

The Conception of the Japanese Kami in the Kamakura Era: Notes on the First Chapter of the *Shasekishū*¹

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Introduction

The collection of *setsuwa* (secular and Buddhist tales) called the *Shasekishū*, compiled by Mujū between 1279 and 1283, is one of the richest sources for our knowledge of the life and popular beliefs of the Kamakura era. The purpose of this article, by analyzing certain keywords and definitions relating to the kami (Japanese deities), is to bring out and to examine some of the characteristics of mediaeval Shintō.

After a brief outline of the concept of *honji-suijaku* in general, an idea fundamental to medieval Shintō, *wakō dōjin* is examined through representative passages drawn from the *Shasekishū*. The kami, who according to the *honji-suijaku* theory are identified with the buddhas, are their avatars. Therefore, they demonstrate certain Buddhist qualities, most notably *jihi* (compassion, specifically the desire to awaken *bodaishin* [the heart of awakening] in all beings) and *dōshin* (a pious spirit).

The profound desire of the kami to divert beings from this present world, and to discourage attachment to *genze-riyaku* (immediate and material benefits) is coupled with a strong insistence on the sole significance of the future life (*gose*). In order to aid beings to be liberated from the round of *samsāra*, the deities employ *hōben*, i.e., intentional expedi-

ents to facilitate access to the path of Buddhism, in accord with the disposition of those beings.

The stories themselves, as well as the didactic explications which Mujū joins to the *setsuwa*, clearly demonstrate the changes in the logic of the *honji-suijaku* theory at the threshold of the middle ages. Being now thought to be identical with the buddhas, on both the functional and the existential planes, the kami lose their distinctive features.

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Mujū Ichien's³ famous *setsuwa* collection, the *Shasekishū* (1279 to 1283), is an important source for our knowledge of the life and beliefs of the Japanese people in the Kamakura era.⁴ In addition to philological and linguistic studies,⁵ a few studies have been devoted to the author Mujū, his life and thought,⁶ and to comparing the *Shasekishū* with other texts of the era.⁷ Few of these works, however, have examined more closely the ideological foundations of the narratives⁸ or analyzed the commentary and the explanatory portions which Mujū gives following the stories.⁹

I will attempt, in the following, to outline the conception of the Shintō deities (kami) proper to the era by analyzing the first chapter of the collection, and by examining the key terms and the numerous definitions and illustrations of those terms (belonging to Buddhism, to Shintō, or to their syncretism) provided by Mujū, either in the form of a commentary or in the *setsuwa* themselves.¹⁰ The goal is to achieve a portrait, incomplete as it may be, of some of the characteristics of medieval Shintō at a time when Japanese Buddhism was reaching a pinnacle in the new spiritual trends initiated by the Jōdo, Zen and Nichiren sects, and when the (Buddhist) interpretation of Shintō was systematized and perfected in the theory known as *honji-suijaku*.¹¹

1. During the Kamakura era, as with preceding centuries,¹² the two religions, Shintō and Buddhism, coexisted intimately,¹³ and both of them were supported by the state. The rapprochement of Shintō and Buddhism, begun in the Heian era and actively pursued since on the side of the Buddhists,¹⁴ was brought to completion with the identification of the characteristics of the kami with those of the Buddhist divinities.¹⁵ Buddhist rites were then performed in Shintō sanctuaries,¹⁶ the recitation of sutras serving as an offering to the kami,¹⁷ who rejoice to see Buddhist teachings practiced and studied.¹⁸ Prayers and requests could be equally as well addressed to the buddhas as to the kami.¹⁹ However, according to the *honji-suijaku* theory, the latter are merely the manifold "traces" left in this world by the buddhas, who softened the light of their wisdom (*wakō*), and adapted their manifestations to

the unequal receptivity of beings. The "original state" (*honji*) of a divine *wakō* (*wakō shinmei*) is always a buddha or bodhisattva.²⁰

We will return below to the term *wakō/wakō dōjin*, and its significance. The fact of having left a "trace" of their descent on earth and of reaching down to this world – that is, to conceal their true nature in order to appear as a *kami* – constitutes an expedient (*hōben*)²¹ based upon compassion of the Buddhas, intended to aid beings to rise to the path of Buddhism.²²

Although *honji* and *suijaku*, "original state" and "trace of descent on the earth," differ in appearance, or external form (*katachi*), they are identical in their natural spirit (*kokoro*), and both are therefore worthy of trust (*tanomoshii*).²³ However, just as they differ in their exterior aspects, there are also temporary nuances in their modes of action, their efficacy.²⁴ According to Muju's criticism, this is one reason that so many people (basically the ignorant) are inclined to believe in the manifestations, in the evident demonstrations (of the *kami*) rather than in the "distant" buddhas:

In Japan there are people with a fervent belief in the *kami* because the latter have shown themselves powerful in their rewards and punishments; because the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas – conforming to their principle (*ri*) – accord benefits less directly (*tōki eki*) and also because those benefits are less conspicuous (*odayaka*) than the *hōben* of the *kami*, the ignorant people frequently lack faith.²⁵

The primary cause of the different manifestations of the Buddhist and Shintō divinities is Dai Nichi Nyorai (Mahāvairocana [Tathagata]) in his metaphysical body, *hosshin* (*dharmakāya*), from which the "bodies" (beings) of the ten worlds of existence (*jikkai no mi*) emanate:

Hence, he (Dai Nichi) manifesting (the appearance) of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas in conformity with the receptivity (*ki*) of the people of ancient India, has guided beings. As for our country ... having with universal compassion caused to descend as a "corresponding action" his homogenous body (i.e., omnipenetrant: *tōryū hosshin*), he has manifested himself in the demons (*akki*) and small *kami* (*jashin*), and has taken the form of serpents and ferocious beasts....²⁶

Thus one should not unilaterally overestimate the "direct relation" (*u-en*) present in India with the appearances of the Buddha, and attach less importance to the "corresponding form" (*sō no katachi*) by means of which Dai Nichi is present in Japan, because it is this country which he has made the country of the *kami* (*shin-koku*)²⁷ and where he has caused

the "traces" of the great avatars to descend.²⁸ In this manner Dai Nichi and the Buddhas – impelled by compassion (*jishi*) for beings²⁹ – descend and mix with "the dust of this world" (*dōjin*), and appear as the kami: "When one imagines the trace descended to earth (*suijaku*), one understands that the state of *wakō dōjin* of the metaphysical body (of Dai Nichi) is called *shinmei*."³⁰ The preceding quote clearly evidences the principal idea of mediaeval Shinto,³¹ *wakō dōjin*: the Buddhist divinities (representing the *honji*: "the original state") soften the light of their perfect wisdom (*wakō*) so that by fusing with the circle of the six worlds (*roku-dō*), they can manifest themselves in the form of kami and merge (*dō<dōzuru*) with the dust (*jin/chiri*) of the world of beings.

The term *wakō dōjin* comes from a quote from the *Lao-Tzu* [a.k.a., the *Tao Te Ching*]:³² "(The *tao*) softens that which is (among the ten thousand things) brilliant, sharp, and merges with the conditions of things."³³ Scholars differ over the question of whether this expression is an original phrase in the *Lao Tzu*, or whether this is actually a slogan of the epoch³⁴ borrowed by the *Lao Tzu* in order to describe the qualities and characteristics of the *tao*. Be that as it may, *wakō dōjin* was subsequently introduced into Buddhist texts,³⁵ particularly in the famous *Maka shikan* [*Mo ho chih-kuan*] of Chigi [Chih-i],³⁶ founder of the T'ien t'ai school. The term made its way into Japan with the transmission of this major work, and the diffusion of the sutra and other Buddhist works.³⁷ A well-known example can be found in the *hōgo* of the monk Ippen.³⁸ But this term is also cited here and there in the different genres of mediaeval literature; thus, the epic war tale *Hōgen-monogatari*³⁹ says: "As to the *hoben* of the *wakō dōjin* divinities: they serve to ward off suffering, and to bring happiness; thus, how could the divinities not feel pity for our suffering – with the aid (which they give us) from their compassionate heart" Or, again from the *Taiheki*:⁴⁰ "If the moon of the softened light (*wakō*) still shines in the darkness of this world...."

