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Sometimes a Story is Just a Story: Story Collections and the Popularization of Buddhism in Japan

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Abstract

Sometimes a Story is Just a Story:
Story Collections and the Popularization of Buddhism in Japan.

Chandra Rice

This thesis examines the story collections written in the eighth through twelfth centuries in Japan. The thesis questions the traditional scholarly assumptions concerning who wrote the story collections and why. I question the argument that the story collections were written by the Buddhist clergy to encourage the folk lay population of Japan to listen to Buddhist sermons. The story collections are not limited to Buddhist tales nor are the authors limited to monks or priests. I suggest instead that the story collections were written by a variety of different authors for a variety of different reasons.

for Jake and Rhiannon

for Steven Miles

and for my parents, Robin and Jim Rice

You made this possible.

Preface

For many decades, religious studies scholars have claimed that the religious elite, i.e. monks, priests, nuns etc, made religion more popular by introducing elements or ideas that would draw more people to the religion. Buddhism, it was argued, was popularized by the religious elite introducing images, stories, and doctrines that would appeal to the folk lay population. Gregory Schopen challenges this model in his discussion of the image cult in Indian Buddhism. He differs with scholars who argue that the monks and nuns accepted the donations of images by laity to accommodate the laity. Schopen believes the religious elite introduced the use of images in Indian Buddhism to meet their own needs. By examining the material evidence of the donative inscriptions found on the images, Schopen makes it clear that it was not the lay population that was donating the images to gain merit, but the monks and nuns themselves.

I plan to use Schopen's argument and methods to explore Japanese story telling as it relates to the popularization of Buddhism in Japan. Scholars in Japanese Buddhism claim Japanese story collections were created by the Buddhist clergy to appeal to the interests of the folk lay population and to teach them basic Buddhist concepts. I challenge this interpretation by demonstrating that the stories were not necessarily written by the clergy to appeal to the needs of the laity. I suggest that the clergy as well as other writers used the stories drawn from a wide variety of sources to meet their own ends. In establishing this argument I outline and raise some questions about the traditional scholarly understanding of the concept of popularization.

A Note About Transliteration

There are many different ways of spelling words that are of foreign import so I have made

some choices as to which spellings I will use throughout this thesis. When dealing with terms that have their origin in Sanskrit but have a Japanese variant, I have chosen to keep the Sanskrit spelling which is more familiar to most scholars (e.g. *mandala* instead of *mandara).* But I have chosen not to use diacritical marks on any of the words of Sanskrit origin (e.g. *sutra* instead of *sûtra*) When discussing the various Bodhisattvas and Buddhas, I refer to them by their Japanese names with the Sanskrit names following in brackets or in the footnotes (i.e. Kannon instead of Avalokitesvara, Jizô instead of Ksitigarba). I have chosen to use the Japanese names because the powers and roles that each Bodhisattva and Buddha is thought to possess differs from India to China to Japan, and thus there is some sense that Kannon is different from Avalokitesvara. Finally, I have italicized all words that are of foreign origin excepting names of places, people, and religions or various sects within the religion, which are capitalized.

Acknowledgments

I would like to express my gratitude to my thesis supervisor, Dr. Leslie Orr, who has probably read my thesis as many times as I have. She has been extremely supportive and helpful from beginning to end. I would also like to thank the thesis committee of Drs, M. Despland, R. Hale, and F. Bird for their questions and comments. And my thanks to Sara for all her running around trying to deliver this thesis to where it belongs.

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Chapter 1: Historical Background

We all tell stories, stories of our childhood, stories about things we have done, stories about how we think and feel. We tell these stories for lots of different reasons, to make people laugh, to make people think, to show people how we feel. More often than not we tell them to share our experiences with those around us. And we all love to listen to a good story, whether humorous or horrible or just full of common sense. This thesis is about stories; the stories of the people of Japan in the eighth through thirteenth centuries.

The eighth through thirteenth centuries was a time of vibrant growth. The Japanese had imported Chinese culture almost wholesale, through art, religion, politics, and other facets of civilization. As China's glory waned and the trip to China became too fraught with danger to make the journey worthwhile, the Japanese closed the doors of communication with the outside world and allowed the imported ideas to ferment and naturalize. Buddhism took root and flourished, developing responses and forms that are peculiar to Japan.

The growth of Japanese Buddhism and the changes it wrought on the world view of the Japanese people are captured in the stories that they told throughout this period. The stories told of Buddhist monks and *sutras* and the workings of karma and rebirth. The stories told of the importance of poetry for the members of court and the cleverness of certain people in dealing with awkward situations. The stories told of the power of the word of the Buddha, how it had saved people from ogres and demons or certain death. The stories were an integral part of the popularization of Buddhism in Japan during this time. This thesis examines the role of the story collections in the popularization of Buddhism in Japan.

Chapter One defines the time span with which this thesis is concerned. It then provides the historical context of this time span, outlining the history of Buddhism in Japan, the relationship between Buddhism and the indigenous religion, and two concepts, *upaya* and *honji-suijaku*, that are important to the story collections.

Definition of the 'Collecting Period'

This thesis focuses on Japan from the eighth to the twelfth century. Most scholars follow the traditional Japanese division of this time span, based on the location of the capital, into three periods: the Nara, the Heian, and the Kamakura. The Nara period was from 710 to 784, when the capital was in Nara. The Heian period, from 794 to 1185, was when the capital was in Kyôto, which was known at the time as Heian-kyô or "City of Peace"[1]. The Kamakura period, from 1185 to 1333, was when the shogunate government ruled from Kamakura. Although this division is extremely useful, it is also useful to see the time span as a comprehensive whole.

William LaFleur uses the term 'the medieval period.' to refer to the time period ranging from the eighth to the fourteenth or fifteenth century. LaFleur sees this time period as an *episteme*

> a period during which there was a general consensus concerning what kinds of problems needed discussion, what kinds of texts and traditional practices constituted authority worthy of citation and appeal, and what kinds of things constituted the symbols central to the culture and to the transmission of information within it.[2]

The reason LaFleur believes this time period forms an episteme is because the texts of the eighth and ninth century

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1. Aston,W.G. *A History of Japanese Literature*, New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1899, p.53.
2. LaFleur, William. *The Karma of Words: Buddhism and the Literary Arts in Medieval Japan.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983, p.9.

> seemed to be loudly insisting that the Japanese were entering not just a new era but an entirely new epoch. There is in these texts a sense of amazement that a whole new mode of understanding reality had been set forth and a whole new mode of discourse begun. These new concepts served as the principal substance of discussions and debates for many centuries afterward.[3]

Thus for LaFleur, it is imperative to view the eighth through fourteenth centuries as a cohesive whole because it clarifies the defining characteristics of the texts of the time. For LaFleur the defining characteristic is the centrality of Buddhism. LaFleur claims that "the basic intellectual problems, the most authoritative texts and resources, and the central symbols [of the time] were all Buddhist."[4]

For the purposes of this thesis I use both LaFleur's approach and the traditional one. The eighth through the twelfth centuries constitute a period during which story collections played a central role in both forming the Japanese understanding of the world and in recording it.[5] Thus I will follow LaFleur's lead and will treat the eighth through twelfth

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3. LaFleur, *The Karma of Words*, p.xii.

4. LaFleur, *The Karma of Words*, p.9. Barbara Ruch in her article "Coping with Death: Paradigms of Heaven and Hell and the Six Realms in Early Literature and Painting" raises some serious questions as to whether Buddhism and all of its central concepts can be considered part of the Japanese paradigm or whether they simply formed one of several possible worldviews. She states "Without any doubt the incoming paradigms were complex and intellectually elegant, but they were also in many fundamental ways contradictory to native views. In large measure intelligible and reasonable, they represented a powerful system antagonistic to a likewise powerful pre-Buddhist system of belief whose taxonomy of postmortem life had different dimensions. But to interpret the Japanese importation of Buddhism as a culturewide paradigm shift, a replacement of one worldview by adoption of another complex new intellectual or spiritual technology, is, I believe, a misreading of Japanese cultural dynamics. Further, it is expremely important that considerations of gender, age, and class be at the forefront of our awareness. One must keep in mind that when scholars speak of "the Japanese people," what they often really mean is "male intellectuals."" (Ruch, Barbara. "Coping with Death: Paradigms of Heaven and Hell and the Six Realms in Early Literature and Painting" in *Flowing Traces: Buddhism in the Literary and Visual Arts of Japan*, Edited by James H. Sanford, William R. LaFleur, and Masatoshi Nagatomi. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1992).

5. Although there are story collections written even in modern Japan, the collections became less significant after the twelfth century. "During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Japan lapsed into strife and anarchy. Narrative of the kinds considered gave way to travel accounts and *renga*." *(Princeton Companion to Classical Japanese Literature.* by Earl Miner, Hiroko Odagiri, and Robert E. Morrell, Princeton, N.J. : Princeton University Press, 1985. p. 347).

centuries as a cohesive whole with a central theme of story collecting and will refer to it as the 'collecting period'. But as the history of Japanese literature, the role of Buddhism, and the role of the story collections changed throughout the collecting period, I will also make reference to the more traditional tripartite division of Nara, Heian, and Kamakura.

Buddhism in Japan

During the collecting period, Buddhism moves from a court elite monastic religion to a rural folk lay religion. Traditionally this movement is thought of occurring in three phases that correspond to the traditional periods of Japanese history, state Buddhism in the Nara period, court Buddhism in the Heian, and popular Buddhism in the Kamakura. Each of the these three phases is examined briefly below.

State Buddhism — Nara Buddhism

Buddhism was introduced to Japan in 552 A.D.[6] Around this time the first Japanese monks and nuns were ordained and the state began to promulgate Buddhism.[7] The central

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6. The Japanese were undoubtably exposed to Buddhism and other elements of Chinese civilization by the Japanese of immigrant Korean and Chinese descent previous to this date, but the date represents the time at which it was officially introduced into the court. There is a different date of 538 A.D. that is sometimes used as the introduction of Buddhism but as the date 552 A.D. has significance to the theory of the degeneration of Buddhist law (*mappô*) I will use it throughout this thesis. The introduction occurred officially when a Korean ruler sent tribute to Japan that included Buddhist statues and scriptures. The Japanese worshiped the statues to bring good luck, but when an epidemic broke out they threw the statues away, fearing that the native gods were angry. When an omen explained that the epidemic was not caused by the worship of the Buddhist statues, they resumed worshiping them because they were thought to be powerful. (Earhart, H. Byron. *Religions of Japan: Many Traditions Within One Sacred Way*, San Francisco: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1984. p. 29).

7. Prince Shôtoku (574-622) is credited with the first use of Buddhism at court. Shôtoku is said to have written Japan's first 'constitution' based on Buddhist ideals. Shôtoku used the new ideas of universal ethics and the moral responsibility of the ruler from Confucianism in his *Seventeen-Article Constitution*. But he was a devout Buddhist and as such there were elements to his Constitution that would have been unthinkable in Confucian China. Article Ten, as de Bary points out, is a perfect example of these unthinkable elements. It says:

> Let us cease from wrath and refrain from angry looks. Nor let us be resentful when others differ from us. For all men have hearts and each heart has its own leanings. Their right is our wrong and our right is their wrong. We are not unquestionably sages, nor are they unquestionably fools. Both of us are simply ordinary men... (de Bary, William. *The Buddhist Tradition in India,China & Japan*, New York:

feature of Buddhism in the Nara period was its importance to the prosperity of the court and the nation.[8] Buddhist ritual was used primarily as a means of warding off national calamity.[9] Rituals and other elements of Buddhism were adapted to meet the concern for maintaining national prosperity. Examples of such adaptation are the rites of repentance, the rainy season retreat, and the liberation of captive creatures. The rites of repentance in Buddhism were originally meant to counteract an individual's moral transgressions. In Japan, they acted much like the indigenous purification rituals and harvest rites, securing national prosperity not personal purity. The second example is the rainy season retreat. Traditionally held during the rainy season, monks and nuns gather to study and hear the teachings of the Buddha as well as repent any transgressions of the Buddhist code. The retreat became in Japan, a period of time during which members of the aristocracy attended lectures and instruction in order to benefit or bring merit to the nation. The final example is the ancient Buddhist practice of purchasing captured animals such as fish or birds and releasing them from their certain death or lifetime imprisonment which gives one merit. In Japan during times of adversity, the court would give amnesty to prisoners and release captives in the hopes of

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Vintage Books, 1972. p. 261)
Shôtoku also wrote many scriptures, built many temples and some even credit him with inventing the Japanese syllabary.

8. "The most prominent feature of Nara Buddhism was its usage to obtain worldly benefits, particularly for the nation or members of the ruling party, and we have seen from the foregoing section on Buddhist morality how these originally ethical practices were used in Japan as a means of insuring national peace and prosperity." (Matsunaga, Alicia. *Buddhist Philosophy of Assimilation.* Sophia University, Charles E. Tuttle Co. 1969. p.162).

9. There was a strong sense that calamities beset Japan from all sides. One of the prime examples of calamity was the launch of two great Mongolian armadas headed to invade Japan. As the Mongolians were far advanced in warfare technique there was great likelihood that the Mongolians would be able to easily crush what little resistance the Japanese could muster. Fortunately the two armadas failed because of what became known as *kamikaze* literally "winds sent by the gods" which blew the armadas back to sea. These winds were seen as the proof that the *kami* acted to "save their country in its hour of greatest peril" (Varley, H. Paul. *Japanese Culture*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1984. p. 95).

warding off crop failure etc..[10]

Because Buddhism acted to protect the nation, monks were sought who could perform the most powerful rituals and these monks often rose to high rank in the court. Strong ties were made between the Buddhist establishment and the state. The pinnacle of the amalgamation of state and Buddhism came when the head of state became a servant of the three Buddhist treasures and a priest attempted to become the emperor. Emperor Shômu was one of the most devout rulers in Japanese history. He emptied the state coffers erecting temples and nunneries in each province. His crowning achievement was the Buddhist temple Tôdaiji. Among its buildings was the world's largest wooden structure, built to house a fifty-three foot statue of the cosmic Buddha Vairochana (Jap. Daibutsu) that Shômu commissioned. (See Figure 1) Shortly after abdicating the throne to his daughter, Shômu came before the colossal image and declared himself a servant of the three Buddhist treasures; the Buddha, The Dharma (Law) and the Sangha (Monastic Order). Such a public and direct sign of submission to Buddhism by an emperor was never repeated in history.

Moving in the opposite direction was Dôkyô, one of the Hossô Buddhist priests. Dôkyô rose to the highest rank of priest "king of the law" under the reigning Empress Shôtoku (Emperor Shômu's daughter). Dôkyô tried, through an oracle, to have the Empress abdicate the throne to him, an attempt which was foiled by the powerful conservative members at court.

Both of these events indicate the powerful position the Buddhist clergy held in state affairs. The corruption and political aspirations of members of the Buddhist clergy joined

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10. Matsunaga, *Buddhist Philosophy of Assimilation*, pp 155-162.

Figure 1. Daibutsu at Tôdaiji. This statue is an excellent example of the splendor of some of the images produced under the patronage of the state and Emperor Shômu.

with the power they wielded made it difficult to curb their interference. The Buddhist monks and nuns seemed more interested in this worldly gain than personal salvation, and the Buddhism they preached echoed this interest. By the end of the eighth century the monasteries and clergy in Nara had such a stranglehold on the emperor and the state that something drastic had to be done.

By the end of the Nara period, Buddhism was well entrenched at court and at state functions. But Buddhism had little impact on the population at large.[11] As Earhart states "Buddhism was patronized by emperors personally and by the state as a matter of policy"[12] The state prohibited teaching Buddhism to the folk population through a series of decrees.[13] The exclusion of the general population was thought to be doctrinally supported. There was even doubt expressed by members of the Hossô Buddhist sect that all sentient beings could attain enlightenment. Thus the Buddhism of the Nara period can be thought of as state Buddhism.

Court Buddhism — Tendai and Shingon Buddhism

When Emperor Kammu came to power he used two tactics to rid himself of the political machinations of the Buddhist establishment in Nara and thus free himself to rule without interference. He moved the capital and he supported clergy that were not associated with the Nara Buddhist sects.

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11. "During the Nara period the government virtually monopolized Buddhism as a means of obtaining power and benefit for the nation." (Matsunaga, *Buddhist Philosophy of Assilimation*, p. 166).

12. Earhart, *Religions of Japan*, p.32.

13. "Because the state used Buddhism partly as a means to reinforce its rule, it did not encourage the spread of Buddhism to the people. (In fact, at this time the state prohibited the teaching of Buddhism to the masses.)" (Earhart, *Religions of Japan*, p.33).

In 794, Kammu moved the capital to Heian (Kyôto). The Buddhists' wealth could not be easily transferred from Nara to Heian. Much of the wealth of the temples and monasteries lay in their land holdings, and was thus immobile. Likewise the system of support by local families for the temples left the Nara Buddhists firmly set in Nara.

Over the years following the move to Heian, Kammu supported clergy that were not associated with Nara. Kammu had to be careful because he still needed Buddhist cooperation to maintain political power and to bring about the reforms that he wished. But he still wished to achieve ascendancy over the Nara monks. To do this he had to gain authority higher than theirs but higher authority was difficult to acquire because the Nara Buddhists still controlled the ordination of new monks. The only way to acquire higher authority was to send someone to go to China to be ordained there. To this end, Kammu supported the voyage of the monk Saichô to China where Saichô would receive teachings that could be thought of as higher or more authoritative than the teachings of the Nara Buddhists.

The teachings of Tendai Buddhism (Chinese: T'ien-t'ai) [14] that Saichô brought back from his travels in China were perfectly fitted to the needs of Emperor Kammu. Saichô stressed the importance of transmission of doctrine from master to disciple as opposed to reliance on the *sutras*. Kammu could use this by stating that all monks who had not received their ordination from a master were no longer considered monks. Saichô stressed that proper meditation required monastic retreat; thus monks who claimed to be meditating amid the bustle of the city could be required to face periods of seclusion in the monastery. Saichô

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14. Saichô received Bodhisattva ordination and official transmission from Tao-Sui the 7th patriarch of the T'ien-t'ai sect. He also received mikkyo practices from Shun-hsiao and Ch'an meditation practices from Hsiao-jan.

placed great importance on strict adherence to the moral precepts set out in the *vinaya* (rules of conduct for the monks). Such adherence meant that those monks who were married, who carried out commercial transaction, or were romantically or sexually involved with anyone were no longer considered part of the clergy. These three emphases helped to narrow the understanding of what was a monk and therefore allowed Kammu to defrock many 'corrupt' monks. It also helped destroy the Nara monks' credibility as a religious authority, which therefore gave the emperor power over the Nara sects.

Although Saichô's teachings helped destroy the power of the Nara Buddhists, these teachings limited the number of people able to become monks and to follow the stricter discipline to a very few. The long monastic training and complete abandonment of all worldly ties meant that only those who could give up all ties could follow the path and achieve enlightenment. Although Saichô argued the true interpretation of the Lotus *Sutra*[15] meant that all beings had equal potential for gaining enlightenment, this potential was only realized by the few who could follow monastic training.

