The Conception of the Japanese Kami in the Kamakura Era: Notes on the First Chapter of the Shasekishu

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Introduction

The collection of setsuwa (secular and Buddhist tales) called the Shasekishu, compiled by Muju 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 Shinto.

After a brief outline of the concept of honji-suijaku in general, an idea fundamental to medieval Shinto, wako dojin is examined through representative passages drawn from the Shasekishu. 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 doshin (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 samsara, 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's famous setsuwa collection, the Shasekishō (1279 to
1283), is an important source for our knowledge of the life and beliefs of
the Japanese people in the Kamakura era. In addition to philological
and linguistic studies, a few studies have been devoted to the author
Mujū, his life and thought, and to comparing the Shasekishō with other
texts of the era. Few of these works, however, have examined more
closely the ideological foundations of the narratives or analyzed the
commentary and the explanatory portions which Mujū gives following
the stories.

I will attempt, in the following, to outline the conception of the
Shinto deities (kami) proper to the era by analyzing the first chapter of
the collection, and by examining the key terms and the numerous defi-
nitions and illustrations of those terms (belonging to Buddhism, to
Shinto, or to their syncretism) provided by Mujū, either in the form of a
commentary or in the setsuwa themselves. The goal is to achieve a
portrait, incomplete as it may be, of some of the characteristics of medi-

1. During the Kamakura era, as with preceding centuries, the
two religions, Shinto and Buddhism, coexisted intimately, and both of
them were supported by the state. The rapprochement of Shinto and
Buddhism, begun in the Heian era and actively pursued since on the
side of the Buddhists, was brought to completion with the identifica-
tion of the characteristics of the kami with those of the Buddhist divini-
thies. Buddhist rites were then performed in Shinto sanctuaries, the
recitation of sutras serving as an offering to the kami, who rejoice to
see Buddhist teachings practiced and studied. Prayers and requests
could be equally as well addressed to the buddhas as to the kami. 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 (wako), 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 dojin, 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 sui jaku, “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 Mujū’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 (toki 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 [Tathāgata]) in his metaphysical body, hosshin (dharma kāya), 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: toryō 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-koku27) 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 (jihi) for beings29 – descend and mix with “the dust of this world” (dojin), and appear as the kami: “When one imagines the trace descended to earth (suijaku), one understands that the state of wakō dojin of the metaphysical body (of Dai Nichi) is called shinmei.”30 The preceding quote clearly evidences the principal idea of mediaeval Shinto,31 wakō dojin: the Buddhist divinities (representing the honji: “the original state”) soften the light of their perfect wisdom (wako) 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<dozuru) with the dust (jin/chiri) of the world of beings.

The term wakō dojin 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 dojin 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 Hogen-mono-gatari39 says: “As to the hoben of the wakō dojin 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 (wako) 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 dojin ....”41 Taking its clue from the famous citation in the Mo ho chih-kuan, the Gikeiki explains:42 “Wakō dojin is the first means for establishing a bond (kechi-en) between the Buddhas and living beings, the eight stages (hasso jodo) 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 *Ryūjin hishō*. Later, Saigyō Hōshi also recited the famous passage from the *Makurashikan*, which was also taken up in various Nō plays.

These few examples suffice to demonstrate how much the idea of *wakō dojin* was current and known in the middle age. Muju 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, an inversion which give kami precedence over the buddhas. Muju, it is true, did not go this far. One such reevaluation of the kami is possibly suggested in the story of Koken-bō 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 noted 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... In the cult rendered to them, however, by the classic Buddhist means such as the *Hannya-shingyō* and *dhāraṇī*, Koken-bō saw the unique path leading to deliverance; all other exercises were to be rejected in Japan.

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, seems to confirm the evolution mentioned above.