The following passage, drawn from the same text, highlights clearly the hierarchy between "the original state" and "the descended trace": "Since the time when I left the capital of original awakening and of true thusness (*hongaku shinnyo no miyako*) and have descended as a trace which is the form of my existence in *wakō dōjin*"⁴¹ Taking its clue from the famous citation in the *Mo ho chih-kuan*, the *Gikeiki* explains:⁴² "*Wakō dōjin* is the first means for establishing a bond (*kechi-en*) between the Buddhas and living beings, the eight stages (*hassō jōdō*) of the life of the Buddha in this world constitute the ultimate means of the Buddha for saving living beings."

Already by the end of the Heian era, the idea of the divinities of

softened light had been introduced into an anthology of popular religious songs, the *Ryōjin hishō*.⁴³ Later, Saigyō Hōshi⁴⁴ also recited the famous passage from the *Maka shikan*, which was also taken up in various *Nō* plays.⁴⁵

These few examples suffice to demonstrate how much the idea of *wakō dōjin* was current and known in the middle age. Mujū illustrates and underlines this conception of kami as "hidden buddhas" in numerous stories and exegetic expositions which allow one to sometimes glimpse the beginning of an evolution that later affected the interdependence of the kami and *hotoke* (buddhas) in their respective positions – fixed and precise – within the conception of *honji-suijaku*, an evolution oriented toward a more independent position for the Japanese kami (and their nature); in other words, the passages cited below may constitute the first signs of an intermediary stage between the normal *honji-suijaku* and its inversion,⁴⁶ an inversion which gave kami precedence over the buddhas. Mujū, it is true, did not go this far. One such reevaluation of the kami is possibly suggested in the story of Kōken-bō⁴⁷ of Miidera temple; it is said that this monk was renowned for his erudition and for his knowledge of "esoteric and exoteric" doctrines, and that he had recourse to the kami in his efforts to escape from the cycle of transmigration (*samsāra*): "I have noted⁴⁸ the names of different kami, great and small, throughout the country, those of the capital as well as those of the most distant provinces, and I have installed them for veneration in this small room...."⁴⁹ In the cult rendered to them, however, by the classic Buddhist means such as the *Hannya-shingyō* and *dharani*,⁵⁰ Kōken-bō saw the unique path leading to deliverance; all other exercises were to be rejected in Japan.⁵¹

Although the buddhas are not directly dismissed, the emphasis on the fact that Japan is the country of the kami, and that, consequently, the veneration and cult of the kami must take predominant place in this country,⁵² seems to confirm the evolution mentioned above.

This view is corroborated by the story of the monk Gedatsu-bō,⁵³ who – sent by the divinity Hachiman to the sun-goddess Amaterasu at Ise – seeks the "thought of awakening" (*bodaishin*) with her aid and even makes the vow to be reborn as a Shintō priest in a later existence in order to praise the *hōben* of the kami.⁵⁴ The same is true of the story of En no Gyōja,⁵⁵ which demonstrates in a very clear manner that neither Shaka [Śākyamuni] nor Miroku [Maitreya] but only the *gongen* (*avatar*) Zaō is capable of guiding and saving beings in the time of *mappō*.⁵⁶ Because Japan is the country of the kami, it is not only appropriate to venerate the divinities "of softened light," but those divinities triumph – as to their efficacy – over their "original states," the buddhas:

"Just as the blue is bluer than the indigo tree from which it comes, what is more venerable than the Buddhas – from which they come – is precisely the benefits (*riyaku*) dispensed by the divinities of the softened light."⁵⁷

I am tempted to believe that one of the probable reasons for this strong emphasis on the role of the kami and for the importance of their veneration – to which I will return – is to some extent explained by Mujū's critical attitude toward the Jōdo sects which, together with *mikkyō* (esoteric Buddhism), arguably had the largest influence at the time. Mujū's emphasis on the necessity of seeking refuge with the kami (rather than with the buddhas) is, in one sense, a critique of certain opinions and attitudes of the Jōdo sects, which were at times hostile to the kami. The end of the first chapter of the *Shasekishū* provides us with precise information as to the situation of Jōdo Buddhism in the thirteenth century, which we do not have space to examine here. – We may simply point out that Mujū does not reject entirely the *nembutsu* sects all together, or himself doubt the validity of the *tariki* of Amida;⁵⁸ instead his criticisms are directed at the denial of other divinities and notably at the contempt of the kami such as is probably advocated at the time by highly enthusiastic adepts of the new Jōdo religion. These are the words of one of these followers: "You may curse me! How could a practitioner of Jōdo worry about divinities such as the kami? How could the kami be able to punish the pious practitioner who is in possession of the vast grace of Amida!"⁵⁹ All the other Buddhist divinities are rejected in the same manner as the kami were: "They (the followers of Jōdo) detest all other practices (than their own), all other sources of blessings (*zenkon*), and will even go so far as to despise the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas (other than Amida) and the Shintō divinities."⁶⁰

A brief inspection of some texts of the Jōdo sect will reveal, however, that this hostile attitude toward the kami⁶¹ is not in fact a constant trait of all of the Jōdo denominations;⁶² these texts offer instead an entire range of divergent attitudes, which one may divide roughly into two: (a) a positive attitude, represented by the Ji⁶³ sect (and by the monk Nichiren⁶⁴); (b) a frankly negative attitude adopted by the Shin sect. However, the latter's position is far from homogenous; among numerous texts,⁶⁵ there are some which – in certain passages – unconditionally reject the cult of the kami;⁶⁶ and others which, although in principle rejecting [the cult of the kami], nevertheless recognize their value as divinities protecting the adepts of Jōdo Buddhism.⁶⁷ Again, other texts make a distinction so that they accept the avatar kami (i.e., those which are [only] the manifestations of the buddhas according to the spirit of *honji-suijaku*), but reject the "true kami" (*jitsu-rui*; cf. *infra*).⁶⁸ Finally, another group is favorable to both sorts of kami.⁶⁹ It is not un-

usual to find these contradictory opinions in one and the same work,⁷⁰ or to find these divergences nuanced – as in the *Shojin hongai-shū* by Zonkaku – if not entirely dissolved in an interpretation of *honji-suijaku*⁷¹ specific to Jōdo.⁷²

Without going into all the problems and aspects posed by the attitude of Jōdo toward the kami, one may say that the few texts mentioned above do not necessarily reflect a clear opposition to the Shintō divinities, an opposition that would be the uniform characteristic of the *nembutsu* sects. Therefore, the complaint raised by Jōkyō in the *Kōfukuji-sōjō* against the “errors” of the Jōdo was probably directed toward only a fraction of its disciples. Deploring the fifth “error,” Jōkyō stipulates in that document:

The fifth error consists of turning one's back on the powerful kami. The adepts of *nembutsu* are forever separated from the kami. They make no distinction between (the kami of) a temporary form (*gonge*) and (those in their) real form (*jitsurui*), and they pay no respect to the great sanctuaries of the country of their ancestors. They say that whoever depends upon the kami necessarily falls into the world of the demons. I leave aside here the spirits and kami of lesser importance (*jitsurui no kijin*). However, the “traces” of the grand avatars are already Buddhas. The distinguished religious men of antiquity have all placed their confidence in them ... (Jōkyō cites Saichō, Chishō, Kōbō Daishi, etc.) Are all of these monks then inferior to Hōnen? Are these monks destined to fall into the world of the demons?⁷³

We find here again the distinction made between the real kami (spirits), namely those of nature, the spirits of plants and humans on the one hand, and, on the other, the kami who “manifest themselves temporarily,” who are the “traces” of the buddhas.⁷⁴ – From the point of view of Buddhism, only the latter are of importance.