But at the same time as Saichô was helping Kammu get free from the stranglehold of the Nara Buddhists, many members of the court were becoming fascinated by the teachings of Kûkai. Kûkai went to China with the same envoy as Saichô, but on a different ship.[16] He

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15. In China, Buddhism had gone through a period of systematization. As more *sutras* were translated, the Chinese became baffled by the contradictory teachings of the Buddha found in these *sutras*. The discrepancies were rationalized by referring to the Buddha's use of skillful means (*upaya*) or preaching doctrine suited to the level of the audience. Thus the *sutras* were arranged according to when and for whom the *sutra* was preached. Such a systematization lead to certain *sutras* being thought of as the apex of the Buddhist teachings and were studied to the exclusion of all others. Thus at the time of Saichô's year-long stay, Saichô studied T'ien-t'ai (Japanese; Tendai), a sect that placed the Lotus *Sutra* (Sanskrit; Saddharma pundarika *Sutra*, Japanese Hokke-kyô) at the apex of the Buddhist's teachings.

16. Kûkai went to the capital of Chang-an and studied there for several years. Upon returning he founded a monastery on Mt. Kôya. He was appointed Abbot of Tôji in 823 which indicates his popularity at

brought back Shingon Buddhism which was centered around a tradition of elaborate rituals and art. This rich aesthetic element made Shingon the most popular religion at court in Heian Japan.

Shingon's elaborate rituals formed part of the three teachings of body, speech and mind (*sammitsu*). For Kûkai, all secrets reside in these three teachings and through proper practice enlightenment can be attained through these three. Thus in the rituals taught by Kûkai, there was great emphasis on the esoteric importance of body postures including *mudras* (positions of the hands), positions of meditation, and the proper handling of ritual implements. Likewise the rituals involved speech through the use of *mantras* (magical utterances) and *dharanis* (spells)[17]. Mind referred to the five methods of perceiving the truth and maintaining the mind in a wholesome state while meditating on the enlightened mind.

Alongside the rituals, Kûkai brought back with him from China a rich artistic tradition best represented by the teachings of the two *mandalas*; the Taizôkai[18] (see Figure 2) and the Kongôkai[19] (see Figure 3). These two *mandalas* are symbolic representations of the duality of the world seen as male/female, dynamic expression/static potential, etc. The two *mandalas* also represent the life and being of Mahavairocana and were central in the rituals that Kûkai established as well as having a great impact on the art in Japan at the time. Both

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court, as Tôji was the temple at the entrance to the capital. He died in 835.

17. For example the Sonshô Dhârani is said to be "a spell said to have been taught to Indra when he went to the Buddha to plead for some means of saving a certain prince who was fated to fall seven times into the Realm of Beasts. It was very commonly recited as a protection against harm." (Mills, D.E. *Tales from Uji: A Study and Translation of Uji Shûi Monogatari*, Cambridge: University Press, 1970. p.298).

18. Gharba-dhatu or Womb Mandala, which has a central image of Mahavairocana, twelve halls and 409 deities, is oriented to the west and follows the pattern described in the Mahavairocana *Sutra*.

19. Vajra-dhatu or Diamond Mandala, which has nine squares, 1461 deities, is oriented to the east, and follows an interior spiral towards the center.

Figure 2. Taizôkai (Womb World) Mandala

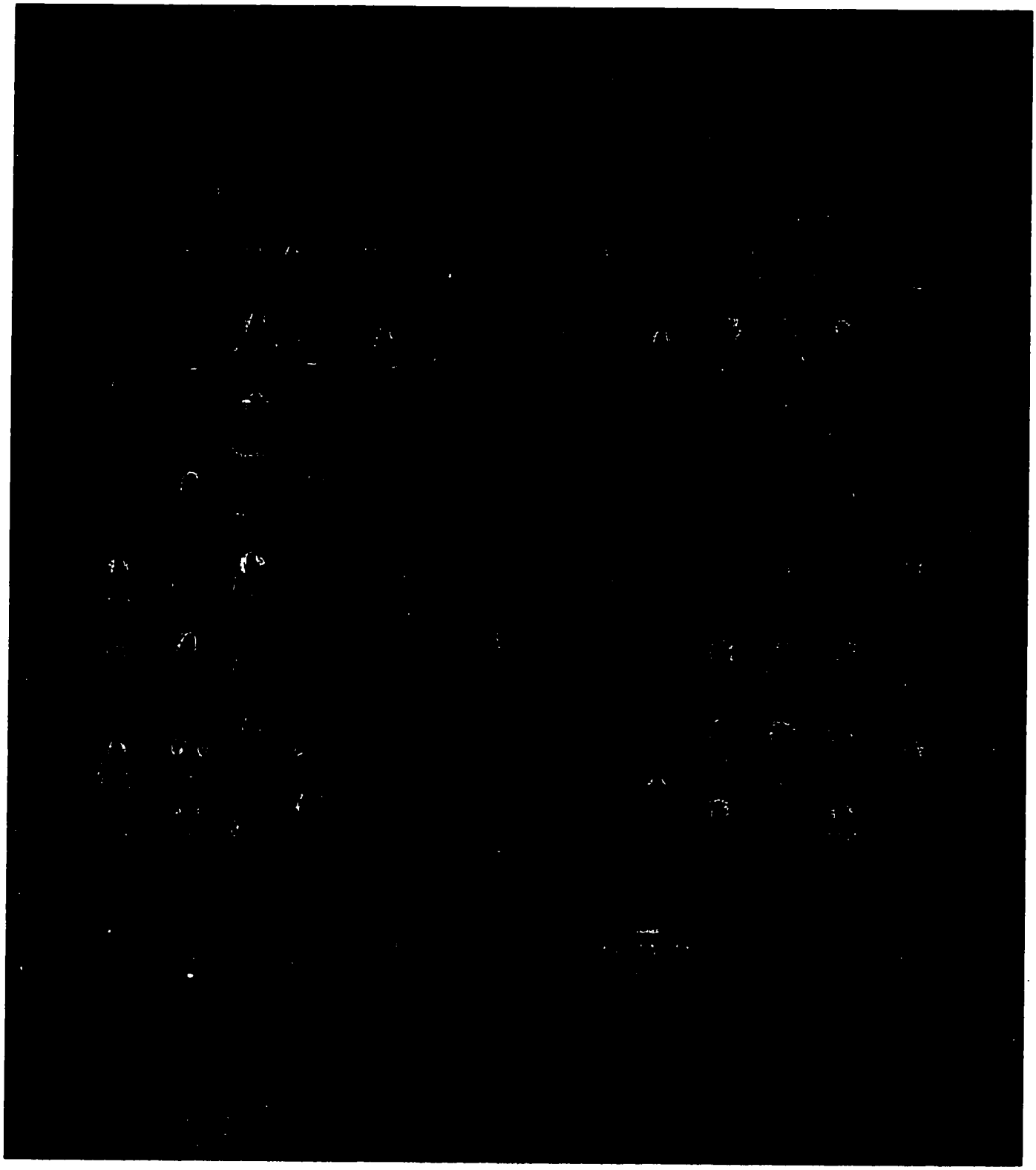
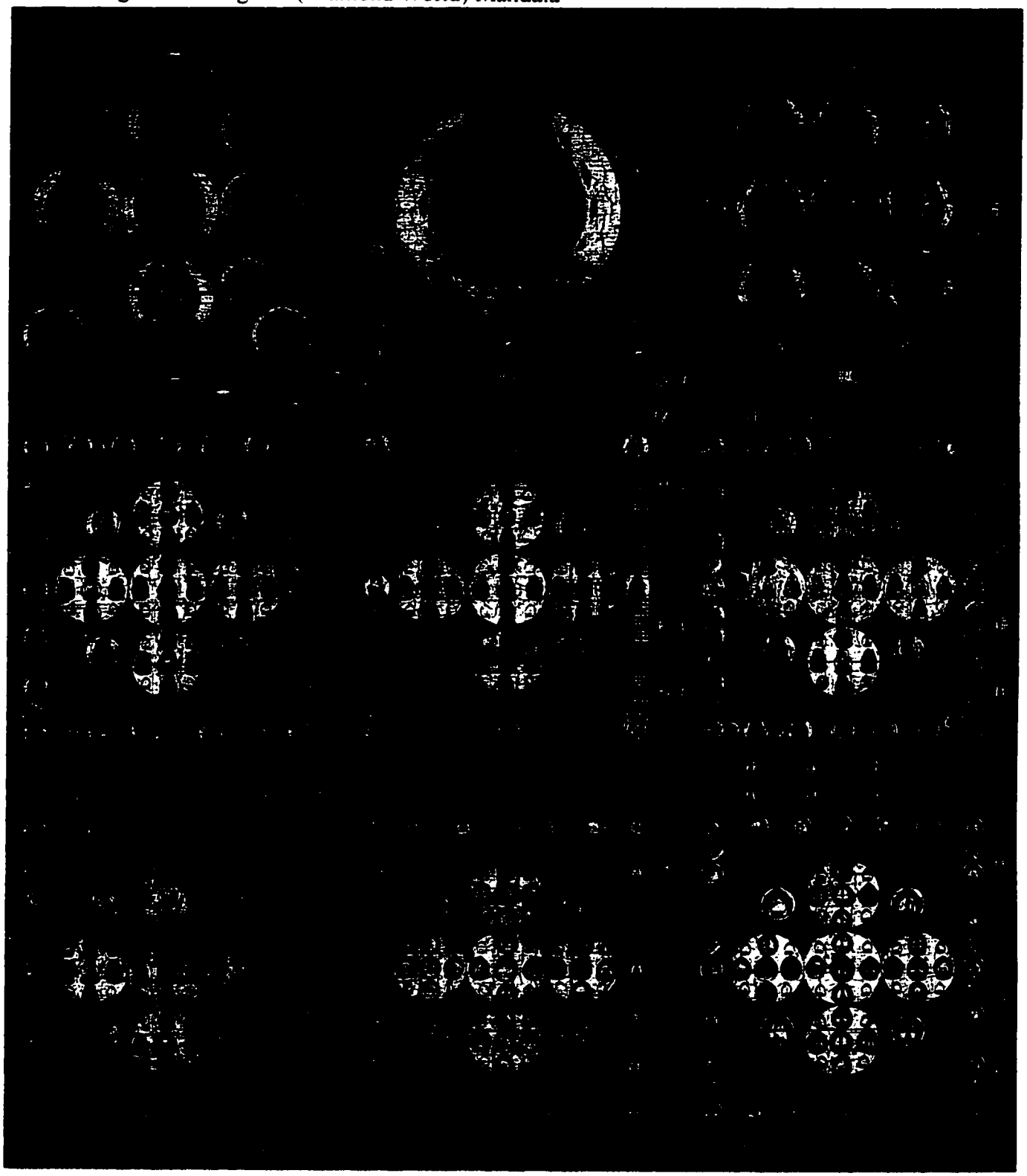


Figure 3. Kongôkai (Diamond World) Mandala



the *mandalas* and the deities depicted in the mandala came to play great importance in later Japanese art and religion and spawned movements such as Ryôbu Shintô.

Through the art and rituals of Shingon, many of the members of the court came to use Buddhist images in their writings and in court poetry. Buddhist rituals were performed in wealthy patrons' homes. But similar to Buddhism in the Nara period, Buddhism in the Heian period was limited to those in urban centers who were literate and had access to the expensive rituals. Thus one can refer to the Buddhism during the Heian period as court Buddhism. It was not until the Heian period ended and the Kamakura period began that Buddhism finally reached all segments of the population.

Japanese Buddhism — Pure Land Buddhism

Until the Kamakura period, all of the schools of Buddhism in Japan had their precedents in China; the Hôsso sect was the Hôsson in China, Tendai was T'ien t'ai, Shingon was Tantra. In the Kamakura period, Buddhism takes root in Japan, developing schools of Buddhist thought of its own and extending its influence from being exclusive to urban areas centered around the court to include even the rural backwaters of Japan. Schools of Buddhism such as Pure Land, Zen, and Nichiren became widely practiced. All three of these schools shifted the emphasis from those who could follow the monastic path, or financially support monks and rituals, to access for everyone. The most important of these three schools for understanding the history of Buddhism in Japan during the collecting period is Pure Land Buddhism.

Pure Land Buddhism (Japanese: Jôdô) is based on the Original Vow made by Amida Buddha (Sanskrit: Amitabha) to save all sentient beings who called on him. Given this vow

it was believed that all who fervently and with single-minded devotion recited 'Namu Amida Butsu' which meant literally "I call on Amida Buddha" would be reborn in Amida's Pure Land. This practice was called the *nembutsu.*[20] The *nembutsu* was an element within most of the different sects of Buddhism but it was not until it became a self sufficient practice, that is to say it became a means to achieving enlightenment by itself (for although calling on Amida Buddha would only get you rebirth in the Pure Land as opposed to enlightenment, it amounted essentially to the same thing; once reborn in the Pure Land, enlightenment was inevitable) that the *nembutsu* had a large impact on the history of Buddhism.[21] It is however interesting to see, as we will in the next section, that the descriptions of the Pure Land are much more appealing than descriptions of enlightenment.

Recitation of the *nembutsu* as a single all-encompassing practice that alone could result in salvation dates back to the Chinese writer Shan-tao[22] (613-681). But in Japan, the *nembutsu* became a practice unto itself through the teachings of Hônen (1133-1212). Hônen was the first monk to claim that the *nembutsu* was the only practice necessary for attaining rebirth in heaven. Other monks burned his books.[23] Hônen argued that in this degenerate age of *mappô* (the third age of the Buddhist teachings) one could not be expected to reach

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20. which originally meant meditation on the name of Amida but came later to simply mean repetition of his name.

21. People such as Kûya, Genshin, Ryônin and Ippen made the *nembutsu* popular among the lay population. But only as a practice among other practices. Its establishment as a separate sect did not occur until Hônen advocated it at the very end of the twelfth century.

22. There were many Pure Land thinkers that could be listed as Shan-Tao's precursors, but none of them went as far as saying that it was recitation, not contemplation of the Buddha, that was efficacious and recitation only; other practices were no longer useful (Andrews, Allan Albert. "The *Nembutsu* Teachings of Genshin's *Ojôyôshû* and their Significance for Japanese Religion", Ph. D. dissertation, Claremont Graduate School and University Center, 1971. p. 38).

23. He was already in trouble for sheltering a pregnant woman (people at first thought she was carrying his child) He was exiled at the age of 74 and was not allowed back until a year before his death.

salvation by one's own practices. The 'holy path' of following the Vinaya and monastic practices was part of the first two ages of Buddhist law and was too difficult for this age. During this last degenerate age of *mappô* only reliance on the saving grace of Amida would grant the possibility of salvation. Thus calling on Amida was a movement away from self reliant practices to reliance upon Amida. Hônen eschewed other practices.

Shinran[24], Hônen's disciple, went a step further than Hônen and advocated that the wicked man would get a place in Amida's heaven more likely than a good man because a wicked man would place his entire faith in Amida whereas a good man might think that his good deeds would secure a better chance of rebirth in Amida's pure land. Likewise Shinran argued that only one repetition of the *nembutsu* was necessary as any more would indicate that one thought one could affect one's chances of salvation. One must place complete faith in Amida Buddha.

As we have seen, Japanese Buddhism began in the Nara period with exclusive state patronage and centered on rituals performed by the monastic establishment and in the Heian period was practiced by many court members. By the end of the collecting period, however, members from all different parts of Japanese society practiced particularly Japanese forms of Buddhism that centered on rituals performed by the lay population and by the individual. Thus Buddhism in the Kamakura period is thought of as Japanese Buddhism as many different Japanese forms of Buddhism flourished.

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24. Shinran was also exiled at the same time as Hônen for having a wife despite monastic vows. Shinran's followers claim that Hônen asked Shinran to get married because given this degenerate age, monastic vows did not matter. Shinran is credited with founding the Jôdô Shin sect, although it was through the diligence of his follower Rennyo that the sect was brought together and headed by Shinran's heir. To this day Shinran's descendants head the Jôdô Shin sect.

Shintô

Along with the history of Buddhism in Japan, the relationship between Buddhism and Shintô plays an important role during the collecting period. This section examines Shintô and the sections on *upaya* and *honji-suijaku* which follow discuss the relationship between Shintô and Buddhism.

The term Shintô usually refers to the religion practised by the Japanese before the arrival of Buddhism. When Buddhism was introduced to Japan it was called Butsudô, or way of the Buddha. The native Japanese tradition(s) was then called Shintô, or way of the gods, as a means of contrasting the native tradition with the incoming one. As there were no written records until Buddhism's introduction, we can only surmise what was practiced before Buddhism's influence. Even the records concerning Shintô that were written early on in Buddhism's history in Japan such as the *Kojiki*[25] and the *Nihon Shoki*[26] are modeled a great deal on the histories of China. This modeling includes the well known cosmological origin tale of Izanagi and Izanami dipping the Jeweled Spear from heaven into the briny waters below and the drops that fell from the Jeweled Spear when it was raised forming the Islands of Japan. As this tale bears similarity to Chinese cosmological tales, the idea that these first recordings of Shintô traditions represent indigenous Japanese religions is viewed with a great deal of scepticism. Some scholars argue that Shintô as we know it was created in the eighteenth and nineteenth century in the hopes of boosting nationalism and morale. As there is no conclusive evidence that would allow these issues to be settled, I will use the term

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25. Kojiki narrates the 'history' of the mythological ancestors of Japan.
26. Also known as the Nihongi, it tells of the proto historical and historical ancestors of Japan.

'Shintô' to refer to the body of indigenous practices that interacted with Buddhism throughout the collecting period.

Despite all the questions about what would have constituted Shintô before the arrival of Buddhism, Shintô managed to survive in some form or another throughout the entire history of Buddhism in Japan. One of the primary ways Shintô remained important was through its connection to the imperial family. The ruling dynasty was traditionally considered to be the progeny of the Sun Goddess, Amaterasu[27], whose grandson came down to the islands to establish rule. This connection between the rulers and the *kami* or gods was recorded in Chinese histories as early as the second century AD. At that time, Empress Himiko acted as a mediator or shaman between the Japanese and the *kami*.[28] Although perhaps written under Chinese influence, the *Kojiki* and *Nihon Shoki* justified the existing social power structure in Japan, giving the heads of the imperial clan the right to accord titles, bestow the sacred seed at festivals, define sacred space and perform rituals for the *kami*.[29] The Shintô pantheon, described in these writings, also provided clans with *kami* forefathers who were ranked mythologically in the order of the clans' actual status in the seventh century.[30]

It is difficult to define *kami* because it is impossible to separate the meaning *kami* came to have in the later periods of Japanese history with the meaning it would have had earlier. But the general consensus is that the Japanese felt that sacred, or *kami*, nature

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27. Amaterasu was born from Izanagi's left eye during his purification in the rivers after trying to see Izanami in the nether realm.

28. Varley, *Japanese Culture*, p. 7.

29. Kitagawa, Joseph M. *On Understanding Japanese Religion*, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1987. p. 71.

30. Kitagawa, *On Understanding Japanese Religion*, p. 52.

pervaded the entire cosmos. Kitagawa lists "everybody and everything ... including physical elements such as fire, water, wood, and stone, as well as animals and celestial bodies" as possessing *kami* nature.[31] *Kami* were also gods who dwelt in remarkable forms of nature. However, as Kitagawa states, in keeping with the unitary understanding of the structure of the world, the Japanese felt that not only was a mountain, for example, the dwelling place of a *kami* but also was the *kami* itself.

