverberations,<sup>39</sup> and the country was at peace. How wondrous to have such power! Here was an individual to restore the Buddha's Law.

The Buddha says that when a person with aspirations to be a Bodhisattva pursues the undefiled discipline (*bongyō*), then he *is* a Bodhisattva. Those who are his wife, children and relatives also observe the undefiled behavior of the Bodhisattva and he causes them to realize its fulfillment. The venerable Kakusan, incalculable ages before her encounter with Hōkōji-tono, made a deep vow on meeting Vairocana<sup>40</sup> to set an example of how to live as a mortal, to observe the relationship between ruler and subject, to act as wife, to exercise nobility and authority, and to face birth-and-death, falsehood, illusion and sadness. Today she has revealed enormous courage by copying this great sutra. She performed what others could not, and thereby moved the hearts of the people, causing them to raise the desire for enlightenment (*hotsubodaishin*) and to attain unsurpassed wisdom.<sup>41</sup> How amazing! We cannot praise her enough . . . The dust of attachment and illusion and he who washes it away are both illusory when the form floats freely in the moonlight on the water, the Diamond meditation (*kongōzammai*) is completely realized. (T 80, 164–65)

The *Word Weeds in Southern Sagami Province*,<sup>42</sup> is a collection of Kamakura Zen koans compiled by the Rinzai monk Muin Hōjō and published in 1545. We are deeply indebted to Trevor Leggett for his pioneering research on this work, especially since even relatively recent copies of modern printings of fragments are often inaccessible. *Word Weeds* provides us an unusual glimpse into the actual operations of a part of Kamakura society and helps us to readjust our views of a different society before imposing Western stereotypes. Comparisons are not only inevitable, but useful. And



we suggest that comparisons with even Hildegard von Bingen (1098–1199), Héloïse (d. 1164), or Eleanor of Aquitaine (ca. 1122–1204) may not overshadow the accomplishments of the likes of Lady Murasaki (978–ca. 1031), the nun Kakusan, or Hōjō (Taira) Masako (1157–1225), the wife of Yoritomo.

*Word Weeds* is a valuable source of anecdotes concerning Kakusan and her immediate successors at Tōkeiji. Kakusan appears in the eighty-seventh case.

At an assembly on Deer Mountain<sup>43</sup> in Kagen 2 (1304) to celebrate the Buddha's attainment of enlightenment,<sup>44</sup> [Tokugo] Tōkei (1240–1306, fourth abbot of the Engakuji) conferred the seal of succession (*inka*) on nun [Kakusan] Shidō. Among those seated in attendance was a Master of Novices (*unshuso*) who opposed Shidō's confirmation, and tried to test her with this query. "Those who receive the seal of transmission in our sect expound on the *Discourses of Lin-chi* (Rinzairoku).<sup>45</sup> Do you know this work?"

Nun [Kakusan] thereupon placed a dagger before her and replied: "A Zen teacher is one familiar with the [literary flowers in the] garden of the patriarchs, and his business is to mount the lectern and discourse on books. But as a woman from a military family, I indicate my spiritual direction by placing a dagger before me. What need have I for books?"

"What was the nature of your understanding before your father and mother were not yet born?" pursued the questioner.

Kakusan indicated this original state before the birth of her parents by sitting for a while in silence. Then, with her eyes closed, she said: "Do you understand?"

The Master of Novices replied: "After finishing a jug of wine in a valley of flowering peach trees, I return intoxicated, having viewed beautiful blossoms for ten miles in every direction (i.e., I could experience my original state even before the birth of my parents)."

"Was I then," pursued Kakusan, "not directed to the Way even before the births of my father and mother?"

[“Nun Shidō's presentation of her case—note it well!” commented Daisen Osho (seventeenth abbot of the Engakuji).]

Priest Daisen once put the following questions to Nun Seitaku:

1. "What did Kakusan say about her original state before the birth of her parents?"
2. "How do you interpret her reply?"

Seitaku also was asked the following two questions:

1. "Explain the meaning of the Master of Novices remark (about the jug of wine)."
2. "By this remark did the Master of Novices approve of or belittle Kakusan's grasp of the issue?"<sup>46</sup>

The *Diamond Sutra*, a favorite scripture among Zen practitioners, counsels us to "awaken the mind without fixing it anywhere": the Bodhisattva actively participates in the phenomenal world without grasping at its fleeting forms. In Zen thought and practice the mirror is commonly used as a metaphor for this state of pure awareness reflecting the imagery of worldly experience without attachment. But however useful they may be, such thought-constructs—mirrors, or any other

metaphors—must also ultimately be discarded, lest they themselves become objects of our fixation: the pointing finger must not be mistaken for the moon.

The classic statement of this position is the exchange between Shen-hsiu (Jinshū, d. 706) and Hui-neng (Enō, 638–713), as recorded in the *Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch*.<sup>47</sup> When their teacher, Hung-jen (Kōnin, or Gunin 688–761), asked his disciples to express their religious understanding, Shen-hsiu replied with the verse:

This body is the Bodhi-tree.  
The mind is like a mirror bright  
Take heed to keep it always clean  
And let not dust collect upon it.<sup>48</sup>

To which Hui-neng replied:

There is no Bodhi-tree,  
Nor stand of mirror bright.  
From the first not a thing is,<sup>49</sup>  
So where can the dust alight?

Kakusan doubtless had this *gatha* in mind during her own practice of *zazen*. The thirtieth case of the *Word Weeds* is called “Tōkeiji Mirror Zen.” The abbess would meditate before a mirror that she might “see into her own nature” (*kenshō*), that is, attain enlightenment (*satori*). Subsequently it became customary for nuns at the Tōkeiji, following their founder’s example, to practice *zazen* before a mirror, thinking to accomplish their objectives by deep concentration on this problem: “Where is a single feeling, a single thought, in the mirror image at which I gaze?” Several nuns have left behind poems, in *waka* form, expressing their “aspiration for enlightenment” (*hosshinka*). *Word Weeds* credits the following to Kakusan.<sup>50</sup>

<i>Monogoto ni</i>	Since not a thing
<i>Kokoro tomeneba</i>	Takes lodging in the mind,
<i>Kumori nashi</i>	It is untainted;
<i>Migaku to iu mo</i>	To speak of polishing
<i>Mayoi narikeri</i>	Is itself illusion.

The following verse, and the one which opens the next chapter, are said to have been composed by the fifth abbess, Princess Yōdō.

<i>Kumoranu mo</i>	Whether tainted
<i>Kokoro kumoru mo</i>	Or free of all tarnish,
<i>Kokoro nari</i>	There is mind:
<i>Tatsu mo taoru mo</i>	Whether one stands or falls,
<i>Onaji mi no ue</i>	It is with the same body.

Few details of Kakusan's subsequent activities at the Tōkeiji are recorded. She died on the ninth day of the tenth month in 1306, and it is believed that both she and Tokimune are buried at the Butsunichian, the Hōjō memorial temple within the confines of the Engakuji.<sup>51</sup> She was given the posthumous name Chōon'in, the "Sound of Waves."

*miru hito no  
kokoro ni kazare  
hanamidō  
hotoke wa yoso ni  
owashimasaneba*

Adorn your hearts,  
you who see the blossoms  
at Flower-viewing Hall!  
For the Buddha does not exist  
apart from this.

—Yōdō-ni

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## 4



### *Princess Yōdō's Purple-clad Nuns*

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#### THE DECLINE OF THE KAMAKURA HŌJŌS

Tokimune's defense against the Mongols had been a military success, but its economic consequences included the erosion of Hōjō political authority and its collapse within decades. The military government took the reasonable precaution of preparing to defend the country against a possible third invasion from the mainland and it was not until Khubilai's death in 1294 that preparations were relaxed. But by this time the resources of the government had been under severe strain for two decades, many who had participated in the defense felt that they had been inadequately rewarded for their efforts, and factions within the administration contributed to its instability. On the whole the Hōjōs had served the country well, and "Tokimune during his term of office as Regent had faced with courage and good sense the all but insoluble problems presented by the Mongol threat."<sup>1</sup> But after the danger had passed, there were no spoils to divide, the coffers were empty, and measures of last resort such as edicts (*tokusei*, "acts of grace") decreeing that certain debts be canceled were of little help.

Tokimune's son, Sadatoki, joined the religious order in 1301 but remained the real power in the regency until his death in 1311. He was succeeded by a cousin, Morotoki (1274–1311), who is of interest to us less for his political accomplishments than for having established the Jōchiji, Tōkeiji's neighboring temple, in 1283. His successors were even less effective as government administrators. But a son, Takatoki (1303–1333; regent, 1316–1326),<sup>2</sup> continued to support the Zen movement. Among the Chinese monks whom he invited to Kamakura was Ch'ing-cho Cheng-ch'eng (Seisetsu Shōchō, 1274–1339),<sup>3</sup> who composed the inscriptions for the great temple bells of the Jōchiji and the Tōkeiji, both cast in Gentoku 4 (1332).

After Kakusan's death in 1306 she was succeeded at the Tōkeiji by Abbess Runkai, who appears in the eighty-second case of *Word Weeds*.<sup>4</sup>

The flower-platform (*katei*) [supporting an image of the infant Śākyamuni] during the Festival of the Buddha's Birthday<sup>5</sup> held at Matsugaoka had always been a floral canopy a meter square.<sup>6</sup> It was more splendid than any of the platforms at the Five Monasteries, and many visitors came to view it.

On the occasion of the Festival of the Buddha's Birthday in Kōan 10 (1287), the Reverend [Kakusan] Shidō faced the nuns assembled before the flower-platform and posed the question: "From what place comes the Buddha who is born today?"

Runkai, the prioress (*jimi*), immediately stood upright with one hand pointing to the heavens and the other to the earth.<sup>7</sup> Kakusan then asked another question: "Before the new-born Buddha came into this world, where was he?" Once again Runkai pointed to the heavens and to the earth.

The third abbess, Seitaku, is known to us through a similar anecdote, case 69 of the *Word Weeds*, known as "Paper Sword Zen."<sup>8</sup>

Sakurada Sadakuni<sup>9</sup> died during the Genkō Disturbance [1333].<sup>10</sup> His wife, Sawa, wishing to pray for the dead general's welfare in the next life, took the tonsure at the Tōkeiji with the religious name, Seitaku. For many years she had gone to hear Priest Daisen [of the Engakuji]<sup>11</sup> lecture on the principles of Zen. When Seitaku had finished her evening meditation on the day of the Festival to Celebrate Śākyamuni's Enlightenment (*rōhachi*) at the Engakuji in Engen 3 [1338], she was accosted by a swordsman as she was returning to Matsugaoka late at night.<sup>12</sup> Attracted by her beautiful figure, the man tried to overpower and coerce her with his sword. But the nun rolled up a fragment of paper into the likeness of a sword and thrust it before the eyes and head of her assailant. Without letting down her guard for an instant, at that moment the nun's person was totally identified with the paper sword. Her extraordinary bearing overwhelmed her attacker, and he was shot through with the fire of her eyes. Such spiritual vigor was not to be violated by another. Awestruck, the man tried to retreat but the nun gave a shout and knocked him down with a single blow of her paper sword.

According to the *Kamakura Story* of 1659, "a series of widows of the Hōjō family" were abbesses of the Tōkeiji between Kakusan and "fourteen generations of women among [Ashikaga Takauji's] descendants." Its author, Nakagawa Kiun (1636–1705) takes no note of the celebrated fifth abbess, Princess Yōdō, a daughter of Emperor Godaigo and thus neither a Hōjō nor an Ashikaga, except possibly on her mother's side and Nakagawa is the source of the dubious suggestion that Yoritomo's aunt, Lady Mino, founded the original convent at Matsugaoka. The writer may not be entirely reliable on the historical details, but it is certainly reasonable to assume that Runkai, Seitaku, and the fourth abbess Kaan Ryōdō, were all prominent Hōjō women. We can say little more about them except what can be gleaned from such fragments as *Word Weeds*. Some accounts<sup>13</sup> place the sixth abbess, Junshū, in the fourth place, but this appears to be a mistake. And inevitably there are problems in making all the dates fit into the chronology.

The original Tōkeiji bell cast in Genroku 4 (1332) provides us literally with a solid point of reference. Its inscription clearly states that the resident abbess (*jūji*),

Kaan Ryōdō, negotiated for its manufacture, that Engakuji's Ch'ing-cho composed the inscription, and that Sadatoki's widow, the nun Kakukai Enjō, was its financial backer. The artisan's name is not known with certainty, but it is assumed to be Yamashiro Gon no Kami Mononobe Dōkō.<sup>14</sup>

This original bell now hangs at the Nichiren sect's Honryūji at Nirayama in Shizuoka prefecture, where it is said to have been transported at the time of the battle for Odawara Castle in 1590.<sup>15</sup> Tokugawa accounts tell us that the present Tōkeiji bell was excavated by peasants on Tōkeiji's property. The inscription indicates that it was cast in 1350 for Yoritomo's Fudarakuji, as noted in chapter 3.

The 1332 bell has a total height of 126.3 cm. (49.77 inches; see Figure 3), somewhat less than the 142.6 cm of the 1350 Fudarakuji replacement.<sup>16</sup> It has four panels of "nipples" (*chi*), each with rows and columns of five, and Ch'ing-cho's inscription consists of 198 raised characters on two panels. The "dragon's head" (*ryūzu*) is attached to the body in the "new" way whereby its axis is parallel to a diameter line passing through the "hammer seat" (*tsukiza*). And it vibrates with a basic tone of A (*i-on*).

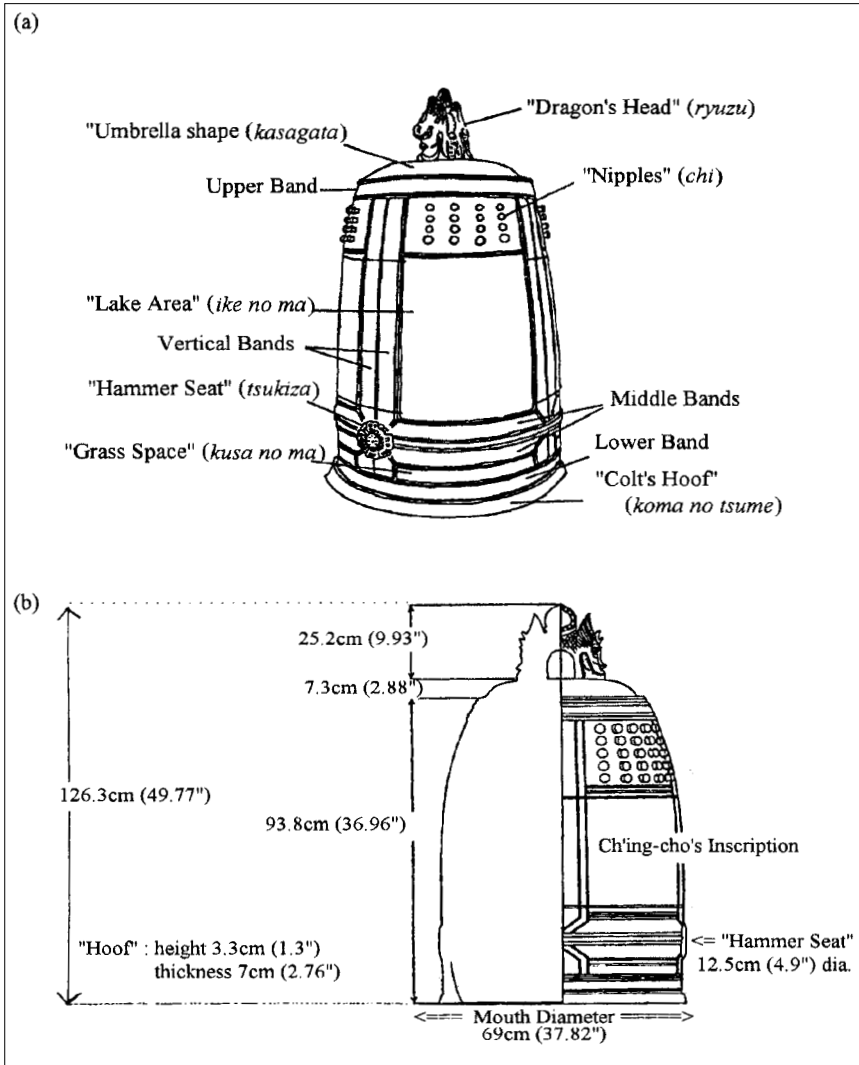
The 198 characters convey the following message:

**Inscription of the Bell at Tōkei Zen Monastery  
on Mount Matsugaoka in the Yamanouchi Manor  
in Sagami Province**

A bell placed within a temple<sup>17</sup> sends forth its message to gods and men, and its benefit is great in providing relief from the sufferings of transmigration. The Elder (*chōrō*) [Kaan] Ryōdō, abbess of Matsugaoka, had this great bell cast at a cost to the temple of a hundred strings of cash,<sup>18</sup> and requested the Elder (*sō*) Ch'ing-cho (Seisetsu, 1274–1339) of the Engaku[ji] to compose the inscription, which says:

[First panel]

At Pine Grove Mountain  
Is a convent called "Eastern Rejoicing,"  
Where, in the fine tradition of T'ieh Mo  
And the fragrant lineage of Liao Jan,<sup>19</sup>  
Black-robed nuns and priests assemble  
To realize the teachings of Zen.  
For a time we would use this great bell  
To quicken and send forth the holy summons.  
Contributions have been collected,  
Famous artisans appointed,  
Furnace and bellows put into operation,  
The cast has been completed,  
Post and crossbeams put in place,



(a) Nomenclature for the Japanese Temple ("Indian" Bell [*bonshō*])

(b) Specifications of Tōkeiji's Gentoku 4 (1332) bell

FIGURE 3. Tōkeiji's Gentoku 4 (1332) (Indian Bell [*bonshō*]). (Robert E. Morrell and Sachiko Kaneko Morrell, partly after Tsuboi Ryōnei 1970)

And the bell is hung, roaring like a sea serpent.  
 Early in the morning and late at night,  
 When the great bell resonates,  
 All gather to perform the holy rites.

[*Second panel*]

With Kenchō to the right and Engaku to the left,  
 High into the heavens and to distant mansions  
 A new sound reverberates,  
 Being answered near and far,<sup>20</sup>  
 To reinforce the heavenly clamor.  
 In the ten directions passions are quieted,  
 And the Five Defilements<sup>21</sup> are cleansed.  
 The dust of this world is heard to be Emptiness,  
 And we listen to our own Self-nature.  
 Peace and happiness to the bell's sponsors,  
 And may those within the temple be sound and well.  
 For a thousand autumns, ten thousand years,  
 May the world have peace and tranquillity.  
 Gentoku 2 + 2 [1332], The year of  
 Senior Water (*mizunoe*) and the Monkey (*saru*)  
 Convent Administrator (*Tsūsu*), nun (*bikuni*) Empō Shōgen  
 Congregation Head (*Shuso*), nun Muzen Shinshō  
 Resident Abbess (*Jūji*), nun Kaan Ryōdō  
 Great Donor Nun of the Bodhisattva Precepts, Enjō

#### PRINCESS YŌDŌ AND “PINE-GROVE PALACE” (MATSUGAOKA GOSHŌ)

The fourteenth century in Europe was a period of chaos. These were the days of the Hundred Years War, from 1337, between England and France, of the “Babylonian Captivity” of the Pope at Avignon (1305–1350) and, especially, of the Black Death, the great bubonic plague (1348–1350, and later outbreaks), from which a third of the entire population of Europe perished.<sup>22</sup>

By comparison, life at the time in Japan might appear to have been almost idyllic but it was nevertheless a period of major political disruption. As the Kamakura Hōjōs lost their credibility, the court once again tried to reassert its authority, now with Emperor Godaigo (1288–1339), as it had with Gotoba a century earlier. Kamakura was laid waste in 1333 and the struggle for dominance shifted to the Kansai region. By the end of the fourth decade of the century Godaigo had died in Yoshino, the Ashikagas had established their military government in the Muromachi district of Kyoto to replace the Minamoto-Hōjō in Kamakura, and two competing



factions claimed to carry on the legitimate imperial line: a Southern Court in Yoshino with Godaigo and his successors, and a Northern Court in Kyoto headed by Emperor Kōmyō (1321–1380).<sup>23</sup>

The complexities of this critical fourth period can be simplified most easily for our purposes with a straightforward chronology of events, especially as they relate to happenings at the Tōkeiji.

- 1324 Godaigo's first plot against the Kamakura shogunate foiled (Shōchū Affair).
- 1331 Second plot discovered. Shōgunate forces capture Kasagi, temporary site of the court also Akasaka Castle, headquarters of Kusunoki Masashige (1294–1336). Genkō Disturbance (1331–1333).
- 1332 Godaigo exiled to Oki Island. Masashige and Godaigo's son, Prince Morinaga (1308–1335) resist shōgunate forces at Chihaya and Yoshino. *Tōkeiji bell cast (Gentoku 4)*.
- 1333 Godaigo escapes from Oki, returns to Kyoto to establish direct imperial rule. The Hōjō general Ashikaga Takauji (1305–1338) changes allegiance to the court. (*"The Hōjō were followed by fourteen generations of women among Takauji's descendants [as abbesses of the Tōkeiji]."* (*Kamakura monogatari*). Loyalist forces under Nitta Yoshisada (1301–1338) lay waste to Kamakura, precipitating the collapse of the Kamakura shōgunate. *Hōjō Takatoki (1303–1333), Ch'ing-cho's supporter, commits suicide. Third abbess Seitaku's husband, Sadakuni, slain during Genkō Disturbance*.
- 1334 Kemmu Restoration proclaimed. Prince Morinaga arrested and confined (*at the site of the present Kamakuragū, Tōkeiji property until the Meiji period*).
- 1335 Prince Morinaga executed by Takauji's younger brother, Tadayoshi (1306–1352). *Some time thereafter, his half-sister, Princess Yōdō (1318–1396), retires to the Tōkeiji in mourning, becoming its fifth abbess*.
- 1336 Takauji captures Kyoto, later defeats Masashige, who commits suicide at Minatogawa. Godaigo flees to Yoshino; Kōmyō installed as first emperor of the Northern (Kyoto) line. Nambokuchō period: 1336–1392. Takauji first Ashikaga shogun (officially supported by Kōmyō in 1338).
- 1338 (?) *The "Paper Sword Zen" incident of Seitaku, Tōkeiji's third abbess*.
- 1339 Godaigo succeeded by Emperor Gomurakami (1328–1368), dies at Yoshino. *Jinnō shōtōki* (A Chronicle of Gods and Sovereigns) composed by Kitabatake Chikafusa (1293–1354). Rinzai's Musō Kokushi (Soseki, 1275–1351) begins construction of Kyoto's Tenryūji under Ashikaga auspices. (In 1319, Sadatoki's wife, Kakukai Enjō, summons Musō to Kamakura from Tosa, where he had been in exile.)<sup>24</sup>

Princess Yōdō (1318–1396), generally recognized as Tōkeiji's fifth abbess, is something of an enigma. She is among the less prominent of some sixteen sons and

nineteen daughters sired by Emperor Godaigo. The *Great History of Japan* (Dainihon shi)<sup>25</sup> notes that her mother's name and family are unknown and Yōdō never officially received the title of Naishinnō ("Princess"). Moreover, even allowing for the fact that Kamakura was much reduced in size and importance in the decades following its destruction in 1333, we might expect to see the name of an imperial daughter, who administered the Tōkeiji for over half a century, to appear occasionally in contemporary records. The *Historical Notes* (Kakochō), a work whose authors are unknown, but which was probably written in the early eighteenth century, is the earliest document to mention her by name. The earliest reference to the Tōkeiji as "Palace" (*gosho*), a word that would not be used unless members of the imperial family were involved, is to be found in a fragment by Hōjō Ujijasu (1515–1570).

Nevertheless, it is reasonable to suppose that Yōdō was indeed abbess of the Tōkeiji. At some point in time nuns at the convent began to wear the purple habit (the color purple being associated with royalty), and most later sources assume that it all began with Princess Yōdō. We know that the Tōkeiji owned the property in Kamakura's Nikaidō neighborhood and maintained Morinaga's grave and the Richikōji until the construction of the Kamakuragū Shrine in 1869 (Meiji 2) as loyalist sentiment was rekindled.

Yōdō's tenure at the Tōkeiji roughly corresponds to the Period of the Southern and Northern Courts (Nanbokuchō, 1336–1392). In addition to permitting the use of the purple habit, she is credited by later commentators with another major innovation: the reduction of the residence requirement at the Tōkeiji for women seeking divorce from their husbands (about which, more later) from the original three years to twenty-four months. This was accomplished by counting any part of the first year as qualifying for the entire year (*ashikake*: as long as "the foot hung down" in it).<sup>26</sup>

But beyond this and the two "mirror" waka attributed to her in the *Word Weeds* (see chapter 3), little is known of this semilegend.

#### THE TŌKEIJI SUCCESSION UNDER THE ASHIKAGA DEPUTIES AND THE LATER (ODAWARA) HŌJŌ

After Takauji, the first Ashikaga shogun, established his headquarters in Kyoto, he delegated his authority in the eastern provinces to an official with the title Deputy for the Eastern Region (Kantō Kanrei), based in Kamakura. His son, Motouji (1340–1367), was appointed first Deputy, with Uesugi Noriaki (1306–1368) as Assistant Deputy (Shitsuji) during Motouji's minority. Predictably, three-way tensions eventually developed among the Kamakura Ashikaga, the Kyoto Ashikaga, and the Uesugi clan. Matters came to a head with the fourth Deputy, Mochiuji (1398–1439), after whom the office, much diminished in prestige, passed to the Uesugi.<sup>27</sup>

Mochiuji's son, Shigeuji (1434–1497) took refuge (1455) in the castle town of Koga in Shimōsa Province (Chiba Prefecture), north of today's Tokyo about halfway to Nikkō. He and his successors were consequently known as Potentates of

Koga (Koga Kubō). Shigeuji's grandson, Yoshiaki (1482–1539), retired to the castle of Oyumi in Shimozuke province (Tochigi Prefecture) in 1517, whence the nickname, Oyumi Gosho. He died in battle at the hands of (Odawara) Hōjō Ujitsuna (1487–1541).

The Kantō region was dominated by the Ashikagas in the early years of the period that takes their name, and by the Odawara Hōjō toward its close. These later (Go-)Hōjō came to prominence with Nagauji (1432–1519), frequently known by his religious name, Sōun. He assumed the Hōjō name after marrying his son, Ujitsuna, to a descendant of the old Kamakura line. Odawara Castle, seized by Nagauji in 1494, became the headquarters of the clan for the next century, until it was captured by Hideyoshi (1536–1598) in 1590. (At this time, as noted earlier, the 1332 Tōkeiji bell was removed to the Honryūji.) Ashikaga Yoshiuji (1541–1582), last of the Potentates of Koga, married his daughter, Koga Hime, to Yorizumi's son, Kunitomo (1572–1593), whom he adopted for the purpose. In 1590, the year of the Battle for Odawara Castle, the family moved to Kitsuregawa in Shimozuke province to establish a new branch of the Ashikaga line, with which the Tōkeiji would be closely affiliated in later centuries. (The original name Kitsunegawa, “Fox River,” was later changed to the more auspicious-sounding, Kitsuregawa, “River of Glad Companions.”)

Of the “fourteen generations of women among [Ashikaga] Takauji's descendants” who were abbesses of the Tōkeiji, we know little more than their names. After Princess Yōdō, we have the following list: 6. Junshū, 7. Nimpō, 8. Kansū Taku, 9. Shōkei San, 10. Ōan Ke, 11. Kansō Tō, 12. Hakushitsu Ju, 13. Ryōan Ju, 14. Monshō Ken, 15. Myōgon On, 16. Ikei Kō, 17. Kyokusan Yō. With Ikei Kō and Kyokusan Yō we are finally able to construct a tentative table of relationships (see Charts C, D, and E).

During the sixteenth century when the Odawara Hōjō controlled Kamakura, the Kenchōji, Engakuji, and Tōkeiji were sometimes referred to as the “Three Kamakura Temples” (*Kamakura sangaji*). A somewhat earlier grouping was the “Five Nunneries (*ama gosan*), parallel to the “Five Mountain” (*gosan*) monasteries in both Kamakura and Kyoto. The Five Kamakura Nunneries—Kyoto had a corresponding set<sup>28</sup>—were the Taiheiji (the head temple),<sup>29</sup> Tōkeiji, Kokuonji,<sup>30</sup> Gohōji, and Zemyōji. But only the Tōkeiji survives today.

No doubt many historical documents relating to this and earlier periods were lost in a fire that ravaged the temple in 1515 (Eishō 12) and were not available even to the compilers of the Tokugawa guide books, not to mention the scholars of today. The *Draft Gazetteer for Sagami Province, Newly Edited*,<sup>31</sup> ca. 1830–1840, provides us with a glimpse of the times.

In the days of [Ashikaga] Shigeuji (1434–1497), the Kamakura Shōgunal Deputy (Kanrei) at the time, the heads of the Kamakura temples were invited to participate in the annual ceremony held on the eleventh day of the first month. This [Tōkeiji] temple was among them.

*The Annual Events of the Kamakura Potentates*<sup>32</sup> states that “on the eleventh day of the first month, the Elder (Chōrō) of the Taiheiji [Shōzen Giten-ni], princely daughter of the Lord Potentate [Shigeuji], also Tenjuin Sama, younger sister of the Deputy of Tōkeiji, the Elder of Matsugaoka,<sup>33</sup> Zuishōin Sama, and Shaku (Seki?)zen'in all attended for tea, followed by a banquet.”

By decrees of the Hōjō family during the Eishō (1504–1520) and Tembun (1532–1554) periods, the three temples of Tōkeiji, Kenchōji, and Engakuji were exempted from taxation (*kōyaku*).

This can be seen from accounts in the Engakuji archives.

In the eighth month of Taiei 7 (1527), Hōjō Ujitsuna (1487–1541) issued a notice that the convent's Maeoka property be exempted from taxation.

Documents in the temple archives state that the Maeoka district of the Matsugaoka properties be exempted from taxes. This was made effective for the villagers in the Maeoka district starting with the twelfth day of the eighth month in Taiei 7 (1527) under the seal of Ujitsuna.

In the third month of Tembun 18 (1549), Ujiyasu prohibited birdcatchers from entering the properties of Maeoka and Noba owned by the convent.

Documents state that the Matsugaoka properties in the districts of Noba and Maeoka may not be entered for birdcatching. Intrusion will be reported immediately to the farmers and the information will be sent to Odawara where the case will be examined closely and judgment passed. Issued under the seal of Ishimaki among the villagers of Noba and Maeoka on the twenty-eighth day of the third month in the year of Junior Earth (*tsuchimoto*) with Cock (*tori*) [i.e., 1549].<sup>34</sup>

The *Hōjō Registration Records*<sup>35</sup> of Eiroku 2 (1549) lists the assets of the temple property at 30 *kammon* from the eastern districts of Kasama no Uchi, Maeoka, and Noba. It states: Temple properties, Matsugaoka Tono: thirty *kammon*. Eastern district: Kasama no Uchi, Maeoka, Noba. As above.

In the eighth month of Tenshō 2 (1574), Andō Buzen no Kami, Yoshimasa submitted a detailed list of the temple's taxable properties. In the fourth month of [Tenshō] 18 (1590) the Taikō Toyotomi [Hideyoshi, 1536–1598] issued his [property registration] edict.<sup>36</sup> On the eleventh month of [Tenshō] 19 (1591) the temple property was evaluated at 120 *kan* 380 *mon*.

## THE SHORT STORY (OTOGIZŌSHI) KARAITO

The *Karaito Story* (Karaito sōshi, or Karaito monogatari) is a popular, didactic short story written at some indefinite time during the Muromachi period (1339–1568), or possibly early Edo, author unknown. It belongs to a class of commoner narratives known as *otogizōshi*—a term of debatable etymology sometimes translated as “companion stories”—and may be seen as a continuation of the “tale literature” (*setsuwa bungaku*) tradition of Heian and Kamakura periods.<sup>37</sup>

The moral lesson to be drawn from Karaito is, apparently, the importance of filial devotion and the rewards of artistic endeavor. Manju, Karaito's filial daughter, finds her mother serving in the house of Yoritomo (1147–1199), leader of the Minamoto clan in its ultimately victorious struggle (1180–1185) against the Taira

clan (Heike), as memorialized in the great military epic, the *Tales of the Heike* (Heike monogatari, ca. 1185–1371). Karaito's intent is to discover Yoritomo's plan to assassinate Yoshinaka, who fell out of his favor for not following the rules of the game. (Yoshitsune will later suffer a similar fate.) Karaito sends a messenger to her father, Tezuka no Tarō (Kanazashi) Mitsumori, one of Yoshinaka's men in Shinano Province, to alert him of Yoritomo's plans. Pleased to receive this information, Yoshinaka sends Karaito a dagger, which she secretly wears while in Yoritomo's company. When the dagger is discovered on her person, she is questioned and sent to Matsugaoka (i.e., the Tōkeiji)<sup>38</sup> under house arrest. Subsequently the convent's abbess, appealing to the right to grant sanctuary, refuses to return Karaito but, fearing for her safety, sends her home to Shinano Province. On her way there she is apprehended by Kajiwara Kagetoki (?–1200), one of the outstanding villains in the Heike, who brings her back to Kamakura, where she is imprisoned for treason. Meanwhile, her twelve-year-old daughter, Manju, living with her grandmother, hears of her mother's misfortune and sets out to find her, together with her maidservant, Sarashina. Her grandmother, a nun, overtakes and tries to persuade Manju to abandon her plan. Unsuccessful, the nun proposes visiting the nearby Fujisawa no Dōjō to provide backup support. Manju argues that extreme secrecy requires that she go virtually alone with Sarashina. When she finally arrives at Kamakura, Manju takes a position in Yoritomo's household, where she discovers that Karaito is confined in a stone cave, which she secretly visits for the next nine months to care for her mother. Manju excels in dancing and singing and is able to impress Yoritomo with her beauty and fine performance of *imayō*,<sup>39</sup> for which she is handsomely rewarded and obtains a pardon for her mother in recognition of her filial devotion and proficiency in the arts. Yoritomo permits the two women to return home to Shinano province.

*Karaito*, and other such popular creations, give us insights into Muromachi ways of thinking and acting not provided in the more formal arts, such as linked verse (*renga*), the *nō* theater, or even its related "farce" (*kyōgen*). With respect to our account of the Tōkeiji, we see that the convent had some claim to general recognition, but as a place for sanctuary, not divorce—this an extension of the notion, perhaps, but still in the future. We can also draw some conclusions about the role of women (at least those of the samurai class) in Muromachi society, as well as values considered worthy of cultivation: loyalty and artistic perfection.

#### TŌKEIJI IN EDO GUIDE BOOKS

With the destruction of Kamakura in 1333, the subsequent centuries of instability—which included the "age of civil wars" (*sengoku jidai*), a fire at the convent in 1515 (Eishō 12),<sup>40</sup> the Great Earthquake of 1923 (*Kantō jishin*), and the normal ravages of time—many valuable documents concerning the convent's history have been irrevocably lost. For its early period we often must rely on accounts written centuries later, from which the historical facts cannot always be distinguished from popular

lore. Still, they are useful and so we are providing translations of several of the more important sketches. Edo accounts must be viewed with a certain suspicion—the writers were mostly retransmitting received accounts of the periods in which they wrote. While their bias cannot be entirely discounted, we can only grasp the overall history of this unique convent founded in the Kamakura period by examining how it was perceived at different times. Translations from the following guide books: i. *The Kamakura Story* (Kamakura monogatari, 1659) by Nakagawa Kiun (1636–1705); ii. *Newly Edited Guide to Kamakura* (Shinpen Kamakura shi, 1685) by Kawai Tsunehisa (n.d.); iii. *Kamakura's Select Sites* (Kamakura ranshōkō, 1829) by Ueda Mōshin (n.d.); iv. *Draft Gazetteer for Sagami Province, Newly Edited* (Shinpen Sagami no kuni fudoki kō, ca. 1830–1840) by Hayashi Mamoru (1768–1841); v. *Diary of Travel through Central Sagami* (Sōchū kikō) by Dazai Jun (Shundai, 1680–1747); and vi. *Record of Travel in Sagami* (Yūsō kiji) by Andō Tōya (1683–1719).

*The Kamakura Story* (Kamakura monogatari, 1659)<sup>41</sup> [Excerpt]  
Nakagawa Kiun (1636–1705)  
“Pine Grove” (Matsugaoka)

Within a temple gate standing along the road east of the Engakuji, on which it fronts, is a nunnery consisting of seven cloisters. They are the Waki-bō, Taishūan-in, Shōshiji, Eifukuji, Myōkiji, Seishōin, and the head temple, Tōkeiji on Mt. Matsugaoka. In the days of the Great Commander of the Right [Yoritomo] there was a temple here called Dōshinji. Lord Yoritomo's aunt [Lady Mino] became a nun and was abbess of this convent. From this time the temple continuously prospered.

The consort (*midaidokoro*) of the Governor of Sagami Province, [Hōjō] Tokimune decided to reside at Tōkeiji. By an edict of the Retired Emperor Go-Uda she became the second founder of the convent, and subsequently a series of widows of the Hōjō family were its abbesses. The Hōjō were followed by fourteen generations of women among [Ashikaga] Takauji's descendants,<sup>42</sup> after which the fortunes of the temple gradually declined. The daughter of Lord Hideyori, Great Minister of the Right,<sup>43</sup> was instated in this convent, being called, indeed, Abbess Tenshū.<sup>44</sup> Around the first or second year of Shōhō (1644–1645) she was laid to rest here. These noble women are buried in the grove behind the Main Hall of the temple.

As a rule, those who enter this convent have some reason to reproach the world and lament their state in life. There are those who leave behind disagreeable husbands or who escape some unendurable servitude. Others, sunk in grief, look forward to the afterlife and some seek out a peaceful place to purify their hearts. There have been many charming women at this convent who were not nuns.

Matsugaoka no	Held on amber
Kohaku ya yoseshi	Rosin within Pine Grove:
Hana no chiri	Blossom dust.

*Newly Edited Guide to Kamakura* (Shimpen Kamakura shi, 1685)<sup>45</sup>

Kawai Tsunehisa (n.d.)

“Pine Grove” (Matsugaoka)

Matsugaoka is located to the south of Engakuji. Called Tōkeiji, it is a nunnery of the Zen sect. Its founder was Chōon'in Kakusan Shidō, wife of Hōjō Tokimune, daughter of the Commander of Akita Castle [Adachi] Yoshikage, and the mother of [Hōjō] Sadatoki. Tokimune died on the fourth day of the fourth month in Kōan 7 [1284], and Kakusan took the tonsure the following year and built this temple. She is commemorated on the ninth day of the tenth month.

The second abbess was Runkai Un, the third, Seitaku, and the fourth, Junshū.<sup>46</sup> The fifth abbess, Yōdō, a daughter of Emperor Godaigo, took the vows and habit at this convent, and died in the eighth month of Ōei 3 [1396]. The sixth abbess was Nimpō Gi; the seventh, Kansū Taku; the eighth, Shōkei San; the ninth, Ōkan Ke; the tenth, Kansō Tō; the eleventh, Hakushitsu Ju; the twelfth, Ryōan Ju; the thirteenth, Sokuōshin; the fourteenth, Monshō Ken; the fifteenth, Myōgen On; the sixteenth, Ikei Kō; and the seventeenth, Kyokusan Yō, daughter of Oyumi Goshō Hashōin Minamoto Yoshiaki.<sup>47</sup> (Some writers use other characters for the name, “Oyumi.”) She died on the tenth day of the seventh month of Kōji 3 [1557].

The eighteenth abbess was Zuisan Shō; the nineteenth was Keisan Sei, daughter of Kitsuregawa Minamoto Yorizumi;<sup>48</sup> and the twentieth was Tenshū Tai. By order of the Lord of the Great Nikkō Shrine,<sup>49</sup> in Genna 1 [1615] Tenshū took the tonsure at this convent in her eighth year. She died on the seventh day of the second month of Shōhō 2 [1645]. Her stone marker is behind the Main Hall.

The twenty-first, and current abbess is Eizan, a daughter of Kitsuregawa Minamoto Takanobu.<sup>50</sup> The temple property is valued at 120 kammon. [Structures]

Bell Tower (*shōrō*). Located outside the Main Gate, on the right. It is said that the original bell was lost at the time of the Battle of Odawara [1590], and that the present bell was excavated by peasants on Matsugaoka property. When we examine the inscription, we find that it is a bell from the Fudarakuji. Accordingly, we will include the inscription of that bell under the Fudarakuji entry. The inscription on the original Tōkeiji bell is still preserved at the temple. (For a translation of the inscription of the Gentoku 4 (1332) bell, see chapter 4, pp. 57–59.)

*Kamakura's Select Sites* (Kamakura ranshōkō, 1829)<sup>51</sup>

Ueda Mōshin (n.d.)

Known as Matsugaoka, this convent of the Zen sect is next to the Jōchiji. The *Kamakura Story*<sup>52</sup> (1659) states that its founder was an aunt of Minamoto Yoritomo, but the authenticity of this claim is in doubt. According to the *Historical Notes on Matsugaoka*,<sup>53</sup> the founder was the wife of the Hōjō Governor of Sagami Province (Sagami no Kami) Taira Tokimune, daughter of the Superintendent of Akita Castle (Akita Jō no Suke) [Adachi] Yasumori, and mother of Taira Sadatoki, Governor of

Sagami Province. She is called Chōon'in Kakusan Shidō Oshō. Tokimune died on the fourth day on the fourth month of Kōan 7 [1284], and in the following year Kakusan took the tonsure and built this temple. A memorial service for the founder is held annually on the ninth day of the tenth month.

The second abbess was the nun Runkai; the third, Seitaku; the fourth, Junshū; and the fifth, Yōdō, a daughter of Emperor Godaigo, who took the habit at this convent. She died in the eighth month of Ōei 3 [1396].

The sixth abbess was Nimpō; the seventh, Kansū; the eighth, Shōkei; the ninth, Ōkan; the tenth, Kansō; the eleventh, Hakushitsu; the twelfth, Ryōan; the thirteenth, Sokuō; the fourteenth, Monshō; the fifteenth, Myōgen; the sixteenth, Ikei; and the seventeenth, Kyokusan, daughter of Oyumi Gosho Hasshōin Minamoto Yoshiaki Ason. (The word "Oyumi" can be written with other characters.) She died on the tenth day of the seventh month of Kōji 3 [1557].

The eighteenth abbess was Zuisan; the nineteenth, Keisan; and the twentieth was Tenshū, daughter of Lord Toyotomi Hideyori. By order of the Lord of the Great Nikkō Shrine, in Genna 1 [1615] she entered this convent and took the tonsure in her eighth year. She died on the seventh day of the second month of Shōhō 2 [1645]. Her stone marker is behind the Main Hall.

The twenty-first abbess was Eizan Oshō, a daughter of Kitsuregawa Minamoto Takanobu.

The temple property is valued at 20 kammon. According to the *Odawara Property Registration Records*<sup>54</sup> it is valued at 30 kammon. The temple buildings include the following:

*Outer Gate (sōmon)*. Faces the Yamanouchi thoroughfare; Main Gate (*sanmon*). Displays a tablet on which is inscribed, "Tōkei-sōji zenji;" Main Hall (*butsuden*, see Figure 4). The central objects of worship are gilt bronze images of Shaka[muni], Monju, and Fugen; *Abbess's Residence (hōjō)* and *Monastic Living Quarters (kuri)*. According to temple tradition, after the Abbess's residence was destroyed some years ago, a mansion belonging to the Suruga Great Councilor (Dainagon)<sup>55</sup> was moved to this convent to replace it. The interior is said to have been decorated by Kano Morinobu.<sup>56</sup> Of late there has been no resident abbess (*jūji*), and since the building has only had a caretaker, it has here and there fallen into disrepair. *Kannon Hall (Kannon-dō)*. Located to the right outside the Main Gate. *Bell Tower (shōrō)*. Located to the right outside the Main Gate. The original bell was lost at the time of the Battle of Odawara [1590]; the present bell is said to have been dug up by villagers from the temple property. When we examine the inscription, we find that it is a bell from the Fudarakuji. This too must have been seized during a period of unrest and then buried in the ground. It is dated Kan'ō 1 [i.e., Shōhei 5, 1350]. (Its inscription will appear in our section on that temple.) A copy of the inscription of Tōkeiji's original bell, which was lost, is preserved at the temple. The year of its casting was Gentoku 4 [1332]. (We omit the inscription from this section.) . . . *Inryōken*. To the north of the abbess's residence (*hōjō*). *Kaijuan*. To the right as one enters the Main Gate (*sanmon*).



*Eifukuken*. To the left as one enters the Main Gate, *Seishōin*. Northeast of the Main Hall (*Butsuden*). *Myōkian*. North of the *Seishōin*.

*Row Houses (nagaya)*. From early times there have been quarters within the outer gate to house servants attending to the buildings and land. It is also reported



FIGURE 4. Edo sketch of Tōkeiji Convent.

that there are young women who are not nuns living at this convent in sadness and despair. Because their present husbands will not grant them a certificate of divorce, they cannot remarry. Sunk in deep misery and with no other recourse, they take refuge (*kakeiri*) at this temple, present their case, and reside here three years. As a result, their husbands dismiss these women from their thoughts and finally grant them a divorce. So there has been a constant stream of women in the Kantō region who take refuge here and ask for help.

*Draft Gazetteer for Sagami Province, Newly Edited*

(*Shinpen Sagami no kuni fudoki kō*)<sup>57</sup>

Hayashi Mamoru (1768–1841)

Tōkeiji, known as Mt. Matsugaoka, is a convent of the Rinzai sect. The local residents simply call it Matsugaoka. It was founded in Kōan 8 [1285] by the nun Kakusan, widow of the Hōjō Governor of Sagami Province, Tokimune. Her religious name was Chōon'in Kakusan Shidō. She was the daughter of the Superintendent of Akita Castle, [Adachi] Yoshikage, and mother of [Hōjō] Sadatoki. Tokimune died on the fourth day of the fourth month in Kōan 7 [1284], and it is said that Kakusan became a nun and founded this temple the following year. Founder's Day is celebrated every year on the ninth day of the tenth month. Another tradition has it that Yoritomo's aunt, Mino no Tsubone, built a hermitage here, and that Tokimune's widow is the restoring founder.

In those days, once ordinary housewives were married to ruthless husbands, they could not easily dissolve the relationship. Unable to endure the anguish of their condition, some were driven to suicide or to prostitution. Kakusan asked that the temple code provide that if such a woman ran into the convent and lived there for three years, her cherished desire [for divorce] would be realized. Sadatoki conveyed her request to the emperor, and the procedure was established.

Temple records state that Kakusan's petition to Tokimune (*sic*)<sup>58</sup> was as follows: "There is no spiritual benefit for these women taking the tonsure since they do so only because of marital problems. But in the marital relationship, a woman may be

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KEY TO FIGURE 4.

Subtemples [and Structures]

1. *Butsuden*. "Buddha Hall," housing the central object(s) of worship (see figure 5)
2. *Hōjō* (cf., *Hōjōki*). The small residence of the abbot/abbess
3. *Sanmon*. "Mountain Gate," the main entrance to a monastery/convent
4. *Shōrō*. The temple bell
5. *Sōmon*. The "General Gate" before the Sanmon
6. *Inryōken*. Administrative offices to the north of the abbess's residence
7. *Kaijuan*. To the right as one enters the Main Gate (sanmon)
8. *Eifukuken*. To the left as one enters the Main Gate
9. *Seishōin*. Northeast of the Main Hall (*Butsuden*)
10. *Myōkian*. North of the Seishōin



FIGURE 5. Tōkeiji's Buddha Hall (Butsuden). Muromachi Period. Moved to Sankeien Garden, Yokohama, in 1907. (Photo by Robert E. Morrell)

subject to an inconsiderate husband and even though she repeatedly returns to him, she will feel depressed [and futile as] the wind. Being treated unjustly, some commit suicide or take other extreme measures. I request that this humble temple code provide that if such women reside in this convent for three years, the marital relationship will be severed (*enkiru*).” Subsequently, Sadatoki conveyed her request to the emperor and it was approved.