The *Shasekishū* shows us that the kami are endowed by reason of their Buddhist affiliation with certain characteristics which we examine further below.

2. One of these qualities, or mental dispositions, which the kami expect of humans in the era of *mappō* is *dōshin* (*dōnen*): a pious spirit, aspiration for deliverance by the path of salvation. Very few beings are, in the time of *mappō*, animated by this spirit,⁷⁵ whose absence does not correspond to the will of the kami⁷⁶ (*shinryo*); the latter, on the contrary, are pleased when *dōshin* fills the hearts of beings.⁷⁷ All effort in religious practice ought to be directed to obtaining this spiritual state: “One should exert all one's strength in demanding the spirit of *dōshin*

while applying all practice to (the search for) awakening and while transferring the merits which follow [practice].⁷⁸

The eighth tale of the *Shasekishū* conveys very clearly how greatly the deities esteem the correct manner of thought; Eichō Sōzu,⁷⁹ a monk known for his erudition, asks the divinity of Kasuga⁸⁰ about difficult points in the doctrine of "mind only" (*yuishiki*⁸¹); throughout the dialogue with the monk the divinity refuses to show him his face, saying: "Because you lack *dōshin*, I will not allow you to see my face."⁸² According to another story in our text, during his retreat at Itsukushima, the only thing which Kōbō Daishi solicited of the divinity for the sake of people seeking *bodaishin*⁸³ (the thought of awakening [*bodhicitta*]) at the time of the decline of the dharma was *dōshin*.⁸⁴

Bodaishin is another key word in the didactic expositions of Muju. For its realization, people make pilgrimages to Itsukushima;⁸⁵ the saint of Mount Kasagi⁸⁶ takes himself to the Shintō deity Hachiman;⁸⁷ in a general manner, one may say that the kami rejoice in *bodaishin*⁸⁸ and that they value it more – since it is a necessary condition for the deliverance of living beings – than the preservation of temples, statues or the sacred texts of the dharma, of which they are however supposed to be the protectors. This is well attested by the story of the burning of Miidera, which was torched by the monks of Mount Hiei in 1081⁸⁹ so that "nothing remained at all of the buildings, the [meditation] cells, the statues or the sūtras, and the monks were dispersed throughout the countryside."⁹⁰ One among them takes himself to Shinra Myōjin, the protective deity of Miidera,⁹¹ who appears to him in a dream. The monk is astonished at the joyful appearance of the tutelary deity who in the monk's view should be grieving for the loss of his temple: "It is true that I do regret it! However, I am content that following this event there is at least a single monk of Miidera who has developed the true thought of awakening."⁹² Most of the important passages in this context define *bodai* by reference to the future life (*gose/goshō*). Instead of sympathizing with the consequences, however inevitable, of *inga*,⁹³ one should better request future awakening (*gose bodai*) or rebirth in paradise: "One should simply, in repenting one's spiritual state, and renouncing one's continuing crimes and transgressions, solicit awakening in the pure land."⁹⁴

Muju illustrates the importance of this attitude with the story of Shōshin Hōin.⁹⁵ Meeting the divinity Jūzen-ji⁹⁶ in a dream, this priest requested that he provide the means of properly caring for his poor mother. The words and appearance of the kami, previously kind, clouded over; he took on a mournful look, which only cleared up when the monk abandoned his request, and apologized, saying: "My mother will not live much longer. What can be done for her awakening in a future life?"

For that sole aim provide me your aid!⁹⁷

Exclusive and continued practice in view of developing such a spirit is in effect a condition *sine qua non* of rebirth in paradise (*ōjō*),⁹⁸ but it is also the foundation of security and of peace in this life (*genze*).⁹⁹ When one follows the path to salvation with this spirit, animated with the desire for *jōdo-bodai*, then the kami and buddhas will all naturally pity humans (*awaremi*).¹⁰⁰ The terms *jīhi* or *awaremi* constitute another remarkable aspect in the medieval portrait of the kami. The highest expression of the buddhas' compassion is their manifestation as Shintō divinities.¹⁰¹ *Jīhi* is the basis and supreme maxim for all of their actions and interventions in the world of living beings; compassion is in certain cases¹⁰² more important than attachment to traditional taboos: "I do not observe the taboos. What counts is compassion!"¹⁰³

Such is the oracle of the divinity of Yoshino transmitted through the mouth of a *miko* to the monk Jōkan-bō of Miwa.¹⁰⁴ The latter, soiled by contact with death¹⁰⁵ during his pilgrimage to Yoshino, no longer considered himself worthy to approach the sanctuary. – Similarly, the refusal of the divinity of Hiyoshi¹⁰⁶ to fulfill the profane (material/worldly) requests of Kanshun Sōzu¹⁰⁷ is explained as resulting from his divine compassion. By refusing, he averts the *sawari* (obstacles) to the path of liberation from unending bondage in lives and deaths which would be created by the realization of such profane desires. Following the wars in the Jōkyū era,¹⁰⁸ when the Shintō priests were disturbed by the presence of pregnant women and persons who had lost their parents (and who were thus likewise "impure") in the sanctuary of Atsuta Gongen,¹⁰⁹ the divinity pronounced an oracle, saying: "The reason for which I have descended from heaven to earth is to protect and to aid the people...."¹¹⁰

The need to understand the compassion underlying all of the actions, all the different attitudes adopted by the divinities, even if appearing incomprehensible at first glance, is one of Mujū's postulates.

It is the theory of *honji-suijaku* which renders possible the transfer of the virtue of compassion – originally an attribute of the buddhas and bodhisattvas¹¹¹ – to the kami. The *engi* ("histories of the origins") of *Shintōshū*¹¹² as well as the *otogi-sōshi*,¹¹³ and here more particularly, the *honjimonō* of the Muromachi era, go so far as to have the kami undergo all the sufferings of the human world.¹¹⁴

As *avatars* of the buddhas, the kami possess internally the light of supreme wisdom and manifest externally miraculous compassion.¹¹⁵

Having thus reviewed certain qualities of the kami – qualities which are characteristic of medieval Shintō – we will now examine, in a more general manner, the observations bearing on the "divine will" (*shinryo*).

We have previously noted the joy which the kami experience at the development of the thought of awakening, directed toward entry

into the path of the buddhas.¹¹⁶ For this reason those prayers concerning *gose-bodai* are in conformity with the intentions of the kami.¹¹⁷ When one groups together the passages dealing with *shinryo*, *honi*, *kokoro*, etc., one finds a sharp distinction between two complementary groups. To give a few examples:

1. Not transgressing the interdiction against killing (*sesshō*), observing, in conformity with the Buddhist doctrines, the practice of the rules of moral conduct (*kai*) and making offerings of the "taste of the dharma" by reciting the *Hannya-kyō*, are seen as truly in conformity with the divine will.¹¹⁸

One certainly conforms to the true intentions of the divinities by abandoning the former practices (i.e., Shintō rites) and by reciting sutras, as soon as one has grasped the teaching of the *honji-buddha*¹¹⁹ For this reason it is thus in conformity with the spirit of the Grand Sanctuary (=Amaterasu at Ise) to believe sincerely in the path of the Buddha and to practice his dharma.¹²⁰

2. I do not think that requesting material benefits from the divinities is in accord with their intention (*shinryo*).¹²¹ Truly venerable is the nature (*kokoro*) of the kami, which makes them deplore that the hearts of living beings are attached to the things of this world (*konze*), and feel joy at the spirit of devotion (*dōshin*).¹²² Having grasped well the spirit of the kami, one must not therefore request from them insignificant things having to do with the present life.¹²³