The connection between mountains and *kami* played an interesting role in Buddhism both during the collecting period and even more so later. Most of the spiritual centers for Buddhist study were located in mountains such as the Tendai monastery on Mt. Hiei and the Shingon monastery on Mt. Kôya, and here Buddhism encountered Shintô.

> When the first Buddhist priests began to build hermitages in the mountains, a natural fusion between the native beliefs and Buddhism began to develop that also came under the influence of Taoism, Confucian ethics, and other religious views flowing forth from the continent. The final result of this syncretism was Shugendô, an ascetical movement largely inspired by Buddhism yet encompassing the native folk beliefs.[32]

Despite the influence and often dominance of Buddhism in the collecting period, the *kami* continued to play a part in the rituals and spirituality of the Japanese. As we will see when we discuss *upaya* and *honji-suijaku* there was a great deal of interaction between Buddhism and Shintô. These two concepts also play a central role in the story collections.

Upaya or Skillful Means

Upaya or skillful means[33] refers to the belief that the Buddha out of compassion for

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31. Kitagawa, *On Understanding Japanese Religion*, p. 70.
32. Matsunaga, *Buddhist Philosophy of Assimilation*, p.205-206.
33. Although I find Williams translation of *upaya* as 'skill-in-means' less ambiguous than the traditional translation 'skillful means' I will use the traditional term because it is considerably more familiar to

all sentient beings offered many different means of reaching the final truth of Buddhism, each skillfully designed to meet the different needs of various beings.

There are many wonderful parables to describe how *upaya* works. For example, three boys are trapped in a burning house, too involved in their games to notice the flames. Their father calls to them tempting them with rides on goat carriages and deer carriages. Excited by the prospect, the children come out of the house and they are each given a white ox carriage and thus are saved from the fire. It is through the enticement of the different carriages (or bubble gum or a trip to the zoo or whatever would have led the children out of the house) that they are convinced to leave their games. Likewise, the Buddha uses many different means or teachings to lead sentient beings out of this world of suffering.[34] None of these enticements, means, or teachings, are considered to be lies or tricks but simply means to effect change. Often the teachings can be very close to the truth as a deer carriage is quite close to a white ox carriage, but the white ox carriage is infinitely more wonderful and is the truth. The different means are called *upaya.*

Upaya is an important concept in Buddhism. It is through the concept of *upaya* that the contradictions among the different *sutras* can be reconciled.[35] It is through *upaya* that the

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most Buddhist scholars. (Williams, Paul. *Mahayana Buddhism: The Doctrinal Foundations*, London: Routledge, 1989. p. 143-50).

34. It is only once they have escaped this suffering world that sentient beings are shown the final truth. More explicitly, in this parable, the concerned father is the Buddha, the children are all sentient beings, the burning house is this world of *samsara*, the goat, deer, and ox carriages are the teachings by which the sentient beings are led out of *samsara*, and the white ox carriage is the final truth of Buddhism. This parable is described in Williams, *Mahayana Buddhism*, p.148.

35. Such reconciliation was important in the acceptance of Buddhism by the Chinese. They developed the p'an chiao system that listed the various teachings and *sutras* of the Buddha into hierarchical lists that placed the primary *sutra* of a particular school at the top of the list, considering it to represent the ultimate truth.

different bodies of the Buddha are understood. And most importantly, *upaya* provides the philosophical framework by which Buddhism is able to take root in so many different contexts and cultures. *Upaya* manifests itself in many ways, two of which we will briefly examine here; the acceptance of non-Buddhist religious practices and the assimilation of non-Buddhist deities.

In *The Buddhist Philosophy of Assimilation,* Alicia Matsunaga uses the *Singalovada Suttanta* as an example of a *sutra* that states that some religious paths teach important values such as honesty, right action, morality. Other religious paths teach one to long for something beyond this world. Once the value of the virtues was learned and the merit that the practice of the virtues would give accrued, a person would be ready to accept the Buddhist precepts. Once the desire for a life other than this life has arisen, the goal of enlightenment would be possible. Both the precepts and the goal of enlightenment are central elements of Buddhism. Thus both types of religious path, if practiced correctly can bring one to the Buddhist path. It is in this way that room was initially made within Buddhism for the practice of non-Buddhist religions.

Sutras such as the *Saddharmapundarika (Lotus) Sutra* expanded the room made for non-Buddhist religions by arguing that not only were some non-Buddhist religious paths capable of bringing one to Buddhism, but that the Buddha himself created these non-Buddhist religions as *upaya* for those who were not ready for Buddhism.[36] Thus many of the non-Buddhist practices were seen as means to ready one for a teaching that is closer to the Buddhist truth.

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36. Williams, *Mahayana Buddhism*, p. 144.

The assimilation of non-Buddhist deities involves both *upaya* and the doctrine of the different bodies of the Buddha, a concept prevalent in the Mahâyâna tradition. In the most familiar version of the different bodies of the Buddha there are three: *dharmakaya* or *svabhavikakaya* (Essential Body), *sambhogikakaya* (Enjoyment Body), *nairmanikakaya* (Transformation Body). These three bodies refer to different aspects of the Buddha.

The *dharmakaya* or essential body is the highest body and refers to the "non-dual purified flow of consciousness"[37] or the essence of being a Buddha. This essential body or the true nature of Buddhahood is identical with the true nature of all things. The other two bodies are said to come from the essential body as they represent the Buddha's compassion.

The *sambhogikakaya* or enjoyment body is a physical body (though not of gross form) and unlike the essential body is an impermanent body. It is the supramundane body we come in contact with through Buddhist devotion. The enjoyment body is said to preach in the Pure Land.

The *nairmanikakaya* or transformation body is the most important for our purposes, as it is the one that we, as unenlightened sentient beings, come into contact with most. It is a manifestation of the enjoyment body and takes any form that will lead sentient beings along the path. The transformation body can manifest itself as different Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, as non-Buddhist gods or religious leaders, as humans or animals or hell wardens in the different realms of rebirth. Sakyamuni (Jap. Shaka) the historical Buddha, is understood within this context, to be a manifestation of the transformation body. All of these manifestations form part of the realization of the Buddha's compassion.

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37. Williams, *Mahayana Buddhism*, p. 176.

Thus the relationship between the Buddha and non-Buddhist gods[38] can be understood through the concept of the different bodies of the Buddha. The transformation body manifests itself as the different gods of non-Buddhist religions. Such manifestation is another form of *upaya* that the ever-compassionate Buddha uses for those who are not yet ready for the Buddhist path. For example, Confucius is considered a manifestation of the Buddha who out of compassion for the Chinese population taught a form of religion that would ready the Chinese to accept the true Buddhist teachings. Likewise, Jesus Christ is sometimes thought of as a manifestation of the Buddha.

Upaya was the philosophical framework which allowed Buddhism to take root in different cultures. As Buddhism spread to other countries it was able to incorporate the native deities and beliefs into Buddhist ones allowing Buddhism to exist alongside other religious traditions without requiring absolute conversion. And each time Buddhism passed into a new country it brought with it the culture and ideas and deities of all the countries that Buddhism had passed through on its way there. As we will see in the case of this assimilation in Japan, Indian deities are found in the developing Japanese cosmology as are Chinese gods.

Honji-Suijaku

Honji-suijaku demonstrates how the philosophical framework described above functions within the Japanese context. *Honji-suijaku* meant 'original source manifest traces' or 'true nature — trace manifestation' and described the relationship between the Japanese

38. As well as the relationship between Buddhas and Bodhisattvas.

gods and their Buddhist counterparts. The theory asserted that indigenous Japanese gods (*kami)* were manifestations of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. Out of compassion for all sentient beings, the Buddhas manifested themselves as *kami* to 'soften' the rough edges[39] of the people and bring them to Buddhism. This manifestation is an example of the Buddha's skillful means — *upaya.*

Honji-suijaku developed slowly and has a long history in Japan stretching from soon after Buddhism's introduction into Japan, until the modern day. Although an interesting topic for any scholar, I will limit the discussion of *honji-suijaku* to its development during the sixth through twelfth centuries.[40]

In *The Buddhist Philosophy of Assimilation*, Matsunaga outlines four steps in the development of the *honji-suijaku* theory: *kami* as protectors of the Dharma, *kami* as suffering beings, *kami* as enlightened beings, and *kami* as manifestations of Buddhas or Bodhisattvas. As this development is visible in the narrative collections and demonstrates the application of the doctrine of *upaya*, I will briefly outline each step.

The initial attempts to unite the indigenous faith with Buddhism were referred to as *shimbutsu-shûgo* (unification of gods and Buddhas) and can be traced almost to the

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39. This is an expression used through out Ichien's *Shasekishû* to refer to why the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas manifested themselves as Japanese gods.

40. Just briefly, the development of *honji-suijaku* was at its zenith by the middle of the twelfth century. Each of the religious leaders of the centuries following (i.e. the Kamakura period (1185-1333)), had to adopt a doctrinal position that dealt with *honji-suijaku.* Nichiren fully embraced the theory of *honji-suijaku.* For him, it was the historical Buddha Sakyamuni, who manifested himself as all others. He felt that neglect of the native deities would make them angry and cause terrible catastrophes. Hônen reluctantly made a place for the Japanese gods, *kami,* as manifestations by saying that they could become enlightened by chanting the name of Amida Buddha (*nembutsu*). Shinran outright denied their efficacy and would not recognize the *honji-suijaku* theory. Shinran's disciple Rennyo, however agreed with the belief that all the Japanese gods were really manifestations of Buddhas who were merely manifesting themselves out of compassion for those who could not yet understand the Buddhist path. And as this was the case, the Japanese gods would be happy if an adherent chanted the name of Amida Buddha (*nembutsu*) -- it would mean they had reached the true teachings.

introduction of Buddhism into Japan in the sixth century. *Shimbutsu-shûgo* was characterized by the unsystematic appropriation of elements of Buddhism such as certain rituals and practices for use by the court. As we saw in the section on Nara Buddhism, practices such as the rites of repentance, the rainy season retreat, and the liberation of captive creatures were appropriated and adapted to act to protect the nation. During this time[41], the *kami* were thought to protect the Buddhist Dharma. For example according to a later account[42] when Emperor Shômu wished to build the temple of Tôdaiji, he sent the priest Gyôgi to confer with the Shintô sun goddess Amaterasu[43], and get her approval. The answer he received was somewhat ambiguous, but Shômu had a dream not long after in which Amaterasu indicated that she and the Buddha (Vairochana) to be enshrined within Tôdaiji were identical, so she would be pleased if they built it[44]. Likewise, according to the *Zoku-nihongi*,[45] once Tôdaiji was built, the great Shintô god Hachiman, in the form of a priestess, came and offered to protect Tôdaiji and a shrine was built nearby as Hachiman's tutelary shrine. Thus the *kami* were enlisted to protect and support the Buddhist teachings. The explicit protection of such a powerful and popular *kami* made it appear that both religions were united ensuring national prosperity. There are also examples of *sutras* being read to

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41. "The first step in the assimilation of the indigenous gods consisted of the effort to prove that the native deities both accepted and protected the Buddhist Dharma. This step had already been accomplished during the Hakuhô and Nara periods withe the establishment of the *jingûji* (shrine temples) where the sutra was chanted for the benefit of the native gods" Matsunaga, *The Buddhist Philosophy of Assimilation.*

42. "one of the more modest accounts concerning the event, the *Genkôshakucho* written by the Rinzai priest Shiren (1331-4)" Matsunaga, *The Buddhist Philosophy of Assimilation*, p.164.

43. Amaterasu is the sun goddess in Shintô cosmology. She was believed to be the founding ancestor and tutelary kami of the imperial family.

44. "This event occurred at midnight on 11 Nov. In the 14th year of Tempyô (742) *Daijingû shozôji-ki* in *Gunshoruijû*" (Matsunaga,*The Buddhist Philosophy of Assimilation*, footnote 48 p.165).

45. Matsunaga, *The Buddhist Philosophy of Assimilation*, lists page 206 as the source.

kami, Buddhist statues being offered to *kami*, shrines built within Buddhist temple complexes to house *kami*, etc., all in the hopes of gaining the protection of the *kami*.[46]

As Buddhism became more entrenched in the Heian period, the relationship between the *kami* and Buddhism changed. No longer simply protecting Buddhism, the kami requested the services of salvation from Buddhism. For example when Saichô set off to China he visited Usa Hachiman shrine in Kyûshû

> At that time reportedly the god of the shrine sent word to him[47] saying, 'For a long time I have not heard the Dharma (teaching), but fortunately I have met you and thanks to you I receive the correct Dharma' The god then in appreciation presented him with Buddhist robes.[48]

At the same time, Saichô also went to the Kahara shrine. The *kami* there requested that

> out of his great compassion Saichô might save him from the pain and sufferings of his karma, promising if he would do so, the god would then protect him day and night in his search for the Dharma.[49]

Likewise *Kôyadaishi gokôden* in *Zoku gunshoruijû*,[50] describes Kûkai's experiences with *kami* asking for Buddhist teachings. Before Kûkai opened the monastery on Mt Kôya, the god Nihu asked Kûkai to teach him the Buddhist doctrine and in return he would protect the monastery.[51] The same source tells how Kûkai asked the Inari Shrine function as guardian of the Tôji Temple. In each of these cases the *kami* desires help from the Buddhist teachings

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46. As we will see later in the examination of the story collections, the *engi* provide the most prolific examples of *kami* being enlisted to help protect Buddhism. Reader in *Religion in Contemporary Japan* describes a variety of engi and how they demonstrate the connection between Buddhas and their kami protectors (Reader, Ian. *Religion in Contemporary Japan*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1991. pages 141-147).

47. Usually this would be through a miko (sacred virgin) or other divine contact.

48. Matsunaga, *The Buddhist Philosophy of Assimilation*, p.189, the source for this story is Ninchû's *Eizandaishiden*.

49. Matsunaga,*The Buddhist Philosophy of Assimilation*, p.189.

50. vol. 8, p. 628.

51. Matsunaga, *The Buddhist Philosophy of Assimilation*, p.192.

and offers his protection in exchange.

Many of the *engi*, stories that describe the founding of temples, tell of *kami* asking that temples be built so that they might hear the teachings of the Buddha and escape the rebirths that they faced. The *Reiki* tells the tale of priest Eshô of the Daianji Temple

> who during the era of Hôki (770-80), while practicing devotions at the Omidaga Shrine, had the tutelary god appear to him as a monkey, stating that because of his heavy karma he had received such a body and became a god, but now to achieve release from such suffering he wished to have the *Lotus Sutra* chanted.[52]

In this case, and in others like it, the *kami* requests the Buddhist teachings. Thus *kami* had become suffering sentient beings in an endless cycle of rebirths. This was the second step of assimilation.

The third step is a natural corollary of step two. Once the *kami* were thought of as suffering they would, of course, be able to escape this condition through the Buddhist teachings, achieve enlightenment, and become Bodhisattvas. By the end of the Nara period, Hachiman was considered both a *kami* and a Bodhisattva. The *Tôdaiji-yôroku* describes Hachiman's Bodhisattvahood as follows:

> At the beginning of Ten-ô [781] considering the divine merit [of Usa Hachiman] he was given the honorable title of Gokokureigeniryoku-jinzû Daibosatsu [National Great Bodhisattva Guardian possessing mystical spiritual attributes].
>
> On the fourth day of May in the second year of Enryaku [784] the god revealed: 'I was born in the three worlds over innumerable *kalpas* ago and I practiced skillful means to save sentient beings. My name is Daijizai-ô-bosatsu. Adding this new honorable name I should be called Gokokureigeniryoku-jinzû-daijizai-ô-bosatsu.'[53]

Hachiman was the first *kami* to demand a Bosatsu name, we will see in Chapter Six another example of a *kami* demanding recognition as a Bodhisattva (*bosatsu*). (see Figure 4)

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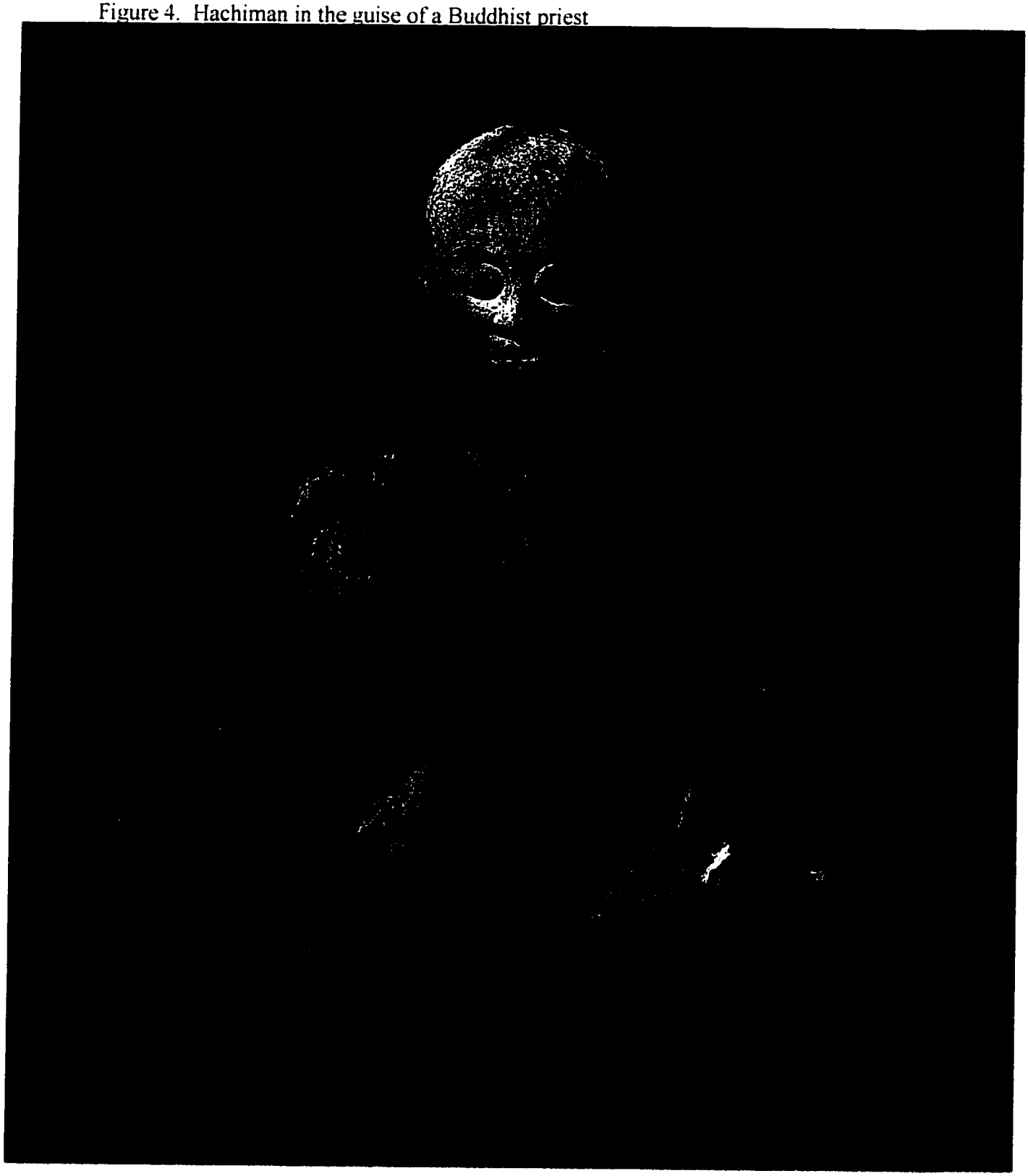
52. Matsunaga, *The Buddhist Philosophy of Assimilation*, p.219.
53. Matsunaga *The Buddhist Philosophy of Assimilation*, p.221.