This view is corroborated by the story of the monk Gedatsu-bō 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. The same is true of the story of En no Gyoja, which demonstrates in a very clear manner that neither Shaka [Sakyamuni] nor Miroku [Maitreya] but only the *gōgen* (avatar) Zaō is capable of guiding and saving beings in the time of mappō. 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."\textsuperscript{387}

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 Shaseki-shū 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;\textsuperscript{53} 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!”\textsuperscript{559} 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 Shinto divinities.”\textsuperscript{760}

A brief inspection of some texts of the Jōdo sect will reveal, however, that this hostile attitude toward the kami\textsuperscript{61} is not in fact a constant trait of all of the Jōdo denominations;\textsuperscript{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 Ji\textsuperscript{63} sect (and by the monk Nichiren\textsuperscript{64}); (b) a frankly negative attitude adopted by the Shin sect. However, the latter’s position is far from homogenous; among numerous texts,\textsuperscript{65} there are some which — in certain passages — unconditionally reject the cult of the kami;\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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).\textsuperscript{68} Finally, another group is favorable to both sorts of kami.\textsuperscript{59} It is not un-
usual to find these contradictory opinions in one and the same work; or to find these divergences nuanced – as in the Shojin hongai-shū by Zonkaku – if not entirely dissolved in an interpretation of honji-suijaku specific to Jōdo.

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 Shinto divinities, an opposition that would be the uniform characteristic of the nembutsu sects. Therefore, the complaint raised by Jokyo in the Kōfukuji-sojo against the “errors” of the Jōdo was probably directed toward only a fraction of its disciples. Deploiring the fifth “error,” Jokyo 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 ... (Jokyo 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?

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. – From the point of view of Buddhism, only the latter are of importance.

The Shasekisha 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 mappo is dōshin (donen): a pious spirit, aspiration for deliverance by the path of salvation. Very few beings are, in the time of mappo, animated by this spirit, whose absence does not correspond to the will of the kami (shinryō); the latter, on the contrary, are pleased when dōshin fills the hearts of beings. 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].  

The eighth tale of the *Shasekishū* conveys very clearly how greatly the deities esteem the correct manner of thought; Eichō Sōzu, a monk known for his erudition, asks the divinity of Kasuga about difficult points in the doctrine of “mind only” (*yuishiki*); 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.” 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* (the thought of awakening [*bodhicitta*]) at the time of the decline of the dharma was *dōshin*.

*Bodaishin* is another key word in the didactic expositions of Muja. For its realization, people make pilgrimages to Itsukushima; the saint of Mount Kasagi takes himself to the Shinto deity Hachiman; in a general manner, one may say that the kami rejoice in *bodaishin* 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 1081 so that “nothing remained at all of the buildings, the [meditation] cells, the statues or the sutras, and the monks were dispersed throughout the countryside.” One among them takes himself to Shinra Myōjin, the protective deity of Miidera, 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.” Most of the important passages in this context define *bodai* by reference to the future life (*gose/gosho*). Instead of sympathizing with the consequences, however inevitable, of *inga*, 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.”

Muja illustrates the importance of this attitude with the story of Shōshin Hōin. Meeting the divinity Jūzen-ji 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!

Exclusive and continued practice in view of developing such a spirit is in effect a condition sine qua non of rebirth in paradise (jōdo), but it is also the foundation of security and of peace in this life (genze). 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). The terms jihi 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. Jihi is the basis and supreme maxim for all of their actions and interventions in the world of living beings; compassion is in certain cases more important than attachment to traditional taboos: “I do not observe the taboos. What counts is compassion!”

Such is the oracle of the divinity of Yoshino transmitted through the mouth of a miko to the monk Jokan-bo of Miwa. The latter, soiled by contact with death during his pilgrimage to Yoshino, no longer considered himself worthy to approach the sanctuary. — Similarly, the refusal of the divinity of Hiyoshi to fulfill the profane (material/worldly) requests of Kanshun Ōzu 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, 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, 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....”

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 Myō’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 bodhisattvas — to the kami. The engi (“histories of the origins”) of Shintōshū as well as the otogi-sōshi, and here more particularly, the honjimono of the Muromachi era, go so far as to have the kami undergo all the sufferings of the human world.

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

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” (shinryō).

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

1. Not transgressing the interdiction against killing (sessho), 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.

One certainly conforms to the true intentions of the divinities by abandoning the former practices (i.e., Shinto rites) and by reciting sutras, as soon as one has grasped the teaching of the honji-buddha. 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.

2. I do not think that requesting material benefits from the divinities is in accord with their intention (shinryō). 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 (doshin). Having grasped well the spirit of the kami, one must not therefore request from them insignificant things having to do with the present life.

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.

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 doshin, 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 illusion which, if the circumstances of the present life are unpleasant, is not worth complaining about.