The examples given above prove – which is not astonishing – how much the kami are in their manner of thought tributaries of Buddhism; they also show that it is the practice of the dharma which is in conformity with their intentions, with their spirit. This explains why Mujū criticizes those whose thoughts are turned toward the present world, and who seek to obtain immediate profits (*genze riyaku*). Indeed, this attitude does not conform properly to the will of the kami.¹²⁴

Mujū elaborates this criticism of a secular ideology in the commentaries to numerous stories which illustrate – through the actions and words of the kami – the same hostile attitude toward this world. This anti-secular ideology toward which many of the preceding citations relating to *bodaishin*, to *dōshin*, etc., ultimately pointed, finds its justification in the traditional Buddhist conception of the world; according to this conception, this world is indeed but a passing dream, a futile illusion¹²⁵ which, if the circumstances of the present life are unpleasant, is not worth complaining about.¹²⁶

Since on the one hand the present situation of a person is determined by the causal law of *īnga* – a law against which divinities (Shintō as well as Buddhist) themselves can do nothing¹²⁷ – it is senseless to request immediate benefits from the kami.¹²⁸ On the other hand, it is

difficult to simultaneously nourish aspirations for this world and the other:

When one holds in one's heart efforts concerning both the present life and the future life, and one puts [such efforts] into practice, this is something difficult to achieve.... Those who are truly concerned for their ulterior life feel no joy in the (material) things of this life, which is illusory, like a dream.¹²⁸

Instead of devoting oneself to the vain things of this world, one should devoutly request benefits related only to the future life (*myō no eki*).¹³⁰

These latter observations of the author, as well as the contents of the stories attest that the anti-secular ideology reinforces the very strong insistence on the notion of *gose*, the future life; thus it effaces the traditional division of functions between kami and buddhas, which allots to them the here-below and the beyond.¹³¹ By reason of the Buddhist affiliation of the kami, the questions of *gose-bodai* belong quite naturally to their jurisdiction; by the same logic of things, not only do the kami reject all demands for material benefits – knowing that such concerns constitute obstacles on the path to deliverance¹³² – but they are not themselves capable of realizing these benefits, as is attested by the story of a poor monk of Mount Hiei: this priest – despite his having made urgent prayers to obtain concrete benefits (*mono wo matsu kokoro*)¹³³ – was only accorded a meditation cell hotter than the one he had had previously.

Although this powerlessness of the divinities before the prayers from this world seems also to confirm, in light of the exegesis of other stories, the anti-secular current already mentioned in the first chapter of the *Shasekishū*,¹³⁴ one must, however, take into account the fact that it is finally his own *karma* which prevents the amelioration of the monk's condition in the tale summarized above. Certainly there are a number of allusions which advocate, for example, that with the true spirit of awakening the present life will also be assured,¹³⁵ or which underline the importance of having confidence in the *hōben* [expedients] of the divinities. These expedients will insure that, "in the present life one's desires to be free from afflictions will be realized, and in the future life one will attain inalterable illumination."¹³⁶ However, the predominant element is clearly the anti-secular character of the stories;¹³⁷ indeed, even the different examples dealing with *riyaku* (benefits, marks of favor given both by the buddhas, *honji*, and by the kami, *suijaku*)¹³⁸ lend themselves to such a view, or at least do not constitute positive proof permitting one to see in them definite allusions to immediate material benefits.¹³⁹

After having thus passed in review certain characteristics of the period as they appear in Mujū's didactic and descriptive language, let us now examine more closely the manner of the kami's intervention in this world, or, in other words, how they come to the aid of human beings. This question leads us to the last keyword, *hōben*: expedients of the compassion of Shintō and Buddhist divinities.

3. The expedients can appear in very different forms. First of all, to repeat, the existential forms of the buddhas as *wakō no shinmei* (divinities whose light is softened) are already a *hōben* destined to facilitate people in *mappō* gaining access to true Buddhism.¹⁴⁰ Since "without benefit of an extraordinary causal connection (*shōen*; here the appearance of the buddhas as kami) it is very difficult to separate oneself from the circle of *samsara*."¹⁴¹

The expedients used by the buddhas and their *avatars* are not always easy to comprehend in the time of *mappō*,¹⁴² they do not follow a fixed order, but vary according to the country and to the receptivity of beings.¹⁴³ In Japan the *hōben* are perceived more easily than the "distant" (less direct) efficacy of the buddhas; the *hōben* are familiar and close to people,¹⁴⁴ and stem from the compassion of the buddhas and kami.¹⁴⁵

There follow some of the stories of the *Shasekishū* which reveal in concrete form the workings of *hōben*. We find at the beginning of the *Shasekishū* the story of the pact concluded between the Sun-Goddess Amaterasu ("trace" of the Buddha Dai-Nichi [i.e., Mahāvairocana]) and the king Deva-Māra (Dai Māō);¹⁴⁶ Japanese Buddhism depends entirely upon this expedient.¹⁴⁷

The establishment of a particular hell – mentioned in the story of the priest Shōen¹⁴⁸ – apparently conveys the quite "Buddhist" objective of the kami's *hōben*: those who are sent to this hell attached to the sanctuary of Kasuga are those who – however great may be their offences – have in some way or other been in contact with the law. Appearing in his "original state" as Jizō,¹⁴⁹ Kasuga Dai Myōjin not only contributes to lightening the sufferings of those who have fallen into the path of the demons (*madō*), but as soon as those damned have recovered a correct way of thinking (*shōnen*), the divinity reads sutras and recites *dhāraṇīs* to them. By the force of the merits thus produced, the sinners gradually rise to liberation.¹⁵⁰ Likewise, the explication of the sutras of the Perfection of Wisdom (aimed at the learned, *gakushō*) turns out to be a wonderful expedient (*imijiki hōben*) of this divinity.¹⁵¹

Such particular hells, places of spiritual reeducation, are not found solely beneath Kasuga, but also for example near the sanctuary of Hiyoshi, where monks of "the Mountain" (i.e., Hieiizan), having become *tengu*,¹⁵² progress gradually, through the grace of divine *hōben* (though

which divinity is not specified), toward liberation from this world of illusion (*shutsuri*).¹⁵³

Besides the ordinary Buddhist means, in their Shintō manifestations the buddhas also utilized Shintō means to produce *hōben*, as for example accepting animal offerings, as is recounted in a story of the divinity of Itsukushima in the country of Aki:

These people, who, ignorant of the law of causality, kill without proper reflection and who will thus have difficulty leaving the round of *samsara*, alleviate their sin by their (laudable) intention to make offerings and transfer their sins to me. From the causal bond (*innen*) of having made an offering of fish to me – fish whose lifespan allotted by *karma* had come to an end and who are thus destined to perish shortly without benefit to anyone – I make a *hōben* owing to which they will enter the path of Buddhism.¹⁵⁴

Mujū gives the following commentary:

The Buddhas (or Dai Nichi) having prescribed the offerings to the *kami* (i.e., *matsuru*) as an expedient by which beings could oblige the Buddhas and practice the Dharma in those times when the letter of the Dharma was yet unknown in Japan, and when people ignored the law of causality and the retribution of actions, have gradually made it an expedient in service to Buddhism.¹⁵⁵

The usual form (this story being only one of those from which supporting passages could be cited) of communication between divinities and humans is that of the *jigen*, a divine revelation, often given at the time of a retreat (*sanrō*) at a sanctuary and accompanied by a dream.¹⁵⁶ Unless a divinity speaks directly to humans – or personally comes to meet one¹⁵⁷ – communication is by means of an oracle (*takusen*),¹⁵⁸ through the mouth of a medium (*miko*).¹⁵⁹ The story of an *ajari*¹⁶⁰ at Kumano who fell in love with a young girl arriving on pilgrimage provides a good example of a *hōben* in the form of a beneficent dream. The monk actually sees thirteen years of his life beside the young girl, with whom he even has a son, whom they suddenly lose, however, at the age of thirteen. Apparently the dream attacks a false *Weltanschauung* which lost sight of the ephemeral character, illusory and temporal, of all things of this world:

All of life does not last any longer than a short sleep! As he thought about it closely, he said to himself: even if he had attained his goal

and had enjoyed pleasure and prosperity, it would have been nothing more than an ephemeral dream. Even if there should be joy (in this life), there would also be sorrow. Seeing that there was no meaning (in attaching oneself to this life), he went back to Kumano and practiced Buddhism there. All this was probably the effect of the divinity's *hōben* (*wakō no hōben*).¹⁶¹

In this example, as in other stories, the *hōben*, although different in their form and application, aim at leaving this world and searching for deliverance (*shutsuri*).