The fifth abbess, Yōdō, was a daughter of Emperor Godaigo. Ever since her time, the three-year residence requirement was reduced as being too onerous. The term was fixed at twenty-four months.

The fifth abbess, Yōdō, was a royal daughter of Emperor Godaigo. Considering that the three-year residence requirement was onerous, she decided to limit the stay to twenty-four months. Since [any part of] the three years between the women's entering the convent and their leaving was reckoned as a complete year, this changed the month count.

The twentieth abbess, Tenshū, was a daughter of the Great Minister of the Right,<sup>59</sup> [Toyotomi] Hideyori and a descendant<sup>60</sup> of the Tōshōgū [Lord, Ieyasu]. So it was decreed [after her father's death at the Battle of Osaka Castle] that she become a disciple of the nineteenth abbess, Keisan (d. 1644). At this time she was asked by the authorities if she had any special request to make. Tenshū replied that she wished that the temple code established by the founder [Kakusan] be continued forever without interruption.

The twentieth abbess, Tenshū [Hō] Tai was a daughter of the Upper Second Rank Great Minister of the Right, Toyotomi Hideyori. By decree of the Divine Head of State (Gongen Sama, i.e., Ieyasu), while still a child she was made a disciple of the nineteenth abbess, Keisan. On this occasion the Divine Head of State wrote to her stating that if she had any request, now was the time to make it. Tenshū replied that inasmuch as she was a nun, she had nothing special to desire but that it would not be out of place for her to hope that the temple code established by the founder be observed in perpetuity. Ieyasu replied that her wish would be granted.

Moreover, the present guest quarters (*kyakuden*) and Abbess's Residence (*hōjō*), the Inryōken gate, and other items that belonged to the mansion of the Suruga Great Councilor [Tokugawa Tadanaga] were presented to the convent shortly thereafter. They still exist. The twenty-second abbess was Gyokuen [Hōban]. This daughter of the Middle Councilor, Lord Takatsuji, was adopted by Kitsuregawa Shigeuji [1700–1767] and sent to this convent.

Ever since she retired in the fifth month of Gembun 2 [1737], the convent has had no resident abbess, and the Inryōken has acted as its representative.

In the days of [Ashikaga] Shigeuji (1434–1497), the Kamakura Shōgunal Deputy (Kanrei) at the time, the heads of Kamakura temples were invited to participate in the annual ceremony held on the eleventh day of the first month. This temple was among them. The *Annual Events of the Kamakura Potentates*<sup>61</sup> states that “on the eleventh day of the first month, the Elder (Chōrō) of the Taiheiji, princely daughter of the Lord Potentate [Kubō Sama]<sup>62</sup> also Tenjuin Sama of Tōkeiji (younger

sister of the Deputy Shōgun [Kanrei]), the Elder of Matsugaoka, Zuishōin Sama, and Shaku Zen'in Sama—all attended for tea, followed by a banquet.”

By decrees of the Hōjō family during the Eishō (1504–1520) and Tembun (1532–1554) periods, the three temples of Tōkeiji, Kenchōji, and Engakuji were exempted from taxation (kōyaku). This can be seen from accounts in the Engakuji archives.

In the eighth month of Taiei 7 [1527] Hōjō Ujitsuna [1487–1541] issued a notice that the convent's Maeoka property be exempted from taxes.

Documents in the temple archives state that the Maeoka area of the Matsugaoka properties be exempted from taxes . . . This was made effective for the villagers in the Maeoka district starting with the twelfth day of the eighth month in Taiei 7 [1527] under the seal of Ujitsuna.

In the third month of Tembun 18 [1549] Ishimaki Shimosuke no Kami, Yasumori prohibited birdcatchers from entering the properties of Maeoka and Noba owned by the convent.

Documents state that the Matsugaoka properties in the districts of Noba and Maeoka . . . may not be entered for birdcatching. Intrusion should be reported immediately to the farmers and the information will be sent to Odawara, where the case will be examined closely and judgment passed. Issued under the seal of Ishimaki among the villagers of Noba and Maeoka on the twenty-eighth day of the third month in the year of Junior Earth (*tsuchinoto*) with Cock (tori) [i.e., 1549].

The *Hōjō Registration Records of Eiroku 2* [1549] list the assets of the convent property at 30 kammon from the eastern districts of Kasama no Uchi, Maeoka, and Noba. It states: “Temple properties, Matsugaoka Tono. 30 kammon. Eastern district: Kasama no Uchi, Maeoka, Noba. As above.”

In the eighth month of Tenshō 2 [1574], Andō Buzen no Kami, Yoshinori, submitted a detailed list of the temple's taxable properties. (Hayashi includes the list, omitted here, in a supplementary note.)

In the fourth month of [Tenshō] 18 [1590], the Taikō Toyotomi [Hideyoshi, 1536–1598] issued his [property registration] edict. On the eleventh month of [Tenshō] 19 [1591] the temple property was assessed at 120 kan 380 mon. The temple buildings included the following:

*Main Hall* (Butsuden). A prayer tablet hangs in the hall with three images, all gilt bronze, of Shaka[muni], Monju, and Fugen. There is also a statue of the founder. The hall was part of the old estate of Tadanaga, Lord of Suruga Province. It was transported here and set up on the tenth of the month in Kan'ei 11 [1634]. The temple archives house a dedicatory plaque from this occasion.<sup>63</sup> It states:

The great benefactor of this construction is Tenjuin,<sup>64</sup> daughter of Lord Minamoto Ason Hidetada,<sup>65</sup> Barbarian-quelling General, Prime Minister of the Lower First Rank.

Done on this auspicious day in the tenth month of Kan'ei 11 [1634], the year of Senior Wood with Dog, by virtue of all who are good in this world, all who are wise, by the virtuous influence of the various Buddhas and the sanctity of all the arhats.

Presented to the Resident Abbess [Keisan] Hōsei, daughter of Minamoto [Ashikaga] Yorinori [?Yorizumi, d. 1601] and her disciple, [Tenshū] Hōkyō,<sup>66</sup> daughter of Toyotomi Hideyori, Minister of the Right of the Lower Second Rank.

Praise to the Earth Goddess, Drdhā,<sup>67</sup> and to the Original Vow to protect those who are close [to Amida].<sup>68</sup>

Praise to the Five Great Radiant Kings<sup>69</sup> and their retinue.

So it is officially stated by Kasuga no Tsubone, Wet-nurse to the Daiju

[Tokugawa Iemitsu, 1604–1651].

*Abbess's Residence* (hōjō). This was constructed at the same time as part of Lord Tadanaga's estate.

*Temple Treasures*. A document on decisions concerning temple property. Two strips of ornamental paper. One is said to be from the brush of Lord [Fujiwara] Teika [Sadaie, 1162–1241]:

<i>Kane no oto wo</i>	The sound of the bell
<i>Matsu ni fukishiku</i>	Blows violently into the pines,
<i>Oikaze ni</i>	And in the fierce wind
<i>Tsumagi ya orite</i>	Breaking twigs for firewood,
<i>Kaeru yamabito</i>	The returning mountain folk <sup>70</sup>

The other has two poems from the brush of the twentieth abbess, Tenshū:

<i>Saku toki wa</i>	At blossom time
<i>Sore tomo miezu</i>	Nothing else is to be seen
<i>Yamazakura</i>	But mountain cherries:
<i>Fumoto ni shiruki</i>	The foothills are the color
<i>Kaze no iro kana</i>	Of white wind.
<i>Shiba no to mo</i>	To wattled doors
<i>Haru wa nishiki zo</i>	Spring has even spread
<i>Shikinikeru</i>	Its brocade!
<i>Hana fukiorosu</i>	For the blossoms blow down
<i>Mine no arashi wo</i>	A storm from the mountain. <sup>71</sup>

[Additional items:] Portrait of Reishōnyo by Tan'yū [Kanō Morinobu, 1602–1674]; one cinnabar incense box; plaque with the three characters, Ha-ramitsu [*pāramitā*], calligraphed by [Fujiwara?] Michitaka [957–999]; incense box with crow motif, diameter: 2 sun. 5 bu; cinnabar incense box; one round incense tray, given to Tenshū by Tōshōgū [Lord Ieyasu]; one colored incense burner: the smoke escapes through two openings. A celadon porcelain incense burner. This, too, has two openings and is glazed in a wood-grain pattern. A round incense burner. The last three items belonged to Tenshū.

A box ornamented with a pear motif. Twenty-one old documents. (Among these five were listed earlier.) Two notices sent to Yamasumi Kyōbu in Genki 1

[1570]. One notice to Andō Buzen in Tenshō 9 [1581], ninth month. One letter from the Hōjō family after the death of the temple head in the sixth month of Tenshō 16 [1588]. One letter from the Hōjō family concerning the position of temple head in the seventh month of Tenshō 16 [1588]. One notice to Sōho issued in the seventh month of Tenshō 16 [1588]. Six letters by Hōjō Ujitsuna [1487–1541]. Two letters by Hōjō Ujiyasu [1515–1570]. One letter without signature. One letter by Toyotomi Hideyoshi.

Kannon-dō: enshrines a Shō Kannon. Suwa Shrine. Inari Shrine

Bell Tower. Holds the Fudarakuji bell of Kan'ō 1 [1350]. Excavated from temple property by farmers, it is said, and now used as the Tōkeiji bell. [Followed by the inscription, omitted here.] The tower once housed Tōkeiji's Gentoku 4 [1332] bell, but this is said to have been lost at the time of the Battle for Odawara [1590]. It is now at the Honryūji at Nirayama in Izu Province (Zushū). [Inscription follows. For translation see above.]

Main Gate (*sanmon*). Displays a plaque on which is inscribed “Tōkei sōji zenji.”

Outer Gate (*sōmon*).

Subtemples (*Wakiryō*) *Inryōken*. Constructed from part of the old mansion of the Suruga Great Councilor [Tadanaga]. In the seventh month of Tenshō 16 [1588] Tōkeiji was informed of the assessment of its temple property. Documents in the Tōkeiji archives state that the Kokuonji area is exactly assessed at 3 kan 40 mon, as earlier. The Inryōken's Sōho was apprised of this on the tenth day of the seventh month in Tenshō 16 [1588].

In addition to this there are two letters from the Hōjō family to the temple, both of which are kept there. They note that Shaka[muni] is the central object of worship at the temple.

Eifukuken, Seishōan, Myōkian. These no longer exist.

Kaijuan.

Official in Charge. Kaneko Seizaemon, who resides in front of the Matsugaoka gate. He receives from the temple property, with authorization from the military government, 500 mon; he is a master carpenter. He has six documents from the Hōjō family pertaining to the construction of Odawara [Castle].

[Other officials]. Yamashita Matauemon, Watanabe Senzō, Imai Jūkichi.

*Diary of Travel through Central Sagami* (Sōchū kikō)

Dazai Jun (Shundai, 1680–1747)<sup>72</sup>

The area northwest of the Jōchiji, called Matsugaoka, is where the Tōkeiji is located. The wife of Taira no Tokimune, mother of Sadatoki, became a nun, calling herself Kakusan. She founded this temple and lived here. Since that time there have been many occasions in which the daughters of noble families took vows as nuns and resided at this nunnery.

A double gate was constructed where visitors were questioned and men were not permitted to enter. According to the temple code, women who wish to enter the

nunnery, but who are restrained by fathers and brothers, can realize their desire [for divorce] once they make it into the temple compound. At this point their fathers and brothers must abandon them. Thus, wives who abuse their husbands but who are unable to leave them, or those who fear that their affairs with other men will be revealed, or those who wish to leave their husbands that they may marry their lovers—all these are able to achieve this by cutting their hair and entering this convent, and their husbands have no control over the matter. The women stay for two years at the temple. By the time their hair grows out, they are ready to return to the world. There are no clear laws to prevent this, and their former husbands have no recourse.

Since this is a nunnery where men are not admitted and absolutely none are permitted to enter, indiscretions are avoided. But although men are barred from entering the nunnery grounds, its very existence encourages improper behavior among women [by letting them escape from their social obligations]. In the end, then, is not Matsugaoka a cloister for indecent women?

*Record of Travel in Sagami* (Yūsō kiji),  
“Points of Interest in Kamakura” (Kamakura shoyū)  
Andō Tōya (1683–1719)<sup>73</sup>

Tōkeiji convent has a double gate and beyond the second, men are not permitted to set foot. According to the local people, women who have disgraced their husbands by less than honorable behavior or who feel that their affairs with other men may become public can find asylum in this convent. Here they remain for two years, free from the jurisdiction of civil law. The women are permitted to do as they choose. When I discovered this, I knew by what kind of woman the temple must have been founded.



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*The littell daughter of Fidaia Samma  
is [a] shorne non in this [Tōkeiji] monestary,  
only to saue her life, for it is a sanctuary  
& no justis may take her out.*

—Richard Cocks's *Diary*,  
entry for 18 October 1616<sup>1</sup>

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### *From Sanctuary to Divorce Temple: Abbess Tenshū and the Later Kitsuregawa Administrators*

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#### PAX TOKUGAWA

Will Adams (Miura Anjin, 1564–1620)<sup>2</sup> arrived in Japan at the western island of Kyūshū in 1600 and is recognized as the first Englishman to set foot in that country. In the same year, at Sekigahara, Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542–1616) won a decisive victory over his competitors and went on to unify the country under a two and a half century long military regime that bears his family name. By some twist of fate, Adams became friend and adviser to Ieyasu and remained in Japan for the rest of his life.

In 1613, Richard Cocks (ca. 1565–1624),<sup>3</sup> “the second Englishman in Japan,”<sup>4</sup> and whom we met briefly in the first chapter, arrived in Japan to head an English trading post for the East India Company. His decade of administration ended in disaster, partly the result of his own personal inadequacies and partly because of circumstances well beyond his control. He died aboard ship on his return to England, where he would have faced severe legal action. But, fortunately for us, he left a detailed account of his decade in Japan during a time of momentous historic events, both for the country and for our account of the Tōkeiji.

Centuries of political instability finally came to an end with the reunification of Japan by Oda Nobunaga, Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536–1598), and Tokugawa Ieyasu during the last decades of the sixteenth century and the early decades of the seventeenth. But peace did not come easily. The details of endless battles and shifting allegiances may delight the epic cinematographer, but the ordinary reader of history can only discern their general outline. The climax of the long, fierce conflict was the burning in 1615 of Osaka Castle,<sup>5</sup> where Toyotomi Hideyori (1593–1615),

Hideyoshi's son and successor, committed suicide after defeat by the forces of Ieyasu. However, the life of "the littel daughter of Fidaia [Hideyori] Samma," his seven-year-old daughter, was spared by Ieyasu and placed under the tutelage of Tōkeiji's nineteenth abbess, Keizan (d. 1644), of the Kitsunegawa family (which plays an important role in the later history of the convent). Tenshū (1608–1645) eventually succeeded Keizan as the twentieth abbess of the Tōkeiji. Hideyori's wife, Senhime (1597–1666), who was Tenshū's stepmother, also survived the battle and later sponsored a noted "divorce temple" called Mantokuji, at Serada in the Nitta district of Kōzuke Province (Gumma Prefecture).<sup>6</sup>

The Tōkeiji has in its possession a curious relic of this time, a host box lacquered and inset with mother-of-pearl. Since Christianity was severely suppressed less than two decades after the Battle for Osaka Castle, the transfer and possession of Christian artifacts subsequent to the crackdown would have been dangerous for anyone involved. But Tenshū could easily have brought it to the Tōkeiji in 1615. We know that there were a number of Jesuit priests in Osaka Castle during the siege, and we can imagine various circumstances by which the host box might have come into Tenshū's hands. Since it was not a consecrated vessel, as some have thought, one of the priests might even have given it to her as a keepsake.<sup>7</sup>

Cocks and Will Adams visited Edo in 1616, the year after the fall of Osaka Castle, to negotiate trade agreements with the new shōgun, Tokugawa Ieyasu (1544–1616), and were passing through Kamakura on their return to Hirado. Cocks's diary continues his account of what he observed: "pagods," a "nvnyr (or rather a stews [i.e., a brothel]) of shaven women [the Tōkeiji]," and "a might[y] idoll of bras, called by them Dibotes [i.e., Daibutsu]," which he much admired. A recently published Cocks letter is even less flattering of the Tōkeiji.

Also [in the city of Kamakura] there is a pagod or monestary of heathen nvns being shorne all the hair afe their heads, as the papist nvns are. The littel daughter of fidaia Samme is shorne nvn theare & the previlege of the place is such that the Emperour nor no man may take away any woman out of that place by force, yet are they at liberty to take any man that Cometh into there Company, yf they please, for they hould venery nether Syn nor shame, but live at their pleasure. There was som of tham Called to me & the Company wh<sup>ch</sup> went along w<sup>th</sup> me for to have Com in and lodged there all night, but I refuced ther offer, yet presently met w<sup>th</sup> Caeleros Japons w<sup>ch</sup> Accepted their offer.<sup>8</sup>

To place Cocks's comments in some historical perspective, we should note that he was contemporary with Shakespeare and born within decades of Henry VIII's Suppression Act of 1536. The act purported to be directed merely at abuses of the clergy, but soon escalated, under the enthusiastic direction of the king's vicar-general, Thomas Cromwell (ca. 1485–1540), into a full-scale Dissolution of the Monasteries to fill the royal coffers. By 1541 over 800 monasteries, nunneries, and friaries in Britain had been "dissolved," and nearly 15,000 monks and nuns dispersed.<sup>9</sup>

This being the antimonastic society in which Cocks was born a few decades later (1565), we can hardly be surprised that he would dismiss the Tōkeiji convent

as just another brothel. But, as we shall see, there is considerable historical evidence that the nunnery maintained its integrity from its founding until its administration was taken over by the Engakuji during the Meiji period.

The Great Buddha of Kamakura, constructed in 1252, the year of Kakusan Shidō's birth, was originally housed in a great enclosure which was finally swept away by a great tidal wave in 1495. It represents the Buddha Amida, the religious focus of the Pure Land sects. Unlike many other sculptures and architectural monuments, the statue has never required major repairs. Cocks's comment about the "howse being quite rotted away" may be questioned, but not the fact that he went "w'thin the hollownes of it [the statue] & it is as large as a greate howse." Visitors to Kamakura to this day make a point of having their pictures taken in the company of, and also inside, the colossal image.

After the turbulent hundred years from the middle of the sixteenth to the middle of the seventeenth century, Japan enjoyed several centuries of relative peace and prosperity under the dictatorship of the Tokugawa military government in Edo. We may easily criticize the rigid stratified society that was the price of the peace if we are among the few who even today are fortunate not to scrape through an uncertain existence in some police state, in spite of the universal lip service we give to "democracy." But to the townsmen of Edo and Osaka the price was surely fair enough after centuries of political uncertainties.

The century of pacification was also the period of early Christian influence in Japan. Francis Xavier arrived in 1549, and it is estimated that by 1600 there were 130,000, or perhaps as many as 150,000 Christians throughout Japan; and by 1615, possibly 500,000—"a much larger proportion than they do today."<sup>10</sup> We must admire the accomplishments of this small and heroically dedicated band of missionaries, but their very success was the source of their undoing. To the military government the new foreign ideology was soon perceived as a political threat, with an ever-growing base of indigenous converts, and tales of European exploits and excesses in India and the Americas. Although the foreigners and missionaries were at first cordially welcomed by the Japanese—even by Buddhist monks—eventually the Japanese military government could no longer ignore their inevitable association with European economic and colonial conquests. A series of ruthless persecutions all but eradicated Christianity in Japan by the time of the climactic Shimabara Rebellion. In 1639 a final exclusion act prohibiting Portuguese ships from entering Japanese ports began a period of isolation of Japan from the West (*sakoku*) lasting more than two centuries. The Dutch and English maintained a tightly controlled trading post for a time in Hirado, off the coast of Kyūshū. But eventually only the Dutch maintained token contact with Japan on the small island of Deshima in Nagasaki harbor.<sup>11</sup>

The expulsion of the Europeans from Japan at this time is naturally a topic of interest to European readers, and must be approached with some care. Most Western commentators conclude that Japan's action had the unfortunate effect of denying her participation in the new scientific and social developments that were to lead to our present brave new world. We leave it to the reader to ponder the matter for himself/herself.

However, one issue on which there appears to be widespread agreement is that the Japanese persecutions and exclusion policies were based on purely political, rather than religious/ideological grounds—in contrast to countless Western conflicts in which the religious/ideological component predominates, even, alas to this very day. The social determinist can plausibly argue that *all* wars and conflicts are simply the result of economic competition and that the distinction between religious and political motivations merely blinds us to the underlying mechanism. Perhaps so, but it is a distinction that refuses to be swept away in the interests of simplistic explanation.

Despite its violent history, Japan had had no tradition of religious persecution or martyrdom. Buddhism, Shintoism, and Confucianism had managed to coexist with remarkably little friction; and, though there were conflicts between the various Buddhist sects, they were based mainly on material, rather than doctrinal, differences, and rarely took the form of the intolerant *odium theologicum* that caused so much horror and misery in the West. Not until the late sixteenth century, when the spread of Christianity made the government decide that this subversive, foreign creed had to be suppressed, did large-scale persecution and martyrdom make their grim appearance in Japan.<sup>12</sup>

And what single scripture overwhelmingly provided the rationale for Buddhism, Shintō, and Confucianism managing “to coexist with remarkably little friction”? The very accommodating *Lotus Sutra*, of course, which challenges the exclusivity of the True Believer, who attacks it in return.

TENSHŪ HŌTAI (1608–1645),  
TWENTIETH ABBESS OF MATSUGAOKA TŌKEIJI

We have already noted that after the Battle for Osaka Castle in 1615, Hideyori's seven-year-old daughter was spared by Ieyasu and placed in the care of the abbess Keizan, whom she eventually succeeded as the twentieth abbess of the Tōkeiji, Tenshū (1608–1645), but no records survive that tell us clearly when this transfer of authority took place. Although Keizan died only a year before Tenshū and no doubt continued to instruct her young charge in the ways of convent life and the politics of survival in such uncertain times, it is reasonable to assume that Tenshū's close association with Senhime and the Tokugawa authorities put her in the position of *de facto* abbess of the Tōkeiji soon after her arrival, whatever formalities may or may not have been performed.

And how were the affairs of the Tōkeiji conducted? The view of Tōkeiji as maintaining the principle of sanctuary in the broad sense, not just divorce, predominates through the early decades of the seventeenth century, as the following anecdote from the temple records illustrates, as well as showing us the character of a self-assured and competent administrator who was probably in charge of the convent's affairs well before the events of 1643.

Katō Yoshiaki (1563–1631) was a famed warrior who created a large estate in the service of Hideyoshi, and later Ieyasu. His son Akinari, who succeeded him as head of the family, was dissolute and would not heed the advice of his chief adviser, Hori Mondo. When Hori finally brought his complaints to the attention of the



FIGURE 6. Abbess Tenshū (1608–1645). She was “the little daughter of Fidaia Samma [i.e., Toyotomi Hideyori, 1593–1615]” (Cocks). Her life was spared at the fall of Ōsaka Castle in 1615 on condition that she take holy orders at the Tōkeiji. She later became its twentieth abbess. (Tōkeiji Collection)

shogunate, Akinari was outraged and tried to arrest him. But Hori went into hiding on Shingon's Mt. Kōya, entrusting his wife and children to the Tōkeiji. Akinari appealed to Iemitsu, the third Tokugawa shōgun, who delivered Hori to him to be killed. He then sent an assassin to the Tōkeiji to seize Hori's family, but Abbess Tenshū angrily rebuffed him, claiming sanctuary. She appealed to her powerful stepmother, Senhime, demanding that Akinari be punished. In 1643 the bakufu confiscated his property.

From such incidents we begin to see emerging something of Tenshū's character, the operations of nunneries, and attitudes toward women in the early Edo period. Just as the Heian period was not four centuries of stifling courtly effiteness, nor Kamakura a century and a half of military austerity punctuated by the beginnings of popular religious movements, nor the Muromachi an era of unrestrained chaos with little to recommend it—if we ignore the flowering of Nō, linked verse (*renga*), *otogizōshi*, the Five Mountains literary movement (*gosan bungaku*), Sesshū and the other brilliant Muromachi painters—so also is not even Edo a monolithic period of government repression (“the first police state”?) with a venal clergy, licentious merchants, and the unrelieved exploitation of women. Although there is some truth behind all these caricatures, it is not the whole truth and nothing but the truth.

In Tenshū we can see reflected the strength and determination of her military forebears, Hideyoshi and Hideyori, but also of her spiritual ancestors: Kiyomori's wife, Nii no Ama, at the Battle of Dan-no-Ura, Kakusan Shidō, and the feisty nun Abutsu-ni of *Isayoi Diary* fame. In sometimes unlikely places, such as Edo *senryū*, we find evidence that the Tōkeiji, and no doubt many nunneries, continued to conduct religious practices with the same commitment as Kakusan, Mujaku-ni, and the rest.

#### ABBESS TENSHŪ AND PRIEST TAKUAN

Takuan Sōhō (1573–1645) was one of the most celebrated figures of the Edo period. Like Ikkyū and Miyamoto Musashi, Takuan represents the ideal Zen monk in the popular imagination, master of literary and military skills in addition to being a serious religious practitioner. Tradition has it that the popular pickle known as *takuan* was so named by the shogun Tokugawa Iemitsu when Takuan served him a pickle from his native village (Izushi) called *sembonzuke* (“thousand-part pickle”), or *hyapponzuke* (“hundred-part pickle”).

What we know of Takuan's contact with the Tōkeiji is based on a single letter sent to Abbess Tenshū, which is now kept in the Matsugaoka Collection. Inoue Zenjō (1911–), fourth abbot of the Tōkeiji from 1941 to 1980, and his successor, Inoue Shōdō, have reproduced and discussed this item in recent publications (see Inoue Shōdō 1997, p. 113). The letter is significant not merely because it is a fragment remaining to us from a noted Zen figure, but because it reveals Tenshū's commitment to continuing Zen practice as seen earlier in the days of the founder, Kakusan and her successors.

The meaning of the letter is not entirely clear, but we can see in it some reflection of a major problem Takuan had with the military government, the so-called purple robe incident (*shie jiken*). In his thirty-second year (1604) he had been given the seal of approval from his mentor and assumed the name “Takuan.” Shortly thereafter, in 1609, by imperial decree he was made abbot of Kyoto’s Daitokuji temple, whose monks had the special privilege of wearing the purple robe (as did the nuns of the Tōkeiji by virtue of Abbess Yōdō having been an imperial princess, as we saw in chapter 3). As a result of the rather complicated “purple robe incident,” Takuan was summoned to Edo and sent into exile in 1629 but eventually was favored by the third Tokugawa shogun, Iemitsu (1604–1651), returned to Edo in 1633, and then to the Daitokuji the following year.<sup>13</sup>

We do not know the extent of Tenshū’s contacts with Takuan, whether or not there was further correspondence between them, or even the year this fragment was written, but from the tone of the letter we may reasonably assume that it was written sometime during decade before both Takuan and Tenshū died in 1645. The following is a very broad paraphrase of the letter in order to provide a plausible explanation of Takuan’s argument. The thrust of Takuan’s remark is simply that during our age of spiritual decline, it is impossible to apply the ancient stringent techniques.<sup>14</sup>

#### Letter of Takuan to Tenshū

[Prefatory note.] *I am very pleased to learn that you practice zazen in Kamakura. This is most commendable. The old regulations (kosoku) do not impose limitations: if you observe five or seven rules, your mind will be cleared (of obstructions). I will write to you again to explain the nature of true zen. But for the time being I recommend that you wait for a while until I show you what it is.*

I have again received a letter from you in which you inquire about the “old regulations” (*kosoku*). I have not taught these Zen procedures for twenty years. The reason is that 500 years after the period of the Buddha’s True Dharma, we entered the period of the Final Dharma (Hozumi 1924, 2–93) [during which human spiritual capacity reached an all-time low]. If the earlier regulations were then prescribed, we would go astray, and it would be difficult to return to a proper path to Enlightenment. Apparently, in earlier days I employed techniques which were technically correct, but inappropriate to the times. Although I have been around for some time, I have not encountered anyone who inquired about the secret zen meditation based on the old regulations.

twenty-ninth day of the eighth month [year unknown] Takuan  
In reply to your letter Tōkeiji

To the attendant (Tenshū’s) Tenshū<sup>15</sup>

Note the reference to “. . . techniques which were technically correct, but inappropriate to the times,” or, as Mujū puts it: “There is not just one method for entering the Way, the causes and conditions for enlightenment being many.” The spirit of accommodation persists.





FIGURE 7. Letter from Monk Takuan (1573–1645) to Abess Tenshū on matters of meditation practice. (Tōkeiji Collection)

## TOKUGAWA'S "DIVORCE TEMPLE" (ENKIRIDERA)

In 1647, two years after Abbess Tenshū's death, Tōkeiji asked the *bakufu's* Magistrate of Temples and Shrines (Jisha Bugyō) to provide it with an abbess from among the daughters of Kitsune Takanobu (1619–1653). The Kitsunegawa was a branch family of the Ashikaga, but not very prosperous, and they valued their association with the Tōkeiji. (the name, Kitsunegawa, "Fox River" was later changed to the more auspicious-sounding, Kitsuregawa, "River of Glad Companions.") While the *bakufu* officials temporized, temple affairs were conducted by the Inryōken, an office within the Tōkeiji compound. The Kitsuregawa took as their model the Inryōken within the Rokuon'in at Kyoto's Shōkokuji, which had been established by Ashikaga Yoshimochi (1386–1428) as his channel of communication to the Registrar General of Monks (*sōroku*), who exercised administrative control over Kyoto's Five Mountain (*gosan*) network of Rinzai monasteries (see Collcutt 1981).

In 1655 a daughter of the Kitsuregawa, Eizan (Hoei, 1639–1707) entered the Tōkeiji at the age of sixteen and was finally appointed its twenty-first abbess in 1670 (Chart E). Her disciple, Tesshū Hōgo, was acting head of the convent after Eizan's death until the next abbess, Gyokuen Hōban, came to supervise the Tōkeiji from 1728 to 1737. Subsequently the convent had no properly ordained abbess, but was administered until the Meiji period by an Acting Abbess (Indai) from the Inryōken.

As family institutions became increasingly rigid with time and official government support of male-oriented Neo-Confucianism during the Tokugawa era (1615–1867), the number of women seeking divorce at the Tōkeiji correspondingly increased. Tōkeiji and Senhime's Mantokuji became widely known as "divorce temples." By some estimates more than 2000 divorces were arranged through the Tōkeiji during the last century and a half of the Tokugawa period. Records for only 380 cases survive, represented by over 800 documents, none of which was executed before 1738.

Exact figures are not available for most periods. However, we do have a breakdown of the number of women in residence during the year Keiō 2 (1866), which gives a sense of the scope of the convent's operations. Existing records, especially the *Matsugaoka nikki* (1866; see chapter 6 for translated excerpts), indicate that at this time there were four nuns and one woman resident, an applicant for orders who was not accepted. Decisions were made on thirty-eight applicants for divorce: one was not accepted (possibly due to prior criminal involvement), four requests were withdrawn with the women's consent, one was withdrawn without the woman's consent, three were reconciled to their husbands, twenty-five received divorces from their husbands, and the disposition of four cases is not known. Of four pending cases that were decided in subsequent years, one was not accepted, two were admitted for temple service, and one returned home. This brings the total number of residents for the year to forty-seven.

Earlier in the last century Tōkeiji had in its possession a number of documents dating from as early as 1733, a ten-volume diary of events from 1690, and other

miscellanea, but they were lost in the Great Earthquake of 1923 (see *Kamakurashi shi* 1959, 351–52). When we consider the entire population of Japan over a period of 150 years, 2000 cases of divorce must represent a miniscule fraction of unhappily married women. And the geographical locations of Tōkeiji and Mantokuji limited their influence to a few adjacent areas in the Kantō region. For the most part they served merely as symbols of a persistent social problem rather than providing any viable alternative for the majority of abused wives. Tōkeiji, the “Divorce Temple,” entered the popular literary world of ideas, the five-syllable “Ma-tsu-ga-o-ka” being conveniently available for the first or last lines of the seventeen-syllable *senryū*.

Since many of the Tōkeiji applicants began their journey in Edo, it may be useful at this point to describe the journey. In chapter 7, on Edo *senryū*, we will see several of the sights up close.

The standard route, predictably, followed the stages of the Eastern Sea Route (Tōkaidō) as far as possible, beginning with the Nihonbashi in Edo, followed by Shinagawa, Kawasaki, Kanagawa, Hodogaya, Totsuka, and Fujisawa (near Enoshima, the island near Kamakura mentioned occasionally in *senryū*, but not officially a stage on the Eastern Sea Route) .

Today, we have an additional stage at Ōfuna, just beyond Totsuka, where the Tōkaidō Honsen Rail Line continues west toward Fujisawa while the Yokosuka Line bears east toward Kamakura, Yokosuka, and Kurihama; and between Kamakura and Fujisawa, the delightful Meiji Toonerville Trolley known as the Enoden (Enoshima Electric Train) runs back and forth along the beach. Unfortunately for the women seeking sanctuary at the Tōkeiji, neither the Yokosuka Line nor the Enoden were built until after Admiral Perry’s visit to Japan (1853) and the Meiji Restoration (1868).

After its destruction in 1333, Kamakura lost its position as a political center important enough even to divert the course of the fifty-three stages of the Eastern Sea Route a few miles southeast from the more direct and efficient route between Edo and Kyoto. The rail line built in the Meiji period in general followed the well-established Eastern Sea Route of earlier centuries, but a modification became necessary for access not to ancient Kamakura, but to the militarily strategic naval installations in Yokosuka and Kurihama, at the mouth of Tokyo Bay. The Yokosuka Line followed the traditional route to just a bit beyond Totsuka, where it branched to the east from Ōfuna (not one of the original states of the Tōkaidō) toward both North Kamakura (Kitakamakura) and Kamakura proper, the city’s main station, then on to Zushi, Yokosuka and Kurihama.

For the distraught wives hurrying to the Tōkeiji, the shortest route would have been off the main highway at Totsuka for a smaller road to Kamakura. The artist Hiroshige’s woodblock for the sixth stage depicts a teahouse called Komeya on the left, a bridge crossing a narrow stream, and in the center a stone marker with the inscription “Left for the road to Kamakura.” (Hiroshige was evidently facing south toward Fujisawa. From there, stage 7 of the Eastern Sea Route, Hiroshige shows us the island of Enoshima in the background. Today this favorite sightseeing spot is easily reached by the Enoden Line from the main Kamakura station, and even a few

contemporary *senryū* poems refer to leisurely visits from the Tōkeiji to this popular resort. But for the runaway, the picnic would have to be postponed.

In the tenth month of 1745 Ōmura Yosozaemon, an official employed by the Tōkeiji, submitted to the Magistrate of Temples and Shrines a summary of the convent's history and operations known as the "Temple Code" (*Jireisho*). It is the oldest extant document on Tōkeiji's temple code concerning divorce, which appears to have been fully in effect for at least half a century. (A *rienjō* dated 1738 exists in the temple's collection.) This is deduced from the fact that the Nagai Naotaka mentioned in the text was Magistrate of Temples and Shrines from 1694 to 1709 (see Kamakurashi shi 1959, 351). The following translation follows Takagi:

**Tōkeiji: Temple History, Purposes, Conditions (Tōkeiji jireisho)**

Sixth month, Enkyō 2 (1745)

Statement (*kōjō oboe*)

Kamakura Matsugaoka Tōkeiji

Cinnabar seal, 110-kan 380-mon

Rinzai Sect: Tōkeiji is independent and not a sub-temple. Matsugaoka temple was founded by the wife of Hōjō Tokimune, Governor of Sagami Province, in her nun's robe with shaven hair. It was she [i.e., Kakusan Shidō] who established the Temple's Code of Divorce. Among those who served in the temple following the founder include Yōdo, daughter of Emperor Godaigo, and Tenshū, daughter of Toyotomi Hideyori. When asked by Tokugawa Ieyasu what she desired, Tenshū replied that the temple code should be maintained, since she considered it would be wrong to discontinue the existing code. Grand Councilor Suruga's [Minamoto Tadanaga] Residence Hall was given to the convent and one hundred *ryō* in gold were made available for its repair and restoration. The Guest Hall (*kyakuden*) and the Abbesses' Residence also were constructed, utilizing the structure of the Residence Hall. Restoration [of the temple building] truly reflects its power and authority.

There are fragments of correspondence with the Office of Temples and Shrines (Jisha Bugyō) during the residence of Nun Tenshū. After the death of Tenshū the Office of Temples and Shrines covered the expenses for her annual memorial service, and we have seen the documents to that effect.

Previously resident nuns came from the family of Ashikaga Kamakura Koga Kubō, while at present daughters from Kitsuregawa Family have been serving as Acting Abbesses (*Indai*). As for the temple code, from the time of the founder of the temple its purpose was to help women seek divorce (*rien*) from abusive husbands and to rescue women from misery caused by their inability to exercise their own will to stand against their husbands' wrongful acts. When a woman comes to the temple, we listen and probe carefully and encourage her to return to her husband. If the woman cannot be persuaded to return, we report the matter to her husband and [local] officials. If the woman has violated public or moral law, her husband and officials must present evidence. If there is no dispute, we recommend that a letter of divorce (*rienjō*) be produced. If the temple code is not observed, we report to the Office of Temples and Shrines (Jisha Bugyō) so that divorce will be declared and settled. A woman, motivated by her own will to obtain divorce from her husband, will then serve twenty-four months at Matsugaoka and will

be released to her parents upon completing conditions set by the temple code. The temple code does not prevent the woman from remarriage.

1. We do not accept women who violate public rules and the temple code. If we accept a woman whose reason for coming to the temple is unclear, we inquire about the reason and explain to her the temple code. A woman who comes to the temple seeking help from a cruel life is in such despair that she may commit suicide once out of the temple. It is our earnest desire that the merciful temple code will not abandon a person of tonsure. If we accept such a woman, we will report [to proper authority] and request advice. However, we so far have not accepted such a woman.

2. Formerly, a woman could obtain divorce without a letter of divorce from her husband once she entered Matsugaoka. Earlier we asked advice from Lord Nagai Iga-no-Kami, Magistrate of the Office of Temples and Shrines. The Magistrate advised that Tōkeiji inform the woman's parents and her husband of her intent and ask them to submit a letter of divorce immediately. This way it would help many of those who are unfamiliar with the process to understand and prevent the husband from causing trouble for his divorced wife. Since this time the Matsugaoka Office retains documents of proof of divorce and certificates from her parents.

Murakami Katayū

Matsugaoka Tōkeiji official and retainer of Kitsuregawa Uhyōe

The sixth month [1745] . [The rest of the document is missing]<sup>16</sup>

## THE MATSUGAOKA DOCUMENTS (MATSUGAOKA MONJO)

To implement these procedures the Tōkeiji bureaucracy employed a battery of forms (Matsugaoka monjo):

1. Summons (*yobidashijō*). This was sent by the temple to the parents of a woman seeking divorce requesting that they come for a hearing.

2. Notice of Official Visit (*deyaku no tasshigaki*), sent to the village head requesting that the husband of a woman seeking divorce be made available for a hearing on a specified date. A temple official's presence was requested when negotiations between the husband and the wife's family were deadlocked.

3. Second Summons (*yobidashi oihikyaku*, or *shōkan tokusokujō*) to the woman's parents if they did not respond to the first summons. If they were unable to appear because of illness or other reason, a proxy might be sent.

4. Acknowledgment of Summons and Request for Time Extension (*yobidashi seisho narabi ni hinobe negai*) to be returned to the temple signed by the woman's parents and the village head. It stated that a private settlement had been reached between them and the husband, and requested an extension of time before their appearance at the temple.

5. Application for a Period of Retreat (*azukari onna azukari gansho*) submitted by the parents of a woman who wished to be admitted to the Tōkeiji for a limited period of time to conduct religious exercises.

6. Request for the Woman's Release after Private Divorce Settlement (*naisai rien hikitorijō*), submitted to the Tōkeiji after a divorce settlement had been arranged privately between the husband and the wife's parents. It promised that the temple would not be involved in the case again.

7. Letter Acknowledging Release of a Woman under the Temple's Care (*azukari onna hikitorijō*), from the parents of a woman in retreat at the Tōkeiji for spiritual exercises.

8. Letter Calling for the Woman's Release from the Temple (*sage hikitorijō*), from the woman's family to the temple with her consent to leave.

9. Letter Requiring the Woman's Release from the Temple (*negai sage hikitorijō*), from her parents and husband without considering her wishes inasmuch as the outside parties had arrived at a settlement. The temple might then try to persuade the woman to leave, or simply release her if it felt that her case did not have sufficient merit. With either letter (8 or 9), a statement of gratitude was presented to the temple for its part in the negotiations.

10. Request to a Local Inn that a Woman be Permitted to Remain there in Seclusion (*yado azukari onna azukari negai shōmon*), submitted by the woman's parents in the event that the fugitive was not yet accepted into the temple enclosure. The parents agreed to be responsible for any inconvenience this might cause to any party.

11. Letter Acknowledging a Woman's Return Home and Her Reconciliation (*kien hikitorijō*), sent by the woman's family to the Tōkeiji expressing gratitude for its efforts in restoring the relationship between husband and wife.

12. Notice that a Woman has Taken Refuge at the Temple (*kakaeki gobōsholjihōsho*), sent from the Tōkeiji to the woman's parents and husband. They were to notify the temple office if the woman had committed any crimes against *bakufu* regulations.

13. Request for Release after an Extension of the Required Time (*terairi nengengo taizai gezan negai*). After a woman's *ashikake* three-year stay at the temple, her parents might request that she be permitted to remain longer. Subsequently, a request for her release so that she might remarry, or for some other reason, would be submitted.

14. Separation Agreement in Accordance with the [Tōkeiji] Temple Code (*jihō rienjō*), from the husband to the Tōkeiji stating that he had accepted all of its conditions, and that he would not interfere with the woman's remarriage.<sup>17</sup> (See Figure 8.)

15. Notice of Separation (*rienjō*), from the husband to the wife stating that he will not interfere with her remarriage. This was usually composed in the traditional three-and-a-half lines after having been privately arranged outside the provisions of the Temple Code.

16. Letter of Guarantee for a Woman Entering the Temple (*nyūji shōmon*), from the woman's parents stating that she will abide by all the rules set by the convent and not be a burden to anyone.

17. Letter of Release from the Temple after the Woman has Fulfilled the Requirements (*jihō hikitorijō*), sent by the woman's parents to the Tōkeiji stating that she has received a divorce after fulfilling the temple's requirements. It included expressions of gratitude for the temple's help.

The bureaucratic reality of official forms and carefully-defined social commitments is far removed from the popular romantic vision of the desperate wife being granted sanctuary merely by throwing one of her sandals over the convent wall. It should be noted that although the distraught woman initiated the proceedings, all negotiations were carried on between her parents and her husband, with Tōkeiji acting as intermediary. The informal Notice of Separation (item 15) was not issued by the convent but by the husband, on whom, however, the Tōkeiji could bring social and legal pressures.

An example of the Separation Agreement in Accordance with the [Tōkeiji] Temple Code (*jihō rienjō*), item 14 above, is held in the convent's collection of historic documents. (See Figure 8.)

#### Declaration of Intent

My wife, Moto—accompanied by Yone, wife of my son Gohyōe, and my grandchild Sen—came to the Tōkeiji requesting that arrangements be made for our divorce according to the Temple Code. [Since we could not reach a private settlement], you dispatched a Temple Code document (*jishōshō*) to me which I duly received and pledge to adhere to its conditions. Henceforth, I have no objection to my wife remarrying.

As witnesses to the above statement, we hereby affix our seals.

Bunsei 9 (1826), twelfth month.

Fukagawa Morishita-chō, Kyūbei's tenant,

Husband Ihyō ㊦

Landlord Kyūbei ㊦

Five-man Group (*gonin gumi*)

Representative Zenbei ㊦

Certifying that the above is true and correct,

Headman Chūuemon ㊦

To: Kamakura Matsugaoka Palace Office

On entering the convent a woman might submit a statement of grievances, as we see in the following case from Kaei 3 (1850):

Eight years ago when I was fourteen, I was adopted by the landlord, Shichibei, of 2-chōme, Kanda, [Edo]. Four years later I became Kanjirō's wife, through the help of Kanematsu, a tenant of Tauemon of Renjakuchō and we moved to the house owned by Tauemon. Kanjirō, my husband, would frequent houses of prostitution and seldom came home. Our household became so destitute that I appealed to my own father, Kimbei, of 4-chome, Hongō, who kindly gave me some rice. I pawned my clothes. When my husband ordered me to ask my father for more money and I objected, he became furious and struck me on the head with a *geta* until I was badly hurt. I knew that he was short-tempered, so I endured these abuses.

Then Kanjirō wanted me to become a prostitute, but I told him it was out of the question. He became very disagreeable, refused to earn a livelihood, and often would not come home for three days.

Having become helpless, I left Kanjirō this year in the Fifth Month. With only the summer dress I had on, I went to my mother's native home to live with Uncle Sōemon at Neriki-mura in Kazusa Province. In the hope of leaving Kanjirō, I sent Kanematsu an envelope containing a lock of my hair and combs for my husband, together with a letter requesting that a divorce be arranged. But Kanjirō only made trouble.

Finally I have decided to seek refuge in your honorable temple. I have not violated my integrity as a woman. But there is little left for me except to throw myself into the sea or a river if my plea is not heard. I beg you to graciously arrange a divorce for me.

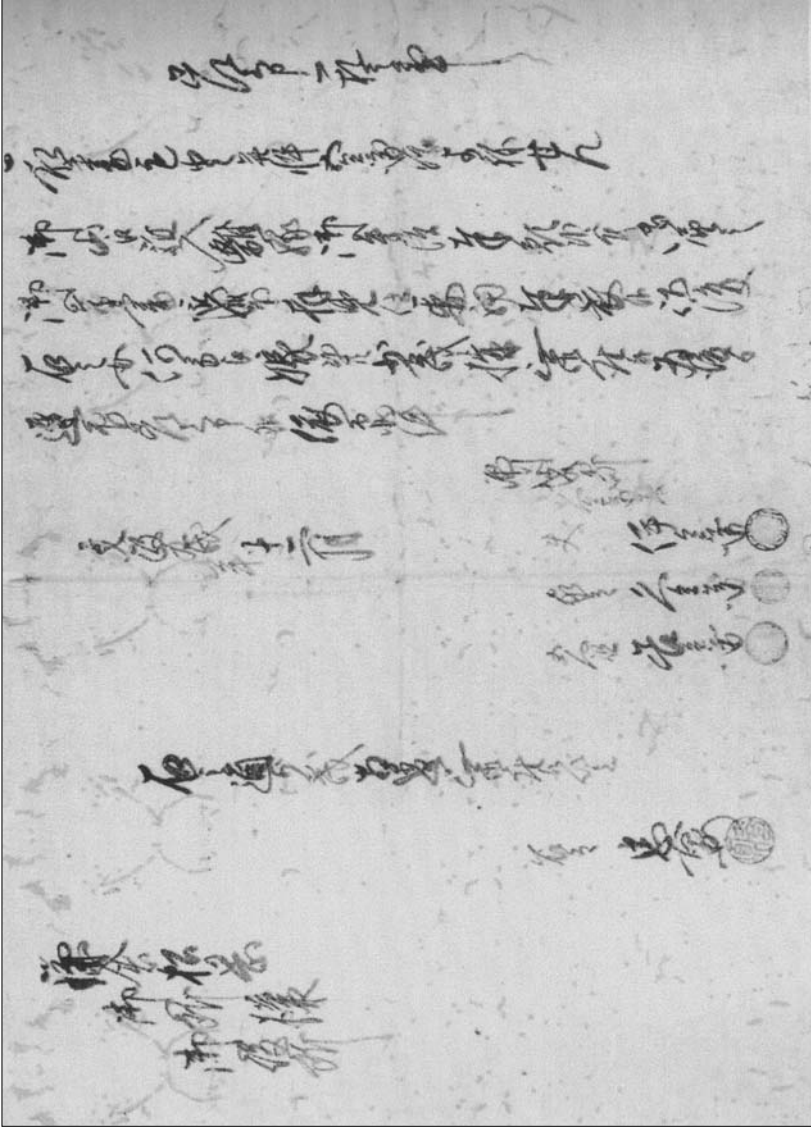


FIGURE 8. Separation paper under the Temple Code (Jihō rienjō, 1826). (Tōkeiji Collection)



Kaei 3 (1850), the twenty-first day of the Tenth Month  
 4-chōme, Hongō      Landlord Kimbei  
                                  Daughter Kane (Seal)

Kane also notified the convent that her personal property consisted of seven items: two kimonos in a striped pattern, two sashes, two hair ornaments, and a mirror. She stated that these were taken by Kanjirō to a pawn shop and she testified that she took neither money nor any other goods from Kanjirō's household.