Figure 4. Hachiman in the guise of a Buddhist priest



The final step outlined by Matsunaga in the development of the theory of *honji-suijaku* is the movement of the *kami* from an enlightened being to a manifestation of a Buddha. This step meant that many if not all *kami* were thought of as actually being Buddhas who had chosen this form out of compassion. En no Gyôja,[54] a hermit who lived on Mt Katsuragi two or three generations prior to the lifetime of Saichô and Kûkai, provides us with the first concrete example of a person who was thought to be a transformation body.[55] The biography of En no Gyôja written by Gigen in 724 states:

> in 671 when En no Gyôja was on a certain mountain in the course of his meditation this thought came to him — 'Long ago I listened to Shaka himself as he was preaching on the Eagle Mountain. Later I became an Emperor of Japan and ruled the Empire. Here I am now on this mountain in a different body, to engage in the work of saving sentient beings.[56]

In later periods, almost every shrine considered its *kami* as the counterpart of some Buddha or Buddhist divinity. It was customary to enshrine statues of these Buddhist counterparts in Shintô shrines, and this practice further encouraged the interaction of Buddhist and Shintô priests.

The *honji-suijaku* theory was not fully systematic in the connections made between the particular form of the Buddha (*honji* or original body) and the *kami* (*suijaku* or trace manifestation). Although the theory of *honji-suijaku* was put into practice in many local shrines throughout the country, there was no uniform set of counterparts for *kami* and Buddhas. Shintô shrines might be dedicated not only to Buddhas, but to non-Buddhist, Chinese, Korean, or Indian divinities. Often the identification of a certain Buddha as the

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54. He was also known as Ennokimi Ozunu.
55. Matsunaga, *The Buddhist Philosophy of Assimilation*, p.206.
56. Matsunaga, *The Buddhist Philosophy of Assimilation*, p.206-207.

original body depended on the popularity of that Buddha. The connections between a Buddha or Bodhisattva and his manifestations would change given his increase or decrease in popularity. [57] Perhaps the most interesting connection between original body and trace manifestation is that of the Indian deities who lost their humble position in Indian Buddhism as guardians of the Dharma to become, in Japan, original bodies manifesting themselves as *kami*.

Later, at the end of the Kamakura period, the Japanese reversed the relationship found in *honji-suijaku*, claiming that all Buddhas and Bodhisattvas were manifestations of *kami*. Shintô schools developed what was called *shimpon-butsujaku* or '*kami* origin, Buddha manifestation.'[58] Although a fascinating and vital part of the history of *honji-suijaku*, it extends beyond the scope of this thesis.

As we will see in following chapters, the importance of *honji-suijaku* to this thesis is two-fold. Some of the narrative collections that will be examined such as *Shasekishu* openly promote *honji-suijaku* using humorous and bizarre anecdotes to illustrate the connection between Buddhas and *kami*. Also, the theory of *honji-suijaku* can be used to support the

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57. The four Buddhas that most often were considered original bodies were (with the Sanskrit name in brackets) Shaka (Sakyamuni)), Amida (Amitabha), Dainichi (Vairochana), and Yakushi (Bhaisajyaguru). The eight most popular Bodhisattvas were Kannon (Avalokitesvara), Jizô (Ksitigarbha), Monjushiri (Manjusri), Fugen (Samantabhadra), Miroku (Maitreya), Ryuju, Seishi, and Kokuzo.

58. "During the Tokugawa period from the 1600's on, under the influence of the *kokugakuha*, the National Learning school, *honji-suijaku* was turned on its head and became important in the Japanese effort to establish a national identity for itself. Over-enthusiastic nationalists claimed that Japanese civilization was the *honji* and Chinese civilization was the *suijaku*. Thus some claimed that China learned *kanji* from Japanese example, that Shintô was universal and Buddhism only a local manifestation of it etc. The final chapter of the story of *honji-suijaku* was written during the *haibutsu kishaku* (destroy Buddha, eliminate Sakyamuni) period of Buddhist persecution following the Meiji Restoration of 1868. The Meiji restored the emperor to power after centuries of military rule under the Tokugawa shoguns. The Japanese emperor is chief priest of Shintô so that his restoration, de facto, signaled the restoration of Shintô as the national religion and the casting out of Buddhism, made once again into a foreign religion." (From comments of Victor Hori)

claim that the reception of Buddhism in Japan acknowledged two levels, Buddhism for the court and Buddhism for the folk. As I will later question the division of the reception of Buddhism into two tiers, an understanding of *honji-suijaku* is essential.

Chapter 2: Literary Background

As the focus of this thesis is a body of literature, this chapter briefly examines the history and characteristics of Japanese literature from the eighth to the twelfth century. It then examines the different types of story collections that were compiled during the same time period.

The History of Literature

Japanese Literature from the Fourth Century to the end of the Nara period

The extant literature of the pre Nara and Nara period is interesting as it raises many questions concerning the relationship between oral traditions and written traditions. The major texts extant from this period, the *Kojiki*, the *Nihon Shoki*, and *Man'yôshû*, must be considered in terms of their relationship to native Japanese traditions and the incoming Chinese traditions.

There was no writing system in Japan until Chinese was introduced from the mainland in the late fourth century and it took until the beginning of the seventh century for Chinese writing to come into general use by the aristocracy.[1] Until this time, Japanese literature was transmitted orally. Thus the records from the fourth century to the end of the Nara period that have survived are written in Chinese characters. Sometimes they are actually written in Chinese, other times the Chinese characters are used phonetically to spell out the Japanese words.[2] As Chinese culture was imported at the same time the Chinese

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1. Putzar, Edward. *Japanese Literature: A Historical Outline*, Tuscon: The University of Arizona Press, 1973. p.5.

2. This phonentic replacement was known as *man'yôgana*. "The technique for recording Japanese language by means of Chinese graphs was to use the Sino-Japanese pronunciation of the graphs and also, at

characters were, it is difficult to separate what was written based on the indigenous traditions and what was written under the influence of Chinese culture.[3] Scholars studying the *Kojiki*, the *Nihon Shoki*, and the *Man'yôshû* attempt to understand how the relationship between Chinese and indigenous traditions has influenced the particular work at hand.

The *Kojiki* records the mythological history of Japan.[4] Edited and compiled by ô no Yasumaro, the *Kojiki* was completed in 712.[5] As the preface explains, Emperor Temmu was concerned by the lack of accuracy and the misrepresentations found in the *Teiki* and the *Kyûji*, two histories that are no longer extant that represented the political interests of other clans, so he commissioned the writing of the *Kojiki*. The *Kojiki* recorded "the old traditions, songs, deity stories, and histories which had been preserved in the oral tradition of the whole people"[6] but as they were reorganized and rewritten by the court there were "sizable discrepancies between the oral traditions on one hand and recorded literature composed for political reasons by the Yamato Court which was emulating the Chinese model."[7] As we saw in the discussion of Shintô in the previous chapter, even the stories about the origins of Japan contained within the *Kojiki* in some cases have Chinese counterparts. Still, the *Kojiki*

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times, the native Japanese word equivalent to the Chinese graph: sometimes the meaning of the graph (from Chinese) was significant, sometimes the graphs were only used as phonetic symbols." (Putzar, *Japanese Literature*, p.25).

3. The influence extended both in what was written as as well "the influence was even more pronounced in style and rhetorical devices" (Putzar, *Japanese Literature*, p.36).

4. Both the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon Shoki* were patterned on Chinese historical works such as the *Han shu* (History of Former Han Dynasty), *Hou-Han shu* (History of Later Han Dynasty), and *Shih chi* (Records of the Historian). "The Kojiki opens with the Creation and continues until the seventh century of our era, moving from a collection of sometimes engaging myths to an encomium of the Imperial family, particularly of the line of the ruling sovereign" (Keene, Donald. *Anthology of Japanese Literature: from the earliest era to the mid-nineteenth century*, New York: Grove Weidenfeld, 1955. p.20).

5. There is evidence however that both the text and the preface of the Kojiki are in part apocryphal and therefore the date may be considerably later. (Putzar, *Japanese Literature*, p. 13).

6. Putzar, *Japanese Literature*, p.7.

7. Putzar, *Japanese Literature*, p. 7.

represents one of the major sources for understanding Japanese civilization and religion before the introduction of Buddhism. Also important for knowledge concerning pre-Buddhist Japan is the fact that unlike most of the later histories commissioned by the court, the *Kojiki* was written in Japanese, using the Chinese characters to record the Japanese language.

The *Nihon Shoki*[8] records the later mythological history and the proto history of Japan. Edited by Prince Toneri (d.735), it was completed in 720, eight years after *Kojiki*. Many of the same questions and issues that are raised by the *Kojiki* can be applied to the *Nihon Shoki*. But whereas the *Kojiki* struggled to use the Chinese characters to reproduce Japanese, the *Nihon Shoki* was written in Chinese, a move that is thought to be an attempt to make the *Nihon Shoki* seem more authoritative.[9]

The *Man'yôshû* (Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves), is an extensive collection of approximately 4,500 early Japanese poems, thought to be collected sometime after the date of its latest poem in 759. The *Man'yôshû* is considered by most scholars to be one of the most important and influential works in Japanese history.[10] Like the *Kojiki*, *Man'yôshû* is written in Japanese using Chinese characters. There are several aspects that set the *Man'yôshû* apart from later poetry anthologies. As Varley states

> it possesses a kind of native freshness and youthful vigor in its verses that was lost in later centuries after Japanese culture had been more fully transformed by the influence

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8. "The original titleof the work may have been Nihongi, but the present title has been used since the early Heian period." (Putzar, *Japanese Literature*, p.15).

9. Putzar, *Japanese Literature*, p.15.

10. Varley states that it "marked the true beginning of the Japanese poetic tradition....[it] is not only Japan's first anthology but in the minds of many the finest, astonishing as this may seem for so early a work" (Varley, *Japanese Culture*, p.39) Keene goes so far as to say that it "is one of the world's great collections of poetry." (Keene, *Anthology of Japanese Literature*, p.20).

of continental civilization.

The second aspect that set it apart was that "the authors of the *Man'yôshû* poems and songs come from every level of society and the work preserves many poems of the nameless commoners."[11] And the third aspect was the variety of the *Man'yôshû*'s poetic forms. The *Man'yôshû* included the long poems called *chôka*[12], the shorter verse of *waka*[13], and the less familiar form of *sedôka.*[14] In later compilations only *waka* were collected. Below is a longer poem whose author is unknown, which suggests that it was not written by a member of the aristocracy.

In obedience to the Imperial command,
Though sad is the parting from my wife,
I summon up the courage of a man,
And dressed for journey, take my leave.
My mother strokes me gently;
My young wife clings to me, saying,
"I will pray to the gods for your safekeeping.
Go unharmed and come back soon!"
As she speaks, she wipes with her sleeves
The tears that choke her.
Hard as it is, I start on my way,
Pausing and looking back time after time;
Ever farther I travel from my home,
Ever higher the mountains I clim and cross,
Till at last I arrive at Naniwa of wind-blown reeds.

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11. Putzar, *Japanese Literature*, p.28-29. Varley is more colourful: "its poems appear to have been written by people from many classes of society, including peasants, frontier guards, and even beggars, as well as the aristocrats who through much of the premodern era completely monopolized poetic composition. Some modern scholars believe that those *Man'yôshû* poems whose authors appear to have been non-aristocratic were, in reality, composed by courtiers who "went primitive." Nevertheless, the poems were at least written from the stand point of the non-aristocrat, a fact that distinguishes them from virtually all the other poetry composed in Japan for many centuries to come." (Varley, *Japanese Culture*, p.39).

12. "*Chôka* (long poem): three or more of the 5-7 syllable couplets, with a final extra line of seven syllables" (Putzar, *Japanese Literature*, p.24).

13. "*Tanka* (short poem), or *waka*, (Japanese poem): thirty-one syllables in the pattern 5-7-5-7-7." (Putzar, *Japanese Literature*, p.24).

14. "*Sedôka* (head-repeated poem): six lines in the patter 5-7-7/5-7-7; this developed from a chorus being added to the *katauta*. The final lines in each half are identical" (Putzar, *Japanese Literature*, p.24).

Here I stop and wait for good weather,
To launch the ship upon the evening tide,
To set the prow seawards,
And to row out in the calm of morning.
The spring mists rise round the isles.
And the cranes cry in a plaintive tone,
Then I think of my far-off home —
Sorely do I grieve that with my sobs
I shake the war arrows I carry
Till they rattle in my ears.[15]

The *Man'yôshû* is thought to be the last collection of poetry for a long time that expressed freedom and strength of emotion. Much of the serious poetry writing that occured in the centuries to follow was done in Chinese following the more restrictive Chinese style and form. And even as poetry came to be written in Japanese it still aspired to values that were more restrained than those found in the *Man'yôshû.*

Japanese Literature during the Heian Period

The Heian period is dominated by the literature of the aristocracy and the value of courtly refinement. A survey all of the major works of Japanese literature during the Heian period would take far more space than is available in this thesis. Instead, I will examine two works, the first imperially sanctioned collection of Japanese poetry, the *Kokinshû*, and the first true novel from Japan,[16] the *Genji monogatari*, to see why Heian literature is equated with aristocratic or court literature.[17]

Both of these two works, and for that matter most of the other major works from the

15. This poem is taken from Keene's *Anthology of Japanese Literature*, p.44-45.
16. And arguably the first sustained novel worldwide.
17. "The literature of the [Heian] period was the literature of the aristocracy of the capital city, Heian, and the most profound awareness in that writing is of the history, geography, the political, economic and social life of the city." (Putzar, *Japanese Literature*, p.41).

Heian period, were written in *kana*. *Kana* are highly simplified Chinese characters that are used phonetically to reproduce the 48 sounds of the Japanese language. *Kana* can be written quickly and with ease which meant writing could be achieved without the cumbersome and time consuming use of Chinese characters.[18] (For a visual comparison see Figure 5 and Figure 6.) *Kana* was used especially to write the *waka*, or short poem. Interestingly enough, *kana* became the primary type of writing for women, while men chose to continue using the Chinese characters, and perhaps because of this most of the great works of the Heian period were written by women.

The *Kokinshû* (*Collection of Ancient and Modern Poems*) was the first imperially authorized anthology of Japanese poetry.[19] Written in 905, it embodied what would become the spirit of Heian literature.

> In the new world of the *Kokinshû*, refinement, taste, and decorum took absolute precedence over candor and vigourous emotional expression. The Heian poet ... was expected to versify at the proper time and in the proper mood"[20]

Courtly refinement or *miyabi* was a greatly aspired to quality and expressions of *miyabi* are prevalent throughout the literature of the time.

Another court sentiment, that of *mono no aware* or 'a capacity to be moved by things' is said to be closely related to *miyabi*.[21] The *Genji monogatari* (Tale of Genji) written by

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18. "Prose writing in the *hiragana* syllabary [i.e. *kana*] seems to have developed through letters written to accompany *waka* at the time when *waka* were being composed as love poems, The letters were written by both men and women who would have been aware of the effectiveness of the form in revealing their most intimate feelings, but the men, through praising writing done in *kana*, had taken up written Chinese as their literary medium and seem to have felt that the syllabary was inferior. They inclined to the opinion that the cursive syllabary, *hiragana* was a medium more suitable for women than men." (Putzar, *Japanese Literature*, p.53).
19. The previous imperially authorized anthologies were all written in Chinese.
20. Varley, *Japanese Culture*, p.55.
21. Varley, *Japanese Culture*, p.57.

Figure 5. Section from the "Menashi-gyô." An Example of Chinese script.

Figure 6. Single page from the Collected Poems of Ise (Ise-shû). An Example of Kana script.

Murasaki Shikibu (978-ca.1016), a lady in waiting at court, exemplifies the combination of *miyabi* and *mono no aware*.[22] Varley describes the way in which love affairs were conducted

> In Genji's circle, the typical love affair was conducted according to exacting dictates of taste. Lovers delighted each other by exchanging poems written on fans or on carefully selected and scented stationery, which they adorned with delicate sprays of flowers. A faulty handwriting, a missed allusion, or a poor matching of colors could quickly dampen a courtier's ardor. On the other hand, the scent of a delicately mixed perfume or the haunting notes of a zithern on a soft summer night could excite his greatest passion.[23]

(See Figure 7) Between the imperially sponsored collections of poetry and the qualities that were aspired to, it is not surprising that this period of literature is classified 'aristocratic'.

Unfortunately the aristocratic literature overshadows the other works that were produced at the time. This overshadowing goes as far as to encourage scholars (and the Japanese themselves) to feel that anything that did not fit the aesthetic of *miyabi* and *mono no aware*, did not truly fit into the category of literature. This exclusion of non aristocratic works extends into the Kamakura period and even later. As Ruch points out, this

> elitism is difficult to counter because it is apparent that Japanese literature itself began with the patronage and participation of the elite and by the tenth to twelfth centuries had been honed to an aesthetic perfection inconceivable outside leisured wealthy circles.[24]

I will discuss further the relationship between aristocratic and non-aristocratic literature in Chapter Six; suffice it to say at this point that the story collections were not considered literature as they did not aspire to *miyabi* or *mono no aware*, and did not exercise the restraint

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22. In fact "*aware* appears as an adjective in the book (referring to things that are moving) no less than 1,018 times." (Varley, *Japanese Culture*, p.62).

23. Varley, *Japanese Culture*, p.61-62.

24. Ruch, Barbara, "Medieval Jongleurs and the Making of a National Literature." In *Japan in the Muromachi Age*, ed. John W. Hall and Toyoda Takeshi, pp.279-309. Berkeley: University of California, 1977. p. 280.

Figure 7. Genji monogatari emaki

expected from aristocratic literature.

Japanese Literature during the Kamakura Period

In the Kamakura, the growth of two elements pervade the literature of the period; the growth of warfare and the growth of Pure Land Buddhism. During the Kamakura there was much fighting among various clans. This fighting was captured by tales like *Heiki monogatari*. These tales changed the perception of the warrior from being considered vulgar and barbarous to being the nation's brilliant heroic figure.[25] But the tales, especially the *Heiki monogatari* is twinged with sadness and a Buddhist sense of the impermanence of life.

> In the sound of the bell of the Gion Temple echoes the impermanence of all things. The pale hue of the flowers of the teak-tree shows the truth that they who prosper must fall. The proud ones do not last long, but vanish like a spring-night's dream. And the mighty ones too will perish in the end, like dust before the wind[26]

As we see in from the *Heiki monogatari*, *mono no aware* becomes, in the Kamakura period, linked with the aesthetic of *sabi* or 'loneliness.' Both the poetry and the war tales that told of the strife and warfare that occurred during this period express a sense of loneliness about the transience of life. Interestingly enough there was some consolation in the beauty of the aesthetic of *sabi*.