In this summary examination of the theory known as *honji-suijaku* and of the notion of *wakō-dōjin*, we have defined the Shintō kami (*shinmei*) as avatars of the buddhas. Without prejudging the fact that the particular nature of the kami and their distinctive role in Japan have sometimes been very strongly accentuated by Mujū – which possibly shows the beginning of an intermediate stage tending toward the inversion of the relation between *honji* and *suijaku* – the divinities of the Kamakura era were “Buddhist kami,” by reason of their perceived affinity with the buddhas on the level of character and function. In their thinking and their virtues they are reliant on the traditional values of Buddhism, such as *jihi*, *bodaishin*, *dōshin*, etc.

In Japan veneration of such kami is inscribed within the framework of the efforts directed toward liberation from *samsara*; *hōben* used with that aim in mind by the divinities must help to develop the “thought of awakening” (*bodaishin*) and to orient people toward the future life (*gose*). This existential orientation toward the beyond conforms with the will of the kami (*shinryo*), who consequently evade requests for material benefits. Hostile on principle to the search for gains in this world, the kami assist by their *hōben* only those who seek detachment from this dreamlike world.¹⁶² Recognizing the illusory character of the world, which is essentially “empty,” opens the path to deliverance.¹⁶³

The importance attached to the notion of *bodaishin*, and the significance of the future life is perhaps somewhat explained by the spirit of the age, that is to say, by the idea of *mappō*. This idea had indeed paved the way at the end of the Heian era for the reform movements within Buddhism. It is however very difficult to know for what reason the Buddhist priest Mujū emphasized to such a degree the position of the Shintō divinities in Japan. Endowed with a vast Buddhist erudition,¹⁶⁴ Mujū mentions, at times with a critical tone, the various doctrines of his era, while apparently leaning toward Shingon.¹⁶⁵ The Buddhism of Mujū,¹⁶⁶ as far as one can already judge, is an eclectic Buddhism;¹⁶⁷ the Shintō-Buddhist syncretism which he outlines in his stories is also to be understood as a criticism of Jōdō Buddhism, which

disputed with *mikkyō* at that time for influence over the people.¹⁶⁸ The *honji-suijaku* ideology such as had been developed by *mikkyō* to explain and interpret Shintō in terms of which we have seen some of the elements above, was also a criticism of certain aspects of the exclusive belief in Amida. As Nichiren and Ippen did in their own way, *mikkyō* too used the logic and theory of *honji-suijaku* in its missionary activities for propagating the law.¹⁶⁹ This is made very clear in the story which speaks of a particular hell in which the kami themselves preach and explain the buddha law.

This phenomenon, seen in light of the characteristics already cited, marks a considerable change in the nature of the Japanese kami occurring at the threshold of the "medieval" period:¹⁷⁰ the kami lose their distinctive character, are deprived of their particularity in comparison with the buddhas, to reappear, henceforth stronger, as *gongen* of the latter. Mujū presents them to us as such in his *Shasekishū*. The question of knowing how in this text the descriptive part (the "spirit of the age") is proportionate to the didactic and religious intentions held by this monk¹⁷¹ is fully dependent upon a careful examination of the structure and the character of the whole *Shasekishū*,¹⁷² and thus goes far beyond the modest goal we proposed to treat here.

Notes

¹ [Tr. This essay originally appeared in the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* (Annales du Musée Guimet, Presses Universitaires de France) vol. CLXXXII-I (1972), pp. 3-28. Not only does this essay survey important aspects of the religious culture of Kamakura Japan as found in the literature of the period, but it demonstrates the relatively early date at which European scholarship recognized the virtual unity of Buddhism and Shintō in pre-Meiji Japan. Following on this essay, in 1979 Hartmut O. Rotermond published a translation of the *Shasekishū*: *Collection de sable et de pierres-Shasekishū (traduction, préface et commentaires)*, Connaissance de l'Orient, collection UNESCO d'oeuvres représentatives. Paris: Gallimard. I wish to again express my appreciation to Prof. Rotermond for allowing me to translate this important essay into English and to the late Michel Strickmann for initially suggesting the value of this undertaking.]

² [Tr. I would also like to express my deep appreciation to Bernard Faure, as well as to the author and to Christiane Buchet for assisting with the translation.]

³ 1226-1312, monk of the Rinzaï branch of Zen, born in Owari. For his life, cf. J. Washio, *Zōtei saihan Nihon Bukke jinmei jisho* (Tokyo, 1966),

- p. 10. Also cf. Ts. Watanabe (comm.), *Shasekishū Kaisetsu* (*Nihon Koten bungaku taikei*[NKBTK] 85), p. 38 sq.
- ⁴ Cf. for a partial translation—to our knowledge the only one in existence—the Ph.D. dissertation of R. E. Morrell, *Representative Translations and Summaries from the Shasekishū with Commentary and Critical Introduction*, University of Washington, 1969. [Ed. Morrell's work has since been published in a revised and expanded version as *Sand and Pebbles (Shasekishū): The Tales of Mujū Ichien, A Voice for Pluralism in Kamakura Buddhism* Albany: State University of New York Press, 1985.]
- ⁵ For example, Ts. Kurano *Shasekishū no kakari-joshi /zo/ /namu/ /koso/ ni tsuite* (= *Yasuda joshi daigaku kokugo kokubun ron-shū*, no. 1); Ts. Watanabe, *Shasekishū shohon no oboegaki* (= *Kokugo to kokubungaku*, Shōwa, 16–10); T. Fujii, *Kōbon Shasekishū no shinshutsu koshahon ni tsuite* (*Tezuka yama tanki daigaku kiyō* 3, Shōwa, 40–12); T. Kondō, *Shasekishū ni okeru kō-ryaku no imi* (= *Gobun* 8, Sh. 35–5, *Nihon daigaku*).
- ⁶ For example, T. Terajima, *Shasekishū no kenkyū-Mujū Hōshi no shisō ni tsuite* (= *Jissen bungaku* 5, Sh. 33–10); K. Osumi, *Mujū no shisō to buntai* (= *Nihon Bungaku*, Sh. 36–3, *Nihon bungaku kyōkai*); K. Miki, *Mujū shō ron* (= *Kokugo to kokubungaku*, Sh. 37–10); and by the same author, *Mujū no shutsuji* (= *Shizuoka joshi tanki daigaku kenkyū kiyō* 13, Sh. 42–3).
- ⁷ K. Yanase, *Shasekishū to San-koku den-ki* (= *Kyōdo bunka* 4–2, Sh. 24–3); M. Fujiwara, *Tsurezuregusa to Shasekishū* (= *Nihon Bungaku*, Sh. 37–11); N. Fujimoto, *Shōbō genzō zuimon-ki to Shasekishū* (= *Kanazawa bijutsu kōgei daigaku gaku-hō* 14, Sh. 45–7); S. Kido, *Sasamegoto ni oyoboshita Shasekishū no eikyō* (= *Bukkyō bungaku kenkyū*, vol. 5, 1967). The *Shasekishū* may just as well be classified in either of two genres, the religious *setsuwa* (Buddhist) and the profane *setsuwa*. On this question cf. Osumi, op. cit. p. 203.
- ⁸ Cf. for example, N. Fujimoto, *Shasekishū konpaku setsuwa-kō* (= *Kaishaku* 16–7, Sh. 45–7); Sh. Yamada, *Chūsei setsuwa ni mieru bungeikan* (= *Buzan gaku-hō*, Sh. 36–3); T. Nakagawa, *Waka dharani no setsu* (= *Hiroshima daikagu Kokubungaku-kō* 20, Sh. 33–11); K. Manabe, *Shasekishū ni arawaretaru Jizō bosatsu no kenkyū* (= *Hasse* 94/95, Sh. 10–7/8); Terada, *Kairitsu shisō yori mitaru Shasekishū* (= *Bukkyō bunka*, Sh. 13–2); E. Suzuki, *Shasekishū ni okeru shinbutsu shūgō shisō* (= *Taishō daigaku gaku-hō*, Sh. 25–6).
- ⁹ The *Shasekishū* comprises *setsuwa* and long doctrinal expositions, thus approaching the literary genre of the *hōgō*: preaching texts.
- ¹⁰ That still considering the tentative defining of the character, the nature and the functions of the *kami*.