Tōkeiji then issued a summons to Kanjirō and to Kane's family. But Kanjirō had already filed a petition with the Town Magistrate, Toyama Saemon, to recover his wife. So he and Kane's father sent an acknowledgment to the Tōkeiji for the summons and indicated that they would come to the temple after they received instructions from the Town Magistrate. When Kanjirō subsequently instituted a countersuit for divorce, the statement from Kane's father confirmed his daughter's list of grievances to the temple. Although later documents have not survived, it is believed that Kane served her term of service at the Tōkeiji and was granted the divorce.<sup>18</sup>

#### A CONFUCIAN SOLUTION

Although divorce was the focus of activity at the Tōkeiji during the Tokugawa period, a few women continued to take Holy Orders from serious spiritual commitment, and others found their way to the convent as a refuge from society. The case of Mume is intrinsically interesting, but also noteworthy for having involved a decision by the famous Confucian scholar and adviser to shōguns, Arai Hakuseki (1657-1727).<sup>19</sup>

Late in the Eighth Month of 1711, the townswoman Mume's elder brother, Shirobei, invited her husband, Ihei, to visit him at his farm in Komabayashi Village near Edo. On the second day of the following month, Shirobei told his sister that her husband had gone to his native village on business and would soon return. The following day he took her to the home of their father, Jingobei. About ten days later Mume heard that a drowned man had been found in a nearby river, and, since her husband had still not returned, went to examine the body, fearing for the worst. It was indeed Ihei. Under questioning, Mume's father and elder brother admitted to strangling him two weeks earlier and throwing his body into the river.

The problem which now faced the Confucian advisers to the military government was Mume's conflict of loyalties: did the relationship of parent to child take precedence over that of husband to wife? Informing on a parent was a most serious offense, according to Confucian moral standards but a wife also clearly had an obligation to her husband. Hayashi Nobuatsu (Hōkō, 1644-1732), the official *bakufu* Confucian, called for the death penalty for Mume on the traditional grounds that "any man can become a husband; only one man can be the father."<sup>20</sup>

Hakuseki, however, argued that the woman's duty to her husband took precedence and, in any case, Mume had not been aware of her father's guilt when she

reported to the authorities that the dead man was her husband. He recommended that she not be punished. But, out of concern that she would lose her chastity now that she was utterly without social protection and the laws of the country would be broken, he suggested that she be encouraged to become a nun to mourn her father and her husband. The government accepted Hakuseki's recommendation and Mume became a nun at the Tōkeiji.<sup>21</sup>

Unfortunately the Tōkeiji records on the case were destroyed by fire during the Great Earthquake of 1923 (*Kantō jishin*).

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# 6

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## *Everyday Life at Matsugaoka Tōkeiji: Sacred and Secular*

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As noted in the preface, we are here concerned with the continuity of serious Rinzai Zen practice at Matsugaoka Tōkeiji during its long history, while giving the popular caricature of “divorce temple” its due—but no more than that. Popular views over time tend to define all historical “facts” unless and until these are consciously challenged with conflicting evidence. But the familiar popular images still remain: George Washington will forever be seen by posterity as having cut down that cherry tree, in spite of any contrary evidence.

We have seen Tōkeiji convent established in 1285 with close ties to the neighboring Engakuji temple, built three years earlier for Wu-hsüeh Tsu-yüan (Mugaku Sogen), Rinzai Zen spiritual adviser to Kakusan Shidō and her husband, Hōjō Tokimune (preface and chapter 3). Wu-hsüeh has high praise for both of them as spiritual disciples in his *Recorded Sayings of Zen Master Fo-kuang* [Bukkō, Wu-hsüeh’s honorific title]; and *Word Weeds in Southern Sagami Province* (Shōnan kattō roku, 1544), by Rinzai monk Muin Hōjō, records the exercises of Kakusan and her successors. Hideyori’s daughter, later the convent’s twentieth abbess, Tenshū Hōtai (1608–1645), maintains the integrity of the tradition in denouncing warrior Katō Yoshiaki for violating Tōkeiji’s right of sanctuary; and her correspondence, however brief, with monk Takuan (1573–1645) on matters of Zen practice argues for its continuing vitality (chapter 5). And when a woman complained to Bankei Yōtaku (1622–1693; see chapter 2) that women were not permitted to enter such sacred places as Mt. Kōya and Mt. Hiei because they were considered to be spiritually inferior to men, he replied that there was a nunnery in Kamakura from which *men* were barred.<sup>1</sup> And the popular linked-verse (*senryū*; chapter 7) of the Edo townsman can inadvertently confirm the spartan regulations observed at the convent. Even temporary residents waiting for Letters of Separation had to have their locks shorn:

*Matsugaoka*  
*wara de yuute mo*  
*koishigari*

at Matsugaoka  
fastening hair even with straw  
betrays attachment

The food was strictly vegetarian, of course:

<i>tachimono wa</i>	among the items
<i>otoko soshite</i>	for abstention are: men,
<i>gyorui nari</i>	and all kinds of fish

In short, we have considerable supporting evidence from which to reconstruct a picture of daily life at the Tōkeiji. For the first five centuries after its founding, the convent was basically an independent institution run by and for nuns, although under the guidance of its sibling Engakuji monastery. From the mid-Edo period, however, life at the Tōkeiji involved two additional groups: women seeking divorce, and the secular administrators (Inryōken). Our main concern here, however, is the convent life of nuns following the Engakuji's Rinzaï Zen monastic rules as adapted for women in a nunnery. In the early days of founder Kakusan Shidō and nuns described in *Tangled Weeds* we see little or no gender discrimination with respect to religious practice, however this might manifest itself more subtly at the social level, especially in an expanding Neo-Confucian social context.

Daisetz Suzuki (1870–1966) comments at the beginning of the first chapter of *The Training of the Zen Buddhist Monk* (1934) that he was writing the work while living on the grounds of the Engakuji. He goes on to detail not only the theoretical framework of Rinzaï Zen practice but also many of the practical aspects of monastic life, so rarely found in books on Buddhism. The work also includes forty-three illustrations by Satō Zenchū (1883–1935), abbot of the Tōkeiji following Kōgaku Sōen (see chapter 8). Suzuki was close friends with Sōen, established his Matsugaoka Library (Bunko) on the rise just behind the Tōkeiji, and is buried below in the convent's bamboo-shaded graveyard. Given the close connections between the Engakuji and the Tōkeiji for over seven centuries, there is probably no better guide to some general sense of everyday life at the convent than the account Suzuki wrote a few hundred yards away—bearing in mind, of course, that the operations of convent and monastery can never be identical. The following are paraphrased selections adapted from his book, with a couple of Zenchū illustrations.<sup>2</sup>

## MEDITATION

The Meditation Hall (*zendō*), as it is built in Japan, is generally a rectangular building of variable size according to the number of practitioners to be accommodated. As this number however does not as a rule exceed one hundred, the size of the Hall is to that extent limited. The one at the Engakuji, which was reconstructed after the earthquake of 1923, measures about 36 feet by 65 feet and can contain fifty or more monks. [Considerably larger than what would ever have been required at the Tōkeiji.]

It has two entrances. Behind the door of the front entrance is a shrine with an image of Mañjuśrī (Monju), the Bodhisattva representing wisdom (*prajñā*; *hannya*,

*chie*).<sup>3</sup> The rear entrance is used by the monks for their private purposes such as washing, going on errands, etc. A wooden tablet over the entrance contains the regulations of the Hall.<sup>4</sup>

The interior of the Hall is furnished with raised platforms (*tan*), joined together, which run along its longer sides. Each platform is about eight feet wide and three feet high. At one end of the floor in the center of the building between the platforms stands the shrine for the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī which opens towards the front entrance. This central is used for a circumambulation exercise (*kinhin*) performed at specific intervals during the meditation hours to refresh the participants' minds and bodies.

The platform has a *tatami* floor, and a space of one *tatami* about three by six feet, is allowed to each monk, where he sleeps, sits, meditates, and does all other things permitted in the Hall. Whatever little belongings he has are kept at the window-end of the platform, where a low closet-like arrangement is provided along its entire whole length. Bedding is stowed on the spacious shelf constructed overhead and concealed with a curtain. When it is time to sleep, ordinarily about 9 p.m., the monks recite *Heart Sutra*, bow three times to Mañjuśrī, and lie down in a row. When all is quiet, the head monk makes the final offering of incense to the Bodhisattva and puts away the warning staff, and retires.

The bedding allotted to each monk is one broad quilt (*futon*) about 6 feet square, wadded with cotton. He wraps himself in this quilt, even during a cold winter, and sleeps from 9 p.m. to about 3:30 next morning. For pillows he uses a pair of small cushions, each about two feet square, on which he sits and practices meditation during the day. Upon waking, he places the bedding on the common shelf overhead and leaves by the rear exit to a general wash stand. The stand holds a large basin filled with fresh water and supplied with a number of small bamboo dippers.

Eating is a solemn affair in life in the Meditation Hall (*zendō*), though there is not much to eat. The best meal, dinner, which takes place about ten o'clock in the morning, consists of rice mixed with barley, bean (*miso*) soup, and pickles. Breakfast is gruel and pickles, while the supper is what is left of dinner. Properly speaking, the Zen monks are supposed to eat only twice a day after the fashion set up by the Buddha in India. The evening meal is, therefore, called "medicinal food" (*yaku-seki*). The modes of living are to be adjusted to climatic conditions.<sup>5</sup>

When the practitioners are all seated, they recite the *Heart Sutra* and invoke the names of various Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. No words are uttered during the course of eating, everything proceeding silently and in the most orderly sequence. The waiters are monks themselves taking their turn. When finished, the head-monk claps the wooden blocks. The bowls are quietly washed at the table, wiped, and put up in a piece of cloth which is carried by each monk. While this is being done, some verses are recited. At the stroke of the hand-bell, the diners stand and walk back to their Hall (quarters) in perfect order.<sup>6</sup>

Besides these prayers and admonitions, the sutras are also daily recited in the early morning and in the afternoon. The sutras most commonly used in the Zen monastery are (1) the *Heart of Wisdom Sutra*, (2) the *Kannon Sutra* (chapter 25 of the *Lotus Sutra*, the "Universal Gateway of the Bodhisattva Perceiver of the World's Sounds"[Watson], often treated as an independent scripture known as the *Fumonbon*), and (3) the *Diamond Sutra*. Of these three, the *Heart of Wisdom Sutra*, being the simplest, is recited almost on all occasions. Besides these Chinese translations, the original Sanskrit texts in Chinese transliteration which is pronounced in the Japanese way are also used; they



FIGURE 9. "Preparing Beds" [at the Engakujij]. Satō Zenchū brush sketch, Pl. 27. (Tōkeiji Collection)



FIGURE 10. "Dining Room" [at the Engakuji]. Satō Zenchū brush sketch, Pl. 15. (Tōkeiji Collection)



belong more or less to the Dhārani class of Buddhist literature and are altogether unintelligible, even when they are translated.<sup>7</sup>

What properly constitutes the study of Zen here is twofold: (1) studying the writings or sayings or in some cases the doings of the ancient masters, and (2) meditation practice (*zazen*). Studying the masters consists in hearing discourses by the group teacher (*rōshi*, lit., “old/venerable teacher”)—discoursing (called *teishō* or *kōza*) which attempts to manifest the inner meaning of the text, not as an intellectual exercise but as an intuitive awakening to the experience of the ancient master.

The discourse (*teishō*) is a solemn affair. At the appointed time, the monk on duty strikes the board hung at the front entrance to the Meditation Hall. The occupants prepare themselves by donning a ceremonial shoulder stole (*kesa*). At the sound of a drum or bell from the lecture hall, the monks file in to the room where the discourse is to be delivered and take their places.

The *rōshi*, accompanied by two attendant-monks (*jiisha*), enters the room and walks to the inner shrine of the Buddha, offers incense, and prostrates himself three times on the floor. The monks recite three times a short sutra dedicated to the Bodhisattva Kannon (Avalokiteśvara), a spiritual admonition left by the monastery founder, by one of the ancient masters, or possibly the “Song of Meditation” (*Zazen wasan*) by the Rinzaï master Hakuin Ekaku (1685–1768):

<i>shujō honnai / hotoke nari</i>	All beings essentially are Buddhas.
<i>mizu to kōri no / gotoku nite</i>	It is like water and ice:
<i>mizu wo hanarete / kōri naku</i>	apart from water, no ice;
<i>shujō no hoka ni / hotoke nashi</i>	aside from living beings, no Buddhas. <sup>8</sup>

The recitation is punctuated by a leather-tipped mallet striking a *mokugyo* (literally, “wooden fish”), a large, hollowed-out spherical drum-like instrument with a fish pattern carved into the exterior.

The *rōshi* mounts a high chair facing the Buddha-shrine while an attendant sets a reading table before him. The textbook might be the *Recorded Sayings of Lin-chi* (Rinzairoku). [Suzuki here inserts a 2–page excerpt.]<sup>9</sup>

For meditation (*zazen*) a special posture is recommended, though the *kōan* exercise can be carried on in whatever work one may be engaged and in whatever bodily position one may assume. Zen has nothing to do with the form the body may take, sitting or lying, walking or standing still. But for practical reasons the following posture is considered most conducive for acquiring the desired mental attitude.

When one wishes to practise meditation, let him retire to a quiet room and prepare a thickly wadded cushion for sitting, with dress and belt loosely adjusted about the body. Proper formal posture requires that one sit with legs fully crossed by placing the right foot over the left thigh and the left foot over the right thigh. (A half-cross-legged posture is also permitted by simply letting the left leg rest over the right thigh.) One then places the right hand over the left leg with its palm up on which the left hand rests, with thumbs pressed against each other over the palm. The whole body is then raised slowly and quietly, and moved repeatedly left and right, backwards and forwards, until proper seating and straight posture is assured. The spinal column is held erect with head, shoulders, back, and loins each properly supporting the others—but not to sit too upright or rigidly. The main point for the sitter is to have ears and shoulders, nose and navel aligned with each other in one vertical plane, with the tongue resting against



FIGURE 11. "Meditation Posture" [at the Engakuji]. Satō Zenchū brush sketch, Pl. 32. (Tōkeiji Collection)

his upper palate and lips and teeth firmly closed. Let the eyes be slightly opened in order to avoid dozing.

When the position is steadied and the breathing regular the sitter may now assume a somewhat relaxed attitude. Without rational distractions, one concentrates on the *kōan*, which is not expected to yield a rational answer. When the exercise is continued for some time, disturbing thoughts will eventually be brought under control.

In the Zendō all the monks sit facing one another along the platform. The practice of the Sōtō School, however, is just the opposite: instead of facing one another the monks of one platform sit with their backs turned against those on the other side.

There are several kinds of bell used in the monastery for different purposes. The large bell rings regularly at least four or five times a day: in the morning it reports the time for the monks to wake up, which is about half past three, in the evening to start their evening meditation, and at night to keep up their exercise in a reclining position [i.e., even while sleeping], which is about nine or half past nine.<sup>10</sup>

In short, the religious exercises Suzuki prescribes could be just as easily observed at the Tōkeiji convent as at the Engakuji temple. External social pressures might limit certain activities, such as the monthly begging exercise, but the essential practices of studying the discourses (*teishō*) and meditation (*zazen*) could be performed with equal ease—or difficulty—by women or men.

Although no convent records exist from the time of its founding stating that men were prohibited from entering Tōkeiji grounds (except, of course, those with express permission to conduct religious exercises, or to perform necessary manual services such as roof repair), the Engakuji does have a document issued by Kakusan's son, Hōjō Sadatoki (1271–1311), Tokimune's successor and co-founder of the Tōkeiji, barring women from entering the temple.

However, in 1794 (Kansei 6) the Engakuji administration issued seventeen articles of rules and regulations to be observed at the Tōkeiji. (As noted elsewhere, the Tōkeiji was not a branch temple of the Engakuji, which did, however, provide the convent with advice and assistance when requested.)

The convent's Middle Gate was the entrance to a high flat tableland on which stood the convent's Buddha Hall (*butsuden*), Abbess residence (*hōjō*), and nuns' quarters. The gate was reached by a long stone stairway from the street level, where were located the Matsugaoka administrative office and official inns to temporarily house potential marriage refugees from the the mid-Edo period. The Front Gate, no longer in existence, marked the enclosure boundary of these secondary buildings from the public road. Among the Engakuji's seventeen articles were the following:

- Beyond the Middle Gate no males over 8 years of age are permitted, including merchants and other service people.
- A pass is required for entrance through the Front Gate, which is open from 6 in the morning until 6 in the evening. Residents of the convent may use the gate until 8 in the evening, but all others are absolutely forbidden. The sound of wooden clappers will announce the closing of the gate.

- When residents of the convent need outside assistance for events such as funerals and festivals, this must be reported to the Engakuji.<sup>11</sup>

An additional set of suggested regulations from the Engakuji to the Tōkeiji a few years later in 1808 (Bunka 5) also survives, but the context that prompted it is not known. By this time—just six decades before the Meiji Restoration—the Inryōken office had long been in place and the hubbub over the convent’s “divorce” procedures had subsided. Was this late statement of the regulations merely another layer of bureaucrat redundancy, or were they a response to some laxity in observing the rules? We can only guess. They hint at the possibility of some infractions, but nothing spectacular.

*Notice to Matsugaoka [Tōkeiji] concerning the Regulations*

- The temple codes must be observed as always, without deviation.
- Morning and evening services must be conducted without fail, and attention to private religious exercise is also imperative.
- Monks may not enter the Tōkeiji, nor may nuns enter the Engakuji—except for attending religious services.
- At dinners for monks and/or nuns during celebrations or other social activities at Matsugaoka, no more than one kind of soup and three vegetable dishes should be served.
- *Sake* is prohibited under Buddhist regulations and it is most important that this rule be observed. Even to very special guests with close affiliations to the Tōkeiji *sake* may not be served. Even the special *sake* (*tosō*) for the New Year’s celebrations must be avoided.

We request that the above regulations be firmly observed.

From: Engakuji seventh month, Bunka 5 (1808)  
To: [Tōkeiji’s] Inryōken, Seishōin, Eifukuin<sup>12</sup>

This curious statement of the regulations does invite speculation, even though we do not know the circumstances that may have provoked it. Behind the assumption of even the worst possible scenario we can glimpse a strict code of behavior still in place. If the Engakuji is upset over nothing more serious than soup, vegetables, and some *sake* on special occasions, the system does not seem to have seriously broken down. Six decades later we find mention of limited quantities of *sake* being ordered through the Temple Office.<sup>13</sup>

*THE MATSUGAOKA DIARY (MATSUGAOKA NIKKI, 1866)*

In 1866, just two years before the sweeping changes of the Meiji Restoration would strip the Tōkeiji of its special reason for existing, an anonymous hand made a daily

record of events at the convent.<sup>14</sup> However, the author's anonymity does not prevent us from speculating on who he may have been. The diary's chronological entries describe the daily operations of the Tōkeiji Administrative Office (Tōkeiji Terayakusho). It was headed by the Inryōken's thirteenth Acting Abbess (Indai), Reigan Hōkyō, who held the position from 1862 to 1870.<sup>15</sup> At this time the office was staffed by members of the Ishii family, managed by Yūsuke, son of Uhei and father of Sadajirō. Circumstantial evidence points to Ishii Sadajirō as the probable scribe of the diary.



FIGURE 12. *Matsugaoka Diary* (Matsugaoka nikkichō, 1866). (Tōkeiji Collection)

Of course, notes on the operations of the Administrative Office can only convey to us a limited sense of everyday life at the Tōkeiji, but the *Matsugaoka Diary's* account of ordinary affairs in rural Kamakura a century and a half ago does give us some feeling for a time and situations long ago, like those of Saikaku's Osaka. They begin with events of the New Year and within the next twelve months discuss the convent's other concerns, including divorce proceedings—forty-two cases in 1866. Tokugawa Ieyasu had given the convent jurisdiction over three areas in the Kamakura District—Nikaidō, Jūniso, and Gokurakuji—and, while these areas provided it a welcome tax base, they also required reciprocal attention. The temple office conducted moneylending operations, and the diary repeatedly notes that “all reported for work, since today is the time for the collection of loans.” Then we are told that at the end of the eleventh month, “Shin'uemon did not report to work” . . . and considerable fuss ensued. Obviously, the savings-and-loan department was an especially important section of the Tōkeiji operations, as it had been for centuries in Chinese and Japanese Buddhist monasteries.

Japanese *gozan* monasteries depended for survival upon two main sources of income: donations made by patrons for the performance of Buddhist memorial services or prayers for intentions, and income in the form of rice, vegetable, and cash rents from land. Some monasteries benefited from foreign trade, but this was sporadic, not regular, income. The most important single source of support was land.<sup>16</sup>

In addition to the private moneylending activities of individual monks, many Zen monasteries engaged in a more public form of moneylending using “mortuary contributions” (*shidōsen*) donated by monastery supporters to pay for memorial ceremonies for deceased relatives. These small contributions were pooled and either loaned directly to applicants or entrusted to merchants or warehouse proprietors (*dosō*) to be loaned by them on the monastery's behalf. This kind of lending of mortuary contributions was common in Chinese Buddhist monasteries from the T'ang dynasty. In Japan it was most prevalent in Zen monasteries, though not unknown in other religious institutions, and was widespread by the fifteenth century.<sup>17</sup>

The *Matsugaoka Diary* shows us instances of both of these sources of support. For land tax the Tōkeiji depended on their Nikaidō, Jūniso, and Gokurakuji properties. And moneylending was a major activity of the temple's Inryōken, as it also was at the Mantokuji. However, this was a rather late development at the convent. Income from offerings made by the families of women who came to Tōkeiji to seek divorce and from charges of room and board paid by these women were the temple's main resources to manage expenses incurred from keeping them at the temple. The earliest surviving evidence of loan procedures at the Tōkeiji is quite late—1837. Loans were made mostly to those living in Musashi and Sagami Provinces.

### *Inns*

As the diary clearly shows, the inns surrounding the Tōkeiji were integral to the divorce procedures. They are gone now and can only be virtually restored from

older documents. The diary mentions the *Sendaiya* as “in front of the temple office,” that is, to the side of the Middle Gate at the top of the staircase in the illustration (see Figure 13): proprietors Mon’uemon, Heizaemon, Heishichi; the *Matsumotoya*, “In front of the main gate [i.e., the Front Gate to our bottom right]”: proprietors Kinzō, Yosōuemon, Kichizō; and the, *Kashiwaya*, “East side of the rear gate [top left, not visible in the illustration] of the temple office”: proprietor Genbei.<sup>18</sup>

Direct contact between the transient lodgers and resident nuns was not permitted. For instance, the temple business office (*naisho*) acted as intermediary to convey messages from the Acting Abbess to the lodgers when sewing and other chores were required. If women had to leave the convent grounds for personal reasons, and even for organized activities such as a spring outing to pick flowers, they were accompanied by resident nuns and had to wear name tags. On the occasion of a local summer festival, a shrine palanquin carried by local men would be permitted within the Main Gate, but only as far as the foot of the staircase leading to the Middle Gate. Generally speaking, regulations prescribed by the Tōkeiji and the Engakuji prohibited the women lodgers from leaving the convent grounds or from having contact with those outside.

*Matsugaoka Diary, Keiō 2 (1866) [Excerpts]*

second month, third day. The Manzai entertainer, Morima Chōfuku Dayū, and one other attendant from Mikawa Province, made their annual visit to perform their act of celebration. After the performance the Acting Abbess gave them 200 *mon*, a *shō* (1.6 dry quarts) of white rice, and treated them with soup and rice cakes. The Acting Abbess presented them with an additional 500 *mon*, and the company then departed.

third month, eighteenth day. Ichizaemon, Headman of Jūniso Village, brought an annual list of residents by religious affiliation, which was forwarded to the Acting Abbess.<sup>19</sup>

fifth month, fifth day. Ishii and his son put on formal linen attire to visit the Inner Residence with a message celebrating the Boys’ Day Festival (Tango).<sup>20</sup> Those engaged in activities on both sides of the convent gate also came to convey their best wishes on this festive occasion.

sixth month, seventh day. As in the past, the annual [palanquin] procession of Shintō shrine deities (*tenmōzō*) from Yamanouchi Village and Yamazaki Village presented itself at the foot of the stone steps [beneath the gate] of the convent at the sixth hour in the evening. The Acting Abbess and others greeted the procession from the top of the steps. Sadajirō and Genbei provided the ceremonial rice wine for the occasion.<sup>21</sup>

sixth month, fourteenth day. For the occasion of the procession of Shintō shrine deities to the temple, we brought some sake wine onto the premises.

seventh month, sixth day. Mina, daughter of Kingohyōe of Kōenbō Village in the Miura District of Sagami Province, settled her case amicably and obtained a divorce with the concurrence of her village. At the family’s request for the return of the woman’s clothing, the office informed the family that it could be picked up on the ninth day of the month.

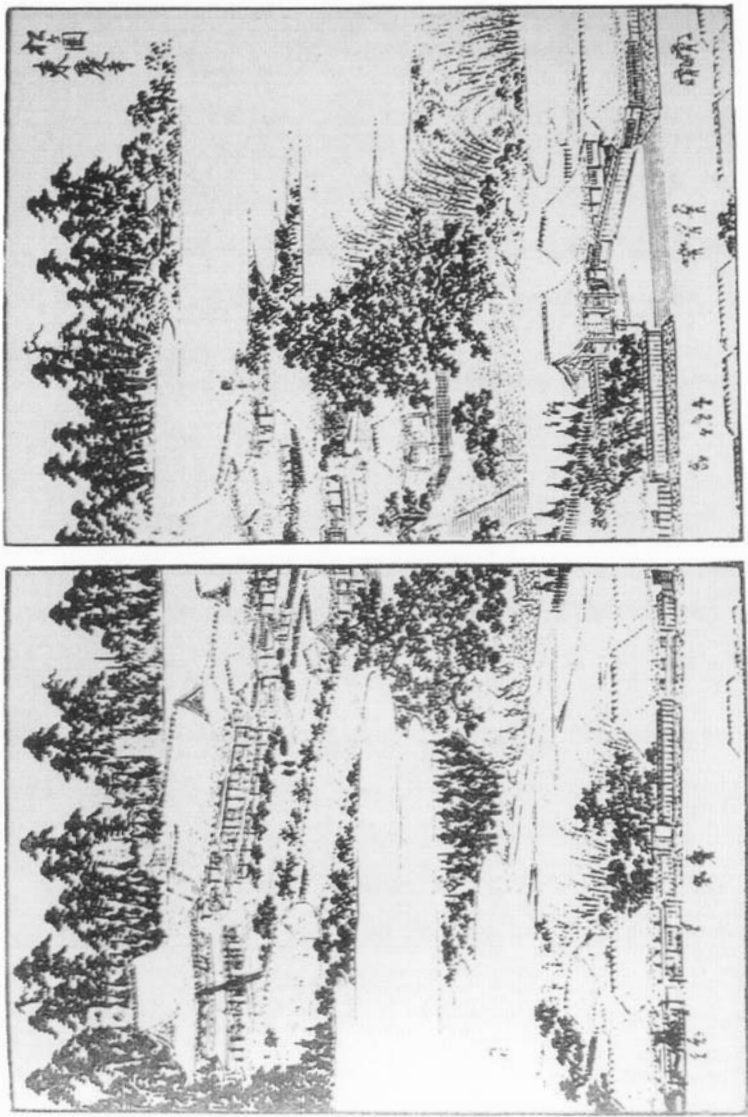


FIGURE 13. Tōkeiji premises, with official inns (*goyō yada*) in the foreground. From *Brief Recollections of Travels through Sagami Province* (*Shōchū ryūon kiriyaku*, probably late Edo period). (Tōkeiji Collection)



seventh month, seventh day. This morning at the eighth hour Ishii Sadajirō, dressed in formal linen attire, went to the residence of the Acting Abbess to extend his greetings on the occasion of the Star/Weaver (Tanabata) festival. Otherwise, nothing of consequence occurred within or outside the convent.

seventh month, fifteenth day. Ishiis, father and son, dressed in formal linen attire, paid a visit to the Acting Abbess at her residence and conveyed their greetings on the occasion of the Summer Lantern Festival (*chūgen*).<sup>22</sup>

eighth month, first day. Ishii Sadajirō, dressed in formal linen attire, paid his respects this morning at the residence [of the Acting Abbess] on the occasion of the first day of the eighth month [*hassaku*, the Harvest Festival; or, possibly, a celebration commemorating Tokugawa Ieyasu's entering Edo as shogun].

eighth month, fifteenth day. It was reported that a retainer of Deputy Imagawa Yōsaku came to pay a visit to the Headquarters on the occasion of a festival at the [Tsurugaoka] Hachiman Shrine. Accordingly, Ishii Sadajirō, accompanied by a servant, paid a courtesy call to the Deputy at the Headquarters at Yukinoshita [in Kamakura].

In mid-morning, the above-mentioned retainer took a tour of Matsugaoka. Shimizu Junzō, Hattori Heisuke, and four attendants, were taken to the Inryōken, where the Acting Abbess came out to greet them.

eighth month, twenty-fourth day. Today all the staff reported to the Office to work to handle loan business. Today the Acting Abbess paid a visit to the Kigen'in.

Genbei, innkeeper of Kashiwaya, reported that Asa, age twenty-nine, daughter of Fuki, who resides with her guardian, Mohei, came to the inn and expressed her desire to become an apprentice nun (*deshi*). (Mohei rents a lot owned by landlord Seibei at Ueno, Kuromon-mae, in Edo.) The woman was accompanied by her uncle, Kichizō, who rents a lot owned by Busuke of Motofune-chō. The office reported the matter to the Acting Abbess, who instructed the office to decline the woman's application. The message was relayed to the visitors, who then departed.

eighth month, twenty-ninth day. Today a messenger from Kigen'in, at the Engakuji, requested Ishii to come to that temple. Ishii immediately left to comply with their request, and was informed that there was an official announcement from the Konji-in. Ishii received it, read the contents, and sent a copy to the Acting Abbess. It said:

twenty-sixth day of the eighth month. As announced earlier, Middle Counselor (*Chūnagon*) Hitotsubashi [i.e., Tokugawa Yoshinobu, 1837–1913] will succeed to the Office [of fifteenth shōgun] and is to be addressed as "Lord" (Uesama), beginning with the twentieth day of the eighth month, as declared in Ōsaka.

twenty-sixth day of the eighth month. The Kubō [i.e., Shōgun Tokugawa Iemochi] passed away in Ōsaka on the twentieth day of the eighth month due to illness.

twenty-sixth day of the Eighth Month. Due to the passing of the Kubō, constructions and musical entertainments must be stopped as of today.

ninth month, ninth day. The Ishiis, father and son, set out in formal linen attire to convey their greetings to the Acting Abbess on the occasion of Chrysanthemum Festival (Chōyō; cf., Jūgoya. See Casal 1967, 95–105).

Twenty-five persons from eight households by the convent gate each received two *shō* of spring barley, totaling five *to* of unpolished rice and five *to* of barley so as to relieve some of their hardship. Headman Genbei supervised the distribution.

The wife of Monzaemon of Totsuka Village in the Adachi District of Musashi Province was reported to have arrived, and that she wished to meet her daughter, Uta. The office gave permission. The woman paid three *ryō* in gold (for her daughter's subsistence at the convent), which was received and forwarded to the Acting Abbess, with a receipt issued.

The Acting Abbess visited the [Engakuji's] Kigen'in and the Zokutō-an today in celebration of the Chrysanthemum Festival.

A messenger from the Kigen'in came for Ishii, who immediately went to see the Abbot (Chōrō) of the temple. The Abbot said that he had just returned today from a visit to Edo, and that he wanted to check the record of requests for sutra readings and worship services as soon as possible. Ishii agreed to check the matter and reported to the Acting Abbess about the request.

ninth month, tenth day. We examined the record of sutra readings and worship services and had Sadajirō check the established precedents, including statements for [reading] requests.

ninth month, eleventh day. Since the Acting Abbess will participate in the services [for shogun Iemochi's funeral], luggage will be shipped to an inn in Edo. Ishii Yūsuke, accompanied by Wasaburō and Heishichi, set out in the afternoon. Heishichi will take the required goods to Kanazawa to load them on a boat, and Ishii Yūsuke and Wasaburō will accompany them on board.

ninth month, thirteenth day. Ishii Yūsuke arrived at Kanazawa and waited until evening for a boat, but there was none. So he returned to the temple.

ninth month, fourteenth day. This morning Ishii Yūsuke made his way to the Eastern Sea Route (toward Edo).

ninth month, twentieth day. In the morning Ishii [Yūsuke] went to the inner residence to describe affairs in Edo. He understood that the funeral [for Iemochi] would be held on the twenty-third day at the Sōjōji, and that the depositing of sutras and other services of worship would be conducted on the twenty-ninth. In order that the Acting Abbess might report to Edo before the departure of the casket from Osaka and its arrival at the Sōjōji, Ishii advised her to begin her journey today, staying overnight at the Kanagawa Station, and arriving in Edo tomorrow. An advance message was sent to Totsuka Station and preparations for the journey began. A message was sent to Nikaidō Village to provide five workers, who arrived presently and were detained. Takijirō was called in to assemble the luggage and departed before noon. The guards are [Ishii] Sadajirō and Takashina Genbei; Hōjo is the attendant priest; and the entourage includes four palanquin bearers and one travel trunk carrier. It was decided that the party take Takijirō to Edo, while the men from Nikaidō would go only as far as Totsuka. These men left Totsuka for home in the afternoon and were given five tokens (*yakusatsu*) for their work.

Ishii Yūsuke saw the party off at Kobukurodani Village, as did Kōjiya Denbei, Bun-kichi, Ryōsuke, Matasaburō, Isuke, Heishichi, and Kichizō.

Ishii then went to the Zokutō-an and Kigen'in to report the departure of the Acting Abbess today, and to request assistance, if necessary, during her absence.

ninth month, twenty-eighth day. Nun Hōkatsu [Resident Abbess of the Eifuku-ken] departed this morning for Edo. Heishichi accompanied her to Hino Village.

ninth month, twenty-ninth day. Ishii and Kin'uemon returned to the temple this afternoon.

Last night Genkō came by to inform the convent that the Engakuji had performed the sutra dedication ceremony [for Iemochi's funeral] and then returned to his temple. The office acknowledged receipt of this notice.

tenth month, fifth day. Ishii Yūsuke paid a visit to the Engakuji to welcome back the temple's Abbot on his return from Edo.

The office prepared a letter to inquire about the Acting Abbess's date of return from the sutra dedication ceremony. Courier Kin'uemon will carry the letter to Edo tomorrow morning.

Man, age twenty-nine, elder sister of Shōkichi, who rents from landlord Denbei at 6-chōme, Shibata-chō, took refuge at the convent for a possible divorce from her husband, Kikumatsu, who rents from landlord Sōbei at 5-chōme, Shibata-chō, who is also his liaison. The office immediately interviewed the woman and issued a summons in writing to Sōbei.

The Abbot (Chōrō) of the Kigen'in made a call of inquiry to the Inryōken during the absence of the Acting Abbess.

tenth month, seventh day. The office provided Kikuzō, gatekeeper of the lower gate, with two *to* (one bushel) of natural rice as stipend at his request.

Nun Hōkatsu returned to the convent yesterday from Yotsuya, Edo, bringing a letter to Ishii from the Acting Abbess.

Nun Hōkatsu paid her visits to Engakuji's Kigen'in and Zokutō-an.

tenth month, eighth day. The Acting Abbess was staying at Yufu at Matsu-no-baba, Yotsuya (see Komaru 1991, 231). A reply to a letter sent by [Ishii] Sadajirō states that the Abbess would leave Edo yesterday (the seventh day) and would stay overnight at Hodogaya. She asked that helpers be sent to Totsuka Station this morning. The office sent Kikuzō to Nikaidō Village last night, and this morning, fifteen helpers to accompany the Abbess's party and three additional helpers to assist the military contingent in the entourage. These three—Kyūzaemon, Kyūuemon's (*sic*) son, and Tokuzaeon—were sent to Tsuchiya Sōbei's at Totsuka Station. Two travel trunks, five pieces of "feather skins" (*hanekawa*), three short swords, two oil-cloth travelling boxes, and two lacquered travelling boxes were also sent up.

Nine persons who work for Matsugaoka went to Totsuka to meet the party: Takashina Genbei, Hasegawa Sauemon, Kurita Sajirō, Kurita Denbei, Heishichi from the Sendaiya inn, courier Kin'uemon, Kamejirō and the younger brother of Ichigorō, blacksmith Chōkichi, and carpenter Tomejirō. Kichizō, of the Matsumotoya inn, was out of town and could not join the party. Kichizō's mother came to apologize.

Ishii Yūsuke met the Acting Abbess at the gate when she returned from Edo.

We procured two *to* (about five gallons) of regular *sake* wine from rice merchant Kyūshirō, and treated the party upon its return.

We also procured three loaves of tōfu and sixty pieces of fried tōfu from Sōjirō's tōfu shop.

tenth month, ninth day. The Acting Abbess paid a visit today to the Engakuji's Zokuto-an and Kigen'in to report that she had returned from Edo, and to thank them for their assistance during her absence. Ishii Sadajirō also paid his respects and expressed his gratitude to the Engakuji.

tenth month, twelfth day. The Acting Abbess, accompanied by her disciple, Hōjō, went out with her aunt from Nose, Yotsuya Matsu-no-baba in Edo. They took along maidservants, one palanquin with [bearers] Kin'uemmon and Hanjirō; Sadajirō also went with Senga, and an attendant sent by Genbei [of the Kashiwaya inn]. The party stopped at Enoshima's Iwamoto-in in the morning and said prayers at the Benten Shrine.

Heishichi, innkeeper of the Sendaiya, came to request the assistance of Ishii [Yūsuke]. This spring the Abbess forbade [Courier] Bunkichi and his wife (who lived near the convent gate) from entering the temple grounds, and asked Heishichi to convey her message. This he did, but after a long time had passed, Heishichi begged for assurance that the matter be settled more leniently. Ishii gave Heishichi his word that he would try to have the ban lifted.<sup>23</sup>

tenth month, thirteenth day. Two workmen from Nikaidō Village came to build a fence, and also will return on the fourteenth and fifteenth.

tenth month, seventeenth day. The Acting Abbess visited Engakuji's Zokutō-an and Kigen'in to prepare for the founder's memorial service.

tenth month, eighteenth day. Seizaemon of Katase Village, Chūjirō and Kurajirō, both from Fujisawa Station, arrived in the evening.

The Acting Abbess told Ishii that on the twenty-second day of this month she planned to invite guests to the reception since the construction would be finished that day, and services for the founder would be conducted on the twenty-third.

tenth month, twenty-first day. The Inryōken construction was completed and the reception is set for tomorrow. Services for the founder are set for the following day, the twenty-third. For these occasions, Ishii sent ten blocks of tōfu to the Abbess's residence.

Both Ishii Sadajirō and his wife went up early this morning to help.

The office sent out invitations to neighbors for the Inryōken reception tomorrow.

tenth month, twenty-second day. Today the Inryōken reception was held and everyone from the Engakuji was invited. Last night (the eve of the reception and service) sutras were read followed by food and drink. All who work for Matsugaoka, the Headmen from the two villages [Nikaidō and Jūniso], and farm representatives were likewise invited. In all, 140 guests attended the celebration provided by Matsugaoka.

Received from guests various gifts for the residence.

tenth month, twenty-third day. For the Founder's Day service today, celebrants from the Engakuji arrived in the morning, and after reading the sutras were treated to lunch and departed around noon.

twelfth month, twenty-third day. Annually on this day we make rice cakes for the New Year's festivities. Three lodgers and two couriers started work at dawn and finished by mid morning.

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endan wa  
Izumo hadan wa  
Matsugaoka

for joining together,  
Izumo; for breaking asunder,  
Matsugaoka.

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7



*The “Divorce Temple”  
in Edo Satirical Verse*

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SENRYŪ AS A POPULAR EDO PASTIME

Among the entertainments of the eighteenth-century Edo townsman was a new verse form called *senryū*, after the pen name of its most prominent promoter, Karai Hachiemon (Senryū, 1718–1790). Like haiku it consisted of seventeen syllables, usually in groups of 5-7-5. But it required no seasonal reference (*kigo*) or “cutting words” (*kireji*) to indicate a pause or stop and it tended to focus on the curiosities of human entanglements rather than on the aesthetics of the human condition. Matsuo Bashō might well argue that his haiku was high art (*ga*), but no one could make the claim for *senryū*. Still, its deft sketching of the townsman’s attitudes and moods make vivid for us times and social circumstances long gone. Among its stanzas available in modern printings are some five hundred composed with reference to Matsugaoka’s “divorce temple.”<sup>1</sup>

Haiku and *senryū* both derive from the linked verse (*renga*) which gradually replaced the court-oriented *tanka* as the major medium for poets during the Kamakura and Ashikaga periods.

An opening stanza of 5-7-5 syllables would be followed by a second stanza of 7-7, continued with a third of 5-7-5, and so on, often to create a chain of a hundred units (*hyakuin*), but sometimes one of fewer or more. Standard (*ushin*) linked verse, represented by such masters as Sōtetsu (1381–1459), Shinkei (1406–1475), and Sōgi (1421–1502), followed strict rules of linkage, diction, and the placement of imagery.

Nonstandard (*mushin*) linked verse was originally more relaxed about the rules of composition, but in time also developed a serious program as *haikai* (“comic”) *no renga* with three major schools: the Teimon of Matsunaga Teitoku (1571–1653), the Danrin of Nishiyama Sōin (1605–1682), the Shōfū of Matsuo Bashō (1644–1694). When the opening stanza of the *haikai* sequence came to be composed independently of any following stanzas, the haiku form was born.

*Senryū* had a somewhat different course of development. From the practice of stanza linking (*tsukeai*) in *renga* and *haikai* arose a popular entertainment known as *maekuzuke*, “connection with a preceding stanza.” A foundation stanza (*maeku*),

usually the 7-7 portion of the *tanka*-like unit, was provided to a second player who added a “joined stanza” (*tsukeku*). The townsman “poet,” with few artistic pretensions, would submit his “joined stanza” to a judge (*tenja*) together with a small fee, perhaps sixteen *mon* (about twenty *yen* in today’s currency). In ten-thousand stanza competitions (*mankuawase*)<sup>2</sup> the total of these fees would make a tidy sum.

In the popular competitions of the Genroku period (1688–1703), small prizes were awarded for the best verses, competition was intense, and the entertainment degenerated into a kind of gambling. During the Kōō period (1716–1735) the authorities prohibited its practice but as restrictions relaxed, *maekuzuke* made a strong comeback. It is from the Kōō period that we have the first written records of these competitions (*mankuawase surimono*).<sup>3</sup>

The first major collection of *maekuzuke* is the *Mutamagawa* (Mutama River)<sup>4</sup> by the competition judge, Kei Kiitsu (1695–1762), compiled in 1750 and published in 1774. Some stanzas follow the standard linking, but others have as their foundation stanza the 5-7-5 phrase and a “joined stanza” of 7-7. Several of its verses pertaining to the Tōkeiji are to be found among the translations below.

But in the history of *senryū* Kei Kiitsu gives way to his younger contemporary, Karai Hachiemon, whose very pen name has become synonymous with the genre. He was the most popular judge of ten-thousand stanza competitions between 1757 and 1789, the year before his death. His decisions, published annually in short pamphlets, are known collectively as *Senryūhyō mankuawase* (Ten-Thousand Stanza Competitions Judged by Senryū). All but a few of these fugitive fragments have been assembled by the leading contemporary *senryū* scholar, Okada Asatarō (1868–1936). It is estimated that the 80,000 items selected for inclusion in these pamphlets represent perhaps 3 percent of 2,300,000 stanzas submitted for his decision.

From this literary pool the editor Gorōken Arubeshi (Momen) culled a group of 756 stanzas for the first book of (*Haifū*) *Yanagidaru* (The Willow Barrel [of Poems in the Haikai Style]), published in 1765. Gorōken published twenty-two more annual publications between 1767 and 1789. With the twenty-fourth book, compiled by Karakuan Hitokuchi and published in 1791, the year after Senryū’s death, the core of the *Yanagidaru* collection was complete. But subsequent additions until 1840 brought the number of volumes issued under this title to 167. Most of the Matsugaoka-related *senryū* appear either in the *Senryūhyō mankuawase* or in the derivative *Yanagidaru*.

*Senryū* continues to be written even today, but the late eighteenth century was its golden age. Karai’s selection of verses were also compiled in the *Yanagidaru shūi* (Gleanings after the Willow Barrel), known originally as *Kokon maekushū* (Collection of Ancient and Modern Connected Verse), published posthumously in ten books between 1796 and 1798.<sup>5</sup> The editor is unknown, but it is sometimes credited to Santō Kyōden (1761–1816), famous as a writer of *kibyōshi* (“Yellow-covered Books”) and as an artist.

In the stanzas below will be found selections from the *Gleanings* as well as from *Kawazoi yanagi* (Willows by the River),<sup>6</sup> a compilation published by Karai Senryū, 1780, 1783, and from (*Haifū*) *Yanagidaru ishifumi* (1839).

## THE TRAIL OF SATIRICAL VERSE TO KAMAKURA

The most visible of only two convents in the country arranging divorces for women was an unavoidable topic for the Edo *senryū* wits. Divorce under any circumstances was a rarity in Japan, at least by modern standards. But for the woman to initiate the process was considered by many to strike at the roots of a stable Confucian society. The writers often, but not always, appear to sympathize with the unhappy woman. Sometimes their lack of familiarity with the customs of the Tōkeiji lead them to make statements that are in error. And sometimes they unexpectedly throw light on a controversial issue such as the good name of the convent’s residents, as we have seen in the last chapter.

Although the *senryū* translated here were composed independently by a number of individuals over a span of years, we have decided that they could be presented most readably in a sequence beginning with stanzas on the general nature of the Tōkeiji, and then following the refugee from her home, typically from Edo, down the Tōkaidō to Kamakura. We then see her life at the Tōkeiji and her departure after three years with the letter of separation.