The *Shinkokinshû*, the last great imperially authorized anthology of poetry, was filled with poems that expressed *sabi*

> In a tree standing
> Beside a desolate field,
> The voice of a dove
> Calling to its companions —
> Lonely, terrible evening.

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25. Putzar, *Japanese Literature*, p.77.
26. As quoted by Varley, *Japanese Culture*, p.75.

This poem was contributed by Saigyô who having once been a warrior became a Buddhist priest. Saigyô was one of the leading poets in the Kamakura period and a major contributor to the *Shinkokinshû*.

Clearly lacking throughout this outline of the history of literature in Japan is any reference to story collections. Such neglect, however, typifies most accounts of literature in Japan. As we will explore in Chapters Four, Five and Six, the Japanese and scholars on the story collections have traditionally considered the story collections to be part of 'folk' culture and thus are excluded from any consideration of 'literature'. Even now most histories only discuss the two most popular story collections; *Konjaku monogatari* and *Uji Shui monogatari*. Thus I have devoted the next section to listing some of the different types of story collections and their dates.

The Story Collections

This section surveys the different types of story collections that existed during the collecting period. As seen in Appendix A, no scholar has developed a definitive list of what can be considered part of the story collections. This section therefore attempts to simply outline and define the types of collections and what titles (and dates) are included in each type. I have attempted to be as exhaustive as possible, but as I am only consulting secondary sources in English, this list is by no means complete.

This survey covers not only *setsuwa bungaku* ('tale literature') which is usually the focus of scholarship on story collections, but all collections extant from the collecting period such as *engi* (stories of temple origins), *reigenki* (a type of miracle story), *ôjôden* (biographies of people reborn in Paradise), and *uchi-giki* (notes of sermons). In this chapter,

each type of collection is defined and the links between the different types of collections are explored. The lists of the collections are drawn from a compilation of other scholars' writings.

Before examining the different types of collections, a quick look at the common link between all of the collections is necessary.[27] The one thing that all of these collections have in common, and the reason for including such a wide range of types in this survey, is that the stories contained in all of the collections appear to come from oral antecedents. Little is known about who the original composers were and how they used these stories. Although it is difficult to know what the oral traditions were in Japan, the compilers of the collections are often quite explicit about the fact that the events told in the stories were ones that they had heard. For those stories that have written antecedents, it is often the case that these written antecedents are themselves based on oral sources. This is the case, for example, for the influential Chinese collections that some of the early Japanese story collections were based upon. And within many of the stories there are phrases and forms of language use that indicate that the compiler was recording the story from an oral source[28].

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27. Mills, *Tales from Uji*, p. 29, groups much the same range of collections under the umbrella term 'tale literature' and justifies the grouping in three ways. First, the *Konjaku monogatarishû* and the *Uji shûi monogatari* are considered the most important collections. The works associated with them belong to a variety of traditions "with Buddhist miracle-tales accompanied by comic anecdotes of Court life, edifying moral tales by stories of almost grotesque crudeness" (29) and these traditions must be considered together. Second, the compilers of these collections all were "concerned to present their narrative material as a record of fact, just as it had been handed down." (29) even if their reasons for collecting "were, of course, widely divergent; the proselytizing of Buddhist works is in strong contrast to the 'gossipy' flavor of some secular works." (29) The third justification is that all these types of stories were orally transmitted.

28. Kobayashi states "the language used contains many native colloquial words and expressions and shows that many of these tales had probably gone through a stage of oral transmission" (Kobayashi, Hiroko. *The Human Comedy of Heian Japan: A Study of the Secular Stories in the Twelfth-Century Collection of Tales, Konjaku Monogatarishû*. Tokyo: Tokyo Press, Co., Ltd., East Asian Cultural Studies Series, No. 19, 1979. p.2).

Setsuwa

The collections that have been the focus of most of scholarship on Japanese story literature are called *setsuwa*. Finding a conclusive definition for the term *setsuwa* is virtually impossible: some scholars use the term *setsuwa* to refer simply to any short narrative, other scholars define *setsuwa* within certain parameters but then include collections of narratives that do not meet the definition that is given, and still others give a circular definition for *setsuwa* setting out a definition that suits the conclusions that the scholar wishes to draw. Given these problems, the definition given here is a tentative one; it includes only those elements that almost all scholars agree upon. Thus, *setsuwa* are short straightforward narratives that describe an event. Because the narrative is "event-centered rather than hero-centered,"[29] there is often more than one central character and the thoughts or emotions of the characters are only mentioned if they are manifested through action. Although they are most often thought of as being part of Buddhist literature, *setsuwa* also cover secular themes, and the collections are differentiated by the terms Buddhist, secular, and mixed (having both Buddhist and secular tales in the same compilations).

The collections that I consider to fall within the category of *setsuwa* (that is they meet the definition of *setsuwa* and are not included in any of the other types of narrative collections that will be examined in the next sections) are also divided into Buddhist, secular and mixed. The Buddhist *setsuwa* are: *Nihon ryôiki* (810-823), *Nihon kanryôroku* (848-892), *Sanbô ekotoba* (984), *Dainihon Hoke-kyô kenki* (1040-1043), *Fusô ryakki* (1094-1169),

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29. Kelsey, W. Michael. "Didactics in Art: The Literary Structure of *Konjaku Monogatari-shû*" Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1976. p.10-11.

Honchô shinsenden (1097-1098), *Mizukagami* (1170-1195), *Hôbutsushû* (1179), *Shûchû-shô* (1185), *Hosshinshû* (1216), *Gukanshô* (1219-1220), *Zoku Kojidan* (1219), *Kankyo no tomo* (1222), *Senjûshô* (1243-1255), *Shishû hyaku-innenshû* (1257), *Shasekishû* (1283), *Zôdanshû* (1305), *Genkô shakusho* (1322), *Shingonden* (1325), *Shintôshû* (1354-1358).

The secular setsuwa are: *Zenke hiki/iki/isetsu* (c.901-918), *Ki-ke ke-i jitsuroku* (before 912), *Yamamoto monogatari*, (mid 10th cent), *Gôdanshô* (1104-8), *Chûgaishô* (mid 12th cent), *Fuke godan* (mid 12th cent), *Shumpishô* (before 1124), *Fukuro sôshi* (before 1177), *Môgyû waka* (1204), *Kara Monogatari* (before 1264-75), *Kara kagami* (1294), *Kiri-bioke* (?), *Guhishô* (?), *Kyôkunshô* (1232-3), *Ima monogatari* (after 1239), *Jikkinshô* (1252), *Kokon chomonjû* (1254).

The mixed collections are: *Konjaku monogatari* (1106-1110), *Kohon setsuwashû* (1126-1131), *Ujishûi monogatari* (1212-1221), and *Kojidan* (1212-1215).

Engi

Engi are narratives that record the circumstances of the founding of a temple, the miracles that surround the various deities, Buddhas, and Bodhisattvas, that are worshiped there, and the history of the festivals that are celebrated at the temple[30]. *Engi* were originally written as records of the "circumstances under which [the temple] was founded, a history of the various buildings of which it was constituted, and other purely historical information ... and were appended to other records kept at the temple."[31] In the Heian period, *engi* came to

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30. Brower Robert H. "The *Konzyaku Monogatarisyu*: An Historical and Critical Introduction with Annotated Translations of Seventy-eight Tales." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1952. p.37.

31. Brower, *Konzyaku monogatarisyu*, p.38. For example "The *Hôryûzi garan engi narabi ni ruki sizaityô* or "Origin of the Buildings, Together with a Record of the Branches and Register of the Holdings of the Hôryûzi," and the *Daianzi garan engi narabi ni ruki sizaityô*, or "Origin of the Buildings, Together with a Record of the Branches and Register of the Possessions of the Daianzi," both of which date from the year 747,

include tales that, in recounting the various circumstances under which a temple was founded, included narratives of miracles and legends. Still later in the Kamakura period, *engi* circulated as illustrated scrolls and were very popular.

> Although originally written in Chinese, *engi* in Japanese appeared in large numbers during the feudal period, and, circulated in the form of illustrated scrolls, they became a very popular type of literature during this strongly religious age.[32]

The Ippen Shonin scroll is a perfect example of such an illustrated *engi*. (see Figure 8)

Although the narratives meet most of the criterion for being called *setsuwa* (they are short, straightforward, and are event based), the collections of *engi* are not typically included on lists of *setsuwa* or in the discussion of *setsuwa*. Most likely this exclusion is based on the fact that the *engi* do not meet scholars' expectations of the function of the *setsuwa* as didactic tools written for the lay population. Some scholars also point to the illustrations as part of the reason for their exclusion. *Engi* are included in this survey.

A complete list of *engi* is not possible given the combination of the great numbers of *engi* written and the limited amount of study done on the topic[33] but for the purposes the present study, the following are considered *engi*: *Daian-ji engi* (895), *Hasedera engi* (896), *Kôfuku-ji engi* (900), *Yakushi-ji engi* (900), *Kongôbuzi konryû syugyô engi* (between 971 and 1046?), *Sekidera engi* (1025)

Reigenki

The only reference I have found concerning *reigenki* is that they are "collections of

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and which deal respectively with the great temples of Hôryûzi and Daianzi, have an account of the origin of the temples appended to the other records of buildings, property, treasure, and the like, of which they primarily consist." (Brower, *Konzyaku monogatarisyu*, p.38-39).

32. Brower, *Konzyaku monogatarisyu*, p.39.
33. Especially in European languages.

Figure 8. Ippen Shônin Engi. Ippen, perched on someone's shoulders, hands out blessings to the throng of people who have come to see him.

miracle stories" and like *engi* often include paintings.[34] There is discrepancy as to which collections are considered *reigenki*. The only collection that is listed by three different authors (Mills, Brower and The Princeton Companion to Classical Japanese Literature) as being a *reigenki* is the *Jizô bosatsu reigenki* (1016-68). The Princeton Companion lists a second *reigenki*, the *Hase-dera reigenki* which is another name for the *Hase-dera Kannon kenki* or *Hase-dera Kannon Genki*[35] but I have not been able to ascertain whether all collections that end with 'kenki' or 'Genki' could be considered *reigenki*. Tyler questions whether the *Kasuga Gonen Genki* falls into the *engi* category or the *reigenki* category. He, in any case, groups it with *engi* and *reigenki* which he contrasts with *setsuwa bungaku*. Tyler also mentions the existence of the *Sannô reigenki* but does not give a date or description.

Ôjôden

Ôjôden are biographies of people who have achieved rebirth in the Pure Land. They recount the events in the lives of various people who placed their faith in Amida Buddha[36]. They espouse two basic truths; that Amida's Pure Land exists, and that it is possible to be reborn there if one seeks Amida's help[37]. They are based on similar biographical collections from China but have a less historical and more religious focus than the Chinese collections

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34. Tyler, Royall. *The Miracles of the Kasuga Deity*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1990. p.2.

35. See Dykstra, Yoshiko K. "Tales of the Compassionate Kannon: The *Hasedera Kannon Genki*", *Monumenta Nipponica: Studies in Japanese Culture*, 31/2 (1976).

36. Brower makes an interesting point concerning the belief in Amida Buddha; "As a group of works, the *ôzyôden* compiled prior to the Kamakura period are of great interest in that they show the extent to which the cult of the merciful Buddha, Amitabha, had been popularized in Japan even before the rise of independent sects devoted to him..." (Brower, *Konzyaku monogatarisyu*, p.52).

37. Kelsey, *Didactics in Art*, p.25.

do[38]. As Dykstra states

> The main concern of these works is the detailed explanation of how eminent priests or devoted laypeople attained enlightenment and were delivered by the help of Amida at the last moment of their lives.[39]

There are some *setsuwa* collections that are very similar to the *ôjôden*; for example, the *setsuwa* collection *Dainihon Hoke-kyô kenki* gives some biographical material, but in *setsuwa* the death and rebirth of the character is not always mentioned, whereas in the *ôjôden* they are always described.

Despite the existence of *setsuwa* collections that are similar to the *ôjôden*, *ôjôden* do not meet the usual criterion for *setsuwa*. Unlike the *setsuwa*, the *ôjôden* are not event centered, they are character centered and relate a progression of events in one person's life[40]. Yet *ôjôden* are included in many lists of *setsuwa* collections.

Only six of these collections are extant.[41] The six extant collections are; *Nihon ôjô gokurakuki* (983-988), *Zoku honchô ôjôden* (1101-1111), *Shûi ôjôden* (1123), *Go-Shûi ôjôden* (1137-1139), *Sange ôjôki* (1139), *Honchô shinshû ôjôden* (1151).

Uchi-giki

The *uchi-giki*, or notes of or for sermons, are collections that do not differ greatly in

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38. As Brower states, "The emphasis is placed upon the religious inspiration to be gained from the assurance that these persons have been reborn in Paradise, rather than upon the historical accuracy of the individual biographies and in this respect the *ôzyôden* differ from Chinese collections of biographies of eminent priests such as the *Kao sêng ch'uan*." (Brower, *Konzyaku monogatarisyu*, p.49).

39. Dykstra, "Tales of the Compassionate Kannon". p.119.

40. Kelsey gives the following structure for *ôjôden*: "The usual formula for stories in the *ôjôden* is to name the person who was reborn in the Western Paradise, to give the name of his teacher if he was a monk (or his lay background if he was not), to mention the types of devotions he practiced (usually a combination of the nembutsu and Lotus Sutra worship), then to relate the circumstances of his death and the attendant miracles which revealed his successful rebirth. These are no more than thumbnail sketches which were primarily intended to serve as inspiration for believers in Amida's paradise" (Kelsey, *Didactics in Art*, p.27).

41. Kelsey, *Didactics in Art*, p.27.

content from the other types of collections described here but whose form is quite different. They tend to lack any description whatsoever, being written almost in point form, without the linking that is often seen in other collections, where one story is connected to the next through similarity in topic or characters or circumstances. Also the *uchi-giki* resemble notes as opposed to stories and thus do not have the narrative structure found in the other collections.

The existence of *uchi-giki* is often taken as evidence that story collections in general were primarily used as preachers' handbooks as there seems to be reference made to preachers as the narrators. But there is a question as to whether these "preachers" were actually monks or were lay people like the Kumano Bikuni from the Muromachi period (1336-1573) who was a storyteller using the guise of a nun.[42] But even if they were really members of the monastic order, this does not preclude the use of the *uchi-giki* by other storytellers.

Uchi-giki are divided into two groups. The first group consists of two collections, *Hyakuza hôdan kikigakishô* (1110) and *Uchigikishû* (1134), and are traditionally considered part of the story collections. The second group are were written at a later date[43] and were the products of particular Buddhist schools, for example; *Sengon-shû*, *Futsû Shôdô-shû* and *Sôan-shû*.[44]

These five types of collections, *setsuwa*, *engi*, *reigenki*, *ôjôden*, and *uchi-giki* form the

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42. Ruch, *Medieval Jongleurs*.

43. Date unspecified but later than the writing of *Konjaku monogatari* in the twelfth century. (Kelsey, *Didactics in Art*, p.23).

44. None of the scholars whose works I have consulted mention any other collections that can be categorized as *uchi-giki* beyond those mentioned, although there is no indication whether this list is definitive or exhaustive.

body of literature that I am referring by the term 'story collections'. As stated earlier, most of the story collections do not presently have a position within the Japanese literature. Perhaps this will change as they are studied, but for now, study of the story collections is left primarily to religious studies scholars and historians.

Chapter Three: Popularization of Buddhism

As we saw in Chapter One there was a definite shift in Japan from Buddhism being practiced only by the state and members of the court to Buddhism being practiced by almost everyone. This movement is most often referred to as the popularization of Buddhism. It is important to note that although I am in this thesis challenging certain ideas about the nature of this popularization, I am not questioning the fact that between the Nara period and the end of the Kamakura period there was an incredible growth in the numbers of Buddhist practioners in Japan. This chapter examines some of the aspects of this process. I begin with the traditional explanation of the popularization — doctrinal changes. I then examine the story collections to show how the they demonstrate the changing familiarity the audience must have had with Buddhism and Buddhist concepts, specifically the concepts of karma and rebirth. Finally I look at Buddhist art during the period to see what possible impact it could have had on the popularization of Buddhism in Japan.

But before I begin, some clarification of terms is necessary. As we will see in the next chapter, many of the assumptions made about the story collections are based on the belief that the audience for the stories was the folk lay population as opposed to the court elite population. There are two parts to the type of audience suggested; folk and lay. The folk aspect indicates a rural, uneducated population (this can include rural unordained monks). This contrasts with what I refer to as the court, a term which indicates the urban, educated population. The lay aspect indicates people, whether folk or courtly, who were not part of the religious elite — i.e. monks, nuns, and priests — and were therefore not versed in

the intricacies of the Buddhist teachings. I will use the distinctions folk versus court and lay versus (religious) elite. Thus the audience that the story collections are supposedly geared for are both folk and lay.

The *Nembutsu* — The Influence of Doctrinal Changes

There are many different theories that attempt to explain the popularization of Buddhism in Japan and they are often combined to provide a comprehensive account. The theory most commonly found is that the shift from difficult practice (i.e. monastic training and upholding all of the rules of conduct and renouncing the householder life) to easy practice (such as the *nembutsu*) encouraged the masses to practice Buddhism. Credit for the popularization of the *nembutsu* itself among the folk lay population is given to itinerant priests who used dancing, music, painting, sculpture and popular religious tracts[1] to spread the teachings of the Buddha. Two well known examples of such itinerant priests are Kûya and Ippen, both of whom wandered around Japan advocating the chanting of the *nembutsu.*

Kûya (903-972), a monk of Mt. Hiei, was the earliest example of an evangelical monk performing *nembutsu* recitation among the lay population. He became known as "the saint of the streets" because he did many things such as building bridges and digging wells in rural communities to show that no one was to be excluded from the blessings of paradise.[2] He was known for dancing on the streets with a bell around his neck calling to Amida and singing "simple ditties" he made up such as

Hito tabi mo	He never fails
Namu Amida bu to	To reach the Lotus Land of Bliss

1. list given by de Bary in *The Buddhist Tradition*, p. 317.
2. de Bary, *The Buddhist Tradition*, p. 318.

Yû hito no	Who calls,
Hasu no utena ni	If only once,
Noboranu wa nashi	The name of Amida[3]

This ecstatic dancing of Kûya's developed a following. LaFleur called *odori nembutsu* (dancing *nembutsu*[4]) "a mode of salvation through play"[5] and who could resist such fun!

Another even more popular figure was Ippen (1239-1289) who was also known for his *odori nembutsu*. A scroll painted just after his death portrayed his extensive travels through Japan during which he collected thousands of signatures of converts to his *nembutsu* practice.[6] The scroll shows him interacting with all different types of people from aristocrats to people at work to street urchins (again see Figure 8). The scroll includes a spirited scene in which Ippen is depicted leading his followers in *odori nembutsu*. (see Figure 9) Such uninhibited expression of religious ecstasy did much for gathering followers despite some criticism from others at the time.

Many scholars point to the itinerant priests as bridging the gap between court Buddhism and the folk population. It is argued that as these itinerant priests were closer to the folk population they would have known what appealed to the folk and how to stimulate interest in Buddhism among the folk.[7] The promotion of the *nembutsu*, it is argued, met a need in the folk population for a more practical means to salvation, a practice by which they too, without the resources of the wealthy elite, could reach enlightenment.