Since on the one hand the present situation of a person is determined by the causal law of inga – a law against which divinities (Shinto as well as Buddhist) themselves can do nothing – it is senseless to request immediate benefits from the kami. 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.  

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).  

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. 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 deliverance - 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) - 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 Shasekisha, 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, 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." However, the predominant element is clearly the anti-secular character of the stories; indeed, even the different examples dealing with riyaku (benefits, marks of favor given both by the buddhas, honji, and by the kami, suijaku) 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.
After having thus passed in review certain characteristics of the period as they appear in Mujo’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 wako no shinmei (divinities whose light is softened) are already a hōben destined to facilitate people in mappō gaining access to true Buddhism. 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.”

The expedients used by the buddhas and their avatars are not always easy to comprehend in the time of mappō; they do not follow a fixed order, but vary according to the country and to the receptivity of beings. 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, and stem from the compassion of the buddhas and kami.

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-Mōra (Dai Mao). Japanese Buddhism depends entirely upon this expedient.

The establishment of a particular hell—mentioned in the story of the priest Shōen—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 Jizo, Kasuga Dai Myōjin not only contributes to lightening the sufferings of those who have fallen into the path of the demons (mado), but as soon as those damned have recovered a correct way of thinking (shōnen), the divinity reads sutras and recites dharanis to them. By the force of the merits thus produced, the sinners gradually rise to liberation. Likewise, the explication of the sutras of the Perfection of Wisdom (aimed at the learned, gakusho) turns out to be a wonderful expedient (imijiki hōben) of this divinity.

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., Hieizan), having become tengu, progress gradually, through the grace of divine hōben (though
which divinity is not specified), toward liberation from this world of illusion (shutsuri).  

Besides the ordinary Buddhist means, in their Shinto manifestations the buddhas also utilized Shinto 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 alloted 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.

Mujū gives the following commentary:

The Buddhas (or Dai Nichi) having prescribed the offerings to the kami (i.e., matsuuru) 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.

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. Unless a divinity speaks directly to humans – or personally comes to meet one – communication is by means of an oracle (takusen), through the mouth of a medium (miko). The story of an ajari 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 (wako 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 hōji-suichaku and of the notion of wako-dōjin, we have defined the Shinto 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 suichaku — 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 (shinryō), 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 Shinto 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 Shinto-Buddhist syncretism which he outlines in his stories is also to be understood as a criticism of Jōdo Buddhism, which
disputed with mikkyō at that time for influence over the people. The honji-suijaku ideology such as had been developed by mikkyō to explain and interpret Shinto 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. 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: 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 monk is fully dependent upon a careful examination of the structure and the character of the whole Shasekishū, 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 Shinto in pre-Meiji Japan. Following on this essay, in 1979 Hartmut O. Rotermund 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. Rotermund 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 Rinzai branch of Zen, born in Owari. For his life, cf. J. Washio, Zotei saihan Nihon Bukke jinmei jishō (Tokyo, 1966),

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 Muja 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/koson* 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 kigō, 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-Muja Hōshi no shisō ni tsuite* (= Jissen bungaku 5, Sh. 33–10); K. Osumi, *Muja no shisō to buntai* (= Nihon Bungaku, Sh. 36–3, Nihon bungaku kyōkai); K. Miki, *Muja shō ron* (= Kokugo to kokubungaku, Sh. 37–10); and by the same author, *Muja no shuntsuji* (= 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 daikagaku 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 shūgo shisō* (= Taishō daigaku gaku-hō, Sh. 25–6).

9 The *Shasekishū* comprises *setsuwa* and long doctrinal expositions, thus approaching the literary genre of the *hōgo*: preaching texts.

10 That still considering the tentative defining of the character, the nature and the functions of the *kami*. 
This theory interprets the Shinto 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 sósho 6), Kyoto, 1964.

Cf. Nihongi, chap. 21., p. 154 (NKBTK 68); cf. also chapters 2 to 5 in Oyama, op. cit.


Among other measures, the local Shinto 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 Todai-ji, and Shinra Myōjin of Miidera. Thus, with the kami as protegees, the Buddhist dharma flourished—as expressed by Mujū (10/-2).

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.

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, Köhon Shasekishū, Tokyo, 1943: 22/+7.

Thus an ajari of Kumano, in love with the daughter of a jito (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.