Matsugaoka Tōkeiji as Divorce Temple<sup>7</sup>

<i>endan wa</i>	for joining together
<i>Izumo hadan wa</i>	Izumo; for breaking asunder,
<i>Matsugaoka</i>	Matsugaoka
<i>Izumo nite</i>	joined together
<i>musubi Kamakura</i>	at Izumo, separated
<i>nite hodoki</i>	in Kamakura
<i>hikikaramu</i>	untangling
<i>en wo kakikiru</i>	tangled relationship:
<i>kama no tera</i>	Temple of the Sickle

[The Great Shrine at Izumo, dedicated to Ōkuninushi (“Great Land-Rule Deity”), is the oldest shrine in Japan. It has been a traditional symbol of auspicious marriages, just as the Tōkeiji at “Sickle Warehouse” (Kama-kura) has been associated with divorce, at least since the early Edo period.]

<i>enoki de mo</i>	if not at the nettle tree,
<i>torenu sarijō</i>	get your letter of separation
<i>matsu de tori</i>	at the pine
<i>mazu enoki</i>	first the nettle-tree
<i>sore de ikanu to</i>	if this won’t cut [the marriage tie],
<i>matsu de kiri</i>	then try the pine.



[Prayer before a certain Chinese nettle-tree in Edo's Itabashi district was thought to help one get a quick divorce. The pine refers, of course, to Matsugaoka ("Pine Grove"), i.e., Tōkeiji.]

<i>Kamakura e</i>	come to Kamakura
<i>gozare amazake</i>	and "we will give you
<i>shinjō nari</i>	sweet wine"

[The stanza makes a siren's song of a set phrase from the Edo period to the present used to tease or entice children:]

<i>koko made oide</i>	"come here, and sweet
<i>amazake shinjō</i>	rice wine I'll give you."
<i>kuyashiku ba</i>	"if you are upset,
<i>tazune kite miyo</i>	come here and inquire"—
<i>Matsugaoka</i>	Matsugaoka

<i>Matsugaoka</i>	In topsy-turvy fashion,
<i>ama sakasama ni</i>	at Matsugaoka it is the nuns
<i>hima wo toru</i>	who take their leave

[. . . of their husbands, who alone normally had the right to initiate divorce, and most other, proceedings. Our poet does not approve.]

<i>Matsugaoka</i>	Matsugaoka:
<i>hantetsu mono no</i>	a meeting place
<i>yoridokoro</i>	for misfits

<i>Matsugaoka</i>	Matsugaoka:
<i>onnadatera no</i>	a club just for
<i>kaisho nari</i>	women

[And that would never do!]

<i>Matsugaoka</i>	at Matsugaoka—
<i>nyōbō ni natta</i>	only those who were
<i>hito bakari</i>	once wives

[Except, of course, the small contingent of full-fledged "shorne nons."]

<i>te irazu to</i>	those never handled
<i>iu wa jūshoku</i>	by men consist of only
<i>hitori nari</i>	the resident abbess

[At the time this stanza was composed, the Tōkeiji had not, in fact, had a resident abbess since the tenure of Gyokuen from 1728 to 1737. An acting head nun at the Inryōken administered the convent until the Meiji period.]

<i>jūjisama</i>	[among all the women]
<i>bakari otoko wo</i>	only the Mother Superior
<i>motte mizu</i>	has not known men

[. . . and yet the Tōkeiji opens its doors to women with marital problems.]

<i>kanzoku wo</i>	having disciples
<i>suru deshi wo motsu</i>	destined to return to the world:
<i>Matsugaoka</i>	Matsugaoka

[Elsewhere those who enter the religious life come with the intention of staying, whether or not they do. But not at the Tōkeiji, where most of the residents can be expected to leave in two to three years.]

<i>hana chiruwe</i>	should call it
<i>sato to iubeki wo</i>	“Village of Fallen Flowers”—
<i>Matsugaoka</i>	Matsugaoka

[Or, as composed earlier:]

<i>Matsugaoka</i>	why not call it
<i>hana chiru sato to</i>	“Village of Fallen Flowers”?
<i>naze iwanu</i>	Matsugaoka

[Critics are quick to lament the years of wasted youth but can propose no viable alternative for the exploited. Some are even hostile.]

<i>Kamakura e</i>	going to Kamakura
<i>yuku hazu fudan</i>	is only appropriate for one
<i>ama yobari</i>	always called an “ama”

[*Ama* can mean “nun” but also, and perhaps derivatively, “hussy, slut” (*Kenkyūsha*), a term of denigration for women, especially young women.]

<i>tonda yome</i>	the impossible wife
<i>otera de toshi wo</i>	opts for three years
<i>mittsu tori</i>	at a convent
<i>jō no kowasō na</i>	those who enter seem
<i>no ga hairu</i>	to have frightful dispositions:
<i>Matsugaoka</i>	Matsugaoka

<i>doku nyōbō</i>	the vicious wife
<i>ura made mo kuru</i>	returns for a second round
<i>Matsugaoka</i>	to Matsugaoka
<i>mada ibiri-</i>	still trying
<i>takuba Kamakura</i>	to torment him she goes
<i>made oide</i>	to Kamakura
<i>Kamakura no</i>	what stubbornness:
<i>sabaki wo ukeru</i>	to receive a judgment
<i>ki no tsuyosa</i>	from Kamakura

[While “strength of spirit” (*ki no tsuyosa*) might be applauded today as “willpower,” for the writer of this stanza it was simply “intractability, stubbornness.”]

<i>kakekomi soshō</i>	at Matsugaoka
<i>bakari aru</i>	nothing but runaway
<i>Matsugaoka</i>	litigation

[To the outside observer, at least, there appears to be no serious religious activity at the Tōkeiji—just divorce proceedings.]

<i>Kamakura de</i>	at Kamakura
<i>hanahada warui</i>	they steer the women
<i>kaji wo toru</i>	way off course

[The nautical imagery—“take the rudder” (*kaji wo toru*), i.e., “steer a course”—is also used for the management of household affairs: *ikka no kaji wo toru*, to “manage household affairs” (*Kenkyūsha*).]

<i>Matsugaoka</i>	Matsugaoka:
<i>otoko no tame no</i>	an uninviting place
<i>mazui toko</i>	for men
<i>amadera wa</i>	the convent:
<i>otoko no iji wo</i>	where a man’s will
<i>tsubusu toko</i>	is crushed

[Another version of this stanza replaces the first line with “Matsugaoka,” but the meaning is only slightly changed.]

<i>inu wo sute</i>	leaving the dog,
<i>saru no kakekomu</i>	the monkey takes refuge
<i>Matsugaoka</i>	at Matsugaoka

[The monkey and the dog are known to be incompatible—models for the estranged husband and wife. Note the use of the verb “*kakekomu*,” cognate with *kakekomi-dera* (“Temple of Asylum”), i.e., the Tōkeiji.]

<i>kuyashisa wa</i>	frustrations
<i>zai Kamakura to</i>	described and sent to those
<i>kaite yari</i>	at Kamakura

[A preliminary inquiry is sent but there is no reply. One must apply in person.]

<i>sōishita</i>	at such a place
<i>toko e amadera</i>	as this they had to build
<i>tate te oki</i>	a convent!

[Convenient enough for Kakusan, no doubt, but not for those who had to travel thirty-two miles (13 *ri*) from Edo. Another possibility turns on the term “woman of Sagami Province” (*Sagami onna*), which in the Edo period could mean “amorous female.” Thus, the stanza could be interpreted as: “How strange to establish, in a hotbed of licentiousness, a convent where sex is prohibited for three years.”]

#### The Decision to Leave Her Husband, and the Journey to Matsugaoka

<i>Kamakura e</i>	before setting off
<i>yuku mae kawa e</i>	for Kamakura is the leap
<i>sude no koto</i>	into the river

[It took considerable determination to apply to the Tōkeiji for refuge and to remain there for three years. Some first attempted suicide by drowning.]

<i>Kamakura no</i>	before Kamakura,
<i>mae ni nisando</i>	she flees two or three times
<i>sato e nige</i>	to her parents’ house
<i>Takasago ni</i>	abused by [the pines]
<i>ibirare yome wa</i>	of Takasago, the young wife flees
<i>matsu ni nige</i>	to the pines [of Tōkeiji]

[The old pines of Takasago, ancient symbols of longevity, here refer to her husband’s parents. And so the woman takes refuge among other pines, at Matsugaoka (“Pine Grove”).]

<i>abumi kara</i>	from [Musashi] stirrups
<i>kura made yome no</i>	to [Kamakura] saddle, the wife
<i>ikkiochi</i>	down alone

[Musashi Province, in which Edo was located, was known for manufacturing a variety of stirrups called *Musashi abumi*: as spoken (or written in *kana*), the *kura* of Kamakura could be understood as “saddle,” although the proper characters mean “warehouse.” The interest of the verse turns on its horse-related items.

According to Tōkeiji documents, most of the refugees came from Sagami and Musashi Provinces, the modern prefectures of Kanagawa, Saitama, and Tokyo. There were also some from Kazusa and Shimōsa provinces (Chiba Prefecture), but these were of less interest to the Edo-based *senryū* poets.]

<i>kotchi e wa</i>	from her parents' house
<i>konu to sato kara</i>	they come out all upset, saying:
<i>sawagidashi</i>	“she didn't come back here.”

[The wife is missing. Has she returned home, gone to a friend's house, committed suicide, or perhaps started on her way to Matsugaoka?]

<i>sato kara mo</i>	also from her parents' house,
<i>so-shiranu kao de</i>	coming out to inquire and
<i>tazune ide</i>	pretending that they don't know
<i>kakioki no</i>	a note left behind
<i>koto namu san to</i>	“good heavens!” he exclaims—
<i>jūsan ri</i>	thirteen <i>ri</i>

[. . . from Edo's Nihombashi to the Tōkeiji.]

<i>Matsugaoka</i>	Matsugaoka:
<i>Edo no uchi kara</i>	here she came having heard of it
<i>kikite yuki</i>	at her house in Edo
<i>Matsugaoka</i>	to Matsugaoka
<i>surikogi kizu wo</i>	she goes with bruises received
<i>ukete yuki</i>	from the wooden pestle

[In a comparable Western situation the poet would doubtless speak of a rolling pin rather than a pestle.]

<i>Matsugaoka</i>	Matsugaoka
<i>onna no hitori</i>	is one place to which women
<i>yuku tokoro</i>	travel alone

[Usually when she makes a journey, the wife is accompanied by family, relatives, and friends. And so also is she likely to be on her return.]

<i>shinkon ni</i>	with grim
<i>tesshite yome wa</i>	determination the wife travels
<i>jūsan ri</i>	the thirteen <i>ri</i>

[. . . from Edo’s Nihonbashi to the Tōkeiji. An *ri* is 2.44 miles/3.93 kilometers.]

<i>Kamakura e</i>	to Kamakura
<i>yome aruite mo</i>	the young wife walks,
<i>aruite mo</i>	and walks

[So, if she could afford it, she is more likely to have hired a four-strut palanquin (*yotsude kago*), a small light conveyance named for the four struts of bamboo on each corner of the cabin. A single pole through the top was supported on the shoulders of runners in front and behind.]

<i>Kamakura e</i>	“to Kamakura”—
<i>mese to yotsude wa</i>	and the palanquin bearers
<i>sore to miru</i>	get the idea

<i>ikuji naki</i>	timidly inquiring
<i>nari de kiki kiki</i>	time and time again:
<i>jūsan ri</i>	thirteen <i>ri</i>

<i>hakkuri itte</i>	“go seven or eight <i>ri</i>
<i>kikasshare to</i>	down the road and ask someone”—
<i>watashimori</i>	the ferryboat captain

[The crossing of Rokugō River separating Edo and Kawasaki was the major hurdle of the journey. Rokugō is a special name for the lower portion of the Tamagawa River, especially where the stream now flows down from Rokugō Bridge at the intersection of Kawasaki City and Tokyo’s Ōta Ward. In early Tokugawa there also seems to have been a bridge spanning the river, but by the late eighteenth century it had to be crossed by ferry. Beyond the river the fugitive would have to travel through Tsurumi, Kanagawa (Yokohama), Hodogaya, and Totsuka, where a spur off the great Tōkaidō road led to Kamakura.]

<i>kuri aru yo</i>	“nine <i>ri</i> to go!
<i>isogasshai to</i>	you’d better hurry,” exhorts
<i>watashimori</i>	the ferryman

<i>onna no</i>	eloping,
<i>takeochi Rokugō</i>	the woman runs toward
<i>sashite yuki</i>	Rokugō

[Here is a switch. Usually it is the abused wife, not the eloping lover, who races toward Rokugō.]

<i>sono fune</i>	“come over here,”
<i>koko e to iu uchi</i>	she calls to the ferryboat—
<i>otte kuru</i>	the family in hot pursuit
<i>mae ni wa</i>	before her,
<i>ōkawa ushiro kara</i>	a large river behind her,
<i>teishu kuru</i>	the pursuing husband

[But having crossed the Rokugō River, the runaway feels a bit more relaxed and may decide to stop at Kawasaki’s well-known Mannenya for tea or perhaps at the Tsuruya (“Crane Shop”), or Kameya (“Turtle Shop”), famous for their bean cakes in the shapes of cranes and turtles. The average traveler would walk about ten *ri* (roughly twenty-five miles/forty kilometers) a day. So if she started in the morning, this would mark the half-way point.]

<i>Matsugaoka</i>	to Matsugaoka—
<i>made ni manjū</i>	but along the way she samples
<i>futatsu kui</i>	two pieces of bean cake
<i>Matsugaoka</i>	“She’s going to Matsugaoka”—
<i>da to manjūya</i>	the proprietor of the sweet-bean shop
<i>minuitari</i>	is most observant
<i>Hanareyama</i>	“Here is Separation Hill”—
<i>to wa kisō na</i>	a good omen for those on their way
<i>Matsugaoka</i>	to Matsugaoka

[A short distance before arriving at the city along the Kamakura Road, the traveler passes this small hill on the right, followed by Koshiyama and Jiōyama.]

<i>Yakimochizaka de</i>	At Jealousy Hill
<i>amadera no</i>	she inquires about the road
<i>michi wo kiki</i>	to the convent
<i>un no nasa</i>	bad luck:
<i>Yakimochizaka de</i>	at Jealousy Hill
<i>otsukare</i>	reapprehended

[Yakimochizaka (“Jealousy Hill”) is in Totsuka, north of and close to Kamakura.]

<i>sekikonde</i>	“Where is the temple
<i>sarijō no deru</i>	that serves separation papers?”
<i>tera to kiki</i>	she inquires hastily

<i>amadera wo</i>	how pitiful
<i>tazuneru kao no</i>	the face of one inquiring
<i>kinodoku sa</i>	about the convent!
<i>yatsu shichi gō</i>	lost among
<i>magotsuite</i>	[Kamakura’s] Seven Valleys
<i>yome aruki</i>	wanders the young wife
<i>urotaeta</i>	in a dither
<i>onna gosan wo</i>	the woman races here and there
<i>atchi kotchi</i>	among the Five Mountains
<i>urotaeta</i>	Kenchōji:
<i>kakeiri mo aru</i>	here too are runaways,
<i>Kenchōji</i>	in a dither

[The runaway has almost reached her goal. Kenchōji is just down the road, south of the Engakuji and its neighboring Tōkeiji.]

<i>Engakuji</i>	just in front of
<i>mae nite yome wo</i>	Engakuji he apprehends
<i>tsukamaeru</i>	his wife

[The Tōkeiji, and freedom, was just a stone’s throw away from the Engakuji. But others are more fortunate.]

<i>jūsan ri</i>	after a solo trip
<i>dokkō wo shite</i>	of thirteen <i>ri</i> , cutting
<i>en wo kiri</i>	the marriage tie
<i>rokōcha</i>	in she runs,
<i>kite wa tobikomu</i>	dressed in Rō brown—
<i>Matsugaoka</i>	Matsugaoka

[*Rokōcha*, lit., “Rokō’s brown,” was the name of a color made fashionable by the Kabuki actor Segawa Kikunojō II (1741–1773), also known as Rokō. Was Matsugaoka just another frivolous diversion for the current runaway, or did she have her reasons?]

<i>Matsugaoka</i>	Matsugaoka:
<i>niko niko dereba</i>	while one leaves all smiles,
<i>beso beso ki</i>	another arrives weeping
<i>Kamakura no</i>	you cannot enter
<i>rō wa daitete</i>	the prison at Kamakura
<i>irerarezu</i>	carrying a child



[If a woman was confined in a civil prison, her children would be sent to live with relatives. So the poet suggests that the convent is also a kind of prison, where children are not permitted.]

<i>Matsugaoka</i>	Matsugaoka:
<i>me wo sasu hodo wa</i>	enough [milk left in her breasts]
<i>mada nokori</i>	to squirt as far as her eye

[Some of the refugees might still be nursing mothers. And in Edo Japan, as today, the new burdens of caring for a baby may have aggravated existing tensions with her husband. Some may have come as far as the Tōkeiji, only to decide that three years of separation from their child was too long.]

<i>midorigo ni</i>	pining
<i>hikarete Omatsu</i>	for her baby, Omatsu
<i>tachikaeri</i>	returns home

[The stanza trades on several puns: Omatsu (“Miss Pine”) as a woman’s name, and Matsu-gaoka (“Pine Grove”), whose trees are green (*midori*). Written with a different character, *midori* is also the first element of *midorigo*, “child” . . . Meanwhile, the runaway’s family and neighbors are out looking for her.]

<i>jūsan ri</i>	thirteen <i>ri</i> :
<i>giri de tabidatsu</i>	neighbors on either side come along
<i>ryōdonari</i>	out of obligation

[. . . but it’s a bother.]

<i>kinjo no shū</i>	the neighbors
<i>mazu kawasuji wo</i>	first of all check out
<i>kokorogake</i>	the river bank

[. . . before committing themselves to a boat crossing and a lengthy expedition to find the runaway.]

<i>tashika ni</i>	certainly this road
<i>kono michi yome no ato</i>	will put him on his wife’s trail—
<i>jūsan ri</i>	thirteen <i>ri</i>
<i>jūsan ri</i>	thirteen <i>ri</i> ,
<i>saki da ni tatta</i>	but he inquires away,
<i>yo ri tazune</i>	for only four

[The husband only looks for his wife for four of the thirteen *ri* to Kamakura because he is searching in an area with a radius of four *ri* from Nihonbashi. There are other alternatives to her having gone to the Tōkeiji.]

<i>uranai e</i>	to a fortune-teller
<i>hitori Rokugō e</i>	goes one, while two or three
<i>nisannin</i>	head for Rokugō
<i>ido ya kawa</i>	checking wells
<i>nozoki Rokugō</i>	and rivers along the way,
<i>sashite yuki</i>	they move toward Rokugō

[Has the woman committed suicide, or has she gone to the Tōkeiji? But Rokugō is a bottleneck, and sometimes they find her.]

<i>uranatte</i>	“A fortune teller
<i>kita to Rokugō</i>	told me I’d find you here” —
<i>de oitsuki</i>	caught at Rokugō
<i>Rokugō de</i>	at Rokugō
<i>yōyō yome wo</i>	they finally apprehend
<i>toramaeru</i>	the young wife

[But if they don’t, the pursuers still have a good distance to travel to Kamakura, with no guarantee of success. And if they arrive at the ferry too late, they may have to spend the night before crossing.]

<i>Rokugō no</i>	the pursuers
<i>ichiban fune ni</i>	take passage on Rokugō’s
<i>oite nori</i>	first boat of the day
<i>Kamakura da</i>	already in Kamakura,
<i>no ni maigo no</i>	but still they call for her: “Oaki,
<i>Oaki yai</i>	poor lost child!”
<i>Kamakura no</i>	her palanquin
<i>modoru yotsude ni</i>	returning from Kamakura is passed
<i>otte ai</i>	by the pursuers

[. . . who are probably not aware that it was the one she hired. And suppose the wife has not fled to Matsugaoka after all?]

<i>Kamakura ni</i>	“She is not
<i>inai to koto ga</i>	at Kamakura,” they say—
<i>muzukashii</i>	a difficult situation

[Or perhaps the family arrives just as she slips into the Tōkeiji, where her pursuers may not enter.]

<i>oitsuita</i>	having finally
<i>tokoro ga kao wo</i>	caught up with her, they only
<i>mita bakari</i>	glimpse her face
<i>karakago de</i>	the pursuers return
<i>otte no modoru</i>	with an empty palanquin
<i>Matsugaoka</i>	from Matsugaoka

#### LIFE AT THE CONVENT

[For the regulars the daily routine is occasionally broken by the news that a new candidate for divorce has arrived, but soon everyone is back to her daily chores, including tidying up the temple grounds.]

<i>ima yoi</i>	“a good runaway
<i>kakekomi ga atta to</i>	has just arrived”—
<i>haite iru</i>	sweeping as usual

[The newcomer has successfully made it to the Tōkeiji. Now she must present a convincing case, and, if accepted into the convent, adjust to an unfamiliar lifestyle.]

<i>Matsugaoka</i>	at Matsugaoka:
<i>Naracha no mama to</i>	“All I had was some Nara tea,”
<i>gatsu gatsu shi</i>	gobbling down her food
<i>kurumaza no</i>	seated within
<i>bikuni no naka e</i>	a circle of nuns—
<i>hazukashisa</i>	shyness
<i>Matsugaoka</i>	At Matsugaoka
<i>guchi de nai no wa</i>	those who don't complain
<i>irenu tokoro</i>	don't get in

[The meaning of the stanza is somewhat ambiguous since *guchi* can mean either “stupid” or “complaining.” One interpretation cites the old phrase, “women are foolish creatures” (*onna wa guchi na mono*) and argues that the negation *guchi de nai* therefore refers to “men.” Hence, those not “foolish” (i.e., men) cannot enter the Tōkeiji.” (See Hozumi, *Rikon seido no kenkyō*, 164.)]

<i>Kamakura ni</i>	would that
<i>nebaru makura no</i>	there were greasy pillows
<i>araba koso</i>	in Kamakura!

[Pillows soiled by heavy hair oil, such as that of the camellia (*tsubaki*), are unpleasant enough but the writer of the stanza suggests that they are preferable to the sexless pillows at Matsugaoka.]

<i>kokoro nai</i>	all those many
<i>makura no ōi</i>	loveless pillows:
<i>Matsugaoka</i>	Matsugaoka
<i>Kamakura de</i>	At Kamakura
<i>tawara no yō na</i>	the pillows look like
<i>makura wo shi</i>	rice bags

[Tōkeiji evidently used *kukurimakura*, pillows made of straw stuffed with batting or husks. No doubt they were more comfortable than *hikomakura* “box pillows,” used to keep the hair from getting ruffled, but they were harder on one’s vanity—part of the price to be paid for the separation paper.]

<i>sannen wa</i>	“for three years
<i>zai Kamakura to</i>	I will reside in Kamakura”—
<i>kakugo suru</i>	she is resigned
<i>Kamakura no</i>	for three years
<i>matsu ni sannen</i>	among the pines of Kamakura
<i>mi wo kakushi</i>	she secludes herself
<i>ii musume</i>	a fine girl
<i>hotokegakushi ni</i>	in seclusion with Buddha
<i>mitose nari</i>	for three years

[The worldly writer of this stanza—no Bashō—apparently considered the religious life inappropriate for the young and attractive.]

<i>nakōdo wo</i>	for three years,
<i>mitose uramiru</i>	bitterness toward the go-between—
<i>tsurai koto</i>	what a pain!
<i>nakōdo wa</i>	the go-between
<i>sennichi amari</i>	for more than a thousand days
<i>uramirare</i>	is resented

[. . . by the husband’s family, which no doubt feels that she made a poor choice. But the new arrivals at the Tōkeiji could not care less, and have new friends to meet.]

<i>omae mo ka</i>	“You, too?
<i>watashi mo ku sa to</i>	I am also nineteen”—
<i>Matsugaoka</i>	Matsugaoka

[Literally, “nine” (*ku*), but “nineteen” is implied. This was considered to be an unlucky age, since *jū* (“ten”) could be construed, with a different character, as “heavy,” or “double” *ku*, also with a different character, can mean “pain.” The two young women commiserate.]

<i>Matsugaoka</i>	Matsugaoka:
<i>aimitagai no</i>	sharing each other’s
<i>shaku wo oshi</i>	discontent
<i>Matsugaoka</i>	At Matsugaoka
<i>nita koto bakari</i>	they talk to each other
<i>hanashiai</i>	about similar things
<i>kore yue to</i>	“Here’s the culprit,”
<i>ekubo tsukiau</i>	tweaking each other’s dimples:
<i>Matsugaoka</i>	Matsugaoka

[Trouble with the husband frequently arose from his affair with another woman.]

<i>watchi ga mo</i>	“So does <i>my</i> husband
<i>yuku to butsuma to</i>	go out to gamble and whore”—
<i>Matsugaoka</i>	Matsugaoka
<i>oyako shite</i>	“Parents and sons
<i>ibirimashita to</i>	all tormented me to death”—
<i>Matsugaoka</i>	Matsugaoka
<i>minna shite</i>	“Everyone
<i>ibirimashita to</i>	did something to abuse me”—
<i>Matsugaoka</i>	Matsugaoka
<i>nureta sode</i>	The young wife
<i>yome Kamakura no</i>	dries her wet sleeves on the pines
<i>matsu de hoshi</i>	of Kamakura

[Sleeves wet by tears of distress (a standard image in courtly poetry), or sleeves wet because of an unsuccessful attempt at drowning? Perhaps both.]

<i>matsukaze wo</i>	hearing the wind
<i>uhatsu no ama de</i>	in the pines for three years
<i>mitose kiki</i>	as an unshorn nun

[Only the very few who pledged to become lifetime nuns had to take the tonsure. But the Edo townsmen who composed these stanzas sometimes misunderstood the convent procedures, or perhaps conveniently ignored them for the sake of the verse. The birds of passage did, however, have their hair cut *short*.]

<i>momiage no</i>	they compliment each other
<i>ato wo homeau</i>	on what is left at the sideburns:
<i>Matsugaoka</i>	Matsugaoka
<i>niatta to</i>	“It is becoming,” they say,
<i>beso beso homeru</i>	plying her with compliments—
<i>Matsugaoka</i>	at Matsugaoka
<i>Matsugaoka</i>	at Matsugaoka
<i>wara de yuute mo</i>	fastening hair even with straw
<i>koishigari</i>	betrays attachment
<i>Matsugaoka</i>	at Matsugaoka
<i>wara de mo tabane</i>	one does not make a chignon
<i>sasenu tokoro</i>	even with straw
<i>fundoshi mo</i>	“if even your shorts
<i>kinu nara tore to</i>	are silk, get rid of them” —
<i>Matsugaoka</i>	Matsugaoka

[No frills were permitted, not even a silk loincloth.]

<i>Kamakura ni</i>	at Kamakura
<i>katsuo mo kuwazu</i>	three years without
<i>sannen i</i>	even a bonito

[The fare was strictly vegetarian.]

<i>tachimono wa</i>	among the items
<i>otoko soshite</i>	for abstention are: men,
<i>gyorui nari</i>	and all kinds of fish
<i>muzukashisa</i>	how difficult!
<i>shōjin wo shite</i>	breaking off the relationship,
<i>en wo kiri</i>	with vegetarian food
<i>zange shina</i>	“repent,
<i>zange shina yo to</i>	repent of your evil ways!” —
<i>Matsugaoka</i>	Matsugaoka

[Rites of repentance are a common feature of the Buddhist religious life. But our poet suggests that the runaway wives had all the more need for self-examination.]

<i>amadera e</i>	on her way
<i>Enoshima kakete</i>	to Enoshima a mother
<i>haha wa yori</i>	visits the convent

[Before the persecution of Buddhism (*haibutsu kishaku*) and its forcible separation from Shintō (*shimbutsu bunri*) in the early Meiji period, Enoshima had been a popular site of Shintō-Buddhist syncretic worship. It was especially known for the temple to Ben(zai)ten (Sarasvati) built by Mongaku in 1182 with Yoritomo's support.

A mother making a pilgrimage to Enoshima now has another reason to visit Kamakura.]

<i>Kamakura de</i>	at Kamakura
<i>ima dōshin wo</i>	the mother now seeks
<i>haha tazune</i>	religion

[So it might appear. But of course she is simply visiting (*tazune*) her daughter at Matsugaoka.]

<i>hidoi koto</i>	good grief!
<i>Matsugaoka e no</i>	travelling companions
<i>tsure ga deki</i>	to Matsugaoka

[Parents visiting their daughter at the Tōkeiji feel that they have enough problems and now they are joined by another group going to the same destination. (Or does the stanza perhaps refer to the feelings of a runaway who is in too much of a hurry for idle chatter?)]

<i>Enoshima e</i>	the second time
<i>nidome no toki wa</i>	she visited Enoshima she wore
<i>koromo de ki</i>	a nun's robe

[Our poet to the contrary, it is unlikely that refugees staying at Matsugaoka would have been permitted out of the compound for casual excursions.]

<i>geka nado ni</i>	there were also those
<i>kakattamo aru</i>	needing a surgeon's help:
<i>Matsugaoka</i>	Matsugaoka

[The abuse might be physical as well as psychological, as we are reminded by the "bruises received from a wooden pestle."]

<i>Matsugaoka</i>	Matsugaoka:
<i>chitto hajiku ga</i>	with some skill at the calculator,
<i>nasshobun</i>	the business office

[Many of the refugees doubtless had only household skills. But there were records to be kept at the Tōkeiji, and one able to use the *soroban* calculator might be assigned special chores.]

<i>jionna no</i>	waiting out the term
<i>nen'ake wo matsu</i>	to make her an honest woman:
<i>Matsugaoka</i>	Matsugaoka

<i>Kamakura mo</i>	also in Kamakura,
<i>sanjū made wa</i>	until you're thirty
<i>oshiku nashi</i>	it's all right

[For the young there is always tomorrow—well, perhaps not always:]

<i>ichinichi mo</i>	never to remarry,
<i>sowazu sennichi</i>	she dies in the convent
<i>tera de shinu</i>	of a thousand days
<i>sannen no</i>	within three years
<i>aida ni gei mo</i>	one's artistic accomplishments
<i>gutto nuke</i>	fall off considerably

[Short hair, no ornaments, spartan fare, and, of course, no *koto* or *samisen* playing.]

<i>Enoshima mo</i>	at Kamakura
<i>yome Kamakura ni</i>	the wife even forgets
<i>ite wasure</i>	“Enoshima”

[Since the *island* of Enoshima is only a short distance from Kamakura, it would be hard for a Matsugaoka resident not to be aware of it. But here “Enoshima” refers to a well-known *koto* piece.]

[The services of men were sometimes required, as guards or carpenters. But care had to be observed.]

<i>Matsugaoka</i>	At Matsugaoka
<i>daiku ni ban wo</i>	the guard keeps his eye
<i>tsukete oki</i>	on the carpenter
<i>otoko mite</i>	The dogs there
<i>hoeru inu ari</i>	howl at seeing a man:
<i>Matsugaoka</i>	Matsugaoka
<i>koko ni ketsu-</i>	“she's holed up here,”
<i>-karu to mite yuku</i>	looking up as he passes by
<i>Matsugaoka</i>	Matsugaoka

[Chance brings her husband to Kamakura.]



<i>Kamakura no</i>	separation:
<i>gemmei ni</i>	following strict orders
<i>shitagai rien</i>	from Kamakura

[Only the husband could issue a divorce. But if a woman fulfilled the requirements set by the Tōkeiji, the convent could bring social and political pressures to bear until the man agreed to do so.]

<i>enkiru ni ya</i>	with the Kamakura
<i>Kamakura-dono ga</i>	authorities pressing, no doubt
<i>ushirodate</i>	he will grant the divorce
<i>sarijō ga</i>	arriving by courier,
<i>hikyaku de todoku</i>	the letter of separation:
<i>Matsugaoka</i>	Matsugaoka

[Matsugaoka provided the forms, but the husband had to sign statements to the effect that he accepted the convent's judgment (*jihō rien shōmon*) and that he would not interfere with his wife's remarriage (*rienjō*). They were then returned to the wife at the convent and she would be free to leave.]

<i>amadera e</i>	poorly written,
<i>kite akuhitsu wo</i>	it comes to the convent—
<i>hittakuri</i>	and she grabs it

[Elegant penmanship would be the last thing on the woman's mind after waiting three years for her letter of separation.]

<i>shōjin</i>	cleansed in body
<i>kessai shite</i>	and mind she receives
<i>sarijō wo</i>	the letter of separation
<i>senguri ni</i>	one after another
<i>sarijō no kuru</i>	she sees the letters of separation
<i>Matsugaoka</i>	arrive at Matsugaoka

[And sooner or later it is her turn.]

<i>sarijō wo</i>	getting her
<i>uhatsu no ama ni</i>	letter of separation
<i>natte tori</i>	as an unshorn nun

Foundation stanza (*maeku*):

<i>morai koso sure</i>	she really got it!
<i>morai koso sure</i>	she really got it!

Joined Stanza (*tsukeku*):

<i>sarijō wo</i>	along with getting
<i>toru uchi toshi ga</i>	the letter of separation—
<i>mittsu fuke</i>	three years of aging

[In this “foundation stanza” we see something of the origins of *senryū* in “stanza connecting” (*maekuzuke*) in the earlier standard linked verse (*renga*), and in its less-constrained cousin, *haikai*.]

<i>sannen no</i>	for three years
<i>furukizu uzuku</i>	the pain of old scars:
<i>Matsugaoka</i>	Matsugaoka
<i>Kamakura de</i>	at Kamakura
<i>tsuie no toshi wa</i>	the expenditure in aging
<i>mittsu yori</i>	is three years

[The cost of the separation is not to be counted in terms of money, but in terms of time lost.]

<i>sarijō ga</i>	the letter of separation—
<i>osbō no te kara</i>	returned from the hand of
<i>modotte ki</i>	the abbess

[Usually the abbess must dun the reluctant husband to sign the letter of separation, but occasionally she can mediate a reconciliation.]

<i>nyōbō to</i>	after just
<i>sōdan wo shite</i>	consulting with his wife,
<i>tsuma wo saru</i>	he lets her go

[This stanza seems to ridicule the man who gives his wife a divorce after the two discuss their differences, very likely under the auspices of the Tōkeiji. The law was clearly on the husband’s side, but public opinion was ambivalent.]

<i>hoshizukiyo</i>	after gazing wearily
<i>akiru hodo mite</i>	so long during star-lit nights,
<i>en wo kiri</i>	the separation

[The tranquility of the mountain convent was not to every townsman’s taste.]

## The Return Home and Aftermath

<i>shōgatsu wo</i>	she returns
<i>mitsu shite kite</i>	after three New Years Days,
<i>wakaku nari</i>	young again

[. . . at least to the extent that she is now unmarried and can begin a new life.]

<i>amadera ni</i>	returning,
<i>itte waga mi ni</i>	having gone to the convent
<i>shite kaeri</i>	to assert herself

[There is a kind of contradiction in asserting oneself to take refuge in a convent, whose teaching and practice is directed toward self-lessness.]

<i>matsuyani de</i>	after three years
<i>sannen migaki</i>	of brushing with pine resin,
<i>mata shiraha</i>	white teeth again

[Blackened teeth had long been an ornament of the married woman, so white teeth were an indication that the woman was free to marry again. “Resin” is used in this stanza to suggest “Pine Grove” (Matsugaoka), of course, but the substance hardly seems suitable as a tooth powder.]

<i>sannen sugiru</i>	three years later
<i>to hitori wa</i>	she cannot return
<i>kaere-ezu</i>	on her own

[When she first came alone to Matsugaoka, fear and dissatisfaction helped the woman to surmount all obstacles. Now on her return home she is accompanied by family and friends.]

<i>momonofu wa</i>	The warrior
<i>higaeri yome wa</i>	returns in a day; the wife,
<i>sannen me</i>	in the third year

[The life of the warrior may be dangerous, but if he survives the battle, he returns home in a short time. For the wife who escapes to Matsugaoka it takes considerably longer, and three years in a period of relatively short life expectancy was not to be dismissed lightly.]

<i>michi michi mo</i>	street after street
<i>iken de modoru</i>	returning home with much discussion:
<i>Matsugaoka</i>	Matsugaoka

[Is she returning with her parents and the letter of separation, or has she decided to return to her husband? In either case, the way home is paved with opinions.]

<i>jūsan ri</i>	with thirteen <i>ri</i>
<i>saki de otoko wo</i>	ahead of them,
<i>soshitteru</i>	they criticize men

[The runaways usually arrived alone at Matsugaoka, but they return to Edo with their parents or perhaps another companion from the convent. The husband may be divorced, but he is not completely exorcized.]

<i>Kamakura wo</i>	when they return
<i>modoreba momo ya</i>	from Kamakura, peaches
<i>kuri mo nari</i>	and chestnuts

[It is commonly said that peach and chestnut trees bear their first fruits after three years, the same period required at the Tōkeiji.]

<i>Rokugō wo</i>	Now calmly
<i>shizuka ni koeru</i>	crossing the Rokugō:
<i>sannenme</i>	the third year
<i>koko wo kuru</i>	“how great my fear
<i>toki no kowasa to</i>	at the time I first came here” —
<i>sannenme</i>	and now the third year
<i>sennichi no-</i>	a thousand days
<i>-gare no koto yome</i>	of freedom—the wife
<i>omoidashi</i>	reminisces

[Having returned to Edo’s world of Confucian responsibility, the woman, perhaps unmarried, looks back nostalgically.]

<i>yume bakari</i>	in Kamakura
<i>naru Kamakura ni</i>	two or three years—
<i>ni-sannen</i>	now all a dream

[While the woman was at Matsugaoka, the time seemed to pass slowly. But now that she is again immersed in worldly affairs, the events of those days appear far away.]

<i>hiro mi ni</i>	horizons broadened,
<i>natte Kamakura</i>	she now comes sightseeing
<i>made mo miru</i>	even to Kamakura

[Soon after her stay at Matsugaoka, perhaps the memory of her marriage and divorce would be too vivid to permit a visit. But time mellows us all.]

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Darkness dispelled,  
the moon shining in empty sky  
within my heart—  
does it now approach the rim  
of those Western Mountains?  
—Monk Saigyō (1118–1190)<sup>1</sup>

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## 8

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### *Meiji through Heisei: Tōkeiji and Rinzai Zen Continuity*

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#### BUDDHISM UNDER ATTACK

The new Meiji government was quick to implement the intentions of the Constitution of 17 June 1868. The old system of court and shogunate, with considerable local autonomy, was replaced by a centralized authority in Tokyo. “On January 22 [1872] it was decreed that Buddhist nuns might let their hair grow out, eat meat, marry, or return to the laity.”<sup>2</sup> Proclamation (*fukoku*) No. 162 by the Council of State (Dajōkan) dated 15 May 1873 gave women the right to sue for divorce. With this, “divorce temples” lost their reason for existing.

Two years earlier the Inryōken had sent a petition to the Kanagawa Prefectural Office requesting that the Tōkeiji be permitted to continue its services for unhappy women. After the Prefectural Office forwarded the petition to the Council of State, the Office of Civil Affairs (Mimbushō) advised the council that the request be denied since a uniform code of laws should be administered throughout the country. This was certainly a reasonable decision by the new central government, and the Tōkeiji was none the worse for it, since its primary mission had never been to be a “divorce temple,” but rather, a genuine Rinzai Zen convent.

But a much more serious danger was at hand—the statewide Buddhist persecution of early Meiji known as *haibutsu kishaku* (“abolish Buddhism and destroy its Scriptures”), whose main ideological impetus was the National Learning (*kokugaku*) movement of eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, represented by such rabble rousers as Hirata Atsutane, whom we met in chapter 1 as an “authority” on the *Lotus Sutra*. The early Meiji assaults on Buddhism are succinctly summarized by Professor Hardacre as follows:

In 1869 an order calling for the complete separation of Buddhism from Shintō (*shinbutsu bunri*), intended to raise the status of Shintō and to secure its independence from

Buddhism, was issued. Shintō objects of worship were to be removed from Buddhist temples and Buddhist appurtenances were to be stripped from shrines. Shrines and temples were to be set up independently. All shrine priests and their families would henceforth have Shintō funerals. The order for the separation of Buddhism and Shintō was accompanied by unauthorized plundering of everything Buddhist, collectively known as *haibutsu kishaku*, in which the pent-up resentment of the Shintō priesthood was unleashed in ferocious, vindictive destruction. Buddhist priests were defrocked, lands confiscated, statuary and ritual implements melted down for cannon. The extent of the damage varied regionally, but Buddhism suffered significant material loss as well as the loss of the state patronage it had enjoyed in the previous era.<sup>3</sup>

In 1872 the Ministry of Doctrine (Kyōbushō)<sup>4</sup> directed that all independent temples be affiliated with a major sectarian headquarters (*honzan*), and this notice was sent to the Tōkeiji, as well as to Kamakura's Jufukuji, Jōmyōji, and Jōchiji, three temples of the old Five Mountain (*gosan*) system. The Jufukuji and Jōmyōji became affiliated with the Kenchōji, the Jōchiji and Tōkeiji with the Engakuji.

The nun Junsō (1825–1902) became abbess of the Tōkeiji in September 1872, the first to hold that position since Gyokuen left in 1737, and also the last. In 1877 the Main Hall was converted into the Yamanouchi School, providing a meeting place for the children of the neighborhood until a new school building was constructed in 1893. Five halls in the temple compound were reduced to three between 1870 and 1872. The temple office and the nearby inns closed, and the Inryōken fell into ruin. The nuns either left or died, and in time Tōkeiji was left with only one.

#### OLD TIES WITH THE ENGAKUJI RENEWED: KŌGAKU SŌEN ZENJI (1859–1919)

Abbess Junsō was succeeded by Furukawa Gyōdō (1872–1961), the first *monk* to administer Tōkeiji. A disciple of Sōen (1859–1919) of the Engakuji, he was in residence from 1902 to 1905, when he was replaced by his mentor.

Kōgaku Sōen Zenji was a man of considerable flair and accomplishment. Born Ichinose Tsunejirō, he was a native of Wakasa Province (Fukui Prefecture), the locale of Sōtō Zen's Eiheiji headquarters founded by Dōgen in 1246. But at the age of twelve he began his training with Ekkei Shuken (1810–1884) of Kyoto's Myōshinji, adopting the religious name of Sōen, and later trained under Shungai at Kyoto's Kenninji, both temples affiliated with the Rinzai school of Zen. In 1876 he returned to the Myōshinji, and also began studying Tendai doctrine at the Miidera in Ōtsu. In 1878, at the age of nineteen, he continued his meditation practice under Imakita Kōsen (d. 1892), the twenty-first abbot of Kamakura's Engakuji, who gave him the title Kōgaku while he was in residence in 1884, at the Butsunichian, where Kaku-san and Tokimune are buried. Sōen soon established himself as senior monk among the novitiates.

In 1885 Sōen enrolled at Keiō Gijuku Daigaku, where he came to know the great Meiji liberal, Fukuzawa Yukichi (1834–1901), and where he began studying Western philosophy and religion. After graduating from Keiō in 1887, with Fukuzawa's help he went to Ceylon (Sri Lanka) to study Pāli and Indian Buddhism, then on to Thailand in 1889, but returned to Japan that same year.

After the death of his mentor, Kōsen, in 1892, Sōen became head monk of the Engakuji. In the following decade he participated in various national and international religious activities, including the role as head of the Japanese Buddhist delegation to the World's Parliament of Religions at Chicago.<sup>5</sup> He is considered to be the first monk to propagate Zen in the United States, setting the course for his distinguished disciple, Daisetz Suzuki (1870–1966). A subsequent visit, 1905–1906, began in San Francisco, where he lectured on Buddhism at the request of his hostess, Mrs. Alexander Russell, who later visited Japan to practice meditation. His lectures, based on the *Sutra of Forty-two Chapters*,<sup>6</sup> appeared in English as *Sermons of a Buddhist Abbot* in 1906.<sup>7</sup>

Sōen came to reside at the Tōkeiji in 1905, while retaining the position of Chief Abbot of both the Engakuji and Kenchōji. There he remained until his death, when he was given the title of Restoring Founder of the Temple (*chūkō kaizan*).

#### NATSUME SŌSEKI, THE ENGAKUJI, AND TŌKEIJI

During the summer of 1894 the great Meiji novelist, Natsume Sōseki (1867–1916), came to practice Zen meditation at the Engakuji under Sōen. What he saw and heard at this time provide the background for his novel "The Gate" (*Mon*, 1910).<sup>8</sup> Within the precincts of the Engakuji is a stone tablet on which is inscribed this haiku by Sōseki:

<i>Busshō wa</i>	The white bellflower
<i>shiroki kikyō ni</i>	certainly appears to have
<i>koso arame</i>	the Buddha-nature!

In the fall of 1912, some two decades later, Sōseki returned to Kamakura to visit Sōen, abbot of the Tōkeiji from 1905 until his death in 1919. Sōseki recorded his impressions in the following short article.

#### A Day in Early Autumn

(*Shoshū no ichinichi*)<sup>9</sup>

As I looked up from a train window, the rain began to fall, so fine and misty that it appeared as some dreary pigment moistening the grass and trees, rather than as simple rain. Anticipating such weather, the three of us had brought along our trench coats, but we were not particularly thrilled to find that we would actually need them. And the day's gloom led us to expect a dark night two days hence.



“It will be awful if it rains on the thirteenth [the first day of funeral services for Emperor Meiji],”<sup>10</sup> muttered O, as though to himself.

“More people will get sick, depending on the weather,” I replied vaguely. Immersed in the newspaper he had bought in front of the station, Y didn’t say a word.

By now it was raining quite hard, and we could see the drops striking the window panes, shattering into a mist. Within the quiet car I thought of the five thousand who had fainted during the funeral of King Edward of England<sup>11</sup> a year or so ago.

On leaving the train and hiring a rickshaw, my feeling of autumn grew ever stronger. In the field of view beneath the hood beyond the carriage I beheld a mountain, blue and soaked with rain. Along the road cut through the blue scenery,<sup>12</sup> three carriages softly hurried on, the rickshaw men, wearing neither sandals nor socks, pressing their bare feet into the soft mud and pulling the carriages on an uphill path by the sheer physical force of their hips. Then we began to hear insects chirping from the roots of pampas grass which covered the fields and blocked our view right and left. As the insect sounds echoed in my ears more insistently even than the sound of rain striking the hood of the rickshaw, I pictured in my mind the vast tufts of pampas in an endless roar of insects far beyond my view. And I felt in them the autumn that now enveloped me.

Within this autumn blue the three of us spotted some deep crimson cockscombs, behind which was a building where we might stop for tea. On its terrace was a mound of drying soybean husks, and here and there bloomed some pure white flowers which I thought might be roses of Sharon.

Presently the rickshaw men dropped the carriage shafts. Climbing down from under the dark hood, we could see a temple gate with straw thatched roof at the top of a high stone staircase. Before beginning our ascent, O relieved himself in a rice paddy nearby, and, to be on the safe side, I went over to join him. Then the three of us proceeded up the wet stones to a building with a plaque bearing the inscription, “Office of Provisions and Cooking (*Tenzoryō*),” where we asked for directions to the reception room (*zashiki*), and were escorted there.

Twenty years had passed since I first met the Rōshi,<sup>13</sup> and after having come all the way from Tokyo specifically to see him, I was pleased to be able to recognize him immediately, even before we sat down. The Rōshi drew a blank, and when I introduced myself, admitted that he had failed to recognize me. After exchanging apologies over our long separation, he remarked it had been quite a while since we met—almost twenty years.

Twenty years later, the Rōshi, a man of small build, appeared before me now not much changed from the way he had looked in earlier days; but, contrary to my expectation, his countenance was a bit pale, although with added charm, which I supposed to be a result of aging. Otherwise, he was the same old Zen Master S [Shaku Sōen].