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3. de Bary, *The Buddhist Tradition*, p. 318.
4. "the singing of praise to Amida while dancing and tapping small hand-drums" Varley, *Japanese Culture*, p. 91.
5. LaFleur, *Karma of Words*, p. 57.
6. The scroll is called *Ippen Hijiri-e* and was executed in 1299.
7. It is this belief that the priests and monks pandered to the tastes of the folk lay population to help the popularization of Buddhism that I will question in Chapter 5.

Figure 9. Ippen and his followers performing the *odori nembutsu*

The central problem with this conception of the popularization of Buddhism is that in order to want to chant the *nembutsu* and to therefore want to be reborn in the Pure Land, one must think that the Pure Land is a good place to go. And even more importantly if one wants to be reborn in the Pure Land, one must believe that rebirth itself is possible, a concept foreign to the Japanese before the introduction of Buddhism.[8] Therefore the acceptance of the concept of karma and rebirth must predate the popularization of Buddhism through the *nembutsu*.

The Story Collections -- The Influences Reflected

The story collections, argue some scholars, were central in teaching about the basic concepts of Buddhism and thus setting the groundwork that would allow interest in a practice such as the *nembutsu* to spread so quickly. Chapter Four, Five and Six address in depth the relationship between the story collections and the popularization of Buddhism. This section looks specifically at the changing familiarity the audience of the stories had with two Buddhist concepts, karma and rebirth, as demonstrated by four story collections that span the collecting period: *Nihon Ryôiki* (between 810 and 823), *Dainihon Hoke-kyô kenki* (between 1040 and 1043), *Ujishûi monogatari* (between 1212 and 1221), and *Shasekishû* (1283).

In the first collection of stories, *Nihon Ryôiki*, the author, Kyôkai[9], was fascinated by the workings of karma and rebirth. In the preface to the collection Kyôkai writes "Good and evil deeds cause karmic retribution as a figure causes its shadow, and suffering and pleasure

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8. The Japanese must have had some sense of life after death as seen in the large tombs for the imperial families but there is little textual evidence concerning what the beliefs surrounding such burial rites and it is assumed that the concept of rebirth did not form a part of their cosmology.

9. Kyôkai was a monk of the second lowest clerical rank at Yakushi-ji.

follow such deeds as an echo follows a sound in the valley"[10] and this concept is evident throughout his collection. Kyôkai must have been faced with an audience that knew little about Buddhism and how it worked. This lack of knowledge can be seen by the care with which Kyôkai explains precisely how karma and karmic retribution works.[11] The stories connect the wrong-doings of people with strange and horrible events that were part of the popular folklore of the time. The moral at the end of each of Kyôkai's stories reiterates the importance of the connection between the negative or positive action of the characters and rewards or punishments that they receive as a part of karmic justice. For example, there is the story of Isowake, the melon seller, who when he

> had sold all of the melons, he would then kill the horse. After he had killed a number of horses in this way, Isowake happened to look into a kettle of boiling water, whereupon his two eyes fell into the kettle and were boiled.[12]

Events that had hitherto been thought of as miraculous were given an explanation through the law of karma and retribution[13] Kyôkai included details such as place names, character names

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10. This is the preface to the first of the three volumes. The preface for each volume however expresses much the same thing. Nakamura, Kyoko Motomochi, *Miraculous Stories from the Japanese Buddhist Tradition: The* Nihon ryôiki *of the Monk Kyôkai*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973. p.102.

11. Another indication of the relative novelty of Buddhism at the time when Kyôkai was writing is the fact that he makes no distinction between the variety of traditions within Buddhism but rather refers simply to different elements of Buddhism. It is interesting to note, however, that the Lotus Sutra (*Hokekyôkenki*) is the text most often referred to in *Nihon Ryôiki* (Dykstra, Yoshiko. *Miraculous tales of the Lotus Sutra from ancient Japan: the Dainihonkoku hokekyokenki of Priest Chingen,* Hirakata City, Japan : Intercultural Research Institute, Kansai University of Foreign Studies, 1983. p.2). Later collections show a much more uniform connection to a specific tradition or a recognition that several traditions exist and are different.

12. *Nihon Ryôiki* Volume 1, Tale 2. Nakamura, *Miraculous Stories*, p.132. LaFleur points out the poetic as well as karmic justice of this story (among others). Earlier in the story, the horse is described as crying — tears welling out of his eyes — thus Isowake who is incapable of such touching sentiments has his eyes fall into boiling water, such poetically exacting retribution! *Karma of Words*, p.26-59.

13. Kyôkai adopted the idea from the Chinese that karmic retribution is "based on the law of nature" (Nakamura, *Miraculous Stories*, p.32).

and the time that the story takes place[14] that were all specifically Japanese to prove that the law of karma held true in Japan as it did in China.[15]

Chingen's[16] primary intent in his collection, *Dainihon Hoke-kyô kenki*, written two hundred years later, was to encourage piety for the Lotus Sutra by recounting all the miraculous events that had happened on account of the Lotus Sutra. In the preface, Chingen wrote "numerous people who upheld, recited, heard, and copied it have benefited miraculously ... Unless I transmit past happenings, how can I encourage (the) posterity (of these miraculous experiences)?"[17] His focus is upon the efficacy of a particular text, and he hopes to encourage more people to revere it.

The audience for whom Chingen wrote, must have been familiar with some of the basic tenets of Buddhism. This familiarity can be seen in Chingen's assumption that his audience knows how karma works. He focuses instead on showing how particular practices can offer miraculous karmic rewards. In Chingen's collection it is the recitation or copying or revering of the Lotus Sutra that brings prosperity and averts danger.[18] For example, Chingen recounts the story about the official who has been tricked into following a demon. The official's horse stumbles and the official is thrown into a hole in the ground. The demon yells at the official to come out of the hole when suddenly a voice says that the demon may

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14. The same type of details are recorded in the Chinese collections upon which the *Nihon Ryôiki* is based.

15. In fact two of the three prefaces mention that China has collections of miraculous tales, so Japan should too.

16. Chingen was a priest associated with Shuryôgon'in of Yokawa (Dykstra, *Miraculous Tales*, p.3).

17. Dykstra *Miraculous Tales*, p.22.

18. *Dainihon Hoke-kyô kenki* focuses on one school of Buddhism as opposed to the more generic Buddhism presented by Kyôkai. The adherence to one school demonstrates the growing familiarity that the audience has with Buddhism because there is obviously competition between schools for dominance.

have the official's horse but otherwise, be gone! The official panics thinking he must have fallen into the lair of an even bigger demon. But the voice turns out to be the first character of a copy of the Lotus Sutra that a holy man buried in order to help people in danger and the character carefully guides the official back to his house. Thus the official is saved by the Lotus Sutra.[19] By the time that Chingen was writing, his focus was not on explaining karma and rebirth but rather on how faith in the Lotus Sutra can miraculously help one's karma.

About a hundred years later, an unknown editor produced a collection of 197 tales known as the *Ujishûi monogatari*. Because the *Ujishûi monogatari* is a mixed collection, it contains both Buddhist and secular tales and thus the stories have a seemingly wider range of topic. It is one of the few collections that has come to be thought worthy of the term 'literature'. The editor is said to be more concerned with the stories themselves than with the beliefs they demonstrate or what they teach. The editor has included stories from both Buddhist and non-Buddhist traditions. In order to compare the presentation of different traditions, I quote at length two stories that occur one after the other in the original, both having a fox as the central protagonist. The first, *How a fox set fire to a house*, can be seen to demonstrate Buddhist ethics and the balance of karmic retribution, although no mention of Buddhism is made. This lack of overt mention of the tradition seems to be the case with most of the stories. The fact that the Buddhist element is not overt gives many scholars reasons to state that the editor's concern is more for the story told than the tradition it is based in. It can also be seen as demonstrating that Buddhism has taken its place among the other pre-Buddhist traditions, seamlessly blending in. The second story, *How a fox took*

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19. *Hokkegenki* (III; 1, 10) Dykstra, *Miraculous Tales*, p.128-9.

possession of someone and ate some rice-cakes, can be traced to pre-Buddhist belief in spirit possession especially that of foxes and the use of mediums to exorcize the spirit. The story is especially interesting because the characters within the story themselves express doubt as to the veracity of the possession until faced with the disappearance of the rice-cakes.

52. *How a fox set fire to a house*

Long ago, a retainer in the Governor's mansion in the province of Kai was on his way home from his duties one evening when he came across a fox. He chased it and shot at it with a humming-headed arrow, hitting it in the hindquarters. Though it was knocked over, it disappeared into the long grass, dragging its hindquarters and howling with pain. Taking another arrow, the man went in pursuit, the fox dragging itself along ahead of him, but just as he made to shoot at it a second time, it vanished.

When he came within about a quarter of a mile of his house, he suddenly caught sight of the fox a couple of hundred yards ahead, running along with a torch gripped in its teeth. 'Whatever is it doing that for, running along with a torch in its mouth?' he wondered, and urged his horse on. But the fox ran up to the retainer's house, changed into a man and set fire to it. 'Hey, there's someone settting my house on fire', he said to himself, and fitting an arrow to his bow, he urged his horse on faster. But now that it had got the house well alight, the fox changed back into its original shape, ran off into the long grass and disappeared. Meanwhile the house was burnt to the ground.

Even creatures of this kind are quick to take revenge. You should heed this story and take care to avoid tormenting them.

53. *How a fox took possession of someone and ate some rice-cakes*

Once, someone in a certain house was possessed by a spirit, and when it had been transferred into a medium, it spoke through her, as follows: 'I am no evil spirit, only a fox who happened to come wandering by. I have a young family at home in my den who were hungry, so I came in here because it seemed to me that in a place like this there would be some food lying about. Please give me a feed of rice-cakes and I'll go.' The people of the house had some rice-cakes made and offered a trayful to the girl, who ate a few and said how delicious they were. 'She only pretended it was a fox possessing her because she wanted some rice-cakes,' grumbled the onlookers.

The spirit then spoke again. 'Will you please let me have some paper, so that I can wrap this up and take it home for the old lady and my children to eat.' A large parcel of rice-cakes was wrapped up in two pieces of paper, and the girl stuffed it down inside her dress, with the end sticking out by her chest. She now said to the exorcist, 'Drive me out and I'll go away.' 'Out, out!' he cried, and the girl stood up, after which she fell flat on her face. Presently she got up again and the parcel in her

dress was missing.

What a strange thing that it should have vanished![20]

The stories in the *Ujishûi monogatari* tend to be longer than those in our other collections and use much colloquial language and dialogue.[21] The editor pays attention to the coherency of each story, ensuring that the narrative flows. This attention to the readability of the story can be seen in the two stories I have quoted, as there are no unnecessary details such as place names or the rank of the individuals involved.[22]

A little under a hundred years later, by the time that Ichien wrote *Shasekishû*, the Pure Land School was flourishing and the great religious leaders such as Nichiren and Shinran had taken the platform. In *Shasekishû*, Ichien's purpose seems to be to encourage the attainment of enlightenment through any practice that seems effective.[23] In the prologue he writes "May they use this work as a means by which to leave this village of Birth-and-death and as a signpost to the great city of Nirvana - such is the hope of this foolish old man."[24] But his tales are eclectic and tend more toward showing how the virtues gained by believing Buddhism are of a practical nature for dealing with day-to-day problems.

Ichien expresses a deep concern for human problems such as suffering. Ichien felt

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20. Mills, *Tales From Uji*, p.218-219.

21. "Of the 197 stories in [Uji Shûi Monogatari] many seem to treat the *setsuwa* as a short *monogatari*, using colloquial language freely and including lively conversational dialogues. " (Putzar, *Japanese Literature*, p.73).

22. "Some eighty *setsuwa* more or less repeat stories from the *Konjaku [Monogatarishû]* collections, but in the *Ujishûi* versions superfluous explanations detailing people and places are omitted." (Putzar, *Japanese Literature*, p.73).

23. He tells tales from a wide selection of practices including the newly advocated Zen. The combination of the less miraculous rewards of Buddhism along with the acceptance of a wide variety of practices shows the full adoption into daily life of both Buddhist ideas and different Buddhist traditions.

24. Morrell, Robert E. *Sand and Pebbles* (Shasekishû) *Tales of Mujû Ichien, A Voice for Pluralism in Kamakura Buddhism*, New York: State University of New York Press, 1985. p.72.

through the Buddhist method of readjusting how we think about the world as opposed to trying to change the world was the best way to deal with suffering. Likewise, accepting one's karma led to a more peaceful and happy existence. His stories are predominantly about people who cleverly apply the teachings of Buddhism to alleviate possible suffering. For example, Ichien recounts a story of how a wife, who had been asked to leave by her husband to make room for his new mistress, upon her leaving the husband said;

> "It is customary that when a woman is divorced, she is to take with her something of her choosing from the house, So take whatever you like."
>
> "What would I want, having lost such a fine man as yourself?" she replied. The appearance of the woman smiling without rancor was so endearing that the husband relented, and they were separated only by death.[25]

As with many of his stories, Ichien implies that those who accept their karma calmly and without resentment more often than not benefit from the karma. In the case above, the wife faces parting from her husband without rancor and thus is reunited with him.

The internal evidence within these four collections demonstrates that the concepts of karma and rebirth moved from a topic that needed to be defended to a basic part of life.[26]

The following chapters raise some questions concerning the idea that the story collections not only reflected by also effected the process of popularization. But before dealing with these questions, I want to consider two other means by which interest in Buddhism, and the concepts of karma and rebirth may have been stimulated: the use of

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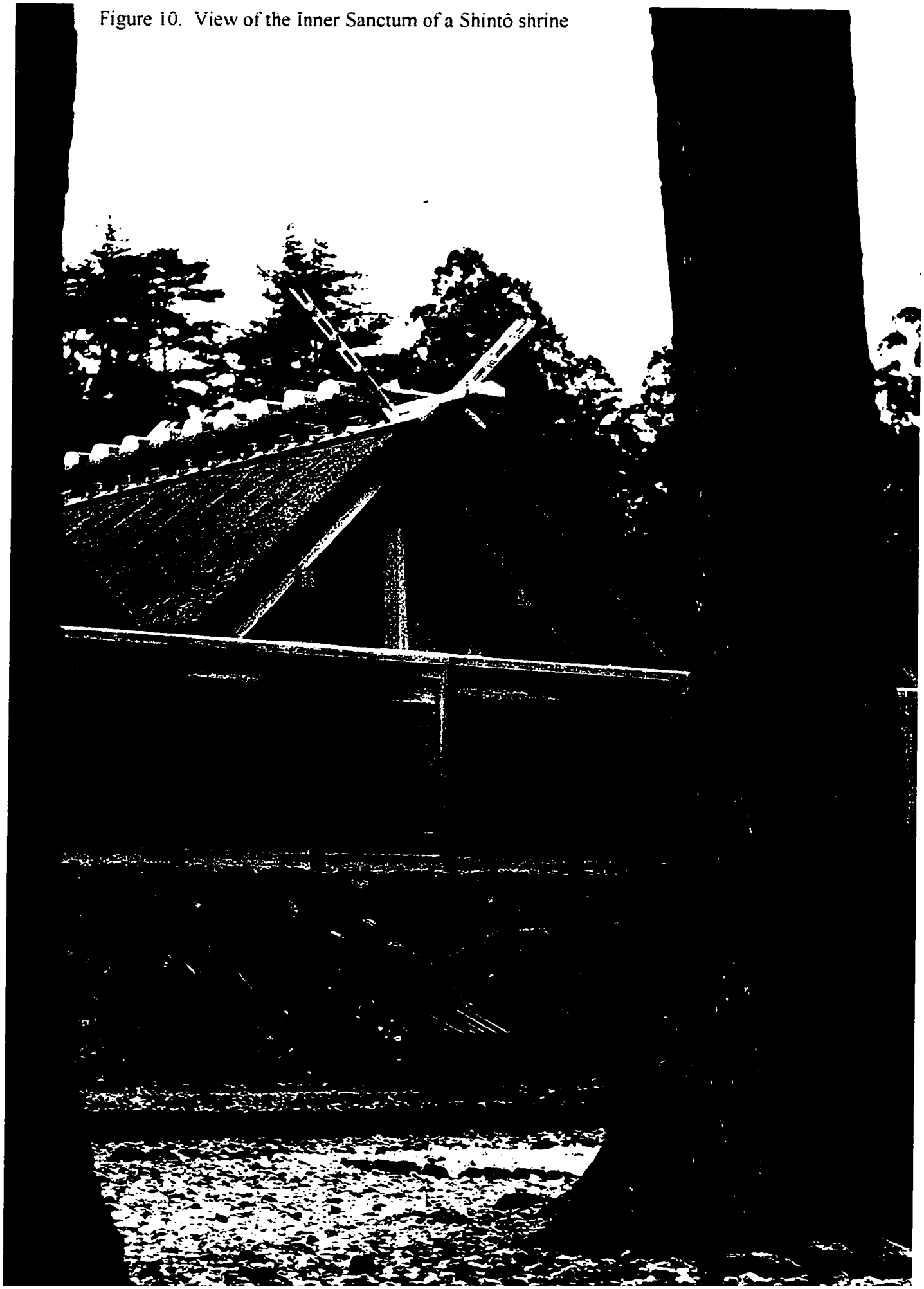
25. Morrell, *Sand and Pebbles*, p.

26. Again it is important to note that there are scholars such as Ruch who would raise questions as to how thoroughly the concepts of karma and rebirth were actually accepted. Ruch acknowledges that all Japanese would have been familiar with how karma and rebirth worked, she simply argues that the personal writings of many indicate that they did not think of their loved ones as passing on to the realms of rebirth, there was a much stronger sense that they sometimes lingered near or passed on to some distant land. ("Paradigms of Heaven and Hell", *Flowing Traces*).

Figure 10. View of the Inner Sanctum of a Shintô shrine



anthropomorphic images of the Buddha and his entourage of Bodhisattvas and guardians, and the graphic depictions of scholars and artists such as Genshin.

The Anthropomorphic Images -- The Influence of Art

When Buddhism was introduced into Japan, the Japanese had no face for their gods. The *kami* lived[27] in mountains, stones, and places of natural beauty but were not human. *Kami* also resided in the national shrines. But for those not a part of the priesthood, access to these national shrines was limited, as people were not permitted in the inner sanctum of the shrine. (see Figure 10) The inner sanctum of the Shintô shrine is surrounded by a fence, keeping distance between the deity and worshiper. Thus the Japanese had never seen a *kami* beyond seeing a mountain or a stone, nor had they any representations of the *kami*.

When Buddhism entered Japan, it drastically changed the architecture, the sensory variety and the accessibility of religion in Japan. In a Buddhist temple, one was free to wander among the buildings. The Buddha hall in which the images of the deity resided was central and open and one could approach the Buddhist deity and actually see him or her. (see Figure 11) Such access to the gods was unheard of in the native traditions.

But not only were the images accessible, they were unlike anything in the Japanese art tradition at the time.[28] Gilded gold and bright colors, serene and beautiful, bold and bizarre,

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27. The use of terms such as 'reside' and 'houses' with reference to the *kami* is somewhat misleading as *kami* are thought to be the shrine or mountain or stone in which it is said to reside. However if, for example, you remove the stone from its spot, it loses its *kami* nature. Difficult to describe, the nature of kami is paradoxical yet is unquestioned by the Japanese.