- ¹¹ This theory interprets the Shintō deities (*kami*) as the "traces," the manifestations (*suijaku*) of the Buddha on earth, while the latter, being the "original states" (*suijaku*), are primary. For detailed inquiries into this question, cf. K. Oyama, *Shinbutsu kōshō-shi*, Kōyasan daigaku, 1944; Sh. Murayama, *Shinbutsu shūgō shichō* (= *Sara sōsho* 6), Kyoto, 1964.
- ¹² Cf. *Nihongi*, chap. 21., p. 154 (NKBTK 68); cf. also chapters 2 to 5 in Oyama, op. cit.
- ¹³ Cf. *Kiyomizu-dera engi*, cited in Oyama, op. cit. p. 210.
- ¹⁴ Among other measures, the local Shintō deities were elevated to the grade of protectors of temples constructed throughout the country: Sannō Gongen, who figures as the divine protector of Mount Hiei (Enryaku-ji), Hachiman of Tōdai-ji, and Shinra Myōjin of Miidera. Thus, with the *kami* as proteges, the Buddhist dharma flourished—as expressed by Mujū (10/-2).
- ¹⁵ For an example at the beginning of the Middle Ages, cf. the act of donation addressed by Ō-Nakatomi Tokisada to the Daifuku-ji, and in which it is stated that the *kami* and the buddhas are in no way different. Cf. Oyama, op. cit., p. 250.
- ¹⁶ The references which follow are given by reference to the page and line (counting the left as negative [-] and the right as positive [+]) in the edition of Ts. Watanabe, *Kōhon Shasekishū*, Tokyo, 1943: 22/+7.
- ¹⁷ 6/+5
- ¹⁸ 16/+5
- ¹⁹ Thus an *ajari* of Kumano, in love with the daughter of a *jitō* (territorial administrator), who was making his annual pilgrimage to this sacred site, addressed the *honzon* and the *gongen* to demand their aid in putting an end to his desire (23/+5). Being identical with the Buddha, the *kami* are the recipients of the questions and uncertainties concerning the Buddhist doctrines (*hōmon*). For examples, see: 12/+3; 16/+3,4.
- ²⁰ 21/+2.
- ²¹ *Hōben* (Skt.: *upaya*): means by which the Buddhist and Shinto divinities guide beings to the path of awakening (*bodai*; Skt.: *bodhi*).
- ²² 5/-7.
- ²³ And they both are touched by pity for one pursuing the path of the Buddha (*butsudō*) with the spirit of awakening (*bodai-shin*, 20/-7).
- ²⁴ 10/+2.
- ²⁵ 10/-6.
- ²⁶ 8/+4.
- ²⁷ For this idea of *shin-koku*, cf. T. Kuroda, *Chūsei kokka to shin-koku shisō* (*Nihon Shūkyō-shi kōza*, vol. 1, *Kokka to shūkyō*), Tokyo, 1959,

p. 63 et seq.

²⁸ 8/+6.

²⁹ "Wakō koso shobutsu no jihi no kiwame nare" (8/-4).

³⁰ 10/+1.

³¹ Cf. also M. Shibata, *Wakō dōjin—Chūsei shintō no kihon kannen Chūsei minkan shinkō no kenkyū*, p. 179, Tokyo, 1966.

³² Cf. *Rōshi Sōshijō*-hen, p. 17 sq., chapter "Mugen" (*Shinshaku Kanbun taikei* 7, Tokyo, 1966).

³³ "Sono hikari wo yawarage, sono chiri ni dōzu." "Sono" (*ch'i*) is interpreted as referring to the "ten thousand things" (*banbutsu*); cf. op cit., p. 18.

³⁴ Cf. also Shibata, op. cit., p. 180.

³⁵ Ibid., p. 180.

³⁶ Cf. Sh. Sekiguchi (ed.), *Maka shikan—Zen no shiso genri ge-kan* (Iwanami Bunko, Tokyo, 1969), p. 57.

³⁷ For examples (*Nehan-gyō*, etc.), cf. Oda, *Bukkyō dai jiten*, p. 1852, T. 1969, and Mochizuki, *Bukkyō dai jiten*, (Tokyo: 1960), vol. v, p. 5086.

³⁸ "The original state' (*honji*) of Kumano is Amida. In keeping with *wakō dōjin*, he manifests himself as the *kami* in order to promote *nembutsu*" (NKBTk 83, *Kana hōgo-shū*, p. 146). Cf. the other citations in Mochizuki, op cit., p. 5086, and Oyama, op. cit., p. 249 (with a passage drawn from the *Dai Jingū sankei-ki*).

³⁹ NKBTk, p. 58 sq.

⁴⁰ NKBTk, *Taiheki* I, p. 168.

⁴¹ Ibid., vol. III, p. 345.

⁴² NKBTk, p. 289.

⁴³ NKBTk, p. 349, no. 38; cf. also *Enkyoku shū* II/p. 61 (*Chūsei kinsei kayō-shū*, NKBTk).

⁴⁴ In his *Sanka-shū*, p. 160 (NKBTk)

⁴⁵ For example, *Aridōshi*, p. 323; *Yōkyoku-shū jō-kan* (NKBTk).

⁴⁶ The complete inversion of *honjisuijaku*, in changing the roles by which the *kami* appear as the *honji* of the buddhas, is attested for example in the *Taiheiki*, ch. 16, p. 166 (NKBTk, *Taihiki*, vol. II). For a brief note regarding this phenomenon, cf. also T. Tamamuro, *Shasekishū wo tsūjite mitaru Kamakura makki no shūkyō* p. 18 (*Koten kenkyū*, Sh. 12-2); Suzuki, op cit.

⁴⁷ Kōken-bō (?-1193), of the Minamoto family.

⁴⁸ This is one of the premier examples of the veneration of a divinity by writing its name (in a *maṇḍala*?). This custom, which reveals the inspiration of a conception of the *maṇḍala* proper to esoteric Buddhism (*mikkyō*), is known particularly in the Nichiren sect and the importance of the *maṇḍala* bearing the name of the *Lotus Sutra* Cf. also Oyama, op cit., 211.

⁴⁹ 7/-6.

⁵⁰ *Dharaṇi* ("bearer") designates the magical formulae employed in the rites of *mikkyō*.

⁵¹ 71/-6.

⁵² "Kono hoka no honzon wo tazuneba, kaerite kannō no michi wa hedachinu beshi" (8/+7).

⁵³ Cf. *infra*, n. 86.

⁵⁴ In the case of Ise, the sun goddess has even provided for a particular place for the realization of *ōjō*: rebirth in the Pure Land (=paradise), 6/+3.