“I’ll soon be fifty-two,” said the Rōshi; and then I understood why he looked so young. To be frank, I had thought that he must be about sixty. So if now he was barely fifty-two, that meant that when I attended his Interview (*shōseki*) session and took to him the answers to my prescribed *kōan*, he was a young man a few years over thirty.<sup>14</sup> Since he was already an eminent priest at the time, he appeared to me rather old. [Sketch by Satō Zenchū (1883–1935), Sōen’s successor at the Tōkeiji. Suzuki 1934, *The Training of the Zen Buddhist monk*, Plate 34.]

I introduced the two friends I had brought with me [Messrs. Nakamura and Inuzuka] to the Rōshi, and, after discussing arrangements for [Sōen’s impending Manchurian] trip, the conversation turned to this and that. The Rōshi told us the his-

tory of “divorce temple” (*enkiridera*): its founder, the wife of Tokiyori,<sup>15</sup> and about how the Rōshi had come to live in this nunnery. He then came to see us off at the entrance to his residence, remarking, “It seems that this is the beginning of the typhoon season.”<sup>16</sup> The three of us headed down toward town through the mountain path in the typhoon season rain.

Next morning I looked down from the second floor of an inn over the town of Kamakura covered with mist—a dream-like scene, part rain and part sunlight. When the three of us arrived at the train station in carriages pulling up side-by-side, we saw several Western and Japanese passengers walking about on the platform waiting for the 7:20 train to Tokyo.

It was on the morning of the day after our visit [to Kamakura] that news of the funeral of the Meiji Emperor and General Nogi filled the pages of all the newspapers in Tokyo.<sup>17</sup>

Sōen was followed as abbot of the Tōkeiji by another disciple, Satō Zenchū (1883–1935), who witnessed the destruction of many of the temple archives caused by the Great Kantō Earthquake of 1923. After his death, the temple was administered for six years by Asahina Sōgen (1891–1979), abbot of the Jōchiji and, after 1941, head of the Engakuji. Zenchū’s disciple, Inoue Zenjō (1911–2006), who pursued his studies and Zen training during this time, became resident abbot of the Tōkeiji in 1941. He was succeeded by his son, Inoue Shōdō, in 1981.

#### MODERN MARRIAGE AT THE TŌKEIJI

Throughout this examination of Tōkeiji’s history we have tried to correct the imbalance in the popular perception of the convent as essentially a “divorce Temple” in spite of the fact that “divorce” (as an extension of “sanctuary”) became prominent in its history only in the latter half of the Edo period—say, from around 1738 (the year of the earliest extant record referring to a connection between the Tōkeiji and divorce proceedings) until the Meiji Restoration of 1868. As we have seen in chapter 7, to the *senryū* poets of the mid to latter decades of the eighteenth century, the phrase “Matsugaoka Tōkeiji” was virtually synonymous with “divorce,” as it doubtless was to most other Japanese at the time who had ever heard of the convent. And there was no compelling reason why this Edo notion, like many others, should not have made its way unchallenged into the modern consciousness.<sup>18</sup>

In Japan today it is customary to associate the marriage ritual with Shintō, a civil ceremony, or possibly a Christian service—with Buddhism relegated to rites for the dead; customary, perhaps, but not universal. The *Dictionary of Buddhist Ritual* (Fujii 1977) sketches marriage services in the Tendai, Shingon (Kōyasan), Shingon (Chizanha), Shingon (Busan School of Shingi-Shingon), Rinzai Zen (Myōshinji school), Jōdo, Jōdo Shinshū, Jōdo (Honganji school), Shinshū (Otani school), Ji (Time), and Nichiren sects.<sup>19</sup> It is not surprising, then, that Tōkeiji might also have procedures for the marriage ritual. Although the temple is affiliated with Kamakura’s Engakuji rather than Kyoto’s Myōshinji, both are part of the greater

Rinzai Zen tradition of Lin-chi I-hsüan (Rinzai Gigen, d. 866) in a line from the “Sixth Patriarch,” Hui-neng (Enō, 638–713), Bodhidharma (d. 532) and, ultimately, Śākyamuni (see Chart A) Tōkeiji’s ritual is not based on that of the Myōshinji, but neither is it exceptional within Rinzai, nor within the general scope of Japanese Buddhism.

All sects of Japanese Buddhism, whatever their philosophical differences, are likely to share many ritual details: the presentation of flowers and incense, recitation of a favorite scripture, invocation before a particular object of worship, a pledge joining bride and groom, perhaps with an exchange of rings or rosaries, and the conventional Shintō-inspired sipping from three lacquered sake cups. After the flowers and incense, the Tōkeiji invocation calls upon the sacred beings in the Buddhist mythology represented by images<sup>20</sup> enshrined in the temple’s Taihei Hall, where religious services are currently performed:

Respectfully we invoke the Treasures [of the Holy Way] whose images are before us: its Foremost Sage, the Tathāgata Śākyamuni, and the Great Wise Bodhisattva Who Responds to the Pleas of the World (Taishō Kanzeon Bosatsu).<sup>21</sup>

In this Taihei Treasure Hall on Mt. Matsugaoka on an auspicious day when the entire temple grounds are covered with a [leafy] brocade of good tidings, we perform the ceremony of marriage between [*names of bride and bridegroom*], a union which is the fulfillment of aeons of karmic happenings.

The Way of husband and wife is a wondrous principle of nature and the foundation of human relationships, carrying forward the legacy of those who went before to those who follow. The object of this noble rite is truly a matter of vital human concern. Now, before these Holy Treasures, they respectfully commend themselves to the compassion of the Buddhas and Patriarchs, solemnly pledging their mutual love and respect in happiness and sorrow, and to act that they may realize the Great Vehicle (Mahāyāna) of benefit both for themselves and others. As symbol and proof of their pledge, they exchange wedding rings [or rosaries] and inscribe their signatures in the register.

Accordingly, we pray for the compassion of the various Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, Nun Kakusan, the Temple Founder, Sōen Zenji, its Restoration Founder (*chūkō kaizan*), and its many supporters throughout history, that they may bless the two families to this wedding with their merciful protection so that they enjoy happiness, harmony and good fortune.

[Date] Respectfully, [*name*], Resident Abbot,  
Kamakura Shōkōzan (i.e., Matsugaoka) Tōkei Zenji

After the formal invocation to the temple’s enshrined sages and founders, including nun Kakusan and monk Sōgen, the celebrant continues by widening his address to those attending the service. This also provides an opportunity to instruct the participants in the procedures being followed, concluding with the ever-popular *Heart of Wisdom Sutra*.<sup>22</sup>

With reverence we call upon the Three Treasures (of Buddhism)<sup>23</sup> to bless all the events of this service. Today the temple is fortunate to witness the marriage of [*names of bride and bridegroom*]. Solemnly we conduct the ritual with incense, flowers, candles, tea, and other

refreshments, and the recitation of the *Heart of Wisdom Sutra*, dedicating the accumulated merits of this occasion to our Foremost Sage, the Tathāgata Śākyamuni, and the Great Compassionate Bodhisattva Who Responds to the Pleas of the World (Daihi Kanzeon Bosatsu), and to all the other sacred beings in the realm of True Reality (*shinnyō*).

First, we pray that the light of the Buddha may shine ever more brightly, and that the Wheel of the Law may continue to turn.

We also pray that [*names of bride and bridegroom*] see their faith in the Teaching grow ever stronger, and that their roots of good action (*zengon*) may accomplish the fulfillment of all their wishes and hopes.

And finally we pray for harmony in the families of [*names of bride and bridegroom*], and for the prosperity of their generations to come. May all their karmic relationships be propitious that they may come to know Wisdom (*hannya*), and that their aspiration for enlightenment may never falter. May they fulfill the Four Social Obligations,<sup>24</sup> benefiting those within the Three Realms [of the world of transmigration] (*san'ū*) so that together with all sentient beings they may attain the perfection of Wisdom.

[We call upon] all the Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, and Great Beings (*makasatsu*)<sup>25</sup> everywhere to hear our entreaties.

[Recitation of the *Heart of Wisdom Sutra*]: “Maka Hannya Haramita Shingyō” . . .

After the exchange of vows between bride and bridegroom with rings/rosaries and the signing of the temple register, the participants retire for the reception.

#### GONE TO THE OTHER SHORE: TŌKEIJI'S FINAL RESTING PLACE

Buried along “pleasant walks amongst pyne and spruce trees” in the hills behind Tōkeiji today, to the left of the graveyard of the abbesses behind the Treasure House, is the final resting place of a celebrated group of individuals who left their mark on modern Japanese institutions. (Brackets indicate specific grave locations in Figure 14.) Among them:<sup>26</sup>

*Nishida Kitarō* (1881–1945). Founder of a school of philosophy that bears his name and attempts to reconcile the thinking of Western, especially German, philosophy and Eastern thought. Perhaps his most familiar work is *Zen no Kenkyū* [A Study of Good, 1911], but he is well represented in English translations. (See bibliography.) [5]

*Watsuji Tetsurō* (1889–1960). Philosopher, author of *Climate and Culture* [*Fūdo: ningengakuteki kōsatsu*, 1939] (Watsuji 1971) and numerous other works in translation. (See bibliography.) [19]

*Daisetz Suzuki* (1870–1966).<sup>27</sup> Sōen's distinguished disciple and pioneer of Zen studies in the West, who in 1954 took up residence at Matsugaoka Library at the top of a stone staircase behind the temple. Collected works in thirty-two volumes. He married the American, Beatrice Erskine Lane (Suzuki, d. 1939), author of *Impressions of Mahayana Buddhism* (1940), and co-editor, with her husband, of *The Eastern Buddhist* journal; Buddhist name on Suzuki grave marker, Shōren Daishi. [10]

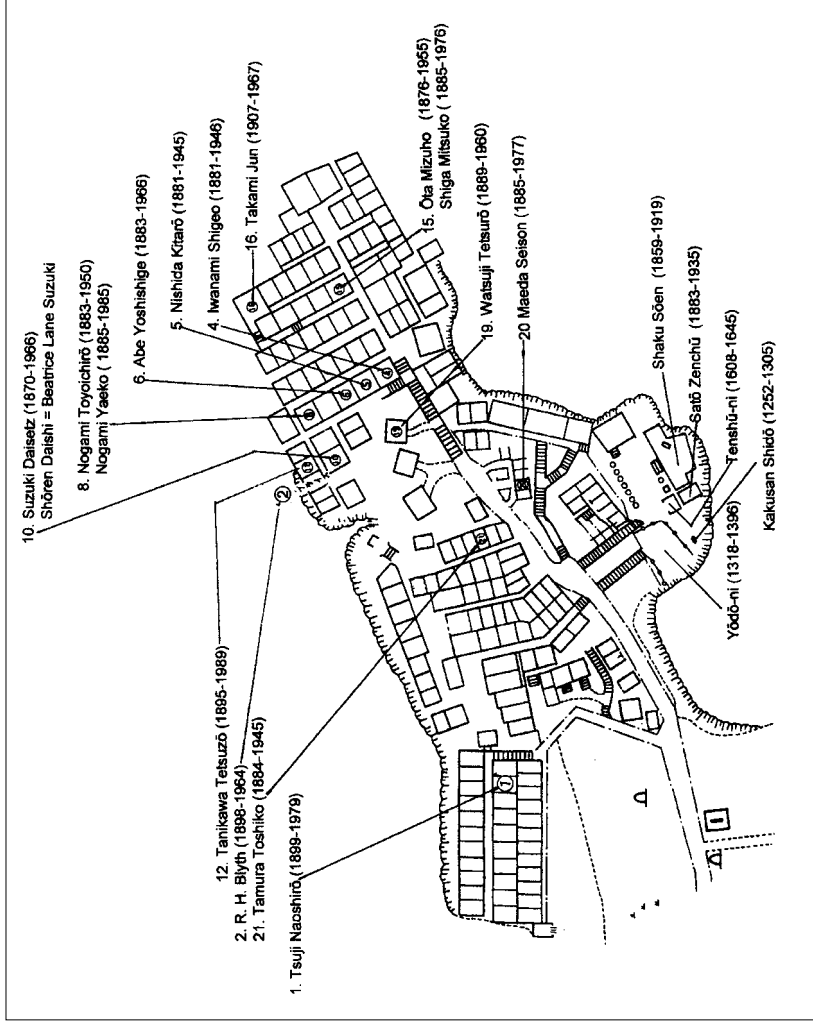


FIGURE 14. Tōkeiji burial ground. (Robert E. Morrell and Sachiko Kaneko Morrell)

*Tanikawa Tetsuzō* (1895–1989). Philosopher, student of Nishida Kitarō. President of Hōsei University, peace activist. Two-volume collected works. [12]

*R. H. Blyth* (1898–1964).<sup>28</sup> English translator and scholar of Zen, haiku, and *senryū*. [2]

*Iwanami Shigeo* (1881–1946). Founder of Iwanami Shoten publishing house. After graduating from Tokyo University with a degree in philosophy, he opened a second-hand bookstore in Kanda in 1913, later expanding his business to publishing, with Sōseki's *Kokoro* (1914) as his inaugural publication. The ubiquitous Iwanami Bunko paperback series was started in 1927. [4]

*Nogami Toyochirō* (1883–1950). A member of Sōseki's literary circle, Toyochirō had an early interest in George Bernard Shaw and produced several translations. But eventually he studied and wrote extensively on Zeami and nō theater, for which he is best known. His *Japanese Noh Plays, How to See Them* (1954) and *Zeami and His Theories on Noh* (1955) were published in English. [8]

*Nogami Yaeko* (1885–1985).<sup>29</sup> Prominent contemporary woman novelist, author of *Meiro* (Maize), a lengthy, six-part work published in 1956, *Hideyoshi and Rikyū* (1962); *Nogami Yaeko Zenshū*, fifty-seven volumes (Iwanami Shoten, 1980). She and Toyochirō were members of Soseki's literary circle. [8]

*Tamura Toshiko* (1884–1945). Novelist, student of Kōda Rohan (1867–1947). Her novel *Resignation* (Akirame, 1911) established her reputation. Lived in Canada and China, died in Shanghai in 1945. Her remains were returned to Japan in 1954 and interred by her circle of friends in 1954. [21]

*Ōta Mizuho* (1876–1955). A leader of the new waka movement, founder of the Chōon (Sound of the Tide) group. Wrote extensively on the theory of waka and classical Japanese literature. Collected works in ten volumes. [15]

*Shiga Mitsuko* (1885–1976). Poet. Mizuho's wife and successor as leader of the Chōon group.<sup>30</sup> [15]

*Takami Jun* (1907–1967). Novelist, poet, critic, who ran the gamut of fashionable political and literary trends. Author of *Who Could Ever Forget His Past* (Kokyū wasurerubeki, 1935ff.) and the well-known deathbed poem, *From the Edge of Death* (Shi no fuchi yori, 1965); diary in fifteen volumes, collected works, twenty volumes. After World War II, Takami and other writers living in the town opened a rental bookstore known as Kamakura Bunko.<sup>31</sup> [16]

*Maeda Seison* (1885–1977), Nihonga painter. Worked on the restoration of the Hōryūji mural paintings and on the recently discovered Takamatsuzuka Tomb.<sup>32</sup> [20]

*Abe Yoshishige* (1883–1966). Educator, philosopher, Minister of Education. Collected works, five volumes. [6]

*Tsuji Naoshirō* (1899–1979). Linguist and scholar, authority on Sanskrit language/literature. Inoue Zenjō’s teacher. Publications on the Veda, Sanskrit grammar. Collected works in four volumes. [1]

#### A GREAT TRADITION OF EIGHT CENTURIES CONTINUES: TŌKEIJI AND ENGAKUJI

A century has passed since the last nuns left the Tōkeiji and the convent was placed under the direct administrative control of the Engakuji—continuing a close association seven centuries after Kakusan’s and Tokimune’s religious practice at the Engakuji under Wu-hsieh (Mugaku) eventually led to the establishment of an independent Matsugaoka Tōkeiji convent in 1285 in the shadow of the great monastery built by Tokimune three years earlier.

Some apologists excuse State Shintō attacks on Buddhism as necessary measures to cleanse the country of the feudal remnants of shogunal government if Japan were to become a viable modern nation under strong unified leadership. Paradoxically, the persecution shook Buddhism out of its Edo lethargy and gave it new vigor and sense of direction. For Japan as a whole, however, suppressing diversity led a totalitarian state under military control, with few internal checks and balances. The single-minded zealotry with roots in Kamakura’s “exclusive choice” (*senchaku, senju*) mentality had its minor triumphs, but eventually self-destructed. Japan did become a strong modern nation on the Western model, but the price was unnecessarily high.

We experience the world both as social creatures and as individuals. Our institutions and our philosophies attempt to reconcile group commitments to personal needs and aspirations, for any imbalance jeopardizes the quality of our lives. Without effective social controls, selfish interests infringe on the common good and the strong dominate the weak. Conversely, when the individual is not given adequate institutional and philosophical means to evade the tyranny of the majority, his or her frustrations may be resolved by madness or suicide. Or, if their lot is barely endurable, they may protest by attempting social change, or perhaps escape into dissipation. People of both sexes have often found themselves victims of this tyranny, in both Japan and in the West; and in both parts of the world, the convent and the monastery have been available, at least until the secularization of modern society, as an alternative to the more extreme solutions of the problem of social alienation. They provide a way out, sanctuary, asylum, for those whom society would break.

Tōkeiji’s greatest achievement is simply having survived physically and ideologically intact for more than seven centuries. Its challenges have been numerous: the destruction of Kamakura in 1333, anti-Buddhist attacks from the Edo Neo-Confucian establishment and the National Learning scholars (Motoori, Hirata Atsutane, et al.) culminating in the late Edo-early Meiji physical devastation of Buddhist institutions, as well as three major fires and the Great Kantō Earthquake of 1923.



FIGURE 15. Shō Kannon, Muromachi period sculpture, originally at the Taiheiji convent, Kamakura. (Tōkeiji Collection)



Monasticism has its characteristic weaknesses—but what human institution is perfect? In spite of its flaws, it has, and still can, perform a very useful role in society. Perhaps one day when the fantasy world of fashion, neon lights, and endless clutter finally lose their allure, the purple-robed nuns will return again to the convent in the pine grove for sanctuary, seeking refuge from the madding crowd.

<i>kado ireba</i>	The gate entered,
<i>mazu me ni tomaru</i>	our eyes first light upon
<i>harukusa no</i>	purple violets,
<i>sumire aware nari</i>	so fine in the spring grass
<i>Matsu-ga-oka dera</i>	of Pine-Grove Convent.
	—Ōta Mizuho
	(1876–1955)

And yet, the goal of Mahāyāna Buddhism is not escape, asceticism, retreat from the world. Rather, it is the realization of the Middle Way—paradoxically, a kind of detached involvement: the awareness that every experience flowers at every moment in both eternity and time, emptiness and form, absolute and provisional (*nitai*), nirvana and samsara. A virtual bodhisattva, like Shō Kannon (Figure 14), is a being “compounded of the two contradictory forces of wisdom (*chie, prajña*) and compassion (*jibi, karuṇā*). In his wisdom, he sees no persons; in his compassion he is resolved to save them. His ability to combine these contradictory attitudes is the source of his greatness, and his ability to save himself and others.”<sup>33</sup>

Monk Saigyō, in a famous poem probably well known to Kakusan and Mujū, depicts this curious polarity of human experience: while it is true that all is impermanent and every moment slips from our grasp, it is equally true that for this very reason the passing moments may enchant us with an overwhelming sense of mystery and awe (*awāre*). The recognition of such awareness is a major cornerstone of Japanese aesthetics.

<i>kokoro naki</i>	Even one detached
<i>mi ni mo aware wa</i>	from all wordly concerns
<i>shirarekeri</i>	is moved to wistful wonder
<i>shigi tatsu sawa no</i>	as from a marsh sandpipers
<i>aki no yūgure</i>	rise into the autumn evening. <sup>34</sup>



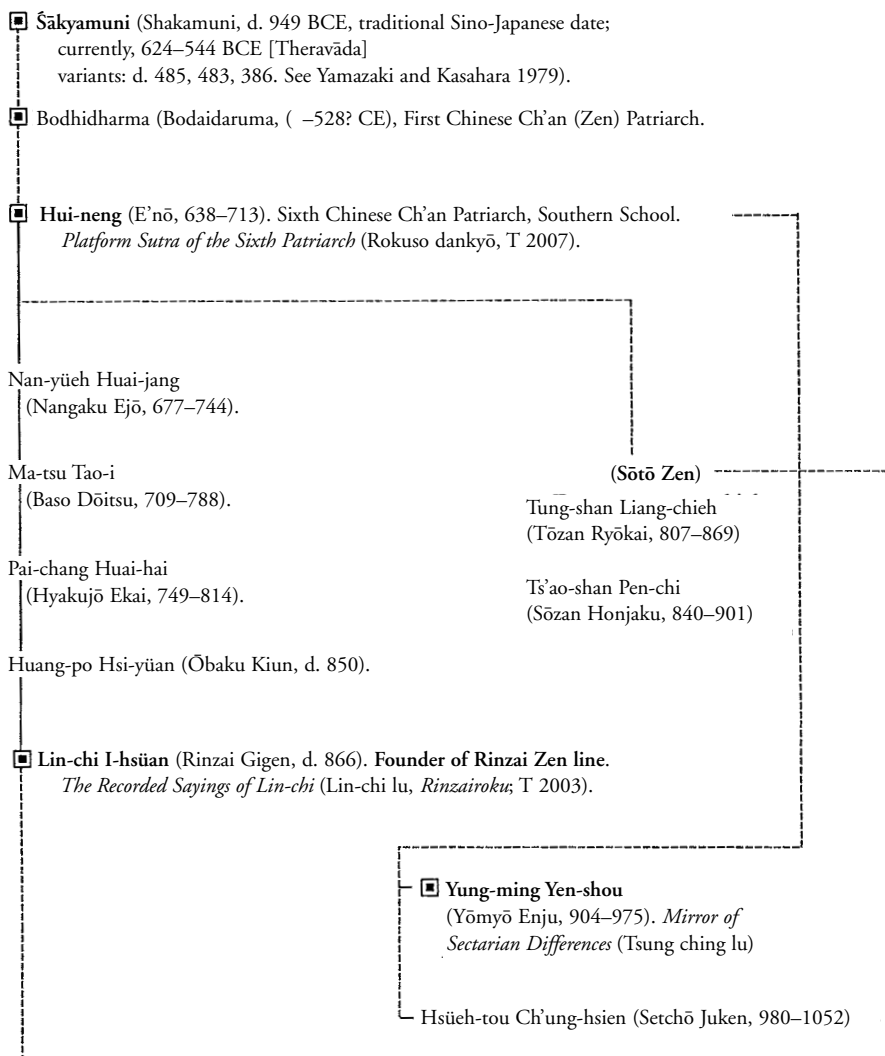
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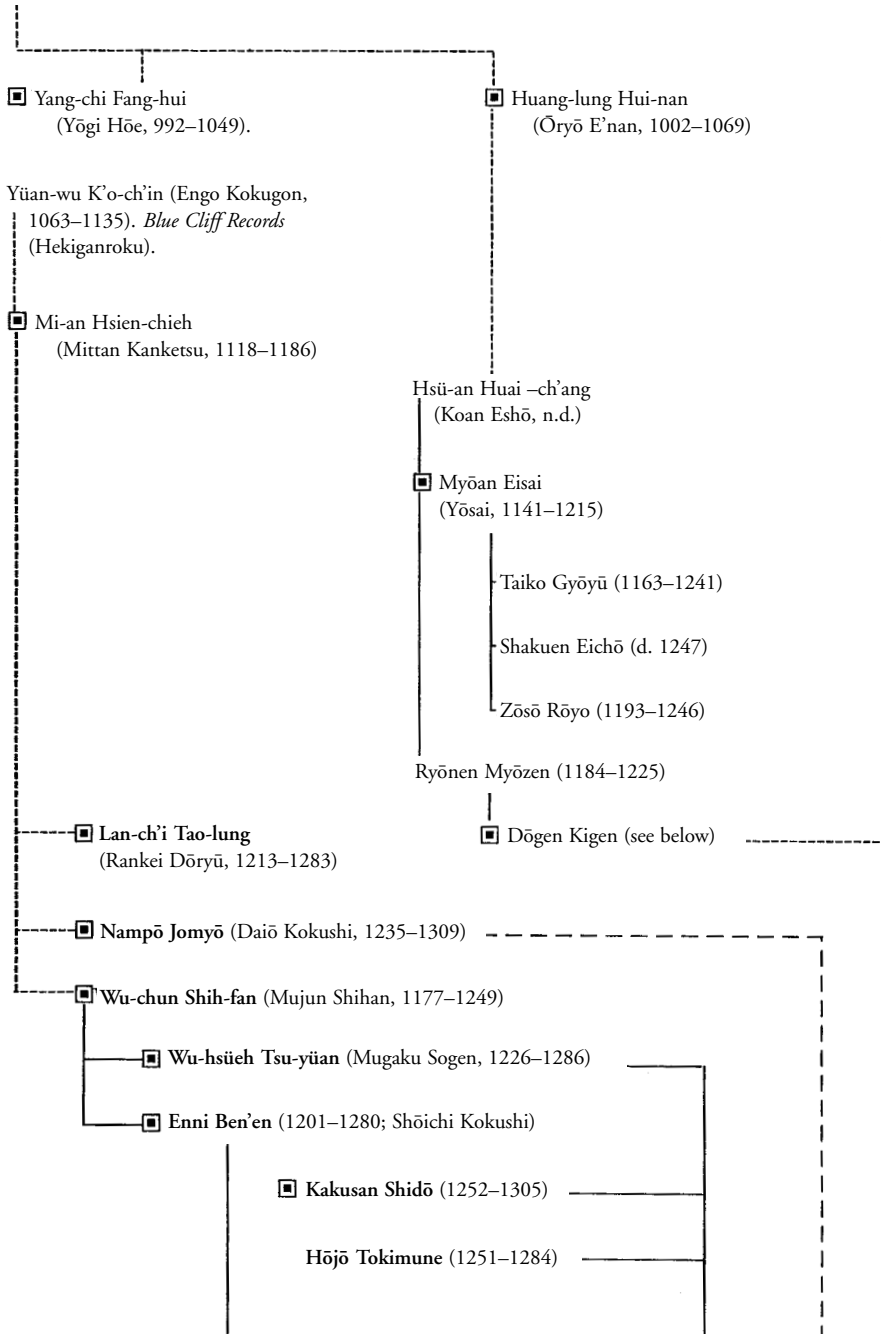
*Appendixes*

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## CHART A. ZEN LINEAGE FROM ŚĀKYAMUNI TO THE TŌKEIJI

(based mainly on Dumoulin 1988, 1990. Solid lines indicate direct transmission; broken lines, an extended period; the **☐** marks a person of special importance in this context.)





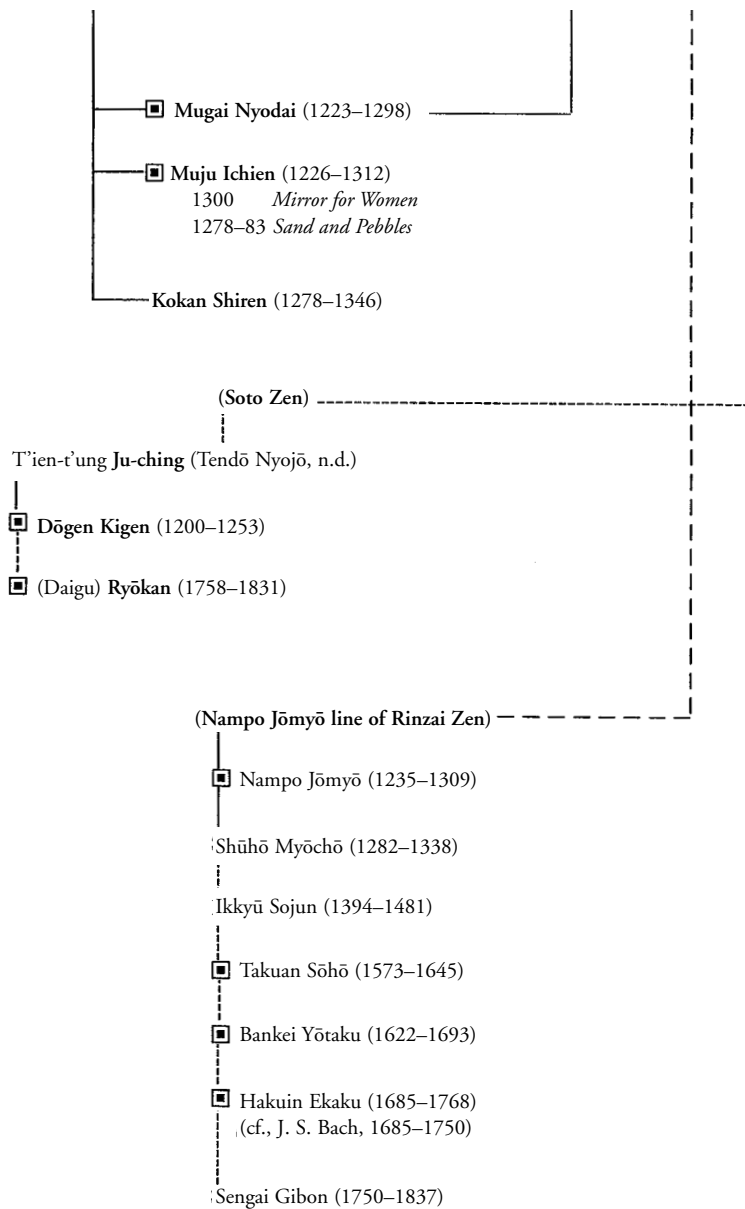
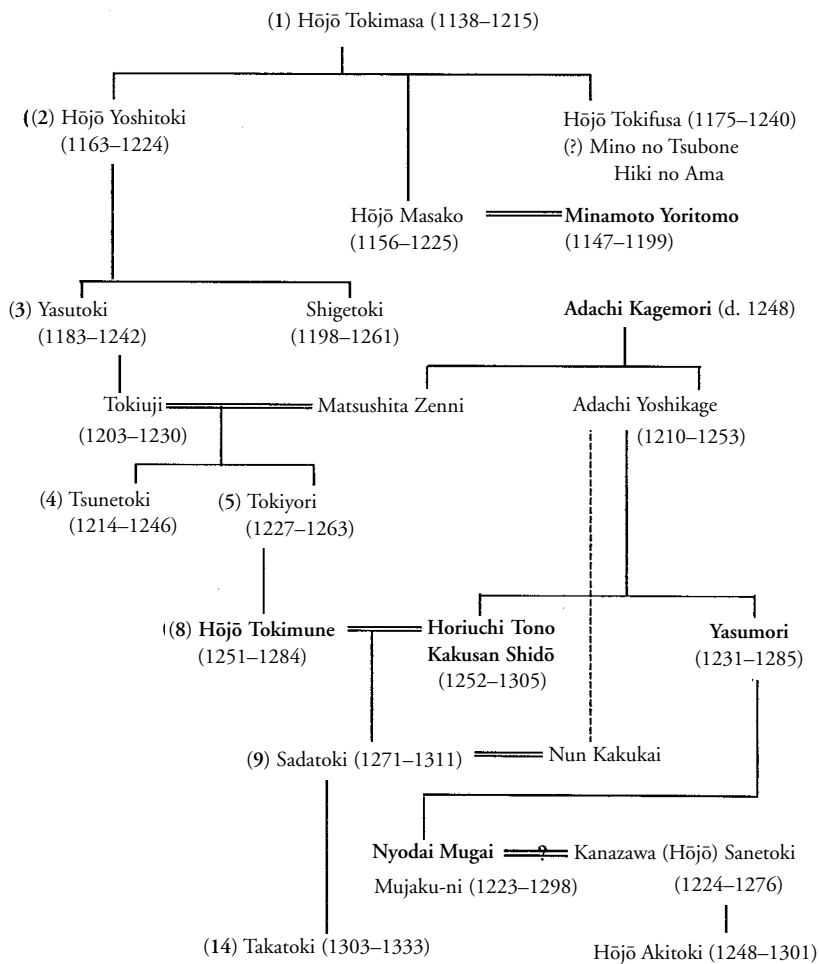


CHART B. KAKUSAN'S RELATIONSHIP TO THE HŌJŌ AND ADACHI FAMILIES



———— Direct parent-child relationship

----- Links in the relationship omitted

===== Relationship through marriage

(**x**) Number in the sequence of Hōjō regents (*shikken*)

## CHART C. FROM ASHIKAGA TO THE KITSUREGAWA ADMINISTRATORS

Ashikaga Tadafuyu (1273–1331)

## Ashikaga Shoguns (Kyoto)

- [1] Ashikaga Takauji (1305–1358)
- [2] Ashikaga Yoshiakira (1330–1367)
- [3] Ashikaga Yoshimitsu (1358–1408)
- [4] Ashikaga Yochimochi (1386–1408)
- [5] Ashikaga Yoshikazu (1407–1425)
- [6] Ashikaga Yoshinori (1394–1441)
- [7] Ashikaga Yoshikatsu (1434–1443)
- [8] Ashikaga Yoshimasa (1436–1490)
- [9] Ashikaga Yoshihisa (1465–1489)
- [10] Ashikaga Yoshitane (1436–1490)
- [11] Ashikaga Yoshizumi (1479–1512)
- [12] Ashikaga Yoshiharu (1511–1550)
- [13] Ashikaga Yoshiteru (1536–1565)
- [14] Ashikaga Yoshihide (1546–1568)
- [15] Ashikaga Yoshiaki (1537–1597)

## Governors General Kantō Region (Kanrei)

- [1] Ashikaga Motouji (1340–1367)<sup>i</sup>
- [2] Ashikaga Ujimitsu (1356–1398)
- [3] Ashikaga Mitsukane (1388–1409)
- [4] Ashikaga Mochiuji (1398–1439)
- [5] Ashikaga Shigeuji (1434–1497)
- [6] Ashikaga Masauji (1466–1531)
- [7] Ashikaga Takamoto (?–1535)
- [8] Ashikaga Haruuji (1508–1560)
- [9] Ashikaga Yoshiuji (1541–1582)

## Koga Kubō “Shōgun’s Deputy”

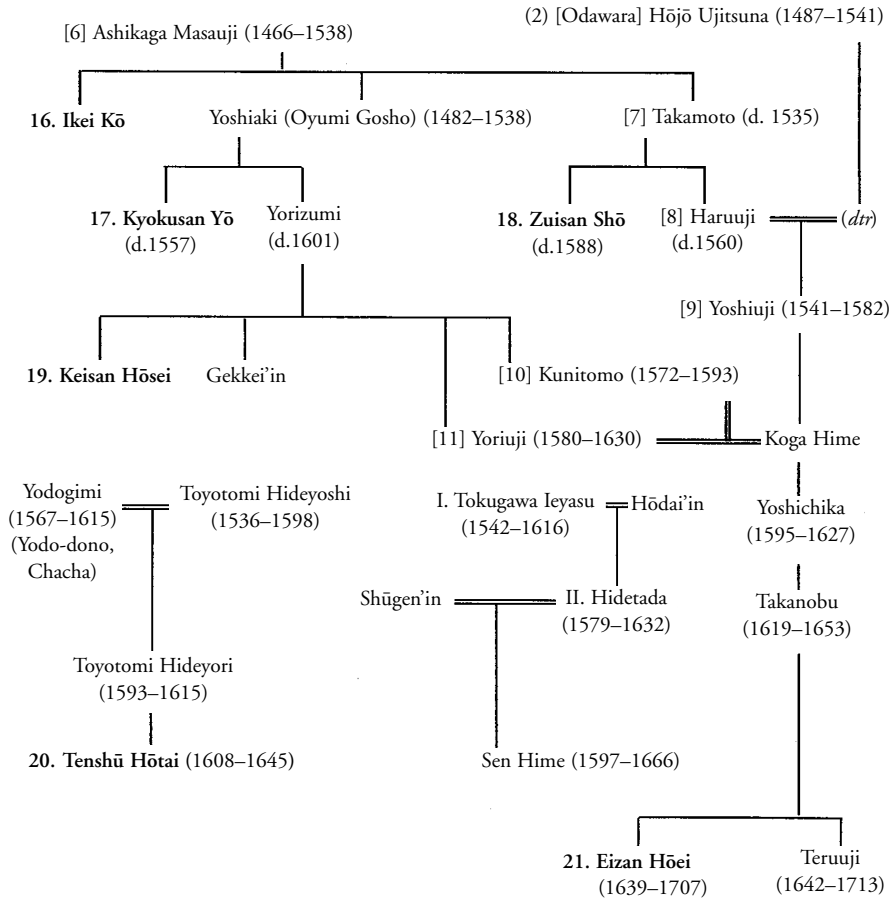
- [1] Yoshiaki (1482–1538)=Oyumi Gosho
- [2] Motoyori
- [3] (Ashikaga) Yorizumi (?–1601)
- [4] Kunitomo, adopted into

Kitsuregawa<sup>i</sup> clan

- .....
- Kunitomo (1572–1593)
- Yoriuji (1580–1630)
- Takanobu (1619–1653)
- Teruuji (1642–1713)
- Ujinobu (1671–1721)
- Ujiharu (1666–1721)
- Shigeuji (1700–1767)
- Ujitsura (1737–1761)
- Tadauji (?–1789?)<sup>iii</sup>

- i. First Kantō Kubō “Shogun’s Deputy (Governors General) in the Eastern Provinces”
- ii. Hanawa Hokiichi, rev. Ōta Toshirō, *Zoku gunsho ruijū* 5, Part 1 (Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 1959), p. 318ff.
- iii. Relations between the Tōkeiji and the Kitsuregawa ended in 1788 with the departure of the clan’s representative (*daikan*), Kuga Rokurōzaemon.

CHART D. RELATIONSHIPS IN THE TŌKEIJI SUCCESSION  
DURING THE LATE MUROMACHI AND EARLY EDO PERIODS



- ( ) Succession of Odawara Hōjō
- [ ] Succession in Kamakura Branch of the Ashikaga Family
- XX.** Succession of Tōkeiji Abbesses (in boldface)
- I, II Succession of Tokugawa Shōgun
- ==== Relationship by Marriage



## CHART E. TŌKEIJI HEAD ABBESSES AND ACTING ABBESSES

RESIDENT HEAD ABBESSES (*Jūji*)

1. Kakusan Shidō (1252–1305)
2. Runkai Un
3. Seitaku
4. Kaan Ryōdō
5. Yōdō
6. Junshū
7. Nimpō Gi
8. Kansū Taku
9. Shōkei San
10. Ōkan Kei
11. Kansō Tō
12. Hakushitsu Ju
13. Ryōan Ju
14. Monshō Ken
15. Myōgen On
16. Ikei Kō
17. Kyokusen (abb. 1557)
18. Zuisan Shō (abb. 1588)
19. Keisan Hōsei (abb. 1644)
20. Tenshū Hōtai (1608–45)
21. Eizan Hōei (abb. 1707)
22. Gyokuen Hōban (abb. 1737)

[Inryōken]

Acting Abbesses (*Indai*)

[After the line of formally ordained *abbesses* of the Tōkeiji had run its course, nuns residing in the *Inryōken*, adjacent to the abbess residence (*Hōjō*), were recruited as “Acting Abbesses” to administer the affairs of the convent. The first six Inryōken nuns are only peripheral to our Tōkeiji concerns.]

7. Tesshū Hōgo (1736)
8. Ten-ei Hōshin (1743)
9. Gesshū Hōkei (1748)
10. Etsudō Hōtai (1769)
11. Tangen Hōsei (1807)
12. Keidō Hōshū (1852)
13. Reigan Hōkyō (1862)
14. Junsō Hōkō (1870)

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## Notes

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### PREFACE

1. Watson 1993, p. 98 (The Parable of the Medicinal Herbs); cf., Hurvitz 1976, pp. 101–102.

2. *Shintei zōho kokushi taikēi*, vol. 33 (Azuma kagami, part 2), p. 523.

Of the chronicles by far the most important is the *Azuma Kagami*, the most comprehensive source for this history of the development of feudalism in Japan. The first part was compiled about 1270, mainly from journals and records kept by noblemen of the Heian regime. It deals with matters which came to their private knowledge or their official notice. The second part is based on official records of the Kamakura government. It contains valuable material for the study of social and economic growth, and if used with care is a useful guide to the ethos of the warrior class. It displays a certain bias in favour of the Hōjō family. (Sansom 1958, pp. 486–87)

3. Kamakura, having given its name to one of the pivotal eras in Japanese history (1185–1333), is today a resort suburb thirty-two miles (51 km.) SSW of Tokyo by train. Facing Sagami Bay on the western shore of the Miura Peninsula just as it begins to separate from the mainland mass, the city claims a cultural heritage far greater than its size might suggest.

4. The temple's full name is Tōkei Sōji Zenji, which may be rather clumsily paraphrased in English as the “Propitious Eastern Zen Temple [in the line of Bodhidharma's female disciple] Tsung-chih.” The characters for *sōji*, often used in the sense of “*dharani*” (esoteric formula), are here to be read as a personal name. Inoue 1980, p. 25. See chapter 3, note 30, and associated text.

5. Kaneko and Morrell 1983, *JJRS* 10:2–3: 195–228.

6. However, we do not wish to imply that “fresh” or “new” necessarily implies “better.” The more-or-less comfortable consensus that readers shared a half century ago through the comprehensive balanced narratives of George Sansom, the Reischauer-Fairbank-Craig collaboration, Murdoch, Brinkley, and the rest, may have collapsed; but much of what these pioneers had to say has not been superseded, and is not to be found elsewhere. Our general bibliography includes many books we recommend to those who wish to examine some of the ideological and historical issues that hide in the shadowy background of our rather focused story of the Tōkeiji, including a number of books that are “old” and out of print—but not to be dismissed on these grounds. They can often be found online, new or second-hand (but fre-

quently in excellent condition), at reasonable prices—especially at sale outlets, and with a few clicks of your mouse.

7. Readers may be interested to know that Frederick Crews's delightful *Pooh Perplex*, the 1963 takeoff on academic pomposity with the help of A. A. Milne's *Winnie-the-Pooh*, is now (2003) back in print again, as is his *Postmodern Pooh* (2001), a follow-up thirty-eight years later.

8. Although we point to these issues only with a sentence or two in this preface, they will be central in much of what follows, especially chapters 2 and 3.

In following any extended discussion, the reader will likely want to know where the writer is coming from and, eventually, where he is headed. Sometimes the reader's expectations are realized, but all too often he leaves a book scratching his head in bewilderment.

If the reader has any reservations about the ideological profile we have described in the last few paragraphs, we would like to refer him/her to a more elaborate overview in our article on "Literature and Scripture," Swanson and Chilson 2006, pp. 257–73.

9. Hui-neng: "The deluded person wishes to be born in the East or West, [for the enlightened person] any land is just the same. If only the mind has no impurity, the Western Land is not far . . . if you practice straightforward mind, you will arrive there in an instant." See Yampolsky 1967, p. 157; see also pp. 156–59. Kakukai: "Although this World-to-be-Endured . . . is the Region of the Five Defilements, it is also [Amida's] Pure Land of the West . . . Turn around the thinking of the ordinary person and the physical form bound by karma is the Pure Land of True Reward for how we have lived. Our present abode in this life is just like this." See Morrell 1987, p. 101.

10. Coates and Ishizuka 1925, p. 494, *passim*. Rensei was formerly the warrior Kumagai, the *waki* in Zeami's *nō* play *Atsumori* who kills the young warrior of that name. Trans. Arthur Waley.

11. Our reference identifies the famous phrase by Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772–1834) in his *Biographia Literaria* (1817), ch. 14: "That willing suspension of disbelief for the moment, which constitutes poetic faith."

12. Cf., Faure 2003, p. 3. We will discuss this issue in more detail toward the end of our translation of Mujū's *Mirror for Women* (Tsuma kagami, 1300) in chapter 2.

13. The *Oxford English Dictionary* (1971 edition) gives this etymology and definitions of "asyle" and "asylum," here somewhat abbreviated:

†**Asyle**. *Obs.* . . . [a. F. *asile*, *asyle*, ad L. *asylum*: see below.] The earlier form of ASYLUM (IN SENSES 1, 2, 3). 1382 WYCLIF . . .

**Asylum**. . . . [a. L. *asylum*, a. Gr. *ἄσυλον* refuge, sanctuary, neut. of adj. *ἄσυλος* inviolable, *ἀ* priv. + *σύλη*, *σύλον* right of seizure. Cf. ASYLE.]

1. A sanctuary or inviolable place of refuge and protection for criminals and debtors, from which they cannot be forcibly removed without sacrilege . . .
2. *gen.* A secure place of refuge, shelter, or retreat . . .
3. *abstr.* Inviolable shelter; refuge, protection.
4. A benevolent institution affording shelter and support to some class of the afflicted, the unfortunate, or destitute; e.g. a "lunatic asylum," to which the term is sometimes popularly restricted. (OED 1971, vol. 1, p. 132, with omissions)

As the first definition suggests, the *term* originated from the practice of “asylum” granted to individuals to take refuge at sacred places in Greece, although the *practice* was widespread in other societies throughout the world.

14. Akita-jō no Suke. Title of the head of the Adachi clan, which had its roots in the northern province of Akita; first used by Kagemori (see following note). The effort to restore imperial supremacy, instigated by Emperor Gotoba, will be discussed later.

15. Commentators agree that this is a mistake for Yoshikage’s father, Kagemori (d. 1248), Kakusan’s grandfather. Although Yoshikage (1210–1253) did succeed his father in holding the title of Akita-jō no Suke, he would only have been a youth of eleven in 1221. Kagemori’s date of birth is uncertain, but he seems the most probable agent in this confrontation.

16. *honji*. Usually, “this temple”; but here Myōe probably refers to the Jingōji on Mt. Takao, where he went to live in 1181 when he was eight. Subsequently he stayed at Tōdaiji’s Sonshōin and at various sites in Kii province before settling down at the Kōzanji in 1206. Myōe was forty-eight at the time of his meeting with Yasutoki. See Morrell 1987, appendix.

17. *sanzu*; elsewhere, *san’akudō*, the “Three Evil Destinies”: the regions of the hells, of the hungry demons, and of the animals.

18. From the *Biography of the Venerable Myōe of Toga-no-o* (Togo-no-o Myōe Shōnin denki); Kubota and Yamaguchi 1981, 163–65; Hiraizumi 1980, 206–208, 210–11. See also Morrell 1987, 103ff.). Myōe’s integrity greatly impressed Yasutoki, who later in the *Biography* explains to Myōe his reasons for opposing Emperor Gotoba during the Jōkyū Disturbance (Lieuteau 1975, 203–10).

19. Chamberlain 1905, pp. 500–509, includes a complete translation of the *Greater Learning for Women* (Onna daigaku), traditionally attributed to Kaibara Ekken (1630–1714), in addition to Chamberlain’s personal observations. Regardless of who actually wrote the work, it was widely disseminated during the Edo period as a handbook on women’s behavior. Our “Pedestrianism” suggests that it would be instructive to compare our complete translation of the Kamakura Buddhist Mujū’s *Mirror for Women* with the Edo Confucian *Great Learning for Women*. For a good introduction and translations of some of Kaibara Ekken’s other writings, see Tucker 1999, pp. 38–52.

## CHAPTER 1. WINDS OF DOCTRINE

1. Watanabe 1966, p. 57; Morrell 1985, pp. 71–72.

2. Hori 1968. Hori’s English term “folk religion” would presumably be rendered in Japanese as *minzoku shūgi* (with *zoku* 3415/422f). The reader will note that Professor Hori is among those who prefer to read the characters for Kūya Shōnin (903–972) as Kōya Shōnin.