28. The *dogu* and the *haniwa* are the only surviving forms of anthropomorphic images before the arrival of Buddhism. *Dogu* were the earliest anthropomorphic figures in Japan. *Dogu* are thought to have some religious significance as some arms and legs appear to be purposely broken off. Anthropologists usually believe that such intentional breakage means the figures were used in divine healing. Another indication of their religious importance is their similarity to the fertility figurines found in many early arts -- rotund bodies, full breasts, large hips, etc -- but unlike other fertility figures, the *dogu* have prominent insect like eyes. But

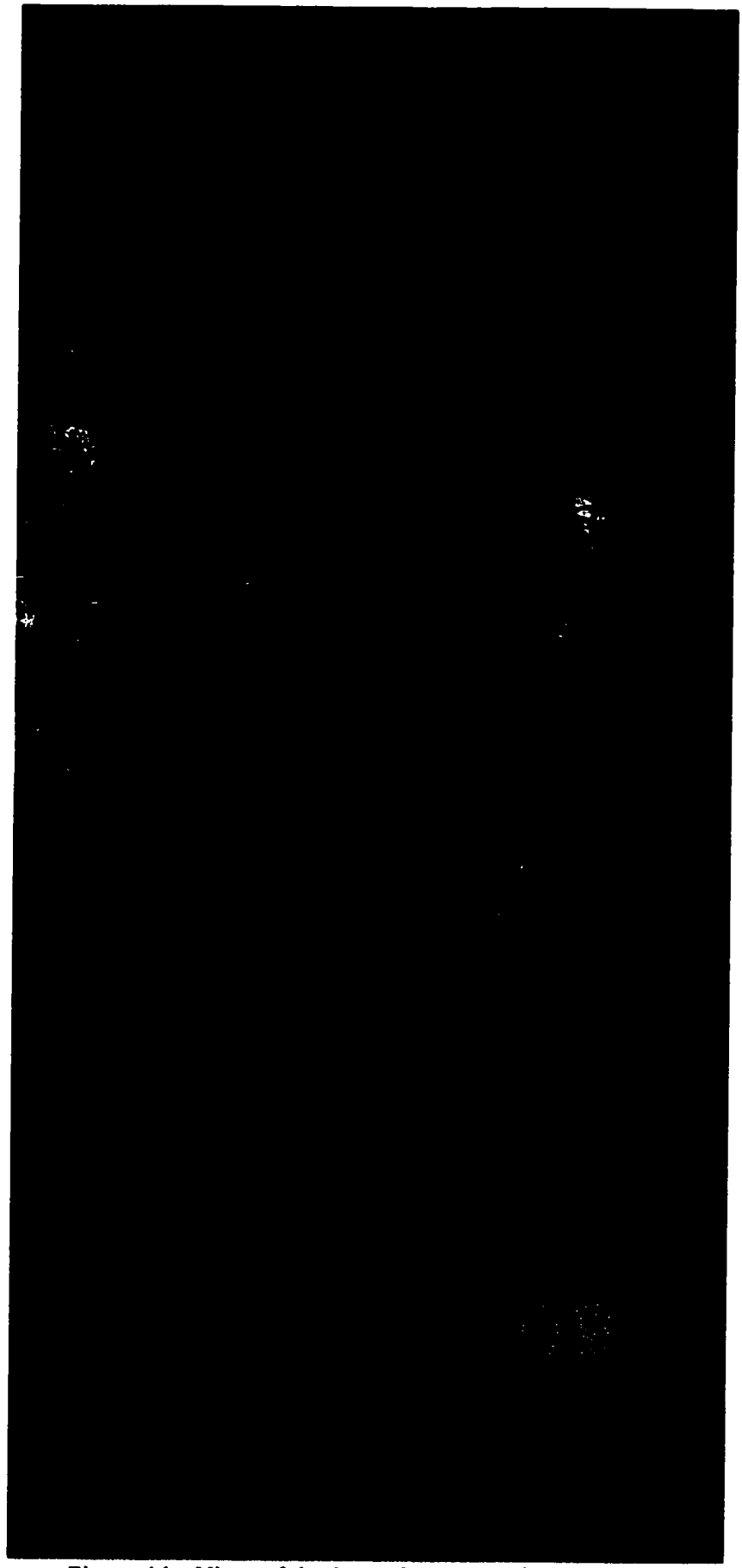

Figure 11. View of the Inner Sanctum of a Buddhist temple

watching us with semi closed eyes, the Buddha or Bodhisattva sat in the main hall, awaiting his believers. (see Figure 12) The number of images in any given temple ranges from ten to more than a thousand[29].

Beyond the straightforward seated Buddhas and statues of the Buddhist pantheon, a variety of other means of reaching out to the viewer existed. Buddhism had several physically fantastic images that add to the richness of Buddhism's impact. Three fantastic images that represent this richness are images with a thousand arms, gargantuan images *(joroku)*, and images cut into cliff faces, each of which we will briefly examine in this segment.

Senju Kannon is a *bodhisattva* -- a Buddha to be who cultivates compassion for all the realms of rebirth -- with one thousand arms. Between the thousand arms and the multiple heads upon his head, Senju Kannon is all seeing and all helping. Nowhere in the six realms of rebirth can you go where Kannon cannot help you. Nothing is too much for Kannon to do to help you. While he is helping you, he is also keeping an eye out for all others and helping all others. Criminals, the hopelessly stupid, and ancestors who are trapped in horrible rebirths as insects or hungry ghosts or hell wardens are typical candidates for Kannon's help.

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despite their believed religious import, the *dogu* are small -- small enough to fit into one's hand and are most likely part of individual practice, seen only by the owner. The *dogu* also seem to have fallen out of use several centuries before the arrival of Buddhism and were therefore not part of a persons visual repertoire. Anthropomorphic images that were most likely still being produced when Buddhism arrived in Japan were the *haniwa* Created during the fourth through sixth centuries, *haniwa* were designed to stop erosion on the large mounds of the emperor's key-hole shaped tumulus or grave. These *haniwa* were originally only cylindrical shapes that had no features, but quickly the cylinders were decorated with a variety of forms, among them some exquisite examples of anthropomorphic images. As there is no written explanation of what the religious or social implications of the figures or other objects that were made into *haniwa*, we can only guess given their archeological context, that they have some link to the afterlife. The accessibility of the *haniwa* was also severely limited as one would certainly not roam about on the emperor's grave.

29. The number of images would depend on the wealth of the temple, how long it had been standing, and whether it had faced catastrophe -- when images might have been destroyed.

Figure 12. The Face of Kannon.

The complexity, the compassion, and the superhuman qualities of Senju Kannon encourage even the most unlikely candidates for enlightenment to believe.

Daibutsu, or the Great Buddha, towers above heads, above trees, above roof tops. Even sitting he reaches over 11m tall. The size of this type of Buddha, known as *joroku*, is a demonstration of the technical virtuosity and wealth dedicated to Buddhist art. Images such as this one required a concerted effort, often managed through campaigns that involved a wide spectrum of people. The publicity of both the sheer size of the image and the process of gathering funds increased Buddhism's profile. During Buddhism's heyday in Japan there were a number of images of this size. (see Figure 13 as well as Figure 1)

Rock carvings such as a line drawing of the Buddha cut into a cliff wall are often found on the road to temples. They combine the visibility of the gargantuan images with the miraculous quality of Senju Kannon. Standing well above anything that might obstruct its view, the rock carvings are typically well over forty feet in height. A miraculous tale of the image can almost always be heard at the temple. Many temple's founding stories are based on tales and images such as these. The combination of visibility and miraculous origins adds to the allure of Buddhism. (see Figure 14)

These three examples of fantastic images added to the richness of Buddhism's impact because they differed greatly from the images with which the Japanese would have been familiar, especially Shintô. But all three of these types of images as well as the accessibility of the Buddhist temple were part of Buddhism as it entered Japan. What is more interesting to our discussion, are those art forms that developed *during* the popularization of Buddhism in Japan. The *raigô* is the best known example of such an art form.

Figure 13. Daibutsu

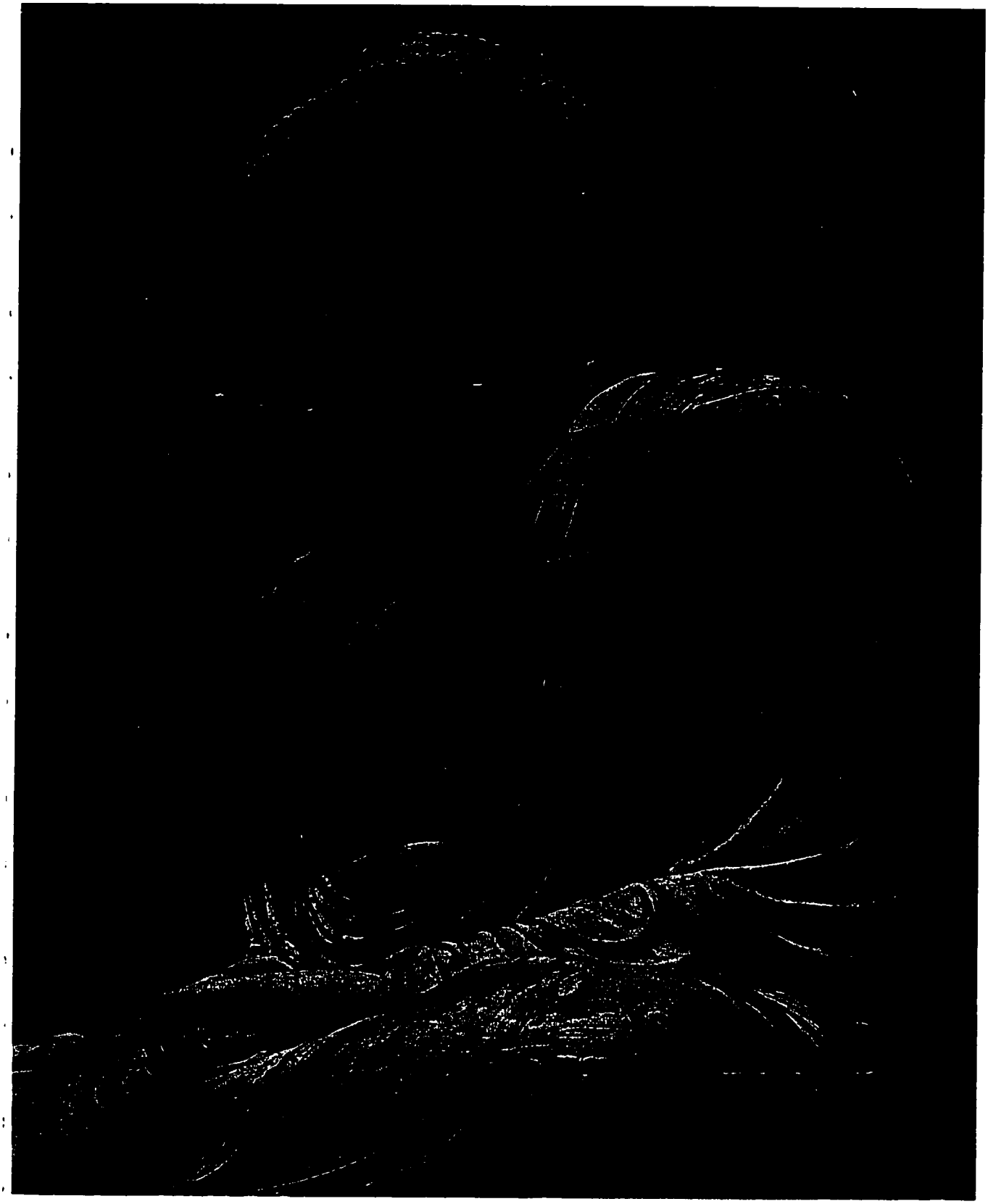
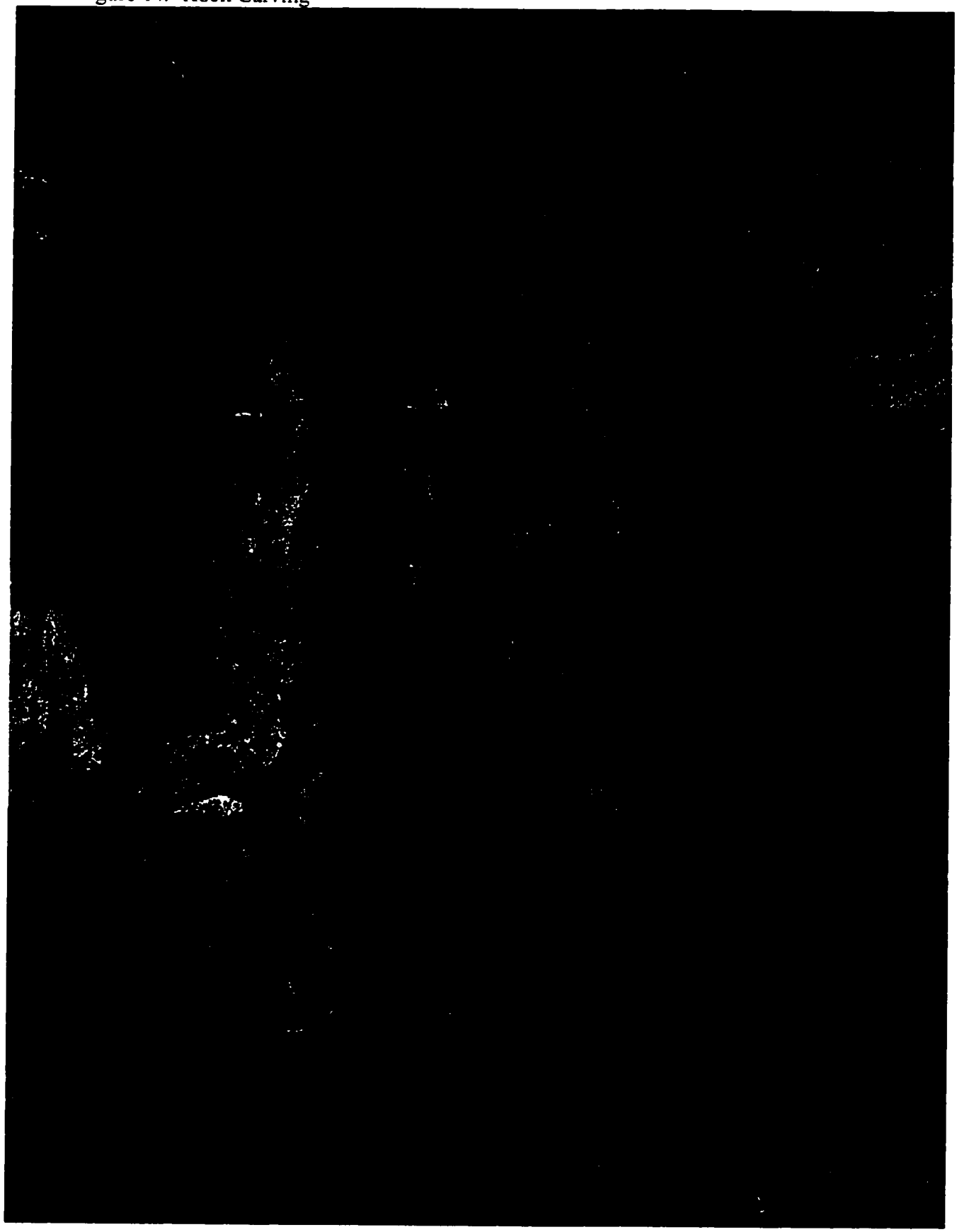


Figure 14. Rock Carving



The *raigô*; a painting of the descent of Amida Buddha with his host of Bodhisattvas coming to carry the dying believer back with him to the Pure Land, developed in Japan. It was not depicted in Chinese art. Artists in the Pure Land tradition wanted to create subjects that would be inspirational. Towards this aim, the depictions of Amida Buddha were made accessible. For example, in the typical *raigô* (painted in the twelfth century), Amida and his host were shown smiling making the subjects of the painting engaging and personable. This contrasts with the fierce Buddhist figures of early Heian art who were depicted in a highly stylized manner in order to seem esoteric and unearthly. The *raigô* moved away from the rigid stereotyped iconography with its stiff, forward facing Buddhas to a more approachable and natural iconography.[30] (compare Figure 15 and Figure 16) Hierarchical sizing, the most important figure being the largest and the least important the smallest, typical of most paintings gave way to a more natural arrangement of sizes. The believer in the *raigô* was no longer a speck in the corner of the painting but an integral part. Physical barriers between the Buddha and the viewer such as mountains or clouds or a host of Bodhisattvas were removed. The Buddha could be seen entirely, existing within the same space as the viewer. These and other aspects of iconographic importance brought the viewer into a close relationship with Amida Buddha.

The Influence of Graphic Depictions

Although he never left monastic life, Genshin (942-1017)[31] had a profound impact on the popularization of Buddhism among the Japanese. Genshin advocated the recitation of the

30. de Bary, *Buddhist Tradition*, p.
31. Also called Eshin Sôzu lived at the monastery Yokawa Enhin-in of Mount Hiei.

Figure 15. Amida Coming over the Mountains

Figure 16. Descent of Amida and the Twenty-five Bodhisattvas

nembutsu as the way to escape the realms of rebirth. Although this was the focus of his work, the its main impact was in making the realms of rebirth come alive.[32] His work, the *Ojô Yôshû* (The Essentials of Salvation), written in less than six months from the end of 984 to mid 985,[33] inspired the imagination of the Japanese and especially that of the artists who created many different scrolls such as the *Gaki Zôshi* (Hungry Ghosts Scroll) and the *Jigoku Zôshi* (Hell scroll) from Genshin's descriptions[34].

Genshin's text was not original. It brought together passages from an assortment of Buddhist scriptures describing various aspects of the religious life. The main source of the *Ojô Yôshû* was the *Saddharma smrti-upasthana* or *Sutra of the Remembrance of the True Law*,[35]a *sutra* that went unnoticed in both India and China, but became well known in Japan due to Genshin's appropriation. The *sutra* [36] gave the most comprehensive and systematized explanation of the six realms of rebirth (*gati*).[37]

Genshin, in the *Ojô Yôshû*, depicted the horrible realms of hell, the corrupt life of humans, and the wonderful escape of the Western Paradise with great detail and color. The *Ojô Yôshû*, in three volumes, was divided into ten chapters.[38] The first two chapters were the

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32. Genshin was well versed in the canonical writings and eighty-two works on Buddhist doctrine are credited to him. (Andrews, *The Nembutsu Teachings* p. 61).

33. Okazaki, Jôji. *Pure Land Buddhist Painting*, translated and adapted by Elizabeth ten Grotenhuis, Tokyo: Kodansha International Ltd. and Shibundo, 1977. p. 100.

34. These scrolls were produced either while Genshin was alive or relatively soon after his death.

35. A Sutra composed in India in the fourth or fifth century A.D. most likely by Gautama Prajnaruci. Only the Tibetan and Chinese translation of the Sanskrit text survive. Called *Chen-fa-nien-ch'u-ching* in Chinese (Jap. *Shobonenjo-kyo*), it is a part of the *Taisho Tripitaka Vol. 17 pp.1-139 (Matsunaga)*.