⁵⁵ According to tradition, En no Gyōja, the ascetic En, was the founder of the practices and rites of the *yamabushi* (mountain ascetics) which together with the beliefs is called *Shugendō*. For more detail, cf. G. Renondeau, *Le Shugendō, histoire, doctrines et rites des anachorètes dits yamabushi* (Cahiers de la Soc. Asiatique, XVIII), Paris, 1965; H. O. Rotermund, *Die Yamabushi—Aspekte ihres Glaubens, Lebens und ihrer sozialen Funktion im japanischen Mittelalter* (Monographien zur Völkerkunde, vol. 5), Hamburg, 1968, and also Sh. Murayama, *Yamabushi no rekishi* (Hanawa sen-sho 71), Tokyo, 1970.

⁵⁶ "This is just the beneficial manifestation (form or appearance: *nō-ke*) for our country...." (10/+5). *Mappō*, the third of the three periods following the death of the Buddha, is, in Buddhist cosmology, a period of decadence, during which the Law is in decline. For the Japanese, *mappō* (or *matsu-dai*) had commenced around the eleventh century.

⁵⁷ 10/-4. Cf. also the proverb: *ao wa ai yori idete ai yori aoshi* (Suzuki/Hirota, eds., *Koji kotowaza jiten*, p. 4, Tokyo, 1966).

⁵⁸ I.e., the "other power" (of Amida) who has made the vow to save all those who invoke his name in the *nenbutsu* ("Namu Amida Butsu").

⁵⁹ 26/+4.

⁶⁰ 27/-5.

⁶¹ Kuroda, *Chūsei kokka to shinkoku shisō*, p. 68, goes so far as to see in *jingi fuhai*, irreverence regarding the *kami*, one of the characteristics of the religious history of the medieval period.

⁶² Cf. particularly on this subject Kitanishi, *Chūsei no minkan shūkyō*, p. 92 ff. (Nihon Shūkyō-shi kōza, vol. III, *Shūkyō to minshū seikatsu*, Tokyo, 1959).

⁶³ For the attitude of Ippen and of the Ji sect toward the *kami*, cf. also Tamura, *Nihon Bukkyō-shisō-shi kenkyū, jōdo-kyō hen*, p. 401 ff., Kyoto, 1964.

⁶⁴ Nichiren chiefly emphasized the role of the *kami* as being the protectors of Japan.

⁶⁵ These texts are cited in Kitanishii, *op cit.*, p. 93 ff.

⁶⁶ Thus, for example, in the *Senjaku hongan nenbutsu-shū* (one of the

classics of the Shin sect), the *Nenbutsu ōjō-shū*, *Kyōgyō-shin-shū*, etc. Cf. Kitanishi, op. cit.

⁶⁷ For example in the *Jimyō-shō*, *Anjin-shō* (ibid.).

⁶⁸ Such examples are found in the *Genze riyaku wasan*, *Tanishō*, *Jōdo hōmon kenmon-shō* (ibid.).

⁶⁹ In the *Hajaken shōshō* of Zonkaku.

⁷⁰ Cf. in detail Oyama, op. cit., 218.

⁷¹ I.e., that all the *kami* are avatars of the buddhas, who are themselves fundamentally united in the single Buddha Amida.

⁷² Cf. also Oyama, op. cit., pp. 255–6, and T. Katō, *Minkan shinkō-shi*, pp. 401–2, Tokyo, 1925.

⁷³ Text in the *Kamakura kyō bukkyō*, p. 35 (= *Nihon Shisō taikēi*, Iwanami Shoten).

⁷⁴ Another classification, influenced by Chinese ideas, divides the *kami* into three: *ten*, *chi* and *jin*. Cf. Oyama, op. cit., p. 226.

⁷⁵ 25/7.

⁷⁶ 5/+6.

⁷⁷ 20/+6.

⁷⁸ 17/+7.

⁷⁹ Eichō Sōzu, monk of the Hossō sect (? to 1095) For his career and life, cf. Washio, op. cit., p. 66.

⁸⁰ Kasuga Dai Myōjin, a general name for the group of four divinities (Takemikazuchi, Futsunushi, Ame no Koyane, Himegami) venerated in the sanctuary of Kasuga jinja—ancestral sanctuary of the Fujiwara—at Nara. The founding of the sanctuary dates from 763. Cf. also Anzu/Umeda, *Shintō jiten* (Tokyo, 1968), p. 20.

⁸¹ *Yuishiki* or *yuishin*, the “mind-only,” is the central notion of the Hossō sect, which maintains that the exterior world, all of the phenomena, are illusory, imagined by our spirits, and have only a temporary existence as the products of our thought.

⁸² 16/+7.

⁸³ *Bodai* is the state of deliverance when thought is liberated from all bonds and from all passions.

⁸⁴ 20/-1.

⁸⁵ 20/-3.

⁸⁶ Kasagi no Shōnin, also called Gedatsu-bō; such is the name of the monk Jōkyō (Teikyō according to Washio, op. cit., 833), 1155 to 1213, of the Hossō sect. He is one of the reformers of the older Buddhism, against the advance of the new sects of the Kamakura period, and the author of many works, such as the *Kōfukuji-sōjō*, mentioned above.

⁸⁷ 5/-2.

⁸⁸ 17/+5.

⁸⁹ The central temple of the Jimon branch of the Tendai sect was burned—

as part of the quarrels which followed the rupture with Enryakuji, in 993—in 1081 by the warrior monks of the mountain, i.e., Hieizan. Cf. also G. Renondeau, *Histoire des moines guerriers du Japon* (Bibliothèque de l'Institut des hautes études chinoises, vol. XI, Paris, 1957, pp. 178, and 207-8.

⁹⁰ 16/-3.

⁹¹ The continental origin which is revealed by his name can probably be explained by the fact that Miidera was established at first as an ancestral (family) temple of an immigrant family in the region of Otsu. Cf. Anzu/Umeda, op. cit., p. 469.

⁹² 17/+2.

⁹³ *Inga (hetu-phala)*: principle of the causality of acts and their consequences.

⁹⁴ 18/-1.

⁹⁵ Monk of the Tendai sect, 1204 (?) to ?.

⁹⁶ One of the seven divinities of the sanctuary at Hiyoshi (Otsu), *Hiyoshi shichi-sha* or *Sannō shichi-sha* at the foot of Mount Hiei of which they are said to be the protectors.

⁹⁷ 20/+3.

⁹⁸ 19/-4.

⁹⁹ 17/+8.

¹⁰⁰ 20/-6.

¹⁰¹ 8/-4.

¹⁰² 13/+6.

¹⁰³ 11/-2.

¹⁰⁴ The dates of the life of this monk (of the Shingon sect?) are not known.

¹⁰⁵ He had, in fact, assisted helpless children, whom he encountered alongside the road, and performed funereal services for their mother, who had died of *waroki yamai*, which is a repugnant malady (the plague?). Cf. *Shasekishū* (11/+4). [Ed.: See H. O. Rotermund, tr., *Collection de sable et de pierres-Shasekishū*, p. 50; also, Morrell, Robert, tr., *Sand and Pebbles (Shasekishū)* (Albany, New York: State University of New York Press, 1985), pp. 81-2.]

¹⁰⁶ Cf. supra, n. 96.

¹⁰⁷ Kanshun (978 to 1057), monk of Enryakuji on Mt. Hiei.

¹⁰⁸ Jōkyū no ran: the troubles of the Jōkyū era, which in 1221 came up with the attempt by the Retired Emperor (*jōō*) Go Toba to overthrow the Hōjō *bakufu*.

¹⁰⁹ The sanctuary of Atsuta at Nagoya, where one of the three emblems of the Imperial house, the sword of Susanoo (*Kusanagi no tsurugi*), is venerated.