3. Holtom 1938, pp. 23–24, cited in de Bary et al., comps. 2001, pp. 17–18.

4. Presumably Philippi 1968, chapter 93, “A Great Exorcism is Held. Oracular Instructions are Given for Crossing the Ocean.” (See *Kojiki • Norito* 1958, pp. 228, 229.) Emperor Chūai, son of Yamato-takeru-nō-mikōtō, probably reigned about the middle of the fourth

century at the time that Japan began to extend its influence on the Korean peninsula (Philippi, p. 256, n2).

5. *Ōharae no kotoba*. Various translations and explications: *Kojiki* • *Norito* 1958, pp. 422–27; Philippi 1959, 45–49 (no. 10); de Bary et al. 2001, 34–36 (Philippi); Satow and Florenz 1927, pp. 100–64.

6. This is the first of several references to “blood pollution”—in Shintō, not Buddhism, where others seem to find its origins. See, for example, Ruch 2002, index, p. 672, for numerous references to the issue; also Faure 2003, chapter 2, *passim*.

7. Muraoka 1964, 30. George Sansom has a similar account and includes additional references to parturition huts (*ubuya*):

The outstanding feature of Shintō observances is the attention paid to ritual purity. Things which are offensive to the gods were called by the early Japanese *tsumi*, a word which is rendered by dictionaries as “guilt” or “sin.” Avoidance of these things was called *imi*, a word meaning taboo. The Imibe . . . were a class of professional “abstainers,” whose duty it was to keep free of pollution so that they might approach the gods without offence. Chief among the offences to be avoided was uncleanness. It might arise in many ways, none of which necessarily involved what in other religions would be moral guilt. Uncleanness of the person, from mere dirt, was scrupulously avoided, and it was a necessary preparation for religious observances to wash the body and to put on fresh garments. Sexual intercourse, menstruation and childbirth were regarded as causing ceremonial impurity, which must be removed by lustration, abstention, and prayer. In the earliest myth there is mention of “parturition huts,” isolated sheds to which pregnant women withdrew so that the dwelling-house should not be defiled by childbirth, and we are told also of “nuptial huts,” in which, for a like reason, marriages were consummated. Disease, wounds, and death were also sources of uncleanness. Death—or rather the contamination of death—as we have seen, was abhorrent to the early Japanese. The Han travelers from China noticed that the time of mourning was short, that after death friends came to dance and sing, and that after the funeral the whole family went into the water to wash. The house in which a death took place became unclean, and it was doubtless on this account that until the beginning of the 8th century the capital, or at least that palace, was removed to another site upon the death of a sovereign.

Wounds were a source of pollution, and the word for wound, *kega*, still in use, means defilement. Sickness and all the external signs of disease, such as sores, eruptions, and discharges, or contact with sick persons, were also defilements. Eating flesh was not originally unclean, except perhaps for priests preparing themselves for worship, but it seems to have become taboo under Buddhist influence. Intoxicating liquors are not taboo. In fact they figure prominently among offerings to the gods at all times. So far, it will be noticed, the list of offences does not reveal any distinction between ceremonial impurity and moral guilt. The consummation of a marriage is no less defiling than adulterous intercourse, a blow or a wound pollutes both parties to a conflict, and generally we find that the early religion is almost entirely deficient in abstract ideas of morality. Its code is not ethical but customary and ceremonial. It reprobates as sins only such acts or states as are visibly or immediately repulsive. It is worth while to examine more closely this question, for out of the early conception of morality grows the whole complex of religious and social organization in later times, shaping and modifying even the powerful influences of Chinese philosophy and Buddhist doctrine. (Sansom 1943, pp. 52–53)

The erection of the eight-fathom (i.e. complete and perfect) hall has been considered by various authors as prefiguring the parturition-house (*ubu-ya*) in which, according to age-old tradition, childbirths should normally take place. The birth makes the *ubu-ya* impure and it is therefore burnt down immediately after it has served its purpose. (Herbert 1967, 259)

8. Motoori Norinaga’s “Arrowroot” (*Kuzubana*), Tsunoda et al., comps., 1958, pp. 524–27.

9. See Hardacre 1989, p. 27 and *passim*.

10. Professor Nakamura's *Ways of Thinking of Eastern Peoples: India-China-Tibet-Japan* (1964) was subject to considerable controversy several decades ago, but it is still a fascinating read, even if one may object to some of Professor Nakamura's bold generalizations. To speak of a society's "ways of thinking" may seem to approach the politically incorrect notion of racial stereotyping, but we all know quite well that people in different societies do act and think differently.

11. See de Bary and Bloom 1999, chapter 3, "Confucius and the Analects" for the early developments; chapter 6, "The Evolution of the Confucian Tradition in Antiquity" for Mencius and other later developments. The Five Constant Virtues are first mentioned under neo-Confucianism, p. 675, n 17. See also the monumental, if somewhat dated, overview of traditional Chinese philosophy by Fung Yu-Lan from the beginnings to the first half of the twentieth century. Fung 1952, 1953.

12. To paraphrase Voltaire, if Prince Shōtoku never existed, the Japanese would have had to invent him. If it could be demonstrated that he was not actually the author of the *Constitution* of CE 604 (according to the *Chronicles*; Aston 1956 [orig. 1896], pp. II:128–33; cf., Deal 1999), or the *Commentaries on the Three Sutras* (Sangyō gisho; according to the *Imperial Record of Shōtoku, Dharma King of the Upper Palace*, Jōgū Shōtoku hōō teisetsu, ca. 623–711 [BKD 6, pp. 1–2]. See Deal 1999, pp. 329–33), the fact that the *Constitution* and the *Commentaries* are mentioned in the early records and known to the early Japanese is beyond dispute.

13. The system of penal laws (*ritsu*) and administrative laws (*ryō*) derived from Chinese T'ang codes, the most famous being the Taihō Code (701), revised as the Yōrō Code of 718. See Reischauer and Fairbank 1958, pp. 481–82, for a concise resume of the times.

14. Ushiyama 2002, pp. 131–32.

15. It would be surprising to find Hōnen, or any of the other members of this group, openly attacking either the *Lotus Sutra* or the doctrine of Skillful Means—but their actions speak very loudly. Mujū, himself a staunch defender of the *nembutsu* practice—but of Tendai's more inclusive variety represented by Ennin (Jikaku Daishi, 794–864), Kōya (or Kūya, 903–972), Genshin (Eshin, 942–1017), and Ryōnin (1072–1132)—condemns "A Pure Land Devotee Punished for Slighting the Gods" in one of his anecdotes in *Sand and Pebbles*, those who deny the value of other practices, certain individuals who "threw copies of the Lotus Sutra into the river" . . . and others who "rubbed Jizō's head with smartweed, saying that the non-Amidist buddhas and scriptures were useless" (*Sand and Pebbles* 1:10; Morrell 1985, pp. 97–103).

16. Although Nichiren claimed as his basic practice the recitation of the name (*daimoku*) of the *Lotus Sutra*, whose fundamental stance is the accommodation of Skillful Means, he interpreted this to mean that although the Buddha employs many Skillful Means to save sentient beings, for his particular place and *time* (i.e., after the beginning of the Decline of the Dharma/Law [*mappō*, 1052]), *only one* practice was possible—his own.

17. As expressed in two highly respected studies—Bielefeldt, *Dōgen's Manuals of Zen Meditation* (1988) and Stone, *Original Enlightenment and the Transformation of Medieval Japanese Buddhism* (1999). See later, note 30 and associated text.

18. See Weinstein 1977, Foard 1980, Payne 1998.
19. See Nakamura 1981, 232a; frequently found abbreviated and in Wade-Giles romanization, *p'an chiao* (*hangyō*), “dividing the doctrine.” See Hurvitz 1963, pp. 214–44; cf. Swanson 1989, 77–78.
20. Expressed most fully in his *Jūjūshinron* (830; T 2425: v. 77), and more concisely in the *Precious Key to the Secret Treasury* (*Hizō hōyaku*, T 2426; Hakeda 1972, 67–76, 157–224); de Bary et al. 2001, 168–170.
21. See Takakusu 1956, pp. 114–18.
22. Murti 1960, pp. 243–44.
23. Cf., Sextus Empiricus (second cent. CE), *Outlines of Pyrrhonism* (Scepticism) III, 280. See Annas and Barnes 2000 for a very lucid and helpful annotated translation; but also note the vehemence with which they reject the prescription for happiness offered by the “quack, Dr. Sextus” in their introduction, pp. xxx–xxxi.
24. Murti 1960, pp. 246–47. To those with an interest in comparative philosophy, we highly recommend Professor McEvilley’s groundbreaking volume (732 pp.) on *The Shape of Ancient Thought: Comparative Studies in Greek and Indian Philosophies* (2002), which includes chapters on such topics as “Early Greek Philosophy and Mādhyamika” and “Plotinus and Vijñānavāda Buddhism.”
25. See Morrell 1987, 13–22.
26. Watson 1993, xviii–xix.
27. Ruch 2002, pp. 297–324.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 301.
29. *Ibid.* Also see Tsunoda et al., 1958, pp. 479–88; Katō Shūichi 1967, pp. 177–210; Pye 1990.
30. Tsunoda et al., 1958, pp. 541–42:  
 Hirata’s zeal at times was so great as to transgress the bounds of rationality and even honesty. He seriously interrogated frauds who claimed to have visited the moon or to have lived among the mountain elves, noting with satisfaction whenever their statements confirmed Shinto doctrine . . . The idea that Japan is first among the nations because the sun rises and shines on it first seems bizarre to us, but undoubtedly made better sense to unsophisticated peasant minds in nineteenth-century Japan, which had a more intimate association with the sun than with the other peoples of the world. That this and other naïve notions of Hirata were listened to by a large and sympathetic audience is shown by the leading part these ideas were to play in the Restoration and subsequent chauvinist movements of modern Japan.
31. Ruch 2002, p. 301. If the diatribes of Nakamoto and Atsutane, both notoriously anti-Buddhist, can be introduced seriously in a discussion of the *Lotus Sutra*—still a sacred scripture for millions of Buddhists—then, if we were so inclined, we should be equally free to say of the Torah, the Christian Bible, the Koran, etc., that they “are nothing but boasts. There is nothing useful in them . . . There is nothing that constitutes doctrine.”
- In academic discussions, the scriptures of Buddhism should be treated with the same respect as those of the Western monotheisms, which are not “more equal than others.”
32. Stone 1999, pp. 58–62.

33. Bielefeldt 1988, pp. 164–66. This is an important new defining issue for our understanding of Japanese Buddhism and merits further discussion. As Professor Stone puts it:

Among these groups [that emerged in the Kamakura period and] achieved institutional independence are the Jōdo-shū or Pure Land sect founded by Hōnen (1133–1212); the Jōdo Shinshū or True Pure Land sect, which takes as its founder Hōnen's disciple, Shinran (1173–1262); and the Nichiren-shū or Nichiren sect, named after the monk Nichiren (1222–1282), with whom it originated. These groups in particular represent a radical move known as “exclusive choice” (*senchaku* or *senju*), the rejection of the plurality of available Buddhist practices in favor of a single form, which thereby acquires absolute status. For the Pure Land teachers Hōnen and Shinran, this meant exclusive devotion to the Buddha Amida and the sole practice of the vocal *nenbutsu* or recitation of Amida's name. For Nichiren, it was exclusive devotion to the *Lotus Sutra* and the chanting of its title. Hōnen, Shinran, and Nichiren all invoked rhetoric about the difficulties of salvation in the age of the Final Dharma (*mappō*) and emphasized faith, rather than moral conduct and merit accumulation, as the basis of liberation . . .

Zen Buddhism first acquired the beginnings of an independent institutional presence in the Kamakura period through the efforts of men like Eisai (or Yōsai, 1151–1215) and Dōgen (1200–1253), regarded as the founders, respectively, of the Rinzai and Sōtō sects of Japanese Zen. Both men emphasized strict observance of the monastic precepts; Eisai, however, promoted Zen in conjunction with *shingon* and Tendai practices, while Dōgen, who emphasized Zen exclusively, is sometimes grouped for this reason with Hōnen, Shinran, and Nichiren as a teacher of single practice. (Stone 1999, pp. 56–58)

34. deBary, 2001, p. 217: “During the last days of his life, Ippen burned the sūtras that he possessed and declared that all the Buddhas's teachings were epitomized in the *nembutsu*.”

35. Dumoulin II, 1990, p. 14.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

37. Collcutt 1981. As noted in the cross-referenced index, compiled by Yung-ming Yen-shou (Yōmyō Enju, 904–975) of the Fa-yen (Hōgen) line tracable to Hui-neng, but not through Lin-chi. The *Mirror*, reflecting the variety of conceptual expediences of T'ien-t'ai, Hua Yen, Pure Land, and other practices to realize the ineffable ultimate, was introduced to Japan by Rinzai Zen's Enni Ben'en, founder of the Tōfukuji in Kyoto, mentor of Abbess Nyōdai and Mujū Ichien, whose citations are often derived from the *Mirror*. See Collcutt 1981, pp. 41–48, for an enlightening account of Enni Ben'en's accomplishments; also an illustration of two pages from the *Sugyōroku* printed by the Tenryūji in 1371.

38. See, for example, Suzuki (1971), illustration 46, “The Three Laughing Sages at Kokei.”

39. Rosenfield 1977, p. 223. It is interesting to note that in the opening chapter (1:1, “The Great Shrine of Ise”) to *Sand and Pebbles* (Shasekishū, 1279–1283), Mujū extends a lengthy syncretic discourse accommodating Shintō and Buddhism by reaching out to Confucianism and Taoism:

The august form of the Traces Manifest by the Original Ground [*honji suijaku*] may vary, but their purpose is assuredly the same. In order to propagate Buddhism in China, the three bodhisattvas Mānava, Kāśyapa and Dipamkara—appearing as Confucius, Lao-tzu and Yen Hui—first softened the people's hearts by means of non-Buddhist teachings [. . . *mazu geden wo motte hito no kokoro wo yawaragete*]. Later, when Buddhism was propagated, everyone believed in it. (See Watanabe 1966, p. 61; Morrell 1985, p. 75)

40. Watanabe 1966, pp. 164–65; Morrell 1985, pp. 25–26, 136. The ubiquitous Daughter of the Dragon King is also mentioned here.



CHAPTER 2. MUJŪ ICHIEN'S *MIRROR FOR WOMEN* (Tsuma Kagami, 1300)

1. Morrell, in Hare et al., eds. 1996, pp. 288–89. Please note that the waka is there mistakenly attributed to Fujiwara no Tadamichi rather than Michinaga.

2. In addition to several pre-Meiji versions of *Tsuma kagami*, there are as many as seven modern printings of the work. The text used for this translation is the well-annotated edition included in Miyasaka, 1964, pp. 158–94, based for the most part on the copy of the 1641 woodblock edition owned by Kōyasan University Library. The translation has been slightly updated from the version in “Mirror for Women: Mujū Ichien's *Tsuma Kagami*,” *Monumenta Nipponica* 35/1 (1980), pp. 45–75.

The reader may reasonably wonder why Mujū used the character *tsuma* (literally, “wife”) in the title rather than, say, *onna* (“woman”). To the extent that the tract is directed to women at all, it is not directed to them in their role as wives. Given Mujū's penchant for wordplay, it is possible that “Tsuma Kagami” may have been suggested by the title of the famous chronicle of the Kamakura military establishment, *Azuma Kagami*, “Mirror of the East,” whose text was largely completed by 1270 and may well have been known to Mujū. Its characters for *azuma* (*a-tsuma*, literally, “my wife”) may be used as rebus symbols, or *ateji*, for the word pronounced *azuma* meaning “east”—thus, *Azuma Kagami*, “Mirror of the East.” By simply omitting the first character to avoid confusion with the older work, we have the title of Mujū's discourse.

3. Professor Ruch notes that Mujū “was a contemporary of Mugai Nyodai and had studied at age thirteen with Enni Ben'en at Tōfukuji. He was there too soon, however, to be witness to Mugai Nyodai burning her face there—if indeed she did.” Ruch 2002, p. lxxviii, n 18. Mujū always considered himself to be a disciple of Ben'en, and mentions him several times in his *Sand and Pebbles* (See Morrell 1985). One of his Edo period biographers even claims that he was asked to succeed Ben'en at the Tōfukuji, but this is highly unlikely.

Mujū was a Kajiwara, but there are varying opinions about his relationship to the infamous and ill-fated Kajiwara Kagetoki, a major villain in the Gempei War stories, who fostered Minamoto Yoritomo's suspicions against his brother, Yoshitsune, and was executed in 1200. With the Kajiwaras out of social favor, Mujū may have decided that his best prospects in life lay in his decision entering the religious life. He was well acquainted with Kamakura during the early decades of the thirteenth century. In addition to having served as a page at Eisai's Jufukuji in his thirteenth year (1238), he tells us that he practiced Zen meditation there in 1260.

Mujū was studious in his youth, and by 1261, when he became a disciple of the Rinzai Zen pioneer, Enni Ben'en (1202–1280), he had become well versed in the doctrinal positions of his day. Although he had spent the later years of his life elsewhere—most probably at Eison's Saidaiji in Nara for a time, in *Sand and Pebbles* he includes many anecdotes which have Kamakura as their setting. This collection of stories was completed in 1283, two years before Kakusan founded the Tōkeiji. In 1262 Mujū went to live at Chōboji, in what is now Nagoya, restoring it as a branch temple of Enni's Rinzai Zen Tōfukuji in Kyoto.

4. For a more detailed—and much more amusing—work by Mujū, read the English and/or French translations of his *Shasekishū* (*Sand and Pebbles*, 1279–83; Morrell 1985, Rotermund 1979), or the well-annotated edition by the Japanese authority, Watanabe Tsunaya (Watanabe 1966).

5. Two common themes in Japanese Buddhist literature are the difficulty of attaining birth in human form and the fact that we are led astray because we do not know who we are.

An early statement of these themes is to be found in the *Path of the Teaching* “Dharmapada, Hokkukyō,” T 210, 4:567ab) a work known to Mujū and occasionally cited by him, e.g., *Shasekishū* 4–1.

6. Kūkai (Kōbō Daishi, 774–835), in *The Secret Key to the Heart Sutra* (Hannya Shingyō Hiken): “A drunkard scoffs at those who are sober. The ones in slumber mock the awakened.” Hakeda 1972, p. 263.

7. Pei Mang, a mountain northeast of Loyang in China, is the grave site of many emperors and court officials from the Latter Han through T’ang. Tung Tai is a mountain in Shantung where the spirits of dead were said to return.

8. Those reborn either in the heavens or in the hells are both subject to the round of transmigration and must still practice the Way in order to be liberated: but the first are seduced by pleasures and the latter too distracted by pain to attend to the problem.

9. *The Sutra of the Great Decease* (Mahāparinirvāna Sūtra; Nieh-p’an ching; Daihatsunehangyō; the *Nirvana Sutra*, T 375, 12:809c) is the commonly cited source of this metaphor, but it was probably just another of many well-worn phrases in the common vocabulary of the time. T 375 is an enormous work (see cross-referenced index to cited texts) to which Mujū probably did not have access in his “thatched mountain hermitage out in the country”; Morrell 1985, p. 24). In his discussion of Mujū’s sources and learning, Professor Watanabe notes that textual discrepancies suggest that the source of most of Mujū’s citations are derived from secondary works such as the *Mirror of Sectarian Differences*, the *Treatise on the Great Perfection of Wisdom*, and the *Great Calming and Contemplation* (Watanabe 1966, pp. 43–44).

10. The Three Poisons (*sandoku*) of greed, anger, and stupidity are now correlated with the Three Evil Paths (*san’akushū*) into which sentient beings may be reborn: the worlds of the hungry ghosts, of the hells, and of the animals. Mujū then proceeds upward through the three remaining realms: the worlds of the *asuras* (ashura, devils), of humans, and the heavens of the gods.

11. *gokai*. The prohibitions against killing, stealing, adultery, lying, and drinking intoxicants.

12. *rokkon*, that is, the five usual organs of sense, plus the faculty of intellect.

13. *gosui taimotsu*. “The five marks of decrepitude of heavenly beings before they die are: (1) clothes become dirty; (2) flowers in the headdress wither; (3) the whole body emits foul smells; (4) there is sweating under the arms; and (5) there is a disinclination to take proper seats and postures” (Inagaki 1989, p. 344). The list appears in the *Sutra of the Great Decease* and the *Treasury of Analyses of the Law*; *Tsuma kagami* is the only reference to the four-character compound in Nakamura 1981, p. 370.

14. The *wen-yen* commentary on the second hexagram (*k’un*, earth) in the *I Ching* says: “The family that accumulates goodness is sure to have superabundant happiness, and the family that accumulates evil is sure to have superabundant misery.” James Legge, trans., *The Sacred Books of China: The Texts of Confucianism, II: The Yi King*, Oxford U.P., 1899, pp. 4–19.

15. The commentator refers to two sources for this phrase in the “Northern Text” (*hokubon*) of the Mahāyānist *Nirvana Sutra*, T 374.

16. *Lotus Sutra* 2. “Not seeing their own faults, / Having flaws in their discipline, / And jealously guarding their blemishes, / These of slight vision have already left” Hurvitz 1976, p. 32.

17. Radhakrishnan translates Chapter XVIII: 18 of the well-known Pali version of the *Dhammapada* (The Path of Virtue) as follows: “The fault of others is easily seen; our own is difficult to see. A man winnows others’ faults like chaff; but his own faults he hides even as a cheat hides an unlucky throw” (Radhakrishnan and Moore 1957, p. 311).

Embellished adaptations of the *Dhammapada* appear in various Chinese translations, T 210 (*Hokkukyō*), 211, 212 (*Shutsuyōkyō*), and T 213. See Willemsen 1999 for an English version of T 211.

18. The passage alludes to the *Classic of Filial Piety* (Hsiao Ching). “We develop our own personality and practice the Way so as to perpetuate our name for future generations, and to give glory to our parents.” Makra 1961, p. 3.

19. *Lotus Sutra* 3. “By resort to an expedient device, I preach the Path: / That the origin of all woes / Is desire, which is their basis.” Hurvitz, p. 75. The expedient referred to here is probably the Four Noble Truths as preached by Gautama at his First Sermon at Benares. Tendai classes such Hīnayānist teachings among the Deer Park, the first major concession to human ignorance after he had revealed the Truth in its fullness in the Garland teachings (Kegon), but could not be understood by his followers.

20. Or he propagates the True Law, but from motives of fame and profit.

21. That is, he is tolerant of all sorts of man and conditions.

22. Mujū elaborates the story of Lady Mallika in the *Zōtanshū* III. Mallika employed wine to soften the king’s heart and save a servant’s life; she was praised by the Buddha for this, even though it had taken place on a day when the Eight Precepts were to be observed by laymen. Vasumitra, a courtesan who employed sensuality to lead men to enlightenment, is mentioned in the *Garland Sutra*.

23. The old tradition probably arises from the fact that the Kuze Kannon is the central object of worship in the Yumedono (Hall of Dreams) at Hōryūji, a site associated with Prince Shōtoku’s life.

24. According to *Nihon Shoki*, Umayado (i.e., Shōtoku) was in the force which in 587 attacked Mononobe no Moriya, a leading opponent of Buddhism, although he did not actually strike the blow that felled Moriya. Aston 1956, pp. 109–15.

25. Mujū appears to be loosely paraphrasing Chih-I (538–597), the T’ien T’ai patriarch in whose *Moho chih-kuan* (*Maka shikan*) the distinctive phrase about the Middle Way being in a single color or smell often occurs, e.g., T 1911, XLVI, pp. 1, 42. This expresses the basic Mahāyānist position that the religious model, the bodhisattva, works within the phenomenal world instead of escaping from it into some transcendent nirvana. Thus the phenomenal world can be viewed either as the result of bad karma or as the stage on which the liberated bodhisattva works his compassion. The good and bad of conventional morality are useful, provisional teachings, but vary with the occasion: nothing is intrinsically good or bad.

26. *kyōgen kigo* (or *kigyō*). An important concept for Mujū and other Buddhist apologists in justifying secular literature as an accommodation to lead the ordinary man to enlightenment. The phrase and argument appear conspicuously in the preface to *Shasekishū* and throughout the work.

27. Sanron monks who flourished in the mid-Tempyō period, about 729. The famous Chikō Mandala depicts Raikō in Amida’s Pure Land as he appeared in Chiko’s dream. See Gangōji 1969.

28. *shōja hitsumetsu*. This famous phrase is said to originate in the *Nirvana Sutra*; it is often followed by the phrase, *esha jōri*, “those who meet must part,” and can be found today even in popular pocket dictionaries.

29. There is uncertainty about the identity of Taichō and his nickname. The “Great Teacher” refers to Kūkai.

30. The anecdote appears in *Sangoku Denki* 6:27. In *Shigadera Shōnin no Koi*, 1954, Mishima Yukio developed the theme into a complex love story, in which the priest is ultimately saved. See “The Priest and His Love,” Morris 1962.

31. Unidentified. The anecdote does not appear in *Shasekishū* or in other *setsuwa* literature. The emperor in question was Sutoku, r. 1123–1141, who died in exile at Sanuki.

32. Nothing further is known about this unfortunate monk.

33. Kūkai’s *Hizō hōyaku* (Precious Key to the Sacred Treasury) speaks of *four* obligations—to parents, to all sentient beings, to the ruler, and to the Three Treasures. See Hakeda, p. 183.

34. *shōja hissui*. This phrase, which originates in the *Benevolent Kings Sutra* (Ninnōkyō), also appears in the famous opening statement of *Heike Monogatari*. The source of this anecdote about Ananda is unclear.

35. Japanese rendering of two phrases of a regulated verse (*lǜ shih*) by Po Chū-i (772–846), the last item of “Speaking My Mind: Five Poems” (*Fang Yen wu Shou*). See Yang 1963, p. 165; also Takagi 1968, p. 149.

36. The first two lines are from the second of “Ten Poems in the Old Style” (*Hsü ku shih shou*) by Po. See Yang 1963, p. 16. *Shasekishū* 8:21 quotes the following:

The old grave—from what era the man who lies there?  
We know neither his clan nor name.  
He has dissolved into the wayside dust  
From which each spring the grasses come forth.  
(NKBT 85, p. 356)

The *Hsi shih* couplet in the *Mirror* does not appear in the modern printing of Po’s poems and its origin is unclear. The lady who enjoyed seeing her reflection in the river is mentioned in *Shasekishū* 7:1 (NKBT 85, p. 294), where the source is identified as *Tsung ching lu* (Sugyōroku, T 2016), by the Ch’an monk Yen Shou (904–975).

37. *Shasekishū* 7:25 recounts the story of Pei Sou (J. Hokusō), or Sai Wêng (Saiō) from the *Huai Nan Tzu* (Enanji). When his horse was lost and later replaced, he neither grieved nor rejoiced, believing that good may come from misfortune, and vice versa. Hence the idiom *saiō ga uma* (“Sai Wêng’s horse”) to refer to the irony of fate.

38. *hokusō warai*. The phrase *hokusō emu* survives in modern colloquial usage, but often with the darker implication of gloating over another’s misfortune.

39. A waka appearing in Okibon text of the *Shinkokinshū*, the version prepared by Emperor Go-Toba during his exile in Okī from 1221 to his death in 1239, and no longer extant as a complete work.

40. *Konkōmyō Saishōōkyō*, T 665. The reference is not to be found the modern version.

41. The *Nirvana Sutra* compares the karmic effects of agitation to drawing on stone, which takes the image permanently; the effects of good karma are more fragile, like drawing a picture on water.

42. Daozuan (Pin-yin romanization for Wade-Giles's) Tao-hsüan (J. Dōsen, 596–667), member of the translation project headed by the famous traveler Hsüan-Tsang (Genjō, 600–664), and not to be confused with the later Tao-hsüan (J. Dōsen, 702–760)—same romanization, different characters—a disciple of Chien-chen (Ganjin, 702–760) who preceded his teacher to Japan. When Chien-chen finally arrived at Nara in 745, he was provided with a special monastery, the still-standing Tōshōdaiji, and an ordination platform (*kaidan*). Ganjin also belonged to the Southern Mountain Disciplinary School, which was to be a major influence on Japanese monastic institutions. (See Takakusu 1956, p. 187; note that the last character of his footnote 13 needs to be changed, but the two characters, as is, would be quite correct for a new note (16a?) attached to the Tao-hsüan mentioned on the fifth line from the bottom of the text.) Leo Pruden's translation (published 1994) of Gyōnen's *Essentials of the Eight Traditions* (Hasshū kōyō, 1268) is a most interesting overview of Japanese Buddhism as seen by a thirteenth-century Buddhist scholar; note especially pp. 35–54, “The Ritsu Tradition.”

The text for our translation in Miyasaka 1964 runs from p. 158 to p. 184—eighteen pages. The paraphrase from Tao-hsüan covers less than one page (p. 176), and he is not discussed elsewhere in this writing. By our calculations, Mujū is more than two-thirds (actually about 70 percent) of the way through his discourse before it occurs to him to even think about the gender issue. Mujū did not itemize these “faults,” so we have added the markers and numbers: 1, 2, etc., to facilitate identification.

43. In his *Rules to Purify Mind and Maintain Insight*, noted in our cross-referenced index as the *Ching-hsin-chieh-kuan-fa* (Jōshinkaikanbō, T 1893) of Tao-hsüan (596–667), prominent collaborator in Hsüan-tsang's translation project and the founder of the Southern School (hence the title, Nan-shan) of the Chinese Disciplinary Sect (Lü-tsung), based primarily on the Hīnayānist discipline of the *Four-part Vinaya* (Ssu-fen-lū, Shibunritsu, T 1428.). See *Busho kaisetsu daijiten* (BKD) (1932; 1968 printing) 6.56–57; Ch'en, 1964.

44. Professor Bernard Faure opens his second chapter, p. 55, “The Rhetoric of Subordination,” of *The Power of Denial: Buddhism, Purity, and Gender* (2003) with this paragraph, after the following two introductory quotations from Hamlet: “Frailty thy name is woman,” and “Get thee to a nunnery [i.e., brothel]. Why wouldst thou be a breeder of sinners?”

45. The mention of “Buddhist grievances toward the “weaker sex,” suggesting some kind of enduring constant running through the entire Buddhist tradition, is surely premature for so grand a generalization. It may possibly reflect the views of a Chinese Disciplinary (Vinaya) monk, who lived more than six and a half centuries before Mujū, and in quite a different society; but Mujū doesn't even cite him very well.

46. A few pages later we are told that “the seven womanly sins that Mujū gave in his *Mirror for Women* ended with blood pollution” (Ibid., p. 69), after the predictable reference to *Sand and Pebbles* 1:1, where Mujū does speak of “parturition huts” and various taboos and pollutions associated with the (Shintō) Ise Shrine, but in the context of trying to establish a syncretic relationship between Buddhism and Shintō according to the Original Ground/Manifest Trace (*honji-suijaku*) theory ultimately based on the *Lotus Sutra*. The current scholarly obsession with “blood pollution” (e.g., Faure 2003, chapter 2, passim; Ruch

2000, see index, p. 672) ignores the Shintō emphasis on ritual purity, clearly evident in the early myths, as discussed earlier. The term “Shintō” (“Way of the Gods”) may be a late addition to the vocabulary; but the *attitudes* to which it refers certainly have prehistoric origins.

47. Reference to Morrell 1985: 151, i.e., *Sand and Pebbles* 4:9.

48. Actually, Yoshida Kenkō (ca. 1283–ca. 1352).

49. T 1893: 45.824a–c.

50. Morrell 1985, 29–33.

51. Morrell 1985, 267.

52. According to *Sand and Pebbles* (2:10), Kakukai (Nanshōbō, 1142–1223), thirty-seventh Superintendent of the Shingon Sect on Mt. Kōya, prayed that the circumstances of his previous lives be revealed to him, and his wish was granted: “Once you were a small clam in the sea west of Tennōji Temple tossed in by the waves. While you were lying on the beach a small child picked you up and brought you to the front of the Golden Hall . . . ,” and after a series of opportune karmic encounters, he became Shingon Superintendent. See Morrell 1985, 120. Readers interested in hearing what the former clam had to say in support of inclusivist Amidism might take a look at “Shingon’s Kakukai on the Immanence of the Pure Land,” see Morrell 1987, 89–102.

53. For example, *Sand and Pebbles* 1:4 [Italics by the editors]:

Moreover, during the Jōkyū War [1221] the frightened people living in the area assembled within the Atsuta Shrine’s outer mud-wall enclosure. They brought their valuables and various utensils with them, and, crowded together without room to move, *one youth preceded his parents to the grave and a young girl was in labor* . . . . Speaking through one of the shrine priests, the deity declared; “the reason for my coming down from heaven to this land is that I might help the multitude of people. In the light of the present circumstances these actions are not tabu . . . .”

Thus, the will of the gods is everywhere the same. If only the heart is pure, the body likewise is not defiled. (Morrell 1985, p. 84; see also other items in the same chapter)

54. This story and its variants appear in several early texts, especially the *Daichidoron* (T. 1509), which Mujū often cites in *Shasekishū* and which he studied in his youth with Eichō (d. 1247), founder of the Chōrakuji.

55. Ennyadatta, i.e., Yajñadattā, sometimes referred to as a man (Yajñadatta), although the anecdote is similar (Miyasaka 1964, p. 177, n. 22). See, for example, Suzuki Daisetz’s summary of the *Śūrangama Sutra* (Ryōgonkyō, T 945): “Yajñadatta, a citizen of Śrāvastī, one morning looked into a mirror and found there a face with the most charming features. He thought his own head had disappeared and thereby went crazy.” *Manual of Zen Buddhism* (1935), p. 78.

56. The immediate cause of the Jōkyū War of 1221 is said to have been Go-Toba’s affair with a dancing girl named Kamegiku, to whom he assigned certain lands in defiance of the military government in Kamakura. See McCullough, *MN* 19:1–2, pp. 181ff.

57. *Kammuryōjūkyō*, T 365. See Cowell 1965, II, p. 161 ff.

58. *Lotus Sutra* 12. See Hurvitz, pp. 199–201.

59. *Lotus Sutra* 7. “From darkness proceeding to darkness, They never hear the Buddha’s name.” (Hurvitz, p. 133)

The phrase familiar to students of Japanese poetry from its inclusion in Izumi Shikibu's death verse in *Shūishū* 20:1342. See Brower and Miner 1961, p. 218.

60. *Mo-ho chih-kuan* (Maka shikan, T 1911), the major work on Tendai meditation by Chih-I. The phrase comes from chapter 4A, and is rendered into Japanese, as Mujū often does when citing the Chinese scriptures. See Sekiguchi I, 1966, p. 217.

61. *kokoro wo ji to shite*, whose two characters as a compound, *shinji* (mind-ground"), are defined in the following paragraph of the text. This compound, which might be rendered as "undifferentiated awareness" in the light of Mujū's description, distinguishes the goal of meditation as distinguished from that of devotion (e.g., to Amida). *Shinji kangyō* (Sutra of Viewing the Mind-Ground), is often cited in *Shasekishū*, and the term "mind-ground" appears prominently in another work known to Mujū, the famous *Platform Sutra* (Rokuso dangyō) of the Ch'an patriarch Hui-neng, 638–713.

It is probably advisable to use the literal translation of the compound inasmuch as it is the basis of the ground-seed-flower metaphor found elsewhere, e.g., Zeami's *Fushi Kaden*. See Philip B. Yampolsky, trans. *The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch* (Columbia U.P., 1967), pp. 164, 178; Shidehara Michitarō and Wilfrid Whitehouse, "Seami's Sixteen Treatises," in *MN* 4:2 (1941), p. 565.

62. Hossō, Sanron, Tendai, and Kegon—sects that emphasize teaching, theory, and doctrine—as opposed to the Zen sect that stresses the practice of meditation.

63. *kyōnai*, "within the teaching," i.e., through the use of scriptures and other conceptual constructs; *kyōge*, "outside the teaching," i.e., directly "from mind to mind" (*ishim den-shin*), without reliance on words.

64. The three qualities of mind (sincerity, faith, aspiration) as propounded in the Pure Land sutras are reflections of the single mind of Amida; possession of one presumes the existence of the other two. See Matsunaga et al. *II*, 1976, pp. 98ff.

65. The scriptural references to the monkey and the parrot are unclear. Mujū presumably means that the *practice* of either Zen or Pure Land methods is preferable to the *theory* of the doctrinal schools.

66. Ever the syncretist, Mujū now wishes to demonstrate that the Zen (mind-ground training) and the Pure Land (*nembutsu*) practices are compatible with the teachings of esoteric Buddhism, i.e., Shingon.

67. *Shasekishū* 2:8 tells of the Pure Land scholar Jōgambō, who recommended the use of the *Kōmyō shingon* mantra to the emperor and was criticized by a disciple for praising the methods of another sect. The *Fukūkensakukyō* (T 1092), where the *Kōmyō shingon* mantra is revealed, states that if it is chanted while sand is sprinkled on a corpse, the spirit of the dead person will be born into paradise. In defense of Jōgambō, Mujū cites the *Hanjusan* of Shan Tao to the effect that those who cannot be saved by any other teaching can profit by *dharani* (*darani*).

68. Brahma, one of whose characteristics is a tuft of hair on the head resembling a conch, is a major deity in the Hindu pantheon, but Buddhism views him merely as lord of the lowest of the Dhyana Heavens. Vimalakīrti is the hero of the famous sutra bearing his name, Kumārajīva text (T 475).

69. En no Ozunu (643–701), also known as En no Gyōja, patriarch of the *yamabushi*, or mountain ascetics, who eventually became affiliated with Tendai and Shingon.

70. The śrāvaka and pratyekabuddha, in contrast to those who follow the Bodhisattva vehicle of the Mahāyāna.

71. *hokkai*. “This unique reality, although declared to be uncharacterisable, has been variously characterised as the ‘element of the elements’ (*dharmānām dharmatā* or *dharmā-dhātu*), as their relativity (*śūnyatā*) . . . as ‘suchness’ (*tathata*) . . . and lastly as the ‘Cosmical Body of the Lord,’ as Buddha’s Dharmakāya. In this last attribution the Unique Essence of the universe becomes personified and worshiped under the names of Vairocana, Amitābha, the goddess Tārā and others, as a Supreme God. Buddhism becomes at once pantheistic and theistic, or as Prof. M. Anesaki prefers to put it, Cosmotheistic” (Stcherbatsky 1965, p. 48).

72. *Kegonkyō* (T 278) 10.

73. The quotation actually appears in Kūkai’s *Hizō hōyaku*, not in the *Shaku[makaen]ron* (T 1668), a commentary on the *Kishinron* attributed to Nāgārjuna.

74. *Maka shikan* 4B; Sekiguchi, p. 245.

75. This final notation, added by a later hand, includes a reference to the Confucian *Analects* 3:25, “The Master said of the Shào that it was perfectly beautiful and also perfectly good.” Legge 1960, I, p. 164.

76. Suzuki 1966, p. 66. Our translation varies slightly from the version in Waddell 2000, which apparently also consulted Akao 1976 and Fujimoto 1971. For an excellent survey of Bankei’s life and works, including many translations, we highly recommend Waddell’s *The Unborn*. (Note that the 2000 printing is a significant revision of the 1984 edition and that this paperback is available online at a very reasonable price.)

Waddell clarifies the distinction between “Buddha-mind” (*busshin*), “Illuminative wisdom” (*reimeī*), and “the Unborn” (*fushō*) on pp. 121–22, notes 2 and 7, reminding us that the phrase “the Unborn” can be found in the very short and very popular *Heart Sutra* (Hannya shingyō, T 251). See our chapter 8, note 22. All these terms can probably be seen as spinoffs from traditional Original Enlightenment (*hongaku*) thought.

### CHAPTER 3. ABBESS KAKUSAN AND THE KAMAKURA HŌJŌ

1. *Diary Kept by the Head of the English Factory in Japan: Diary of Richard Cocks, 1615–1622* (1978), vol. 1, pp. 327–28; see also *Diary of Richard Cocks, Cape Merchant in the English Factory in Japan* (1883), vol. 1, pp. 193–94. A third edition, edited by N. Murakami (Tokyo 1883) is also available.

2. The “first Englishman” being William (popularly, Will) Adams; (Miura Anjin, 1564–1620), advisor to Tokugawa Ieyasu and model for the hero of James Clavell’s popular historical romance, *Shogun*. See also Cooper 1982, 121–59.

3. Of course, “Camacra” in 1616, “500 years since,” was just another small town of Minamoto warriors in the remote eastern region of the country. Yoritomo was “cheefe commander” but never “Emperour” of Japan; and the emperor in Miyako claimed descent from the native Shintō Sun Goddess, Amaterasu, rather than from the historical Buddha, “Shacke” (Śākyamuni, ca. 560–ca. 480 BC).

4. See Charts B, C, and Sansom 1958, 238–43, for details concerning this development of the warrior class.



5. Mongaku's austerities, solicitations, and his subsequent exile and friendship with Yoritomo are fondly narrated in *Heike monogatari* 5:7–10. He then reappears at the end of the tale to plead for the life of Rokudai, “the last of the Taira” (12:2, 12:7–9). See McCullough 1988, pp. 178–84, 402–403, and 409–20; Kitagawa and Tsuchida 1975, I, pp. 312–24, 721–22, and 735–60.

6. On Mt. Takao, northeast of Kyoto. Myōe Kōben (1173–1232), lived at the Jingōji as a youth, from 1181. The *Kokonchomonjū* (Stories Old and New, 1254) says, probably incorrectly, that Myōe became a disciple of Mongaku. See Morrell 1987, pp. 46–47, 174–76.

7. *Kamakurashi shi: Kōkoben*, 319–24, has a detailed discussion of the Fudarakuji bell; see also Horii 1916, p. 602.

8. In 1190 Yoritomo was awarded the court rank of Provisional Major Counselor, Great Commander of the Imperial Body Guards of the Right (Gondainagon Ukonoe Taishō). He is frequently referred to by this title, or some variation thereof.

9. Mino no Tsubone. Presumably a sister of Yoritomo's father, Yoshitomo, but in any case not to be confused with her contemporary, consort of Emperor Toba (1103–1156) and mother of Cloistered Prince Kakukai (1134–1181), mentor of the famous Tendai author and cleric, Jien.

10. This major theme in Mahāyāna thought is discussed at length in the *Garland Sutra* (Avatamsaka, Kegonkyō), the basic scriptural authority for Myōe's Keron sect and a major influence on Zen thought. Kakusan had a special affinity for this work, as we shall see, and Myōe was a leading patron of art associated with this scripture (see Fontein 1967, 78–115). On the theoretical importance of the theme, see Suzuki 1934, 137–85.

11. The *Myōhōrengekyō* (T 262), or simply *Hokkekyō*, translated by Kumārajīva in AD 406, is the basic scripture of the Tendai and Nichiren sects. There are now several English renderings available, including Hurvitz 1976, Watson 1993, Kubo and Yuyama 1993, Murano 1974, and Katō et al. 1975. Also refer to the issues discussed in the preface and chapter 1.

12. Tokimune's impartiality in this matter, not unlike Myōe's attitude before Yasutoki, is noted in *Bukkō Zenji goroku* of Wu-hsüeh. The Chinese monk strongly supported the Hōjō regents, and was nun Kakusan's mentor.

13. The widespread pronunciation, *gozan*, for the characters meaning “Five Mountains” (e.g., Nakamura Hajime's authoritative *Bukkyōgo daijiten*, p. 361) is not supported by Shōgakkan's *Nihon kokugo daijiten*, 8, p. 129, which prefers the reading *gosan*, following João Rodrigues's *Arte da Lingoa de Iapam* (Daibunten, 1604–1608); the *Vocabulario da Lingoa de Iapam* (*Nippo jisho*, 1603–1608), also has *gosan*.

14. Collcutt 1981, p. 110, has a chart of five rankings between 1333 and 1386, from which this listing is taken.

15. “I did never see such pleasant walkes amongst pyne & spruce trees as are here about these pagodes, espetically 5 of them are more renowned then the rest. But that w'ch I did more admire than all the rest was a might[y] idoll of bras, called by them Dibotes [Daibutsu, the “Great Buddha”], & standeth in a vallye betwixt 2 movntaynes, the howse being quite rotten away, it being set vp 480 years past. This idoll it [sic] made siting cros legged (teylor lyke) & yet in my opinion it is aboue 20 yardes hie & aboue 12 yardes from knee to knee. I doe think there may be aboue 30 men stand w'thin the compas of the head. I was w'thin the hollownes

of it & it is as large as a greate howse. I doe esteem it to be bigger then that at Roads [i.e., Rhodes], w'ch was taken for 1 of the 7 wonders of the world, &, as report goeth, did lade 900 camells w'th the ruens therof. But for this, it is thought 3000 horses would nothing neare carry away the copp'r of this. In fine, it is a wonderfull thinge. Som report this cittie to be destroid w'th fire & brimston but I enquired of the enhabetantes, & they say they never heard of any such matter, but only that it was burned and ruenated p'r war, &c." (*Diary Kept by the Head of the English Factory in Japan*, vol. 1, 328; also *Diary of Richard Cocks* [1883] 1, 193–94).

16. *Sonpi bunmyaku*, vol. 2, p. 288, in *Shintei zōhō kokushi taikei*, vol. 59.

17. *Essays in Idleness*; (Tsurezuregusa, ca. 1340) speaks of Yasumori as an incomparable horseman. Item #185; Keene 1967, 158.

18. Tokiko, wife of Kiyomori, mother of Tokuko (Kenreimon'in), and thus grandmother of Emperor Antoku (1178–1185).

19. #184; Keene 1967, 157–58.

20. Abutsu-ni made the famous trip to Kamakura recorded in her *Diary of the Waning Moon* (Isayoi nikki) during 1277–1280, just a few years before Kakusan founded the Tōkeiji.

21. Dates according to *Nihon Bukkyō jimmei jiten*, 1992, p. 659. There are some differences of opinion on this issue.

22. Professor Ruch notes: "As of this writing no published accounts concerning Mugai's family should be taken as reliable. Even the most recent contain inherent inconsistencies and errors, and many remain to be solved" (Ruch 1990, 504, n5). We also caution the reader to view the dating and relationships in the charts throughout this book with some skepticism. While the dating of prominent individuals, such as the Hōjō regents, can usually be conclusively established, those on the periphery of power often present problems.

For further recent details and references about Nyodai, the reader is referred to Maribeth Graybill's "The Legacy of Mugai Nyodai (1223?–1298)," 1998, pp. 8–9 in *Institute for Medieval Japanese Studies* 1998, and Ruch 1990.

23. Sanetoki's private library on the grounds of the later Shōmyōji temple in Yokohama are sometimes said to have "laid the foundation" for the famous Kanazawa Bunko Library; other sources flatly state that Sanetoki was its founder.

24. The following short excerpt (there is more) is adapted from a popular reprint of earlier version edited by W. Marsden, annotated by the distinguished English poet laureate, John Masefield (1878–1967) (Marsden 1987, 327–28). For a more accurate account of events, see Sansom 1958, 438–50. Murdoch's antiquated three-volume *History of Japan* (1903–1926) is also fun to read, but note that the 1964 reprint in six volumes did not include any maps.

*Of the Nature of the Idols Worshiped in Zipangu . . .*

In this island of Zipangu and the others in its, vicinity, their idols are fashioned in a variety of shapes, some of them having the heads of oxen, some of swine, of dogs, goats, and many other animals. Some exhibit the appearance of a single head with two countenances; others of three heads, one of them in its proper place, and one upon each shoulder. Some have four arms, others ten, and some an hundred; those which have the greatest number being regarded as the most powerful, and therefore entitled to the most particular worship. When they are asked by Christians wherefore they give to their deities these diversified forms, they answer that their fathers did so before them.

“Those who preceded us,” they say, “left them such, and such shall we transmit them to our posterity.” The various ceremonies practised before these idols are so wicked and diabolical that it would be nothing less than impiety and an abomination to give an account of them in this our book.