Hōben (Skt.: upaya): means by which the Buddhist and Shinto divinities guide beings to the path of awakening (bodai; Skt.: bodhi).

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).

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 "Wako koso shobutsu no jihi no kiwame nare" (8/-4).
30 10/-1.
31 Cf. also M. Shibata, Wako dojin—Chusei shinto no kihon kannen Chusei minkan shinko no kenkyu, p. 179, Tokyo, 1966.
32 Cf. Roshi Soshijo-hen, p. 17 sq., chapter "Mugen" (Shinshaku Kanbun taisei 7, Tokyo, 1966).
33 "Sono hikari wo yawarage, sono chiri ni dozu." "Sono" (chi') is interpreted as referring to the "ten thousand things" (banbutsu); cf. op cit., p. 18.
34 Cf. also Shibata, op. cit., p. 180.
38 "The original state' (honji) of Kumano is Amida. In keeping with wako dojin, he manifests himself as the kami in order to promote nembutsu" (NKBTK 83, Kana hogo-sho, 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 Jingu 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 shu II/p. 61 (Chusei kinsei kayo-shu, NKBTK.).
44 In his Sanka-shu, p. 160 (NKBTK)
45 For example, Aridoshi, p. 323; Yokyoku-shu jo-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, Shasekisho wo tsujite mitaru Kamakura makki no shokyu p. 18 (Koten kenkyu, Sh. 12-2); Suzuki, op cit.
47 Koken-bo (?–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 mandala?). This custom, which reveals the inspiration of a conception of the mandala proper to esoteric Buddhism (mikkyo), is known particularly in the Nichiren sect and the importance of the mandala bearing the name of the Lotus Sutra Cf. also Oyama, op cit., 211.
7/-6.

Dhāraṇī ("bearer") designates the magical formulae employed in the rites of mikkyō.

71/-6.

"Kono hoka no honzon wo tazuneba, kaerite kannō no michi wa hedachinu beshi" (8/4-7).

Cf. infra, n. 86.

In the case of Ise, the sun goddess has even provided for a particular place for the realization of ajō: rebirth in the Pure Land (＝paradise), 6/4-3.

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 socialen Funktion im japanischen Mittelalter (Monographien zur Völkerkunde, vol. 5), Hamburg, 1968, and also Sh. Murayama, Yamabushi no rekishi (Hanawa sen-sho 71), Tokyo, 1970.

"This is just the beneficial manifestation (form or appearance: no-ke) for our country...." (10/4-5). 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.


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").

26/-4.

27/-5.

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.


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.

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

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

Thus, for example, in the Senjaku hongan nenbutsu-shū (one of the
classics of the Shin sect), the Nenbutsu ojō-shō, Kyōgyō-shin-shō, etc. Cf. Kitanishi, op. cit.

67 For example in the Jimyō-shō, Anjūn-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.


73 Text in the Kamakura kyō bukkyō, p. 35 (= Nihon Shisō taikei, 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 Hosso 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/Umada, Shintō jiten (Tokyo, 1968), p. 20.

81 Yuishiki or yuishin, the “mind-only,” is the central notion of the Hosso 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 Hosso 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 Kofukuji-sojo, mentioned above.

87 5/-2.

88 17/+5.

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

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. *Shasekishō* (11/+4). [Ed.: See H. O. Rotermund, tr., *Collection de sable et de pierres-Shasekishō*, p. 50; also, Morrell, Robert, tr., *Sand and Pebbles (Shasekishō)* (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 Hojo 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.

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.

*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.

Shibata ("Shujō yōgo no shintō," in *Chūsei minkan shinkō no kenkyū*) has observed, in this context, that certain pieces of *joruri*, 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.


Cf. also Suzuki, op. cit., p. 71, for an analogous observation.
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 (mado), as is illustrated by the example of Shōen Sōzu.

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).

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.

Disciple of Jokyō.


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).

5/-2 ff.; 12/-4; 16; 19/-2; 23/+8.
"Ajari" (acārya), the rank of a master, an instructor in the hierarchy of monks.

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.]

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 *Shobō genzo* of Dōgen.

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 Jizo, who is more attractive than the impersonal Dai Nichi.

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.

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

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 *shomin* (common people), but to those who were (first of all?) desired 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.