¹¹⁰ 13/+6. And, as a consequence in the present case the taboos should not be observed.

- ¹¹¹ Cf. for example Oda, op. cit., p. 1059 ff., and Sh. Watanabe, *Nihon no bukkyō* (= *Iwanami Shinsho* 299, Tokyo, 1962), p. 52 ff.
- ¹¹² Collection (in ten *maki*) of the histories concerning the origin of about fifty sanctuaries of Japan, probably compiled around the fourteenth century (1358?) in the Agui monastery, Kyoto. Based upon diverse materials orally transmitted since the Heian era, the *Shintōshū* is one of the main sources for the study of medieval Shintō.
- ¹¹³ *Otogi-sōshi* is the name given to the popular tales from the Muromachi era. Difficult to date, these tales (the authors of which are generally unknown) treat, among other things, monks, animals, demons, and—not the least part—the *honji* ("original states") of the Japanese *kami*. For details, see T. Ichiko, *Chūsei shō-setsu no kenkyū*, Tokyo, 1962.
- ¹¹⁴ Shibata ("Shujō yōgo no shintō," in *Chūsei minkan shinkō no kenkyū*) has observed, in this context, that certain pieces of *jōruri*, take up the tradition of *honji-mono*, expressed in the idea of a *mi-gawari* (substitute, replacement) on the part of the divinities, that is the notion that they undergo sufferings, blessings, etc., in place of human beings (op. cit., p. 196). References to this belief are found already in the first collection of *setsuwa*, the *Nihon Ryōiki*, which dates from the beginning of the ninth century.
- ¹¹⁵ 14/+8.
- ¹¹⁶ 17/+5.
- ¹¹⁷ 19/+3.
- ¹¹⁸ 21/-4.
- ¹¹⁹ 22/+4.
- ¹²⁰ 5/+4.
- ¹²¹ 17/+5.
- ¹²² 20/+6.
- ¹²³ 20/-6.
- ¹²⁴ 5/+5.
- ¹²⁵ 19/+2.
- ¹²⁶ 20/+3.
- ¹²⁷ 17/18.
- ¹²⁸ 17/+6. This is expressed in the terms *mi no koto, mono wo matsu* (17/-6, 17/-4), *myōri wo omou-bekarazu* (16/-6).
- ¹²⁹ 20/+7.
- ¹³⁰ 19/-3.
- ¹³¹ Cf. the *Kazen-ki* (or *Kazen Nikki*) cited by Kitanishi, op. cit., p. 109.
- ¹³² Cf. 19/-7, 19/-6.
- ¹³³ 17/-4.
- ¹³⁴ Cf. also Suzuki, op. cit., p. 71, for an analogous observation.
- ¹³⁵ 17/-8.
- ¹³⁶ 5/-5.

¹³⁷ The stories which emphasize erudition and the study of the law seem to confirm this. If done without a spirit of piety (*dōshin*), even the greatest erudition and efforts to study the law end up in falling into hell (*madō*), as is illustrated by the example of Shōen Sōzu.

¹³⁸ "Addressing one's requests to the Buddhas and the *kami* is not useless, even if there is no revelation! In some manner they think of the worries of beings" (19/-4).

¹³⁹ Despite the fact that basically *honji* and *suijaku* are identical, there are, however, some nuances, some momentary differences in their actions of grace (*riyaku*): *ki ni nozomu riyaku shibaraku shō-retsu arubeshi* (10/+2); but here also it is not a matter of profane benefits.

¹⁴⁰ 5/-6.

¹⁴¹ 7/-8.

¹⁴² 21/-8.

¹⁴³ 7/-5.

¹⁴⁴ 5/-6.

¹⁴⁵ 10/-5.

¹⁴⁶ Cf., regarding this pact, Schneider, "Der Pakt zwischen Amaterasu and Deva Māra," in *Nachrichten der Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens*, no. 98, Hamburg, 1965.

¹⁴⁷ 3/-5.

¹⁴⁸ Disciple of Jōkyō.

¹⁴⁹ More exactly, Jizō is considered as the *Honji-butsu* of the third (Ame no Koyane) of the four divinities (sanctuaries) of Kasuga. [Tr.: Cf. Allan G. Grapard, *The Protocol of the Gods: A Study of the Kasuga Cult in Japanese History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), pp. 84-7; Royall Tyler, *The Miracles of the Kasuga Deity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), pp. 120-2. Re. the lack of consistent identification between Jizō and Ame-no-koyane, see Susan C. Tyler, *The Cult of Kasuga Seen Through Its Art* (Michigan Monograph Series in Japanese Studies, no. 8. Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, The University of Michigan, 1992), pp. 91-5.]

¹⁵⁰ 15/+3.

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

¹⁵² For a detailed examination of these demons, cf. de Visser, "The Tengu," in *TASJ*, vol. 36, 2nd series, 1908, reprinted Tokyo, 1964; and also H.O. Rotermund, *Die Yamabushi*, pp. 190-210.

¹⁵³ 15/-8.

¹⁵⁴ 21/+6.

¹⁵⁵ 22/+3. However, it is worth more, according to Mujō, to abandon traditional practices, and to offer, in keeping with the divine spirit (22/+4), "the taste of the Law" (*hōmi* = sutra recitation).

¹⁵⁶ 5/-2 ff.; 12/-4; 16; 19/-2; 23/+8.

¹⁵⁷ 19/-2.

¹⁵⁸ 13/+4.

¹⁵⁹ 11/-4, 12/+3.

¹⁶⁰ "Ajarī" (*ācārya*), the rank of a master, an instructor in the hierarchy of monks.

¹⁶¹ 24/+7.

¹⁶² 24/-6.

¹⁶³ 25/-3.

¹⁶⁴ Cf. Washio, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

¹⁶⁵ Cf. also Osumi, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

¹⁶⁶ The overwhelming majority of citations inserted into the text of the *Shasekishū* are drawn from Buddhist works; it is the same for those citations having no precise source. For the exact number, see Terajima, *op. cit.*, p. 47. For the Buddhist intentions of Mujū, see the preface to his *Shasekishū* [Tr.: Morrell, tr., *Sand and Pebbles*, pp. 71-2.]

¹⁶⁷ This fact, sometimes put forth as a criticism of Mujū (cf., for example, Terajima, *op. cit.* p. 53), together with the relative absence of a coherent set of ideas made manifest through the whole of the *Shasekishū*, explains why the text did not come to be counted among the "great texts" of Buddhism in the era, as for example the *Shōbō genzō* of Dōgen. Cf. also Osumi, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

¹⁶⁸ The influence of *mikkyō*, which was supported by the noble class predominant during the twelfth century, formed a strong menace and inhibition to the advance of Amidism in the Kamakura era. Against the Amida of the *nembutsu* sects, *mikkyō* promoted the figure of Jizō, who is more attractive than the impersonal Dai Nichi.

¹⁶⁹ On the other hand, certain branches of *Jōdō* saw the belief [in *honji-suijaku*], which was strongly rooted in the countryside, as an obstacle to their own vigorous missionary work.

¹⁷⁰ Cf. also Shibata, *op. cit.*,

¹⁷¹ Mujū himself chiefly attacked an overly limited and blind attachment to a single doctrine, to a single denomination.

¹⁷² For example it would be worth examining more closely the correspondences between *setsuwa* and *hōgo* in the *Shasekishū*. The contrast between the tales, the contents of which are very popular, and the doctrinaire incursions of Mujū, which he presents with numerous technical details, has fed the hypothesis that the *Shasekishū* was not addressed (or at least not solely) to *shōmin* (common people), but to those who were (first of all?) destined to the clergy. For this see also Terajima, *op. cit.*, p. 53; Suzuki, *op. cit.*, 69; and O. Kataoka, "Shasekishū no kōsei to setsuwa," in *Otani daigaku kenkyū nenpō* 22, Kyoto, 1969.