25. From the *Senjishō*, cited in Rodd 1978, 31.

26. *Shuju ofurumai gosho* (Letter on the Various Activities [of Nichiren] shown on Several Occasions) cited in Tsuji, *Nihon bukkyō shi*, p. 33.

27. The poems are included in *Wu-hsüeh's Bukkō Zenji goroku*, T 2549, vol. 80, p. 174.

28. An allusion to case [4]: thirty-five of the *Blue Cliff Records* (Pi-yen Yu, Hekiganroku, T 2003), and possibly to the fact that Kakusan was age thirty-three at the time. According to the *Accounts of Eminent Priests of the Sung* (Sung Kao Sung chuan) twenty, in 767 the monk Wu-Cho (Mujaku [or possibly read Mucho]) had a discussion with the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī (J. Monju) on Mt. Wutai. (Annotations suggest that this account may be a variant of a similar discussion between two monks a century later.)

Iriya et al. 1994, II, 49, gives the title of this case as simply “Mañjuśrī’s ‘In Front Three by Three’ (Monju zen san san);” cf., Cleary’s “The Dialogue of Mañjuśrī and Wuzhou,” and Shaw’s “Monju’s Front and Back, Threes and Threes.”

When Mañjuśrī asked Mujaku about the state of Buddhism in the south after a recent great persecution, Mujaku replied that in some temples there were 300 monks and in others, 500. Mañjuśrī was then asked about conditions in the north, and he is said to have replied: “threes in front and threes behind.” One plausible interpretation of this remark is that the various “threes” are not to be taken literally, but rather suggest “unnumerable.” So, perhaps, “since innumerable sentient beings in all directions are, without exception, involved in the operations of the Dharma for better or worse, we cannot distinguish between ‘dragon and snake.’” (But, since this is just another rational attempt to grasp the ineffable, it would certainly not pass muster with any good Zen master.) (See Iriya et al. 1994, II; Cleary 1998, 182ff.; Shaw 1961, 126–28; *Zengaku daijiten* 1978, ge, 1231–32)

29. *Hyappukusō shōgon*; cf., *hyappuku shōgonsō*. The hundredfold merits of the Buddha by virtue of his possessing the thirty-three marks of a superman. Among other places, the phrase appears in chapter 2 of the *Lotus Sutra*: “Those who with many-colored designs create Buddha images, / Adorning them with the marks of hundredfold merit, / Have all achieved the Buddha Path.” Hurvitz 1976, p. 39. Is Wu-hsüeh perhaps saying that whatever troubles time may bring (Tokimune’s impending death?), “every day is a good day”? That to comprehend the Reality of this very world of shadows is to attain Buddhahood?

30. The full name of the convent is Tōkei Sōji Zenji, the “Tōkei Zen Nunnery.” Sōji is a common esoteric term for *dharani*, mystic verse; but in this context it is used to indicate a Zen nunnery, after the name of Bodhidharma’s disciple, the nun Tsung-chih (Ni Sōji); see Inoue 1980, p. 25.

31. See chapter 4 for items from Edo guide books.

32. There have been three translations of the *Avatamsaka-sūtra* into Chinese: the oldest, a complete sixty-fascicle version (T 278) by Buddhahadra, ca. 418–420; the most recent, a complete eighty-fascicle version (T 279) by Sikṣānanda, ca. 695–699; and the forty-fascicle translation of the final chapter only (T 293) by Prajñā, ca. 796–797, which is known as the *Gandavyūha* (Nyūhokkai-bon). See cross-referenced index to major cited texts.

33. Zen is commonly known for its special emphasis on the fact that spiritual realization ultimately transcends all words and concepts, but it is a position with which every Buddhist

sect would agree. Kūkai (Kōbō Daishi, 774–835) remarked that “the Dharma is beyond speech, but without speech it cannot be revealed. Suchness transcends forms, but without depending on forms it cannot be realized. Though one may at times err by taking the finger pointing at the moon to be the moon itself, the Buddha’s teachings which guide people are limitless” (Hakeda 1972, 145).

34. *Kongō [hannya-haramitta] kyō*, T 235; the Vajracchedikā-sutra. Noted in the *Platform Sutra* (Rokuso dangyō); Yampolsky 1967, p. 127.

35. Dumoulin 1988, pp. 284–85 and Table IIIC, p. 329. Tsung-mi’s *Treatise on the Origin of Man* (Yuan-jen-lun; Genninron) is readily available in English translation in DeBary, ed., 1969, pp. 179–96. But note especially Gregory 1991 (Tsung-mi), pp. 83–84.

36. We can begin to appreciate the scope of Kakusan’s labor of love by noting that this longest of the three translations covers 444 densely printed pages in the modern *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* edition, volume 10.

37. *Bukkō Zenji goroku*. Fo-kuang (Bukkō) was Wu-hsüeh’s honorific title. Among the ten parts of this lengthy “king of Japanese goroku” (T 2549, vol. 80, pp. 129–249), chapters 3 (“Kenchō goroku”) and 4 (“Engaku goroku”) are relevant to our story of Kakusan and Tokimune.

38. *tenshin*. Again, a compound found in the *Hekiganroku* (Case 9). See Shaw 1961, p. 53; Cleary 1998, p. 58; Nakamura, *Bukkyōgo daijiten*, p. 989.

39. Evidently a reference to the severe storms that destroyed the Mongol fleet and gave rise to the common interpretation that these were *shimpu* (kamikaze, “the winds of the gods”) protecting Japan from foreign invasion.

40. Birushana. The central figure of the *Garland Sutra*, and the main object of worship at the Engakuji and also at Nara’s Tōdaiji; to be distinguished from, but sometimes consciously identified with, Shingon’s Mahāvairocana (Dainichi Nyorai).

41. *Anokutara-sammyaku-sambodai*; transliteration of *anuttara-samyak-sambodhi*, the unsurpassed wisdom of the Buddha. Also translated as *mujō shōgaku*, etc.

42. *Shōnan kattō roku*, in Imai, ed., 1925, vol. 7, pp. 248–390. The historical data to be gleaned from the hundred koans is not very reliable, perhaps; but the legends through which a later age understands its antecedents has a peculiar value of its own. Leggett 1978, 73–114, has an extensive discussion and translations from this work. *Kattō*, literally, “kuzu ivy [encircling the] wisteria,” is a vivid Zen expression for that sect’s emphasis on not relying on words and letters (*furyū monji*). Since the goal of religious experience escapes even the best verbal formulation, which can twine around our apprehension of Suchness much as the ivy smotherers the wisteria, we must guard against the limitations, as well as respect the usefulness, of words (since, after all, we are by nature word-using creatures).

43. Rokusan, the “mountain” on which the Engakuji is located.

44. *Rōhachi* (or, *rōhatsu*). The eighth day of the twelfth lunar month, on which occasion Śākyamuni’s attainment of enlightenment under the Bo tree is celebrated.

45. The *Lin-chi Lu* (Rinzairoku, T 1985). Discourses, conversations, and episodes in the life of Lin-chi I-hsuan (Rinzai Gigen, d. ca. 866), founder of the Rinzai Zen tradition. See J. C. Cleary 1999, pp. 1–63. Iriya 1996 (1989); Asahina 1935 (1963). For earlier selected

Western-language translations see Sasaki, “A Bibliography of Translations of Zen (Ch’an) Works,” p. 157ff.

46. *Shōnan kattō roku*, Case 87 in Imai, ed. 1925, vol. 7, pp. 351–52. See also Leggett 1985, pp. 148–50.

47. The *Rokuso dangyō* (T 2008). The two standard English translations of this work—Yampolsky’s *The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch* (1967) and Ch’an’s *The Platform Scripture* (1963)—are both based on a text found at Tun-huang that differs somewhat from the version known to Kakusan and her contemporaries. For a detailed discussion of the philosophy behind the work, see Suzuki, *The Zen Doctrine of No-Mind* (1949); also, Fung Yu-lan, *History of Chinese Philosophy 2* (1953), pp. 390–91.

48. This and the following verse are borrowed, or adapted, from Suzuki 1949, pp. 17, 22.

49. *honrai muichimotsu*. It is worth noting that this well-known third line appears in the Tun-huang text as “Buddha nature is always clean and pure.”

50. Imai 1925, chapter 30 (Kagami Zen), pp. 285–86. Leggett 1985, 68–74, provides a lengthy informative introduction to the practice of Mirror Zen, with additional translations and commentary.

51. A five-tiered stone monument (*gorintō*) bearing her name at the Tōkeiji cannot be satisfactorily explained, but it is not believed to mark her grave.

#### CHAPTER 4. PRINCESS YŌDŌ’S PURPLE-CLAD NUNS

1. Sansom, *A History of Japan to 1334*, p. 453. The noted British historian, whose sympathies generally side with the cause of the court, nevertheless has high praise for the integrity and competence of the Hōjō regents.

2. Collcutt 1981, pp. 76–78.

3. After his arrival in Japan in 1326, Ch’ing-cho lived at various temples in Kamakura, and, after 1333, in Kyoto. Unfortunately, the 1332 Jōchiji bell has been lost. Tsuboi, *Nihon no bonsbō* (1970), 374.

4. Imai, *Bushidō zensho* (1925), vol. 7, 345–46. See Leggett 1985, 141–42, for additional commentary.

5. *Gotan-e*, popularly, *Hanamatsuri*, the “Flower Festival,” observed on the eighth day of the fourth month. DeVisser, *Ancient Buddhism in Japan 1*, 45–57, discusses scriptural sources and historical details of this celebration.

6. *ichi jō* = 10 *shaku*. By today’s measurements, 3.03 meters (3.31 yards).

7. In imitation of the image representing the newborn Śākyamuni. The *Sutra of Cause and Effect* (Ingakyō, T 189) includes a paraphrase of the statement attributed to the Buddha after taking seven steps and raising his right arm: “I alone am most venerable in the heavens and on earth” (*tenjō tenge yuiga dokuson*), which in this precise form is found in the *Zuiōkyō* (T 185).

8. Imai, *Bushidō zensho*, vol. 7, 335–36.

9. *Taiheiki* (Chronicle of Great Pacification) states that Sakurada Jibu-no-Taifu Sadakuni perished opposing the forces of Nitta Yoshisada in 1333 (5/11) at the Battle of Koteshi Moor in Musashi. McCullough, *The Taiheiki*, pp. 278–80; Gotō and Kamada, *Taiheiki 1*, 324–26. The date appears to be too late for Seitaku to have been Sadakuni's wife since her successor, Kaan, is named abbess on the bell cast in 1332.

10. *Genkō no eki* (usually, *hen*, “disturbance”). The early phase of the struggle during the Genkō era (1331–1333) between the supporters of Emperor Godaigo and the Kamakura shogunate, resulting in the Kemmu Restoration (see later).

11. Dōtsu Daisen (1265–1339) became sixteenth abbot of the Engakuji in 1338, the year before his death.

12. *sankō*. Literally, during the “third watch.” The period from sunset to sunrise was divided into five equal parts. Although this is difficult to correlate with modern time periods because of seasonal variations, the third watch would clearly be in the middle of the night.

13. Among others, Kawai's *Shimpen Kamakura shi* and Ueda's *Kamakura ranshōkō*.

14. *Kamakura shishi: Kōkoben*, 309.

15. *Kamakura ranshōkō* and *Fudoki kō*, see chapter 4 for Edo guide books items.

16. We can also get a sense of its size by comparing its height with that of other notable bells: Kenchōji (1225), 210.6 cm; Engakuji (1301), 260.0 cm. Japan's largest bell, Kyoto's Chionin bell of 1636, is a spectacular 545 cm tall and weighs seventy tons. For an exhaustive study and detailed statistics on the Japanese bell, see Tsuboi, *Nihon no bonshō* (1970).

17. Literally, *bonsetsu*, “Buddha-land,” i.e., a temple.

18. *bin* (or *sashi*). A monetary unit equivalent to a string of 1000 *mon* (or *sen*). A hundred *bin* would therefore be 100,000 *mon*. *Kamakura shishi: Kōkoben*, 309.

19. Two famous nuns of the T'ang period, the dates of both being uncertain. [Liu] T'ieh Mo (Ryū Tetsuma) is prominent in cases 17 and 24 of the *Hekiganroku*; see Shaw, *The Blue Cliff Records*, pp. 76–77, 97–100. Liao Jen (Ryōnen), also called Mo Shan (Massan Jōjō) appears in the *Transmission of the Lamp* (Dentōroku) 2.

20. By the bells of Engakuji and Kenchōji.

21. *gojoku*. The five sources of defilement in our present world. Our evil arises because of (1) the times in which we live, (2) deteriorating views, (3) the passions, (4) declining capacities, and (5) decreasing life span. The notion is expressed in the *Lotus Sutra* (T 262) and in the *Amida Sutra* (T 366).

22. For a highly readable and informative portrayal of this period in the West, completely divorced from events simultaneously occurring in Japan, of course, see Barbara Tuchman's *A Distant Mirror: The Calamitous Fourteenth Century* (1978).

23. For additional details see Sansom, *A History of Japan 1334–1615*; McCullough, *The Taiheiki*; Varley, *Imperial Restoration in Medieval Japan*; Varley, trans., *A Chronicle of Gods and Sovereigns*; and Morris, *The Nobility of Failure*, chapter 6, “Kusunoki Masashige.”

24. *Kamakura shishi: shajihen vice shijihen*, 343.

25. *Dainihonshi, kan 105*, vol. 14, 543.

26. See, for example, see below, Edo Guide Books iv, *Fudoki kō*, “Abbess Yōdō.”
27. See Kanagawa 1985, 96–104.
28. Saiaiji, Tsūgenji, Danrinji, Gononji, and Eirinji.
29. The origins of this Zen convent are obscure, although a dubious tradition says that it was built by Yoritomo. It was located in the Nishimikado district of Kamakura, northeast of, and just behind, the Hachiman Shrine. During the Tokugawa period, a Kōshōji temple belonging to the Nichiren sect was constructed on the ruined site, but this too has disappeared. The Shō Kannon now owned by the Tōkeiji is said to have come from the Taiheiji. Nuki, *Kamakura hajji jiten*, 137–39.
30. The Kokuonji; bordered the Tōkeiji property on the north, close to Yamanouchi dōri. It seems to have vanished even before the period of the Odawara Hōjō. Nuki, *Kamakura hajji jiten*, 30–31.
31. *Shimpen Sagami no kuni fudoki kō*. See pp. 69–74.
32. *Kamakura nenchū gyōji*; also *Denchū ika nenchū gyōji*; *Gunsho ruijū* 22, 317; see also *Gunsho kaidai* 16b, 29–30. Compiled in 1454, it is a record of annual social activities at the time of Ashikaga Shigeuji as Kantō Kubō, as well as of his father and grandfather.
33. Possibly either the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth abbess of the Tōkeiji.
34. On the combination of ten senior-junior element symbols with one of the twelve signs of the zodiac to indicate a given year within a 240-year period, see Miner et al., *The Princeton Companion to Classical Japanese Literature*, p. 407; also Tsuchihashi, *Japanese Chronological Tables*, p. 90.
35. *Hōjō yakuchō*, another name for the *Odawarashū shoryō yakuchō*.
36. Hideyoshi’s famous land survey of the entire country (*Taikō kenchi*) began as early as 1582 and continued until 1598. For a discussion of the process, see Sansom, *A History of Japan 1334–1615*, 316–19. Although Hideyoshi may have issued the edict for the Kamakura area in the fourth month of 1590, he could not have enforced it until the defeat of the Hōjōs at the battle for Odawara Castle three months later.
37. A standard modern annotated text of *Karaito* can be found in Ichiko Teiji, ed., *Otogizōshi* [Short Stories of the Muromachi Period], *Nihon Koten Bungaku Taikai* 38 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1958), which includes twenty-three stories published in Osaka, ca. 1716–1736, by Shibukawa Seiemon under the title *Otogi bunko* [The Companion Library]. Shibukawa referred to individual stories as *otogizōshi*, the term subsequently applied more generally to the Muromachi short story. See Ruch 1965.
38. The story refers to the convent as “Matsugaoka,” the “mountain” associated with the Tōkeiji and frequently used in its place. See, for example, the selections from eighteenth-century *senryū*, Chapter 7; also Ichiko 1958, p. 128, n4. However, the reference is one of several anachronisms in the story: Matsugaoka Tōkei was founded in 1285, more than a century after the events described in *Karaito*, ca. 1184.
39. Literally, the “New Style” of song and dance which developed and became popular from mid-Heian, the poetry following a 7–5 pattern.
40. *Kamakura shishi: Shajiben*, pp. 345–46. The Sankeien Garden in Yokohama moved the Tōkeiji Butsuden (“Buddha Hall,” Main Hall, or “Old Tokeiji Sanctum”) to its premises

in 1907, where it is splendidly maintained. The *Album of Sankeien Garden* (Sankeien shashin-shū, 1993) pamphlet includes a two-page spread of the structure and an insert of its interior. The Butsuden noted and illustrated (Figure 4) in *The Kamakura Ranshōko* (below), and other Edo writings, probably refer to this very building. The pamphlet's notes speak of a fire in Eishō 6 (1509) and the hall's reconstruction based on its predecessor. For further details contact the Sankeien Hoshokai Foundation, 58-1, Honmoku-sannotani, Naka-ku, Yokohama-shi 231-0824; tel. 045-621-0635. See Figure 4 (photo: Morrell).

41. Based on the modern printed edition, *Kinsei bungei sōsho*, vol. 2, pp. 1-61. Some recent biographical references to the author of *Kamakura monogatari*, Nakagawa Kiun (1636-1705), give his date as 1555-1625, in which case the work would have been published well after his death. This early gazetteer is the likely source of some of our misinformation about the Tōkeiji.

42. Takauji (1305-1358), first of the Ashikaga shoguns, thwarted the political ambitions of Emperor Go-Daigo (1288-1339), father of Tōkeiji's fifth abbess, Princess Yōdō (1318-1396). The *Historical Notes* (Kakochō) lists the names of fourteen abbesses between Yōdō and Hideyori's daughter, Tenshū.

43. Sadaijin. In fact, Toyotomi Hideyori (1593-1615) was awarded the court ranks of Provisional Major Counselor (Gondainagon, 1601) and Great Minister of the Right (Udaijin, 1603) but not, apparently, the higher rank of Sadaijin (*Kugyō bunin*).

44. Nakagawa probably uses the emphatic particle *zo* in this clause to call our attention to the fact that one of the characters in the name Tenshū is derived from her father's—the *on* reading of Hide-being-*shū*. *Historical Notes* includes the following notation: "Daughter of Toyotomi Hideyori. In Genna 1 (1615), by order of the Lord of the Tōshō Daijin Shrine [Tokugawa Ieyasu, 1542-1616], she took the habit. She died on the seventh day of the second month in Shōhō 2 (1645). Behind the Buddha Hall is a stone pagoda which lists a donation to the temple, under an official cinnabar (*goshuin*), for 112 *kan*, 380 *mon*." (*Gunsho ruijū*, vol. 29, p. 254).

45. Based on the modern printed edition in Ashida, ed., *Dai Nihon chishi taikei*, vol. 21, pp. 1-152. This five-fascicle directory to the Kamakura area was completed in 1685 by Kawai Tsunehisa.

46. Kawai here diverges from the commonly accepted ordering based on the *Sōshū* [*or Sagami*] *no kuni Matsugaoka kakochō* (Historical Notes on Matsugaoka at Kamakura in Sagami Province), a listing of the first twenty-one abbesses of the Tōkeiji followed by a group of names and dates whose precise significance is unknown (Hanawa, *Gunsho ruijū*, vol. 29, pp. 253-56; see also *Gunsho kaidai*, vol. 20, pp. 14-15).

47. That is, Ashikaga Yoshiaki (1482-1539). The Ashikagas were considered to be a branch of the Minamotos.

48. Kitsuregawa Yorizumi (d. 1601), father of Kunitomo.

49. Tōshō Daijin Kun, i.e., Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542-1616).

50. Takanobu (1619-1653).

51. Based on the modern printed edition in Ashida, ed., *Dai Nihon chishi taikei*, vol. 21, pp. 153-376. This eleven-fascicle guide was compiled by Ueda Mōshin (n.d.) in 1829 and appears to have been influenced by Kawai's *Shimpen Kamakura shi* as well as the works cited.



Ueda adopts Kawai's abbess lineage, and the subtemple listing is almost identical (except for the *nagaya* and *hōjō* descriptions and some updating) as that of its predecessor.

52. See i. *The Kamakura Story*, above.

53. The remainder of this sequence closely follows. Kawai's *Guide*, ii, above.

54. *Odawara [shū] shoryō yakuchō*, or *Hōjō yakuchō* (see *Fudoki kō*).

55. Tokugawa Tadanaga (1603–1633), son of the second shogun, Hidetada, and brother of the third, Iemitsu. In 1624 he took up residence at Sumpu Castle in Suruga Province; (Shizuoka Prefecture)—hence the title. He was banished in 1632 for plotting against Iemitsu, and the structure's removal may have taken place at this time, if the story has any validity at all.

56. Tayū (1602–1674). This early and most illustrious member of the officially supported Kano school began working for the shogun in 1617 and painted Nikkō's Tōshōgū Shrine, Kyoto's Nijō Castle, and the Imperial Palace. See Paine and Soper, *The Art and Architecture of Japan*, pp. 105–106, 94 (plate).

57. Based on the modern printed edition in Ashida, ed., *Dai Nihon chishi taikai*, vol. 4, pp. 209–13. The work is attributed to Hayashi Mamoru (1768–1841) et al., ca. 1830–1840.

58. This is evidently a misprint for Sadatoki. Several lines earlier the characters for Tokimune are reversed (i.e., as Munetoki), suggesting editorial inattention somewhere along the line.

59. Ufu, that is Udaijin. Hideyori was awarded this court rank in 1603.

60. Literally, *gaison*, “child of one's daughter married into another family” (Kenkyusha). Tenshū was Ieyasu's great-granddaughter.

61. *Kamakura nenjū gyōji*. See related text in chapter 3, where this passage is cited.

62. In 1455 Ashikaga Shigeuji, during his conflict with the Uesugi family, made Koga Castle in Shimōsa (Chiba Prefecture) his headquarters; hence the title Potentate of Koga (Koga Kubō), held by him and his successors. The castle was later controlled by the Uesugis (1486) and then taken by Hōjō Ujiyasu (1515–1570) in 1554.

63. This dedicatory plaque (*munafuda*) is still extant and is reproduced in *Kamakurashi shi: shiryōben* 3, pp. 347–48 (item 339). Takagi 1997, p. 14.

64. I.e., Sen Hime (1597–1666).

65. Tokugawa Hidetada (1597–1666), son of Ieyasu, and second Tokugawa shogun.

66. Properly, Hōtai.

67. Kenrōjishin. DeVisser, *Ancient Buddhism in Japan*, *passim*.

68. *kenzoku hongan* also, *kenzoku chōju gan*. The fifteenth of Amida's Forty-Eight Vows as recorded in the *Larger Pure Land Sutra* (Daimuryōjūkyō, T 360): “If the men and devas in my country, after obtaining Buddhahood, are limited in the length of their lives, except those whose lives may be shortened or lengthened in accordance with their original vows, may I not achieve the Highest Enlightenment.” *Shinshū seiten*, p. 10.

69. Gojō ryūō, the “Five Constant Dragon Kings.” Possibly a reference to the godai myōō, the “Five Great Radiant Kings”: Fudō, Gōzanze, Gundari, Daiitoku, and Kongō Yasha,

who are “angry expellers of the evil demons of disease, calamity and war.” DeVisser, *Ancient Buddhism in Japan* 1, p. 148.

70. Waka included in the *Collection of Jeweled Leaves* (Gyokuyōshū, 1313–1314) and attributed to Fujiwara Teika (1162–1241). The poem, GYS 16:2228, is preceded by a head-note: “On the topic, ‘Night Mountain Wind,’ at a poetry competition held at the palace in Kempō 1 [1213].”

71. Not in KT or ZKT and thus possibly by Tenshū herself.

72. *Fudoki kō* 1. *Chishi taikai*, vol. 19 [13], 31–43, p. 37a. Dazai Jun (Shundai, 1680–1747) was a prominent Confucian scholar, and his critical concluding comments are not surprising coming from a man who “added to Chu Hsi’s critique of Buddhism as politically untenable a harsh attack stressing its social uselessness and inability to serve as an adequate basis for efficacious action.” Ketelaar 1990, p. 19.

73. *Fudoki kō* 1, vol. 19 (13), 48–49. The concluding remark by Andō Tōya (1683–1719), another Confucian scholar, is somewhat ambiguous; but we know where he is coming from.

## CHAPTER 5. FROM SANCTUARY TO DIVORCE TEMPLE

1. *Diary Kept by the Head of the English Factory in Japan: Diary of Richard Cocks, 1615–1622* (vol. 1, 1978), marginal notation, p. 328. Other editions include Thompson 1883 and 1899.

2. The “Pilot of Miura [Peninsula],” so named from the location provided to him by the shogun, Ieyasu, was the inspiration for the popular historical romance (and television series based on it), by James Clavell (1975). “Anjin-san” finished out his days in Japan and his monument may be seen today at Anjin-zuka, south of Yokohama, accessible by train and a steep walk up the side of a hill to a rather impressive platform.

3. Cooper 1982, 128; Massarella 1983, 377. Both base his birth date and birthplace— at Stallbrook in Staffordshire—on Cocks’s newly discovered will and baptismal record. The Tokyo University editors of his diary note that “from his own statements it seems likely that he was a native of Coventry, Warwickshire . . . Cocks was, more or less, a contemporary of Shakespeare (1564–1616).” (*Diary Kept . . .* 1, pp. xii–xiii.

4. In the words of the distinguished scholar and editor, Michael Cooper; see his article “The Second Englishman in Japan: The Trials and Travails of Richard Cocks, 1613–1624,” *TASJ* 1982. Since we are now in Kamakura in the sixteenth to seventeenth century, it is appropriate that we call the reader’s attention to other studies by this leading authority of the period, being careful to emphasize that we use the term “studies” with some hesitation. Although Cooper’s scholarship is beyond question, he carries it lightly in a highly readable writing style (see bibliography.) For the visitor to Kamakura we recommend his *Exploring Kamakura: A Guide for the Curious Traveler* (1979, 1982), as well as an early classic which he also highly esteems—Mutsu’s *Kamakura: Fact and Legend* (1918, 1995).

5. For a detailed account of the battle, see Murdoch 1964, 507–53. This reprint, however, omits two maps showing the disposition of troops that appeared in the original edition.

6. See Hozumi 1924, pp. 175–230; Takagi 1976.

## 7. According to Father Michael Cooper:

The object in question is a host box, a receptacle that is kept in a church's sacristy. It is used to store the unconsecrated hosts, or altar breads, used in the Catholic rite of Mass. As such, it is not a sacred vessel, such as a chalice or ciborium. It is quite possible that his particular host box was given to a benefactor as a gift or in safe keeping. (Letter of May 23, 1988)

## 8. Derek Massarella 1983, p. 381, from a hitherto unpublished Cocks letter. Cocks's anti-monastic bias here is more pronounced than in a very similar account in his diary, which says:

But now at p<sup>r</sup>sent it [i.e., Kamakura] is no cittie, but scattared howses seated heare & theare in pleasant valles betwixt divers mountaines, wherein are divers pagods very sumptuose & a nvvry (or rather a stews) of shaven women. I did never see such pleasant walkes amongst pyne & spruce trees as as [*sic*] are about these pagodes, espetially 5 of them are more renowned then the rest. But that w<sup>ch</sup> I did admire more than all the rest was a might[y] idoll of bras, called by them *Dibotes*, & standeth in a vallie betwixt 2 movntaynes, the howse being quite rotted away, it being set vp 480 years past [actually, in 1252 not 1136]. This idoll it [*sic*] made siting cros legged (telor lyke) & yet in my opinion it is aboue 20 yardes hie & aboue 12 yardes from knee to knee. I doe think there may be aboue 30 men stand w<sup>th</sup>in the compas of the head. I was within the hollownes of it & it is as large as a greate howse. I doe esteem it to be bigger than that at Roads, w<sup>ch</sup> was taken for 1 of the 7 wonders of the world, &, as report goeth, did lade 900 camells w<sup>th</sup> the ruens thereof. But for this, it is thought 3000 horses would nothing neare carry away the copp<sup>r</sup> of this. In fine, it is a wonderful thinge. Som report this cittie to be destroid w<sup>th</sup> fire & brimston; but I enquired of the enhabetantes, & they say they never heard of any such matter, but only that it was burned and ruinated p<sup>r</sup> war, &c. (*Diary Kept . . .* 1, p. 328)

## 9. Schama 2000, p. 310.

## 10. Reischauer and Fairbank 1958, p. 582; cf. Sansom 1965, p. 127.

## 11. Morris 1975, 148.

12. Morris 1975, pp. 178–79; see also Sansom, *The Western World and Japan*, 1965, p. 86n (The Inquisition in India), pp. 115–33 (Christianity in Japan, 1549–1614), and pp. 167–80 (The Closing of the Country).

Those particularly interested in the “Christian Century” might well begin with Cooper’s *They Came to Japan: An Anthology of European Reports on Japan, 1543–1640* (1965). This is a collection of excerpts from primary sources organized under such topics as “Social Relations,” “The Language,” and “Cities and Travel.” This and his later works—*The Southern Barbarians: The First Europeans in Japan* (1971), *This Island of Japon: João Rodrigues’ Account of Sixteenth-Century Japan* (1973), and *Rodrigues the Interpreter: An Early Jesuit in Japan and China* (1974)—are valuable not only for their treatment of specific topics but for detailed notes, biographies, and bibliographies pointing us to the vast literature available on the period.

## 13. Dumoulin 1990, p. 277. For readers with a taste for the convoluted details of major adjustments in the religious establishments in the period following the establishment of the Tokugawa military government at Edo in the early seventeenth century, we strongly recommend the entire chapter 7, “The Beginnings of Japan’s Modern Period” (Dumoulin 1990, pp. 259–97), which includes an attractive discussion of the Christian/Buddhist encounter, and also the rivalries between court and shogunate, Buddhism and state-sanctioned Confucianism, and monastic politics.

The Rinzaï Zen abbot of Kyoto’s Nanzenji temple, Ishin Sūden (1569–1633) was “the most influential Buddhist of his time . . . [although] he remains a marginal figure in the history of Zen” (Dumoulin, p. 273). Favored by Ieyasu, he was charged with the registration of

temples, Buddhist monks, and laity of all sects. The Tendai monk Tenkai (1536–1643, *sic!*), Buddhist adviser to Ieyasu, Hidetada, and Iemitsu, is even better known to us today as the abbot of Nikkō who interred the remains of Ieyasu there in 1617, and in 1637 began the printing of the Buddhist canon known as the Tenkai Edition (Tenkaiban). Dumoulin also discusses Takuan's friendship with the noted swordsman, Yagyū Munemori (1571–1646).

14. The current definitive examination of Final Dharma notion is surely Jan Nattier's *Once Upon a Future Time: Studies in a Buddhist Prophecy of Decline* (1991), but it is a formidable piece of scholarship. For a less detailed overview, the reader might be satisfied with Morrell 1985, note 1 and accompanying text.

15. Inoue Shōdō 1997, p. 113.

16. Takagi 1997, 42.

17. Inoue Shōdō 1997, p. 117; also see our Figure 7.

18. Hozumi 1924, 82–93.

19. The following is summarized from the lengthy account in Ackroyd 1979, 197–204, to which the reader is referred for the tortuous arguments for and against the decision. On the decline in women's legal and social status from the Kamakura period to Meiji, see Ackroyd 1959.

20. Ackroyd 1979, 199.

21. Odaka and Matsumura 1964, 342–43.

## CHAPTER 6. EVERYDAY LIFE AT MATSUGAOKA TŌKEIJI, SACRED AND SECULAR

1. Suzuki 1966, 109. Waddell 2000, 147.

2. By permission of the Tōkeiji, which still has Zenchū's original ink drawings.

3. That is, ultimate religious awareness (*satori*) not reducible to the conceptual constructs of mathematics and physics.

4. The Zendō (or Dōnai, “within the Zendō”), where the monks generally have their seats of meditation, is distinguished from the Official Quarters (*jōjū*) where official or business affairs connected with the Zendō life are carried out, such as cooking meals for the monks, taking care of the Buddha-hall, planning for daily work, getting provisions, seeing visitors, paying bills, receiving donations, etc. For these offices, elder monks of some experience are chosen, and change of personnel takes place every few months” (paraphrased from Suzuki 1934, 98–103). The following regulations inscribed in the tablet over the entrance to the Meditation Hall apply to activities “within the Hall” (Dōnai). (For additional sets of regulations governing activities in the Official Quarters, Sick Room, Lodging Room, and Bath Room, see *ibid.*, 101–104.)

### Rules Regulating Daily Life

The most urgent task is to study and master Zen. Therefore, whenever you have a view to discuss with the master, consult with the Directing Monk (*jikijitsu*) and try to see the master regardless of the hours of the day.

1. When entering the Zendō, fold your hands, palm to palm, before your chest; when going out of it, hold your hands, the right over the left, in front of the chest. Let your walking and standing be duly decorous. Do not walk across the front of the Mañjuśrī shrine; be not in a flurry or swaggering when walking the floor.
2. During the meditation hours, no one is permitted to leave the Hall except for interviewing the master. To other necessary movements, the intermission hours are to be devoted. While outside, no whispering, no tarrying is allowed.
3. During a circumambulation (*kinhin*), do not remain in your seat; when walking do not shuffle your sandals. If you are prevented from taking part in the walking on account of an infirmity, with the consent of the directing monk (*jikijitsu*) you can stand on the floor by your seat.
4. The warning-stick (*keisaku*) is to be used judiciously on the monks, whether they are dozing or not. When submitting to the warning stick, courteously fold your hands and bow; do not permit any self-pity or anger to arise.
5. At the time of tea-drinking ceremony (*sarei*) taking place twice a day, no one shall be absent; no left-overs are to be thrown on the floor.
6. No sundry articles are to be scattered about your seat (*tan*). No writing materials are allowed. When about to leave the Hall through the back entrance, do not remove your upper garment while still at your seat.
7. Even when the Zendō is not in regular session, you are not to pass the time sitting against the back wall dozing.
8. No one is allowed on his own accord to use the warning-stick (*keisaku*) even though he may be suffering from stiffness in his shoulder muscles.
9. Going out to town or visiting the Official Quarters (*jōjū*) is not permitted: if absolutely necessary, transact the business through the attendants (*jisha*) of the Zendō; otherwise, all private affairs are to be settled on the “needle and *moxa*” days (*hashin kyūjū*). [Certain days are reserved for washing clothes, patching underwear, and relieving body pains by skin cauterization with the *moxa* herb (ibid., 36–37).]
10. On ordinary days the monks are not allowed at the attendants’ quarters (*jisharyō*); if necessary, the directing monk (*jikijitsu*) is to be notified.
11. Those who doze during morning service are to be severely reprimanded with the warning-stick.
12. At meal time monks are to conduct themselves quietly and make no noise handling bowls; those who are waiting should move about quietly and with due decorum.
13. After the night meditation one should immediately go to bed without disturbing others by sutra reading, bowings, or whispering with fellow monks.
14. During the term, participants are not allowed to leave the monastery unless their teachers or parents are critically ill or dead.
15. When a monk is newly admitted into the community, the fact is announced and he takes the seat assigned to him. He must first bow to the Holy Monk (i.e., Mañjuśrī), and then pay his respect to the head of the *tan* and to the directing monk (*jikijitsu*).
16. [Behavior during required begging rounds. This rule would obviously not apply to nuns.]
17. The days bearing the numbers four and nine, are the days for general sweeping, shaving, bathing, working outdoors, etc.; sewing, moxa-burning, etc. may also be done on these days. But the participants are not supposed to visit one another and pass the time in idle chatter.
18. Those entrusted with the task of preparing for bath days should consult the Head of the General Office (*shikaryō*) and act according to his directions.
19. When one is ill, this should be reported to the directing monk and the attendant-monk (*jisha*). The patient will be removed from the Zendō and while being treated may neither read books, be engaged in literary work, nor to pass the time in idle talk.

The above regulations are to be carefully noted. Those who violate them interfere with the welfare of the community and are to be expelled speedily after being found at fault by a monastic council.

5. The practice of the postnoon fast (*jōsai*) no doubt originated in India and was modified as it moved eastward. Eizon's (1201–1290) Shingon Ritsu movement was one of the occasional attempts to restore the practice of the ancient regulations. Note the account of his visit in 1262 to Mujū's Chōboji. Morrell 1985, pp. 29–32.

6. Suzuki 1934b, pp. 33–34.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 51. As for the use of unintelligible “dhārani” passages, note the concluding “mantram” to the ever-popular *Heart Sutra*: ‘*Gate, gate, pāragate, pārasaṃgate, bodhi, svāhā!*’ (O Bodhi, gone, gone, gone to the other shore, landed at the other shore, Svāhā!)” See chapter 8, n. 22.

8. The first four of forty-four 7–5 syllable lines in traditional *imayō* form. (Long vowels, with macrons, are counted as two beats—as also “n.”) Note that the divine is claimed to be immanent in all beings, not transcendent. For a complete translation of the “Song of Meditation,” with extensive commentary by Abbot Amakuki Sessan, see Leggett 1960, pp. 65–200.

9. Suzuki 1934b, p. 69.

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 89–90.

11. Takagi 1997, p. 572; Inoue 1980, p. 256.

12. Takagi 1997, p. 36.

13. See, for example, the *Matsugaoka Diary* entries for 1/14, 6/7, and 10/8, below.

14. Our translation is based on the modern printing of the *Matsugaoka nikki* in Takagi Tadashi, ed., *Enkiridera Tōkeiji shiryō* [Historical Records about the Tōkeiji Divorce Temple] (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1997). Although this is without doubt the most definitive collection of primary materials on the Tōkeiji that has appeared so far, or will appear for decades to come, note that the focus is on the Tōkeiji as *divorce temple* (*enkiridera*). This document is in Sawa Bunko Library, a private collection held by Mr. Toshirō Sawa, Director of the Kamakura Municipal Library. See Takagi 1997, p. 802; Inoue 1955, 115.

15. *Indai*, “Acting,” or “Surrogate” Abbesses were Mothers Superior of nuns residing in the largest subtemple in the compound, the Inryōken, adjacent to the Abbess's Residence (*hōjō*). Because the Kitsuregawa family, in spite of repeated requests, failed to provide an appropriate successor to the earlier Resident Abbesses (*Jūji*), the seventh abbess of the Inryōken, Teshū Hōgo assumed the responsibilities of Tōkeiji affairs in 1736 as “Acting” abbess.

16. Colcutt 1981, p. 241.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 281.

18. Inoue 1995, 80–81; Komaru 1991, 182.

19. An instance of the Edo *bakufū*'s use of temples to keep tabs on the population.

20. Literally, the Feast of the Horse-day, it has a long history with Chinese influences. Complementary to the equally ancient Girls' Festival (Hinamatsuri) observed on the third day of the Third Month, it is popularly viewed as a festival

which particularly belongs to the boys, and at which they have their own corresponding festivities and exhibitions.

The interpretation given to this day is, however, a comparatively recent one. We will not overlook the fact that the third and fifth months of the lunar calendar roughly accorded with the periods of the spring equinox—which is still an important ritual day—and of the beginning of summer, with its fructifying rainy season. (Author’s note: The fifth month of the lunar calendar began on a day between the 20th of May and the 18th of June.) Both periods were thus an occasion for propitiating rites and exorcisms, for festivities and rejoicings that the sun and the elements continued to function and to provide humanity with the needed warmth and food. (Casal 1967, 61ff)

21. A temple code issued in 1821 (Bunsei 4) states that when the procession of local shrine deities visits the Tōkeiji on the occasion of the annual festival, the temple residents may view the procession from the top of the steps (Takagi 1997, p. 572). The steps, which can be seen in the center of Figure 13, “Tōkeiji premises,” are substantial, and must still be climbed for proper entrance into the enclosure.

22. The Buddhist Avalambana festival, celebrated in Japan from the 13th to the 16th of the seventh lunar month (more-or-less “August”; now July 13th to 16th according to the Western solar calendar). A part of this ritual in China and Japan, known as the “Festival of Lanterns” (*Chūgen*) may have been influenced by the Hindu “Feast of Lamps” (Divali) and somehow confused with the Taoist *Chung-yuen* festival. See DeVissers 1935, pp. 58–115 for a detailed analysis of the issue.

23. The reasons for the Abbess’s ban are not clear.

## CHAPTER 7. THE “DIVORCE TEMPLE” IN EDO SATIRICAL VERSE

1. A good modern selection of *senryū*, with an informative introduction, can be found in Ueda 1999; see also Shirane 2002, 520–27. For general background on linked verse (*renga*) and *haikai* see Miner 1979, Keene 1976 chapter 1, and Miner et al. 1985.

2. See Blyth 1960, 627–28, for a description of a representative *mankuwawase* sheet. This is the most comprehensive survey of *senryū* available and focuses on the *Yanagidaru*. Blyth’s *Oriental Humour* (1959), 312–463, includes additional selections from the first three books of *Yanagidaru*, as well as chapters on other old and modern *senryū*. His later (1961) *Edo Satirical Verse Anthologies* centers on *Mutamagawa*, with additional selection from, and discussion of, *mankuwawase*, *Yanagidaru*, *Suetsumuhana*, *Kawazoi yanagi*, and *Yanagidaru shūi*. See Ueda 1999, noted above.

3. *Nihon koten bungaku daijiten*, 5: 545.

4. For selected English translations see Blyth 1961.

5. The collection is discussed by Yanagizawa Hideo under this entry in the recent *Nihon koten bungaku daijiten*, 2: 588. The title parodies the famous *waka* collection, *Kokin(waka)shū* (Collection of Ancient and Modern [Japanese Poems], ca 905–920). “*Maeku*” must here be broadly interpreted as *maekuzuke* (connected verse): the poems are, in fact, “joined stanzas” (*tsukeku*), not *maeku* interpreted narrowly as “foundation stanzas.”

6. For selected English translations see Blyth 1961, 283–90. Blyth prefers the reading, *Kawasoe yanagi*.

7. A modified version of this chapter appeared as “Tōkeiji: Kamakura’s ‘Divorce Temple’ in Edo Popular Verse” in Tanabe 1999, 523–50.

Our translations are based on texts printed in Hozumi Shigeto 1924; Nakanishi Kenji 1972–1981; Yamazawa Hideo 1950–1956 and 1966; and Yoshida and Hamada 1967.

CHAPTER 8. MEIJI THROUGH HEISEI:  
TŌKEIJI AND RINZAI ZEN CONTINUITY

1. *Shinkokinshū* 20: 1979; Morrell 1996, 315.
2. Keene 2002, 223.
3. Hardacre 1989, pp. 27–28; classic sociopolitical study of State Shintō. See also Ketelaar's *Of Heretics and Martyrs in Meiji Japan: Buddhism and Its Persecution* (1990), a splendid portrait of this oft-neglected seamy side of the celebrated modernization of Japan; also, Kishimoto 1956, especially pp. 111–69.
4. The powerful administrative body which replaced the Ministry of Rites (Jingikan) in the third month of 1872, and which was the governmental focus of much of the religious controversy in early Meiji. Ketelaar 1990 discusses its operations in considerable detail, pp. 98–135.  

The Great Teaching Academy (*Daikyō-in*), the administrative and symbolic center of the national doctrine system, was placed in the Zōjō-ji, a Pure Land Buddhist temple in Tokyo. This temple, moreover, was the ancestral temple of the Tokugawa family. The choice to place the Ministry of Doctrine's instructional headquarters within the spiritual center of the previous regime's ruling family was a true ideological coup de grace; in one stroke the Tokugawa bakufu was defaced and the Buddhism it had elevated to the status of national religion was cast aside—yet another example of the “sweeping away of all ancient evils.” The home of the Great Teaching Academy was physically altered in 1873 to coincide with its self-proclaimed central task of “the reverence of the kami.” All Buddhist paraphernalia were removed and the altar reconstructed. The Three Creator kami and the “Imperial ancestor Amaterasu Omikami” were enshrined in the central altar. *Torii* and *shimenawa* were appropriately placed within the Academy's grounds. All Doctrinal Instructors were required to wear Shinto robes, learn and recite Shinto prayer, and perform Shinto ritual before the new center of the national cosmology. No provisions were made for continued Buddhist teachings; such teachings, along with all other teachings, were legally dissolved with the implementation of the Doctrinal Instruction system. That is to say, as surprising as it may seem, Buddhism, along with all nonofficial doctrinal instruction, was thereby legally banned. This was not an explicit act, as there was no promulgation specifically and publicly forbidding the teaching of “Buddhism” per se. But during the peak years of the Teaching Academy's operation, no nonstate public instruction was to be permitted. (Ketelaar 1990, p. 122 [note markers omitted])
5. The diary kept during Sōen's visit to the United States was privately published in 1941 by Tōkeiji's new abbot, Inoue Zenjō, as *Saiyū nikki* (Diary of a Journey to the West), the title echoing Hsüan-tsang's famous account of his visit to India, the *Hsi Yü Chi* (*Saikiiki*, T 2087).
6. *Shijūnishōgyō*, T 784, v. 17. One of the earliest scriptures to be rendered into Chinese, the work is credited to the Indian monk, Kāśapa Mātanga (?Kashōnatō), who arrived in Loyang in 67 AD to reside at the White Horse Temple, and a certain Dharmaraksā (?Hōran). Suzuki provides an English translation of this short sutra in Sōen's *Zen for Americans*, 1974.
7. Republished as *Zen for Americans* (1974). Translation of the lectures and the related sutra (see previous note) were prepared by Daisetz Suzuki.
8. English translation by Mathy 1972. See under Natsume Sōseki in bibliography.
9. *Sōseki zenshū* 17 (1957), pp. 116–21, 222–23. The piece is dated September 22, 1912, shortly after the public funeral ceremonies for Emperor Meiji, September 13–15. In a



letter to Suga Torao dated September 12, Sōseki speaks of visiting Sōen, in the company of Messrs. Nakamura and Inuzuka, respectively president and director of the Southern Manchuria Railway (Minami Manshū Tetsudō), to discuss Sōen's impending trip to Manchuria. Sōseki expresses the trio's gratitude to Mr. Suga for his help in the arrangements. He then comments on Sōen's mellow bearing, perhaps the fruit of aging. An undated (but probably September 11) letter from Sōen to Abe Mubutsu, vice president of *Kokumin Shinbunsha* says, in part:

With the funeral for Emperor Meiji just a few days away, you are probably extremely busy with your professional duties.

I was recently requested several times by Mr. Suga Torao to give a series of spiritual talks at major stations between Dairen (Ta-lien) and Chōshun (Ch'ang-ch'ung).

10. For the most exhaustive treatment of Emperor Meiji see Donald Keene's *Emperor of Japan: Meiji and His World, 1852–1912*, 922 pp.

11. Edward VII (1841–1910), eldest son and successor to Queen Victoria (1819–1901), reigned 1901–1910. Since Sōseki was in London 1900–1903 as a graduate student of English, Edward was certainly more to him than just another foreign potentate.

12. Kamakura is enclosed by mountains and hills—a militarily strategic asset in earlier days, but now just a transportation problem requiring passes, twists, and turns.

13. Rōshi, literally “Old Teacher,” or Zen Master; but by now the title is probably familiar enough in English to require no attempt to find an equivalent “translation.” The Rōshi is, of course, Shaku Sōen, under whom Sōseki practiced *zazen* at the nearby, and affiliated, Engakuji, during the summer of 1894 and incorporated his experiences of that time in his 1910 novel *The Gate* (Mon), as we have seen. Daisetz Suzuki had begun training in 1891 with Sōen's predecessor, Imakita Kōsen (1815–1892), and continued with Sōen from 1892, after Imagita's death. We can find no record of Sōseki and Suzuki meeting, but they had the same teacher, and their paths could conceivably have crossed. Since Sōen was born on December 18, 1859, he would *already* have been fifty-two (by current counting standards) when Sōseki wrote his piece in September 1912, and therefore fifty-three in December. By the traditional *kazoedoshi* method of counting age, Sōen would have been the age of one at birth, the age of two three weeks later on New Year's Day, and fifty-four when he met Sōseki in September 1912. Our novelist appears to be somewhat cavalier with his names and dates.

14. Whether *Mon's* account of Sosuke's Zen training is autobiographical or not, we can assume that Sōseki's knowledge of the Engakuji procedures is largely based on his personal experience in the summer of 1894. At Sosuke's initial meeting:

The roshi seemed to be a man of about fifty. He had a glowing face, swarthy and tinged with red. There was a firmness about his skin and muscles, as if he had his whole body under strict control. Only in his lips, which were a little too thick, was there any sign of slackness. To make up for this, there shone forth from his eyes a fire not to be found in those of the ordinary man. To Sosuke, meeting his gaze for the first time, it was like the sudden flash of a cold sword blade in the dark.

“I suppose it doesn't make much difference what you begin with,” the *roshi* told Sosuke, “How about trying to work on ‘What was my Face before my parents were born?’” (Mathy 1972, pp. 185–86)

Sōseki describes in considerable detail Sosuke's subsequent struggle with the *kōan*, and his expectation that he would never find a suitable answer for the *rōshi*. After his ten-day ordeal and an unsatisfactory interview, Sosuke returns to Tokyo:

Sosuke had prepared some kind of answer to the *koan* that had been given him, but it was a very shabby answer. Since he couldn't get by without saying something when he entered the *roshi's* room, he had been forced to seize upon some kind of makeshift solution to the problem he had been unable to solve, a solution devised solely for this one interview. He was not under the slightest illusion that he would be able to cut through this Gordian knot with this makeshift answer. He had no intention, of course, of trying to deceive the *roshi*. Sosuke was too serious about this experiment to attempt such a thing. Feeling himself under an obligation to go in to see the *roshi*, he was ashamed of his own emptiness as he took in with him only something devised in his head, a thing of absolutely no value . . .

The *roshi* spoke only one sentence to Sosuke, who sat before him, drained of all spirit. "If you haven't more to offer than that, you shouldn't have come; anyone with even a little education could say as much as you said."

Sosuke left the room feeling like a dog whose master has died. Behind him the gong clanged loudly. (Mathy 1972, pp. 195, 196)

15. Actually, as we have seen, Kakusan-ni was the wife of *Tokimune*. Also, in the designation *enkiridera* we see the popular view of the Tōkeiji as primarily a place for "divorce," not "sanctuary" (*kakekomi*, *kakeiri*); and we may wonder if Sōen's account was accurately reported.

16. A necessarily drastic paraphrase. The term "two hundred twentieth day" (*nihyaku hatsuka*) after a traditional spring celebration day, February 4 or 5—not to be confused, of course, with the Spring Equinox around March 21. The day is counted as the beginning of the typhoon season.

17. Japan's modernization is generally set as having begun in 1868 with the accession to the throne of Emperor Meiji (Mutsuhito, 1852–1912). Major changes in the nation's social and political structures inevitably involved the confrontation of old and new values. General Nogi (Maresuke, 1849–1912) typifies the problem. Sōseki's well-known novel, *Kokoro* (1914), continues the theme of the passing of the old order, and General Nogi. Professor McClellan summarizes the issue clearly in the forward to his translation (McClellan 1957, vi):

The suicide of General Nogi, which is referred to in Parts II and III of *Kokoro*, is, I think, of some significance to us in our understanding of the novel and of Sōseki. The incident caused a great sensation at the time. He and Admiral Togo were probably the best-known heroes of the Russo-Japanese War. As a young officer, he had lost his banner to the enemy in the Satsuma Rebellion. Thirty-five years later, immediately after the death of Emperor Meiji, he killed himself. He had waited until he could no longer serve his emperor to redeem his honor. Soseki was too modern in his outlook to be fully in sympathy with the general; and so is Sensei [the novel's protagonist]. Despite Soseki's attitude toward the old-fashioned notion of honor, however, he could not help feeling that he was in some way a part of the world that had produced General Nogi. That is why in this novel, the passing of the Meiji era is mourned by Sensei. "On the night of the Imperial Funeral I sat in my study and listened to the booming of the cannon. To me, it seemed like the last lament for the passing of an age."

18. Students of Japanese of an earlier generation may recall selection 18 in Hibbett and Itasaka, 1967, vol. II, p. 118, "Kakekomidera" lines 7–11: *Ima wa futsū no tera ni sugimasen ga, mukashi kono tera wa yūmei na amadera deshita. Amadera de mo futsū to chigatta tera datta no de, Edo no hitobito ni taihen yoku shirarete ita no desu. Edo jidai ni wa, kekkon shita onna no hito wa, donna riyū ga atte mo, jibun no hō kara otto to wakareru koto ga dekimasen deshita.*

19. Fujii 1977. (If this pioneering work, which had its fifteenth printing in 1997 is ever revised, we could probably expect to find even more examples.)

20. The still-widespread, though often unspoken, Western notion that Buddhist (or Hindu) “idolatry” is to be understood in contrast to some superior Jewish, Christian, or Islamic monotheism (still seen even today in iconoclastic attacks on “graven images”) requires some comment here. The historical record clearly shows that the preponderance of Mahāyāna Buddhists at the doctrinal level have understood the ineffable Holy, “beyond form and beyond thought” (*musō munen*), as only suggested, but not concretely defined, by the metaphors of mythology. Hui-neng (see above) puts it this way:

Since Buddha is made by your own nature, do not look for him outside your own body. If you are deluded in your own nature, Buddha is then a sentient being; if you are awakened in your own nature, sentient beings are then Buddhas. Compassion is Avalokiteśvara [Kannon]; . . . The false view of the self is Mount Sumeru; the perverted mind is the great sea and the passions are the waves. (trans. Yampolsky 1967)

Metaphors are quite useful, and necessarily take different forms depending on the variety of human needs and ability to understand. But, like the “finger pointing at the moon,” they are not to be confused with that to which they point. A far cry from idolatry—or, for that matter, *logolatry*, the deification of words!

21. The images of Śākyamuni and Kannon are the main objects of veneration today in Tōkeiji’s rather small Taihei (“Peace”) Treasure Hall (Hōden). Edo travel sketches, such as Kawai’s *Guide* (1685), show a much larger central Buddha Hall (Butsuden), moved to Yokohama’s Sankeien Garden in 1907 (see Figures 4 and 5). Although we do not know the dates when either sculpture was carved, an inscription inside the head of the Śākyamuni image states that it survived the fire of 1515, and that in that same year a sculptor named Kōen repaired the face and restored the left eye. In 1671 the sculptor Kaga made repairs from the head to the bottom of the platform, including the halo. Whatever its date of origin, the image was in place by Tenshū’s day and during the Edo period. See Inoue Shōdō 1997, pp. 79–81 for pictures and explanation of these two images mentioned in the Invocation, as well as the temple’s famous Suigetsu Kannon (Figure 1).

[Tai] Shōkannon (Figure 15) was originally the central image of veneration in the Taiheiji, the head convent of the Five Kamakura Nunneries (*Ama gosan*). The date of its creation is also unknown, but it was among the statues and implements sacked by the Satomi clan from Awa Province (Chiba Prefecture) in 1526. The circumstances of its transfer to the Tōkeiji are unclear, but Hōjō Ujitsuna (1486–1541) is thought to have been involved. Of the various manifestations of the bodhisattva Kannon, the Shō (“Great Wise”) Kannon is most conspicuous in Japan (Sawa 1962, pp. 53–76). The scriptural basis for the work is likely to be the famous twenty-fifth chapter of the *Lotus Sutra* (T 262), Kanzeon Bosatsu Fumonbon, “The Gateway to Everywhere of the Bodhisattva Who Observes the Sounds of the World” (Hurvitz 1976, 311–19).

22. *Hannya[haramita] Shingyō* (T 251), the “shorter” version of the *Prajñāpāramitā hṛdaya-sūtra* translated by Hsüan-tsang (Genjō, 600–664) from Sanskrit to Chinese, the version widely used in China and Japan. The English translation from the Chinese is by Daisetz Suzuki (1870–1966), whose Matsugaoka Library is located on the hill behind the Tōkeiji, and who is buried in its cemetery. Suzuki 1935, pp. 26–32; see also his *Essays in Zen Buddhism: Third Series* (1934), 189–206 (“The Significance of the Prajñāpāramitā-Hridaya Sutra in Zen Buddhism”). Although our elimination of the extensive notes to the translation will not contribute to its understanding, the interested student can easily find many glosses on this short but famous scripture, which is considered to condense the essential teaching of the Great

Vehicle (Mahāyāna). The phrase in bolding is so well known as even to appear in colloquial dictionaries. The translation:

When the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara [Kannon] was engaged in the practice of the deep Prajñāpāramitā, he perceived: there are the five Skandhas; and these he saw in their self-nature to be empty.

“O Śāriputra, **form is here emptiness, emptiness is here form** [*shiki soku ze kū, kū soku ze shiki*]; what is form that is emptiness, what is emptiness that is form. The same can be said of sensation, thought, confection, and consciousness.

“O Śāriputra, all things are here characterized with emptiness: they are not born, they are not annihilated; they are not tainted, they are not immaculate; they do not increase, they do not decrease. Therefore, O Śāriputra, in emptiness there is no form, no sensation, no thought, no confection, no consciousness; no eye, ear, nose, tongue, body, mind; no form, sound, color, taste, touch, objects; no Dhātu [*dato*] of vision, till we come to no Dhātu of consciousness; there is no knowledge, no ignorance, till we come to there is no old age and death, no extinction of old age and death; there is no suffering, accumulation, annihilation, path [i.e., the Four Noble Truths]; there is no knowledge, no attainment, [and] no realization; because there is no attainment. In the mind of the Bodhisattva who dwells depending on the Prajñāpāramitā there are no obstacles; and, going beyond the perverted views, reaches final Nirvana. All the Buddhas of the past, present, and future, depending on the Prajñāpāramitā attain to the highest perfect enlightenment.

“Therefore, one ought to know that the Prajñāpāramitā is the great Mantram, the Mantram of great wisdom, the highest Mantram, the peerless Mantram, which is capable of allaying all pain; it is truth because it is not falsehood: this is the Mantram proclaimed in the *Prajñāpāramitā*. It runs: ‘Gate, gate, pāragate, pārasaṃgate, bodhi, svāhā!’ (O Bodhi, gone, gone, gone to the other shore, landed at the other shore, Svāhā!)”

23. *sambō*. A standard phrase to refer to (1) the Buddha (*butsu*), (2) the Law, (*hō, dharmā*), and the Buddhist Order (*sō, sangha*).

24. *shion*. The social obligations to parents, other sentient beings, the government, and the Three Treasures (see above).

25. Sk. Mahāsattva. In general, “one with great compassion and energy who seeks to save all living beings” (Inagaki), including, but not restricted to, bodhisattvas.

26. The chart later in the chapter is selectively based on Inoue Zenzō 1995, pp. 198–99. Brackets in the following biographical sketches refer to circled items on the chart.

27. Our bibliography includes only two items by this prolific writer. The student who wishes to consult a much more extensive listing should consult *The Eastern Buddhist, New Series*, vol. 2, no. 1 (August 1967). This special issue, in addition to some thirty-eight articles and reminiscences by Thomas Merton, Herbert Read, Edward Conze, Erich Fromm, Huston Smith, Heinrich Dumoulin, Bernard Leach, and others, contains a useful chronology (pp. 208–15) and bibliography (pp. 216–29)—admittedly incomplete. See also Abe 1986.

28. See bibliography for four books by this prolific Englishman.

29. See Japan P.E.N. Club 1990, #02465 (2 items) and 02466 (6 items).

30. *Ibid.*, #02693 (five items) and 03113 (one item).

31. *Ibid.*, #03437 (27 items).

32. For a description of this important find see Kidder 1972B, 245–51.

33. Conze [1951?], 130.

34. *Shinkokinshū* IV: 362.

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## *Annotated Cross-Referenced Index to Major Cited Texts*

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*Bold headings indicate primary listings; others are cross-listings.*

Abhidharma-kośa-śāstra. See *Treasury of Analyses of the Law*.

**Account of the Transmission of the Single Mind Precepts** (Denjutsu isshinkai mon, T 2379), by Saichō's disciple, Kōjō (779–858).

Amidakyō. See *Amitābha Sūtra*.

**Amitābha Sūtra**. Kumārajīva's translation (ca. 402) of the (Smaller) *Sukhāvātī-vyūha* ("Land of Supreme Bliss") *Sūtra*, the *Amidakyō*, T 366. In describing Amida's paradise and recommending the invocation of his name, it summarizes the argument of the *Larger Pure Land Sūtra*, or *Amitāyus Sūtra*.

Amitārthasūtra. See *Sūtra of Innumerable Meanings*.

Amitāyur-dhyāna-sūtra. See *Sūtra of Meditation on Amida Buddha*.

Amitāyus Sūtra. See *Larger Pure Land Sūtra*.

Avataṃsaka-sūtra. See *Garland Sūtra*.

**Awakening of Faith [in the Mahāyāna]** (*Ta Ch'eng Chi Hsin Lun; Daijōkishinron*, T 1666 [Paramārtha (499–569), trans. see Hakeda 1967], T 1667 [Śikṣānanda, 652–710), trans. see Suzuki 1900]. The Paramārtha version became the standard translation into Chinese—the Sanskrit original, if there ever was one, is not extant. See Ui and Takasaki 1994.

This seminal work inspired influential commentaries by the noted Hua-yen (Kegon) philosopher, Fa-tsang (Hōzō, 643–712) and an unidentified Nāgārjuna, whose *Explanation of Mahāyāna* (Shakumakaenron, T 1668), q.v., was very influential on Kūkai. The *Awakening of Faith* was traditionally attributed to the famous Aśvaghosa (first to second centuries CE), but its Mahāyānist ideas make this highly unlikely.

**Bead Necklace Sūtra** (*Ying lo ching, [Bosatsu] Yōrakukyō*, T 1485).

**Benevolent Kings Sūtra** (*Jen wang ching, Ninnōkyō*); T 245, trans. attr. to Kumārajīva; T 246, trans. attr. to Amogavajra. See de Visser 1935, chap. 5 (pp. 116–89).

- Benkenmitsu nikyōron. See *Treatise Distinguishing the Exoteric and Esoteric Teachings*.
- Blue Cliff Record.** (*Pi-yen lu, Hekiganroku*; T 2003), “Compiled by Ch’ung-hsien; commented upon by K’o-ch’in,” see Cleary, T. 1998.
- Bodaishinron. See *Treatise on the Awakening Mind*.
- Bongaku Shinryō. See *Guide to Sanskrit Studies*.
- Bonmōkyō. See *Net of Brahma Sutra*.
- Bosatsukaigisho. See *Commentary on the Net of Brahma Sutra*.
- Bosatsukaikyō shosanpo. See *Revised Commentary on the Bodhisattva Precepts Sutra*.
- Brahmajālasūtra. See *Net of Brahma Sutra*.
- Bukkō Zenji goroku. See *Recorded Sayings of Zen Master Fo-kuang [Bukkō]*.
- Bussetsu sanjin juryō muhenkyō. See *Sutra on the Unlimited Life of the Threefold Body*.
- Busshōshō. See *Tract on the Buddha-nature*.
- Chapbook of Phrases from the Zen Grove.** (*Zenrin kuyōshi*, 1688). By Tōyō Eichō (1428–1504). Popular reference for searching for appropriate lines and phrases when composing gathas based on the *Zen Grove Collected Phrases*, q.v. See Leggett (1978) 1987.
- Ch’eng-wei-shih-lun. See *Demonstration of Consciousness Only*.
- Ching-kang-ting ching. See *Diamond Peak Sutra*.
- Chronicles of Japan.** (*Nihon shoki*, or *Nihongi*). Compiled 720 CE; coverage to 697. See Sakamoto et al. 1965; Aston 1956 [trans. 1896].
- Chū muryōgikyō. See *Commentary on the Sutra of Innumerable Meanings*.
- Chū hongaku-san. See *Commentary on Hymns on Original Enlightenment*.
- Classic of Filial Piety** (*Hsiao-ching, Kōkyō*). Early Han period text purporting to be a dialogue between Confucius and his disciple Tseng Tzu. See Legge 1879.
- Collection of Shugendō [Texts and Liturgies] Used Daily.** (*Shugendō jōyōshū*). Edited by Kankō and Gyōchi (1778–1841); published 1825. See *Shugendō shōso* 1985, pp. 277–331.
- Commentaries on Three Sutras** (*Sangyō gisho*, T 2185–2187). Shōtoku Taishi (574–622). See *Commentary on the Sutra of Queen Śrīmāla*, *Commentary on the Vimalakīrti Sutra*, and *Commentary on the Lotus Sutra*.
- Commentary on the Awakening of Faith** (*Ta-ch’eng ch’i-hsin lun i chi, Daijōkishinron giki*, T 1846). By Fa-tsang (Hōzō, 643–712).
- Commentary on Hymns on Original Enlightenment.** (*Chō hongaku-san*). Attr. to Ryōgen. See Tada 1973.
- Commentary on Hymns on Original Enlightenment.** (*Hongaku-san shaku*), by Genshin (942–1017).
- Commentary on the Lotus Sutra** (*Hokkekyō gisho*, ca. 614–615; T 2187). Shōtoku Taishi (574–622). See Hanayama 1975 (1983).

- Commentary on the Net of Brahma Sutra** (*P'u sa chieh i chou, Bosatsukaigisho*, T 1811). Chih-i, Kuan-ting.
- Commentary to the Sutra of Innumerable Meanings** (*Chūmuryō gikyō*, T 2193). Commentary by Tendai's Saichō (767–822).
- Commentary on the Sutra of Queen Śrīmāla** (*Shōmangyō gisho*, ca. 609–611). Shōtoku Taishi (574–622)
- Commentary on the Vimalakīrti Sutra** (*Yuimakyō gisho*, ca.612–613). Shōtoku Taishi (574–622)
- Concentration of Heroic Progress**, The *Śūranigama [samādhi] sūtra*, T 642. See Lamotte 1998; McRae 1998. Kumārajīva's translation into Chinese; English translation by Sara Boin-Webb of Lamotte's *La Concentration de la march héroïque* (1965). See McRae 1998. [Not to be confused with *Sutra of Heroic Deed*, T 945. See Luk 2001.]
- Continuation of the Chronicles of Japan**. *Shoku nihongi* (coverage CE 697–791). The second of the “Six National Histories” (*Rikkokushi*). See Snellen 1934, 1937.
- Daichidoron. See *Treatise on Great Perfection of Wisdom*.
- Daihatsu nehanyō. See *Sutra of the Great Decease*.
- Daijō shikan hōmon. See *Mahāyāna Method of Calming and Insight*.
- Daijōkishinron. See *Awakening of Faith [in the Mahāyāna]*.
- Daijō kishinron giki. See *Commentary on the Awakening of Faith*.
- Dainichikyō. See *Great Sun Sutra*.
- Demonstration of Consciousness Only**. *Ch'eng-wei-shih-lun, Jōyūshikiron*, T 1585. Hsüan-tsang's translation of Vasubandhu's *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi* based on Dharmapāla's interpretation of Vasubandhu's *Trīṃśikā-vijñaptimātratātā* (Thirty Verses on Consciousness Only, q.v.). See Williams 1989, p. 82; Cook 1999, xiiff.; Takakusu 1956, p. 84.
- Denjutsu ishinkai mon. See the *Account of the Transmission of the Single Mind Precepts*.
- Dependence on Tendai Doctrine [by the Scholars from the Other Schools of China and Korea]**, The (Ehyō Tendai gishū, 813). See Groner 1984, 87ff.
- Descent into Lanka Sutra, The** (*Lankāvatāra-sūtra, Leng-ch'ieh ching, Nyūryōgakyō*, T 670–672). Suzuki 1930, 1932.
- Dharmapada. See *Path of the Teaching*.
- Diamond Peak Sutra** (*Vajrasekhara-sūtra, or Tattvasaṃgraha; Ching-kang-ting ching, Kongōchōgyō*, T 865).
- Ehyō Tendai gishū. See *Dependence on Tendai Doctrine [by the Scholars from the Other Schools of China and Korea]*.
- Explanation of Mahāyāna** (*Shih Mo Ho Yen Lun, Shakumakaenron*, T 668). Commentary on the *Awakening of Faith* (q.v.) by a Nāgārjuna who was someone other than the famous philosopher of the Mādhyamika school.
- Fa-hua hsüan-i. See *Profound Meaning of the Lotus Sutra*.
- Fan wang ching. See *Net of Brahma Sutra*.



Flower Wreath/Ornament Sutra. See *Garland Sutra*.

Gaṇḍavyūha sūtra. See *Garland Sutra*.

**Garland Sutra** (or, Flower Wreath/Ornament Sutra). *Avatamsaka-sūtra*, *Kegonkyō* (1) Buddhābhadrā, trans. ca. 418–420, 60 fascicles, T 278; (2) Śikshananda, trans. ca. 695–704, 80 fascicles, T 279, Cleary 1984, 1986, 1987; (3) *Gaṇḍavyūha sūtra*. Prajñā, trans. ca. 795–810, 40 fascicles, T 293. See Suzuki 1934a, Fontein 1967.

**Great Calming and Contemplation, The**. *Mo-ho chih-kuan*, *Maka shikan*, T 1911. By the T'ien-t'ai philosopher Chih-i (Chigi, 538–597). See Donner and Stevenson 1993; Swanson 1989.

**Great Purification Celebrated on the Last Day of the Sixth Month** (*Minazuki tsugomori no ōharae*). See *Kojiki Norito* 1958, pp. 422–27; Philippi 1959, 45–49 (no. 10); de Bary et al. 2001, 34–36 (Philippi 1959); Satow and Florenz 1927, pp. 100–64.

**Great Sun Sutra** (*Mahāvairocana-sūtra*, *Ta-jih ching*, *Dainichikyō*), T 848. Yamasaki 1988; Wayman and Tajima 1992.

**Guide to Sanskrit Studies** (*Bongaku Shinryō*, ca. 1766). Jiun Sonja (1718–1804)

Hanjusammaikyō. See *Visualization of Amida Sutra*.

Hannya shingyō. See *Heart Sutra*.

Hannya Shingyō Hiken. See *The Secret Key to the Heart Sutra*.

**Heart (of Wisdom) Sutra**. Prajñāpāramitā hṛdaya sūtra, *Hannya shingyō*, T 251, the popular translation attributed to Hsüan-tsang (ca. 602–664). See Suzuki 1935 (from Chinese), Conze 1972 (from Sanskrit), Lopez 1988.

Hokke gengi. See *Profound Meaning of the Lotus Sutra*.

Hok(k)ekyō. See *Lotus Sutra*.

Hokke kowaku. See *Vanquishing Misunderstandings about the Lotus Sutra*.

Hokkekyō gisho. See *Commentary on the Lotus Sutra*.

Hokkukyō. See *Path of the Teaching*.

Hongaku san. See *Hymns on Original Enlightenment*.

Hongaku-san shaku. See *Commentary on Hymns on Original Enlightenment*.

Honri taikoshū. See *Overview of the Great Principle*.

Hsiao-ching. See *Classic of Filial Piety*.

Hsin ti kuan ching. See *Sutra on Viewing the Mind-Ground*.

**Hundred Records of Kuo-ching Temple** (*Kuo-ching-ssu-pai-lu*, *Kokuseiji hyakuroku*, T 1934). Essentially a biographical addendum to Kuan-ting's (Kanjō's, 561–632) recording of Chih-i's life and works.

**Hymns on Original Enlightenment**. *Hongaku san*, by Ryōgen (912–985). See Tada 1973.

**Imperial Record of Shōtoku, Dharma King of the Upper Palace** (Jōgū Shōtoku hōō teisetsu, ca. 623–711 [BKD 6, pp. 1–2]). Deal 1999, pp. 329–33.

Isshinkaimon. See *Account of the Transmission of the Single Mind Precepts*.

- Jen wang ching. See *Benevolent Kings Sutra*.
- Jōgū Shōtoku hōō teisetsu. See *Imperial Record of Shōtoku, Dharma King of the Upper Palace*.
- Jōmyōkyō. See *Vimalakirti Sutra*.
- Jōshinkaikanbō. See *Rules to Purify Mind and Maintain Insight*.
- Jōyuishikiron. See *Demonstration of Consciousness Only*.
- Jubosatsukaigi. See *Procedures for Conferring the Bodhisattva Precepts*.
- Jubosatsukaigi. See *Procedures for Receiving the Bodhisattva Precepts*.
- Jubosatsukaigi. See *Rites for Conferring the Bodhisattva Precepts*.
- Jūshinron. See *Treatise on the Ten Stages of Mind*.
- Jūshichijō kempō. See *Seventeen-Article Constitution*.
- Jū zen hōgo. See *Sermons on the Ten Good Precepts*.
- Kammuryōjukyō. See *Sutra of Meditation on Amida Buddha*.
- Kegonkyō. See *Garland Sutra*.
- Kenkairon. See *Treatise Explaining the Precepts*.
- Kokusei[ji] hyakuroku. See *Hundred Records of Kuo-ching Temple*.
- Kōkyō. See *Classic of Filial Piety*.
- Kongōchōgyō. See *Diamond Peak Sutra*.
- Kukai's Collected Works of Prose and Poetry** (*Shōryōshū* or *Seireishū*).
- Kuo-ching-[ssu]-pai-lu. See *Hundred Records of Kuo-ching Temple*.
- (Abidatsuma) Kusharon. See *Treasury of Analyses of the Law*.
- Lankāvatāra-sūtra. See *Descent into Lanka Sutra*.
- Larger Pure Land Sutra.** The *Muryōjukyō*, literally the “Amitāyus Sutra,” T 360, is the translation into Chinese attributed to Sanghavarman in CE 252; but popularly known as the (Larger) Sukhāvat-vyūha (“Land of Supreme Bliss”) Sūtra, it relates the career of the Buddha Amida as the bodhisattva Dharmākara (Hōzō), who made forty-eight vows to save sentient beings. For the Pure Land movement, the eighteenth vow is central: “Even when I am able to attain Buddhahood, if sentient beings of the ten quarters, with sincerity and faith, desire to be born in my land by practicing [invoking (?)/meditating on (?)] up to ten thoughts on the name of Buddha Amitāyus are not born there, I will not accept supreme enlightenment—only excluding those who commit the five atrocities and abuse the True Dharma.”
- Leng-ch'ieh ching. See *Descent into Lanka Sutra*.
- Lion's Roar of Queen Śrīmālā. See *Queen Śrīmālā Sutra*.
- Liu-tsu t'an-ching. See *Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch*.
- Lin-chi lu. See *Recorded Sayings of Lin-chi*.
- Lotus Sutra (or, Lotus of the Wonderful Law).** *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra*. Translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva in CE 406; *Miao-fa lien-hua ching*, *Miao Fa Lian Hua Jing*,

- Myōhōrengkyō*, or *Hok(k)ekyō*, T 262. See Hurvitz 1976, Watson 1993, Kubo and Yuyama 1993, Murano 1974, Kato 1975, Soothill 1930, Kern 1909 (from Sanskrit).
- Mahāmāyā-sūtra. See *Sutra of the Great [Discourse by Gautama to His Mother] Māyā*.
- Mahāparinirvāna sūtra. See *Sutra of the Great Decease*.
- Mahāprajñāpāramitā śāstra. See *Treatise on the Great Perfection of Wisdom*.
- Mahāvairocana-sūtra. See *Great Sun Sutra*.
- Mahāyāna Method of Calming and Insight, The** (*T'a ch'eng chih kuan fa men, Daijō shikan hōmon*, T 1924), by Hui-ssu (Eshi, 515–77).
- Maka shikan. See *Great Calming and Contemplation/Insight*.
- Makamayakyō. See *Sutra of the Great [Discourse by Gautama to His Mother] Māyā*.
- Meaning of the Realization of Buddhahood in This Very Body, The** (*Sokushin jōbutsu gi*). See Katsumata, pp. 42–58; Hakeda 1972, pp. 225–34 (“Attaining Enlightenment in This Very Existence”).
- Minazuki tsugomori no ōharae*. See Great Purification Celebrated on the Last Day of the Sixth Month.
- Mirror for Women.** *Tsuma kagami*, 1300. Mujū Ichien (1226–1312). See Miyasaka 1964; Morrell 1980.
- Mirror of Sectarian Differences** (*Tsung ching lu, Sugyōroku, Shukyōroku*; T 2016, v. 48: 415–957). Compiled by Yung-ming Yen-shou (Yōmyō Enju, 904–975) of the Fa-yen (Hōgen) line traceable to Hui-neng, but not through Lin-chi. The monumental *Mirror*, reflecting as a mirror the conceptual expediencies of T'ien-t'ai, Hua Yen, Pure Land and other practices, was introduced to Japan by Rinzaï Zen's Enni Bennen, founder of the Tōfukujji in Kyoto, mentor of Abbess Nyōdai and Mujū Ichien, whose citations are often derived from the *Mirror*. See Collcutt 1981; Morrell 1985.
- Mo-ho chih-kuan. See *Great Calming and Contemplation/Insight*.
- Mr. Tso's Commentary** (*Tso-chuan*; *J. Saden*, second cen. BCE).
- Muryōgikyō. See *Sutra of Innumerable Meanings*.
- Muryōjukyō. See *Larger Pure Land Sutra*.
- Myōhōrengkyō. See *Lotus Sutra*.
- Naishō buppō sōjō kechimyakufu. See *Transmission Line of the Dharma of Inner Realization*.
- Net of Brahma Sutra** (*Brahmajāla sūtra*; *Fan wang ching, Bonmōkyō*; T 1484). See Dutt 1930.
- Nieh-p'an ching. See *Sutra of the Great Decease*.
- Nihon shoki. See *Chronicles of Japan*.
- Nihongi. See *Chronicles of Japan*.
- Ninnōkyō. See *Benevolent Kings Sutra*.
- Nyūryōgakyō. See *Descent into Lanka Sutra*.
- Overview of the Great Principle.** *Honri taikō shū*, attributed to Saichō. Tada 1973.

- Pan-chou-san-mei-ching. See *Visualization of Amida Sutra*.
- Path of the Teaching.** *Dharmapada*, Hokkukyō, T 210; cf. T 211–13.
- Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch.** *Liu-tsu t'an-ching, Rokuso dankyō*, T 2007 (Tun-huang version), T 2008 (vulgate), by Hui-neng (Enō, 638–713). Not a sutra, however, since it does not purport to be the word of the Buddha. The Tun-huang version, considered earlier and more authentic, is the text translated by both Yampolsky 1967 and Chan 1963; McRae 2000 translates 2008 (vulgate).
- Pratyutpanna Samādhi Sutra. See *Visualization of Amida Sutra*.
- P'u sa chieh i chou. See *Commentary on the Net of Brahma Sutra*.
- P'u sa chieh ching shan pu. See *Revised Commentary on the Bodhisattva Precepts Sutra*.
- P'u-t'i-hsin lun. See *Treatise on the Awakening Mind*.
- Prajñāpāramitā hṛdaya sūtra. See *Heart Sutra*.
- Procedures for Receiving the Bodhisattva Precepts.** *Shou p'u sa chieh i, Jubosatsukaigi*, by Hui-ssu (Eshi, 515–577).
- Procedures for Conferring the Bodhisattva Precepts.** *Shou p'u sa chieh i, Jubosatsukaigi*, by Chan-jan (Tannen, 711–782).
- Profound Meaning of the Lotus Sutra.** Chih-i's *Fa-hua hsüan-i, Hokke gengi*; T 1716: v. 33
- Queen Śrīmālā Sutra** (*Śrīmālā-devi-simhanāda-sūtra, Shōmangyō*, T 353). See Wayman and Wayman 1974, Paul 2004. There is a commentary on the *Shōmangyō* attributed to Shōtoku Taishi.
- Recorded Sayings of Lin-chi** (*Lin-chi lu, Rinzairoku*, T 2003), i.e., Lin-chi I-hsüan (Rinzai Gigen, d. 866). See Cleary, J. C. 1999 [Linji].
- Recorded Sayings of Zen Master Fo-kuang** [Bukkō]. *Bukkō Zenji goroku*, T 2549, vol. 80, pp. 129–249. By Wu-hsüeh Tsu-yüan (Mugaku Sōgen, 1226–1286), founding Abbot of Kamakura's Engakuji.
- Revised Commentary on the Bodhisattva Precepts Sutra** (*P'u sa chieh ching shan pu, Bosatsukaikyō shosampo*, T 1812). Chih-i's commentary edited by Ming-k'uang (Meikō, ca. 777).
- Rinzairoku. See *Recorded Sayings of Lin-chi*.
- Rites for Conferring the Bodhisattva Precepts** (*Jubosatsukaigi*), Tendai ordination procedures written by Saichō or a disciple.
- Rokuso dankyō*. See Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch.
- Rules to Purify Mind and Maintain Insight.** The *Ching-hsin-chieh-kuan-fa* (Jōshinkaikanbō, T 1893) of Tao-hsüan (596–667), noted collaborator in Hsüan-tsang's translation project and the founder of the Southern School (hence the title, Nan-shan) of the Chinese Disciplinary Sect (Lü-tsung), based primarily on the Hīnayānist discipline of the *Four-part Vinaya* (Ssu-fen-lū, Shibunritsu, T 1428.). See Ono 1968, 6.56–57; Ch'en, 1964.
- Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra. See *Lotus Sutra*.
- Saden. See *Mr. Tso's Commentary*.

- Sand and Pebbles, Collection of.** *Shasekishū*, 1279–83. Mujū Ichien (1226–1312). See Watanabe 1966; Morrell 1985; Rotermund 1979 (in French).
- Sangyō gisho. See *Commentaries on Three Sutras*.
- Secret Key to the Heart Sutra, The. *Hannya Shingyō (Hiken)*. Kūkai (Kōbō Daishi, 774–835). Hakeda 1972.
- Seireishū. See *Kūkai's Collected Works of Prose and Poetry*.
- Sermons on the Ten Good Precepts** (*Jūzen hōgo*; 1774). Jiun Sonja (1718–1804).
- Seventeen-Article Constitution** (*Jūshichijō kempō*, 604 CE). Shōtoku Taishi (574–622), in *Chronicles of Japan*.
- Shakumakaenron. See *Explanation of Mahāyāna*.
- Shasekishū. See *Sand and Pebbles, Collection of*.
- Shih Mo Ho Yen Lun. See *Explanation of Mahāyāna*.
- Shijūnishōgyō. See *Sutra of Forty-two Chapters*.
- Shinjikangyō. See *Sutra on Viewing the Mind-Ground*.
- Shintō Transmitted by Jiun** (*Uden Shintō*). Jiun Sonja (1718–1804)
- Shoku nihongi. See *Continuation of the Chronicles of Japan*. Snellen 1934.
- Shōmangyō gisho. See *Commentary on the Queen Śrīmālā Sutra*.
- Shōmangyō. See *Queen Śrīmālā Sutra*.
- Shōnan kattōroku. See *Word Weeds in Southern Sagami Province*
- Shōryōshū. See *Kūkai's Collected Works of Prose and Poetry*.
- Shou p'u sa chieh i. See *Procedures for Conferring the Bodhisattva Precepts*.
- Shou p'u sa chieh i. See *Procedures for Receiving the Bodhisattva Precepts*.
- Shugendō jōyōshū. See *Collection of Shugendō [Texts and Liturgies] Used Daily*.
- Shukyōroku. See *Mirror of Sectarian Differences*.
- Shuzen Temple Lineage.** *Shuzenji-ketsu*, attributed in part to Saichō.
- Shuzenji-ketsu. See *Shuzen Temple Lineage*.
- Sokushin jōbutsu gi. See *Meaning of the Realization of Buddhahood in This Very Body*.
- Śrīmālā-devi-siṃhanāda-sūtra . See *Queen Śrīmālā Sutra*.
- Sugyōroku. See *Mirror of Sectarian Differences*.
- Sukhāvati-vyūha-sūtra (Smaller). See *Amitabha Sutra*.
- Sukhāvati-vyūha-sūtra (Larger). See *Larger Pure Land Sutra*.
- Śūrangāmi sūtra. See *Concentration of Heroic Progress* (T 642), *Sutra of Heroic Deed* (T 945).
- Śūrangāmi [samādhi] sūtra. See *Concentration of Heroic Progress*.
- Sutra of Forty-two Chapters** (*Shijūnishōgyō*, T784). See Soyer 1974.
- Sutra of the Great Decease** (*Mahāparinirvāna Sūtra*; *Nieb-p'an ching*, *Daihatsu nehangyō*, T 374 ["Northern Text"], T 375 ["Southern Text"]); neither to be confused with the

Southern Buddhist sutra with the same name, T 7. In the Tendai sect, thought to be second in importance only to the *Lotus Sutra*, but its size has always assured a small audience. A proposed English translation in the BDK English Tripiṭaka series has been allotted four volumes (#21–24), compared to a single volume for the already-completed translation of the *Lotus* (1993). DeVisser 1935, vol. 2, pp. 489–519.

**Sutra of the Great [Discourse by Gautama to his Mother] Māyā** (*Mahā māyā-sūtra. Makamayakyō*, T 383).

**Sutra of Heroic Deed** (*Śūrangama sūtra*, T 945). [Not to be confused with the *Śūranigama (samādhi) sūtra*, the “The Concentration of Heroic Progress,” T 642. See Lamotte 1998.] For T 945 see Luk 1966, Suzuki 1935, pp. 74–83 (summary and commentary).

**Sutra of Innumerable Meanings** (*Amitārtha sūtra*; *Wu Liang I Ching, Muryōgikyō*, T 276). The “opening” sutra of the *Three-fold Lotus Sutra* (Hokke no Sanbukyō). Katō, et al. 1975.

**Sutra of Meditation on Amida Buddha.** *Amitāyur-dhyāna-sūtra, Kanmuryōjukyō*, T 365. Śākyamuni appears to the imprisoned Queen Vaidehī, whom he instructs in various forms of meditation on the Buddha Amitāyus with the promise that even the worst sinner can attain birth in Amida’s Pure Land if he recites Amida’s name ten times at the moment of death. This sole reliance on Amida as savior differs from the visualization of Amida suggested by the sutra’s name.

**Sutra on the Unlimited Life of the Threefold Body.** *Bussetsu sanjin juryō muhen kyō*.

**Sutra on Viewing the Mind-Ground** (*Hsin ti kuan ching, Shinjikangyō*, T 159).

T’a ch’eng chih kuan fa men. See *Mahāyāna Method of Cessation and Insight*.

Ta ch’eng chi hsin lun. See *Awakening of Faith [in the Mahāyāna]*.

Ta chih tu lun. See *Treatise on the Great Perfection of Wisdom*.

Ta-ch’eng ch’i-hsin lun i chi. See *Commentary on the Awakening of Faith*.

Ta-jih ching. See *Great Sun Sutra*.

Tattvasagraha. See *Diamond Peak Sutra*.

**Thirty Verses on Consciousness Only.** Vasubandhu’s *Trimśikā-vijñaptimātratātā*, trans. Hsüan-tsang; *Wei-shih-san-shih-lung-sung, Yushiki sanjūronju*, T 1586. See Williams 1989, p. 82; Cook 1999, 60–II; Takakusu 1956, p. 85.

**Tract on the Buddha-nature.** *Busshōshō*, ca. 817. Tokuitsu’s opening salvo which prompted Saichō’s *Shōgonjitsukyō* (Mirror Illuminating the Provisional and the Real, 817). Groner (1984) 2000, p. 93.

**Transmission Line of the Dharma of Inner Realization.** *Naishō buppō sōjō kechimyakufu*. By Tendai’s Saichō.

**Treasury of Analyses of the Law.** Abhidharma-kośa-śāstra; (Abidatsuma) Kusharon. Vasubandhu’s major exposition of the Hīnayāna doctrine of radical pluralism in two Chinese translations, T 1558, 1559. The foundation scripture for the Japanese Kusha sect.

**Treatise on the Ten Stages of Mind** (*Jūjūshinron*). English translation of an abridged version available as “The Precious Key to the Secret Treasury” in Hakeda 1972, pp. 157–224.

- Treatise on the Truth of the Single-Vehicle Revealing the Jeweled [Buddha] Nature.** *Ratnagotravibhāga; Chiu ching i ch'eng pao hsing lun (Kukyō ichijō) hōshō ron*, T 1611. Attributed to Sāramati, ca. 350–450. See Nakamura 1980, 261–63.
- Treatise Distinguishing the Exoteric and Esoteric Teachings** (*Benkenmitsu nikyōron*). Hakeda 1972, 151–57 (partial English translation “The Difference Between Exoteric and Esoteric Buddhism”).
- Treatise on the Great Perfection of Wisdom [Sutra].** Commentary on the Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra attributed to Nāgārjuna. Translated CE 409 by Kumārajiva as the *Tā chih tu lun, Daichidoron*; T 1509. Ramanan 1966 (commentary).
- Treatise on the Awakening Mind.** *P'u-t'i-hsin lun, Bodaishinron*, T 1665.
- Treatise Explaining the Precepts.** *Kenkairon*, T 2376, by Saichō, CE 820.
- Triṃśikā-vijñaptimātratātā. See *Thirty Verses on Consciousness Only*.
- Tsuma kagami. See *Mirror for Women*.
- Tso-chuan. See *Mr. Tso's Commentary*.
- Tsung ching lu. See *Mirror of Sectarian Differences*.
- Uden Shintō. See *Shintō Transmitted by Jiun*.
- Vajrasekhara-sūtra. See *Diamond Peak Sutra*.
- Vanquishing Misunderstandings about the Lotus Sutra** (*Hokke kowaku*). Fasc. 4 through 6 of Saichō's *Shugo kokkaishō* (In Defense of the Nation). See Groner 2000, 93.
- Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi. See *Demonstration of Consciousness Only*.
- Vimalakīrti Sutra** (*Vimalakīrti [nirdeśa] sūtra, Yuima[kitsu]kyō*, T 474, 475). Sometimes (e.g., in the *Hōjōki*), *Jōmyōkyō*. See Watson 1997, Lamotte 1977, Thurman 1976, Luk 1972, Idumi 1923–28, McRae 2004.
- Vimalakīrti [nirdeśa] sūtra. See *Vimalakīrti Sutra*.
- Visualization of Amida Sutra.** The *Pratyutpanna Samādhi Sutra*, trans. Lokakṣema (Shirukasen, 147–186); *Pan-chou-san-mei-ching, Hanjusammaikyō*, T 418. See Harrison 1998; Morrell 1987, pp. 11–12.
- Wei-shih-san-shih-lung-sung. See *Thirty Verses on Consciousness Only*.
- Word Weeds in Southern Sagami Province** (*Shōnan kattōroku*, 1544), by Rinzaï monk Muin Hōjō. See Imai 1925, Leggett 1985.
- Wu liang i ching. See *Sutra of Innumerable Meanings*.
- Ying lo ching. See *Bead Necklace Sutra*.
- Yōrakukyō. See *Bead Necklace Sutra*.
- Yuimakitsukyō. See *Vimalakīrti Sutra*.
- Yuimakyō gisho. See *Commentary on the Vimalakīrti Sutra*.
- Yushiki sanjūronju. See *Thirty Verses on Consciousness Only*.
- Zen Grove Collected Phrases.** The *Zenrin kushū*, 2 v. (1688) Popular compilation of five thousand select lines and phrases from the Buddhist scriptures and the works of eminent

Zen masters by Tōyō Eichō (1428–1504), Rinzai monk of the Daitokuji school. Source of the *Zenrin kuyōshi*, Chapbook of Phrases from the Zen Grove, q.v. See Leggett (1978) 1987.

Zenrin kushū. See *Zen Grove Collected Phrases*.

Zenrin kuyōshi. See *Chapbook of Phrases from the Zen Grove*.



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## Bibliography

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### ABBREVIATIONS FOR FREQUENTLY MENTIONED IDENTIFICATION SYMBOLS AND MAJOR COLLECTIONS

- BDK Bukkyō Dendō Kyōkai (Society for the Promotion of Buddhism), in collaboration with the Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, is well along in its ambitious project of translating the complete Taishō edition of the Chinese Tripiṭaka. More than thirty volumes have so far appeared, some of which include several items. Annotations are minimal, but the translations are by capable scholars and are often not otherwise available, or easily accessible, in English.
- BKD Ono Gemmyō. *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten* [Annotated Dictionary of Buddhist Books]. Tokyo: Daitō Shuppansha, 1932; revised reprint, 1968. Twelve volumes.
- JJRS *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*. Nanzan Institute for Religion and Culture, Nanzan University, Nagoya Japan.
- KT, ZKT Matsushita Daizaburō and Watanabe Fumio. *Kokka taikan* and *Zoku kokka taikan* [Comprehensive Survey of Waka Poetry 1, 2]. Tokyo: 1903 and later editions from various publishers.
- Nj. Nanjō (Bunyū's) numbering system for the scriptures (1883), superseded by that of the Taishō (T) edition (see below), but still encountered in earlier studies, e.g., de Visser.
- NKBT *Nihon Koten Bungaku Taikei* (Japanese Classics series) of Takagi Ichinosuke et al., eds. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1957–1967; plus two supplementary indices (1964, 1969). Well annotated.
- NST *Nihon Shisō Taikei* (Compendium of Japanese Thought). Iwanami Shoten, 1970– ; fifty-three volumes as of 1978. Well annotated.
- T *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* (The Chinese Tripiṭaka Newly Revised in the Taishō Era), ed. Takakusu Junjirō, Watanabe Kaikyoku, and Ono Gemmyō. Tokyo: Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō Kankōkai, 1962; reprint of 1924–1932 edition. One hundred volumes. Numbering through vol. 55 in Paul Demieville et al., eds. *Hōbōgirin: Fascicule Annexe* (Tokyo: Maison Franco-Japonaise, 1931), currently being updated. (Some writers, as here, consider a period after T to be unnecessary.)

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# ZEN SANCTUARY OF PURPLE ROBES

*Japan's Tōkeiji Convent Since 1285*

Sachiko Kaneko Morrell and Robert E. Morrell

*Zen Sanctuary of Purple Robes* examines the affairs of Rinzai Zen's Tōkeiji Convent, founded in 1285 by nun Kakusan Shidō after the death of her husband, Hōjō Tokimune. It traces the convent's history through seven centuries, including the early nuns' Zen practice; Abbess Yōdō's imperial lineage with nuns in purple robes; Hideyori's seven-year-old daughter—later to become the convent's twentieth abbess, Tenshū—spared by Tokugawa Ieyasu at the Battle for Osaka Castle; Tōkeiji as “divorce temple” during the mid-Edo period and a favorite topic of *senryū* satirical verse; the convent's gradual decline as a functioning nunnery but its continued survival during the early Meiji persecution of Buddhism; and its current prosperity. The work includes translations, charts, illustrations, bibliographies, and indices. Beyond such historical details, the authors emphasize the convent's “inclusivist” Rinzai Zen practice in tandem with the nearby Engakuji Temple. The rationale for this “inclusivism” is the continuing acceptance of the doctrine of “Skillful Means” (*hōben*) as expressed in the *Lotus Sutra*—a notion repudiated or radically reinterpreted by most of the Kamakura reformers. In support of this contention, the authors include a complete translation of the *Mirror for Women* by Kakusan's contemporary, Mujū Ichien.

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