36. This Sutra was also the main source of commentary on the *Kammuryôju-kyô* which was important for later developments as Hônen turned to this commentary as his source.

37. The six realms of rebirth are birth as a god (*kami*), human (*ningen*), asuras (*ashura*), animal (*chikushô*), hungry ghost (*gaki*), creature of hell (*jigoku*).

38. 1) Despising the Defiled Realm, 2) Longing for the Pure Land, 3) Proofs for the Pure Land, 4) Proper Practice of *Nembutsu*, 5) Aids to *Nembutsu*, 6) *Nembutsu* for Special Occasions, 7) Benefits of *Nembutsu*,8) Proofs for *Nembutsu*, 9) Sundry Practices for Rebirth, and 10)Interpretation of Problems. As listed by Andrews,

most influential and vivid and are the best known today.

The first chapter was meant to create horror and aversion to the realms of rebirth. The eight hells were outlined and each of the hells was described in detail, for example;

> The sinners in this place are always bent upon injuring one another. If they meet any one by chance they act like a hunter would toward a deer. Whetting their iron claws they proceed to scratch each other's eyes out and lacerate the flesh on each other's thighs until the blood runs out and the bones are exposed. Thereupon come the hell wardens and beat then with iron rods from head to foot till their bodies are broken into fragments like grains of sand. And again they cut their flesh into slices with sharp swords as fish is sliced in the kitchen. But when the cool wind blows over the remains they come to life again and assume their former shape. After a short interval they are made to pass again through the same sort of agony.[39]

and this was the least horrible of all the hells. Genshin outlined what one does in order to be born into each hell, in this case "All who destroy life in any form fall into this hell". Within each hell there were specific hells for specific types of karmic retribution; those who killed deer or birds fell into the Place of Filth, covetous killers fell into the Place of the Revolving Sword, meat eaters who killed the animal themselves fell into the Place of the Fiery Caldron etc. The reasons for falling into these hells were repeated continually, bringing Genshin's point into clear focus. (see Figure 17)

In this first chapter, Genshin also describes the realms of hungry ghosts, animals, asuras, humans, and devas with equal horror. Hungry ghosts can have needle thin necks and huge empty bellies. They are constantly hungry -- hence their names -- and their diet consists almost entirely of nasty stuff such as faeces, snot, afterbirth, corpses, semen, etc.

There are hungry spirits called Eating-and-Vomiting whose bodies are very broad and

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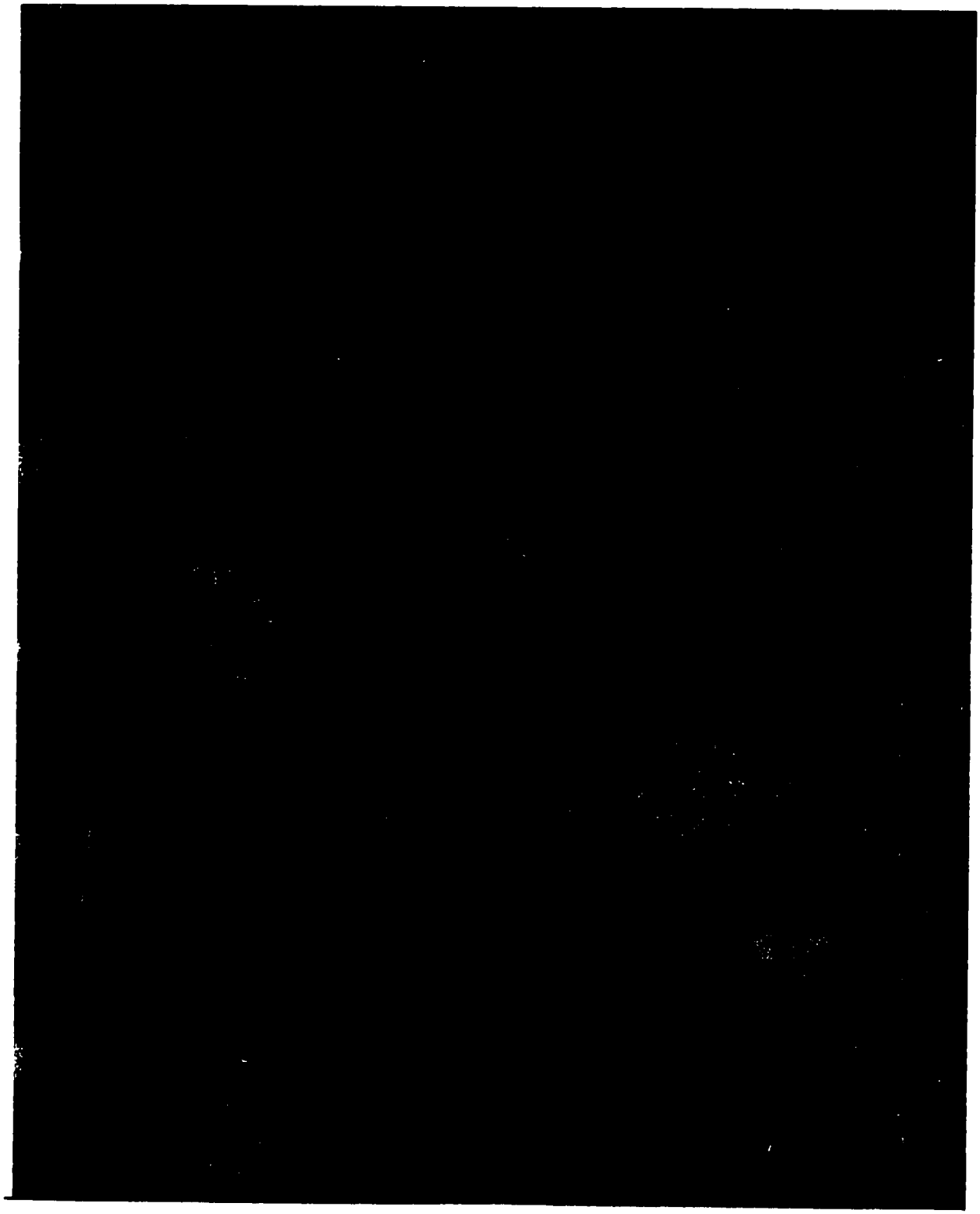
Nembutsu Teachings...

39. Reischauer, A.K. trans. "Genshin's *Ojôyôshû*: Collected Essays on Birth into Paradise." *TASJ*, Second Series, VII (December 1930):16-97. pp. 27-28.

Figure 17. Hell Scrolls: The Burning Body Hell.



> half a yodjana in height. Their stomach and chest feel heavy, and so they continually try to vomit, but as they can not succeed in this they suffer in various ways. Those husbands who in this life ate the good food themselves and gave nothing to their wives and children, and such wives as ate all the good food themselves and gave nothing to their husbands, receive this reward.[40]

Again, Genshin made sure to emphasize that covetousness and envy will make people be reborn in this realm. LaFleur argues that the hungry ghosts were the lynch pins in convincing the Japanese of the truth of Buddhism. The existence of hungry ghosts explained why feces disappear faster than does any other type of garbage; why snot and sleep from one's eyes does not seem to accumulate in any place; why corpses rot unpleasantly and with speed. The hungry ghosts were feeding on these nasty things. The Japanese would have known and witnessed the fact that feces disappear quickly and thus had witnessed an invisible hungry ghost at work.[41] (see Figure 18)

Genshin depicted the realm of the gods as being equally horrible because it is temporary and the decay one must go through when one's time is up in heaven is nasty. He tried to inspire the desire to escape these realms by depicting then in lucid and graphic terms.

In chapter two, Genshin moved to a description of the Pure Land, as beautiful and peaceful as the six realms were horrible and violent.

> When a believer is born into the realm of Paradise we speak of it as the time of the First Opening of his Lotus. All his pleasures are increased a hundred thousand times above what they were before. Such a one is like a blind man who has for the first time received his sight, or like a man from the country who has suddenly been transported to a palace. As he looks at his own body his skin becomes radiant with golden rays. His clothes are made of natural treasures, gold rings, hair ornaments of beautiful feathers, a crown of gems, a necklace of most wonderful jewels and such

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40. Reischauer p. 47.

41. William LaFleur eloquently argues this point in several of his articles although Barbara Ruch questions it.

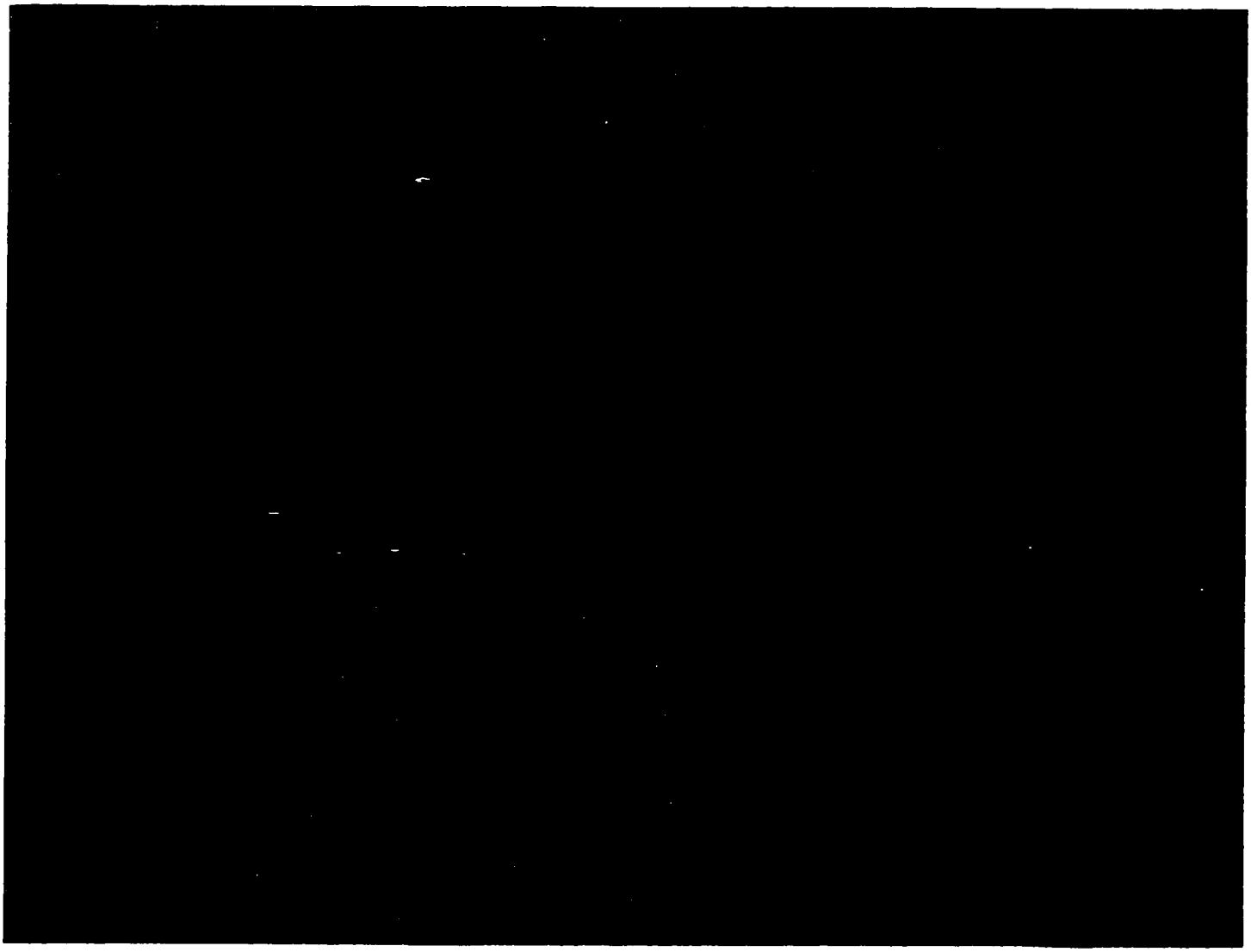

Figure 18. Hungry Ghost Scrolls

ornaments beyond description in their beauty cover his body[42]

Given the comparison, most of us would definitely try anything that might relieve us of the possibility of being reborn in the six realms and give us the chance to be born in such a wonderful place. The eight chapters that follow these two outline *nembutsu* practice, which Genshin propounded as the way to achieve this paradise. But Genshin's influence was primarily in providing vivid and graphic depictions of the realms of rebirth and the Pure Land.

These graphic depictions gave artists inspiration about the realms of rebirth which resulted in some frightening handscrolls.[43] One of the most famous and influential handscrolls is the hell scroll, *Jigoku Zôshi*. (see Figure 17) Each of the scenes of the handscroll represent a different level of hell, one being the fiery hell or the hell of fiery worms, or crushing mortar hell (see Figure 19), in which an old hag holds a cauldron full of bones and blood to which she is no doubt adding people. (see Figure 20) The other

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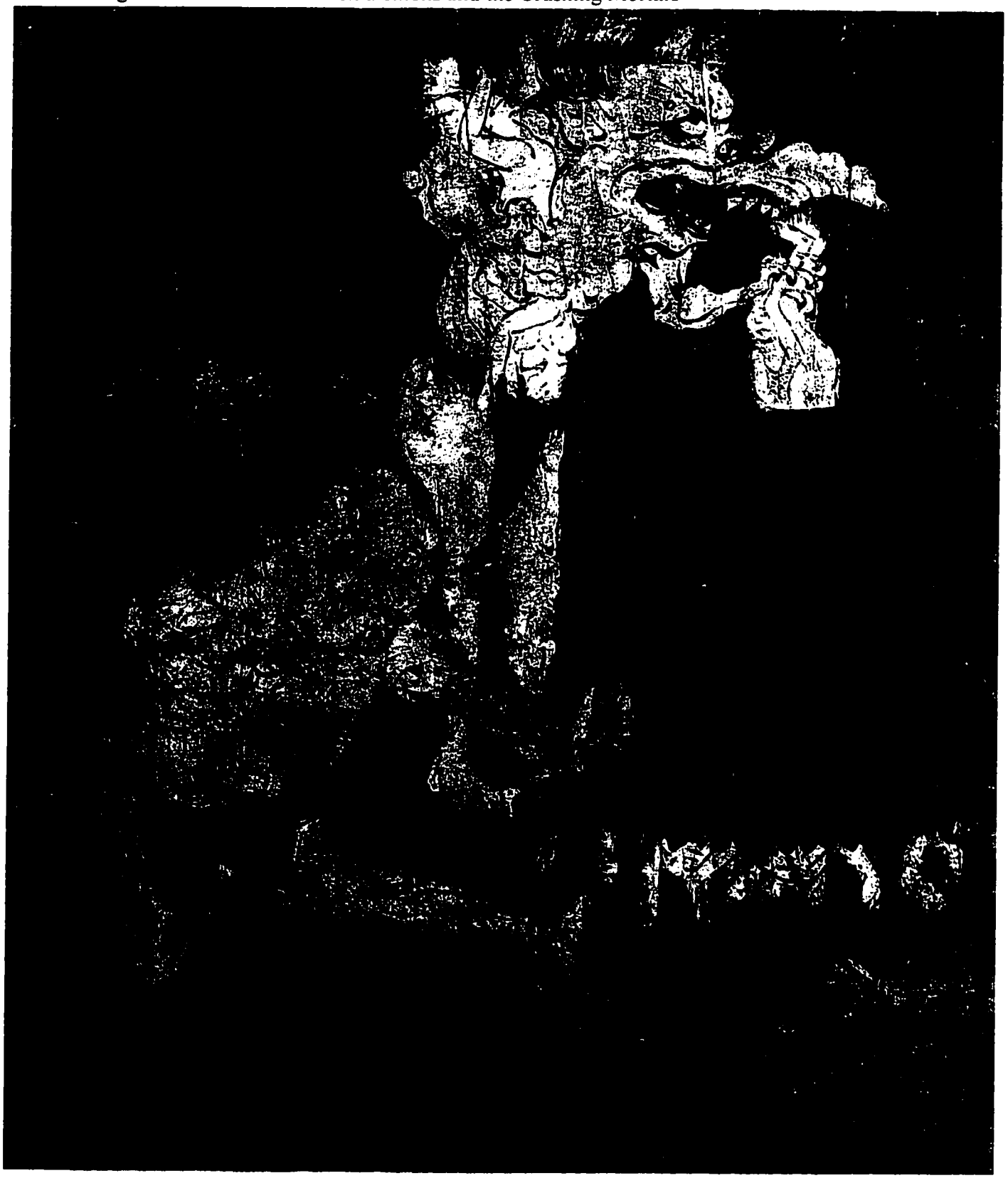
42. Reischauer p.70.

43. It is believed that some of these handscrolls and pictures similar to them would have been used by picture reciters and *etoki* performers. The evidence suggests that although the *etoki* performers were most prevalent in the Muromachi period (1392-1573) there are numerous references to their practices before that time. Ruch states that "The performance of *emaki* emerged during the twelfth century in major shrines and temples through an activity known as *etoki*, or 'picture explanations,' performed by *etoki hôshi* or 'picture explaining priests' who were sometimes also called simply *etoki*, 'picture explainers.' *Engi emaki* (illustrated histories of shrines and temples and of the origins of the deities worshiped there) and *kôsôden emaki* (illustrated biographical works depicting events in the lives of important priests and founders of sects) were displayed in temples on certain occasions and an *etoki hôshi* would give an *etoki* performance by providing a narrative for the viewers."(Ruch,"Medieval Jongleurs") And as Mair points out "the earliest unmistakable reference to *etoki* may be found in the *Miscellaneous Notes Concerning the Temple of Clarified Truth*, dated 931. *Etoki* were definitely being performed in Japanese temples during the twelfth century. In the diary of Fujiwara no Yorinaga (1120-1156), under the twenty second day of the tenth month of the year 1143, a description is given of the explanations of pictures by a 'monk' relating to the life of Prince Shôtoku (574-622) at the Shitennôji in Osaka. "Holding a stick, he pointed at the painting as he explained it"." (Mair, Victor H. *Painting and Performance: Chinese Picture Recitation and its Indian Genesis*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1988. p.111-112).

Figure 19. Hell Scrolls: Hell Demons and the Crushing Mortars



handscroll that took the imagination of the Japanese is the Hungry Ghost Scroll -- *Gaki Zôshi.*[44] (see Figure 18) Each of the scenes in this case depict the hungry ghosts eating the most horrible and nasty things.

There are of course scrolls that depict the other realms of rebirth. There is a classic scroll that shows animals doing things that are typical of humans. There are scrolls that show the miracles of Buddhism in human life. There are scrolls that describe the events leading up to the founding of certain temples or the donation of certain images within a temple. Most temples have at least a founding story, some of which have been rendered in paint. But these scrolls did not have the same impact as did the hell and hungry ghost scrolls.

All of these different art forms had a strong impact on the Japanese population yet so rarely are they explored by scholars when discussing the popularization of Buddhism in Japan. Too much emphasis is given to doctrinal changes and changes in the monastic order. As we will find in the following chapters, even when scholars step beyond the confines of scripture to examine the story collections, they remain focused on the traditional religious establishment. As we will see, the scholars see the monks and preachers as the only possible people involved in telling stories with Buddhist elements.

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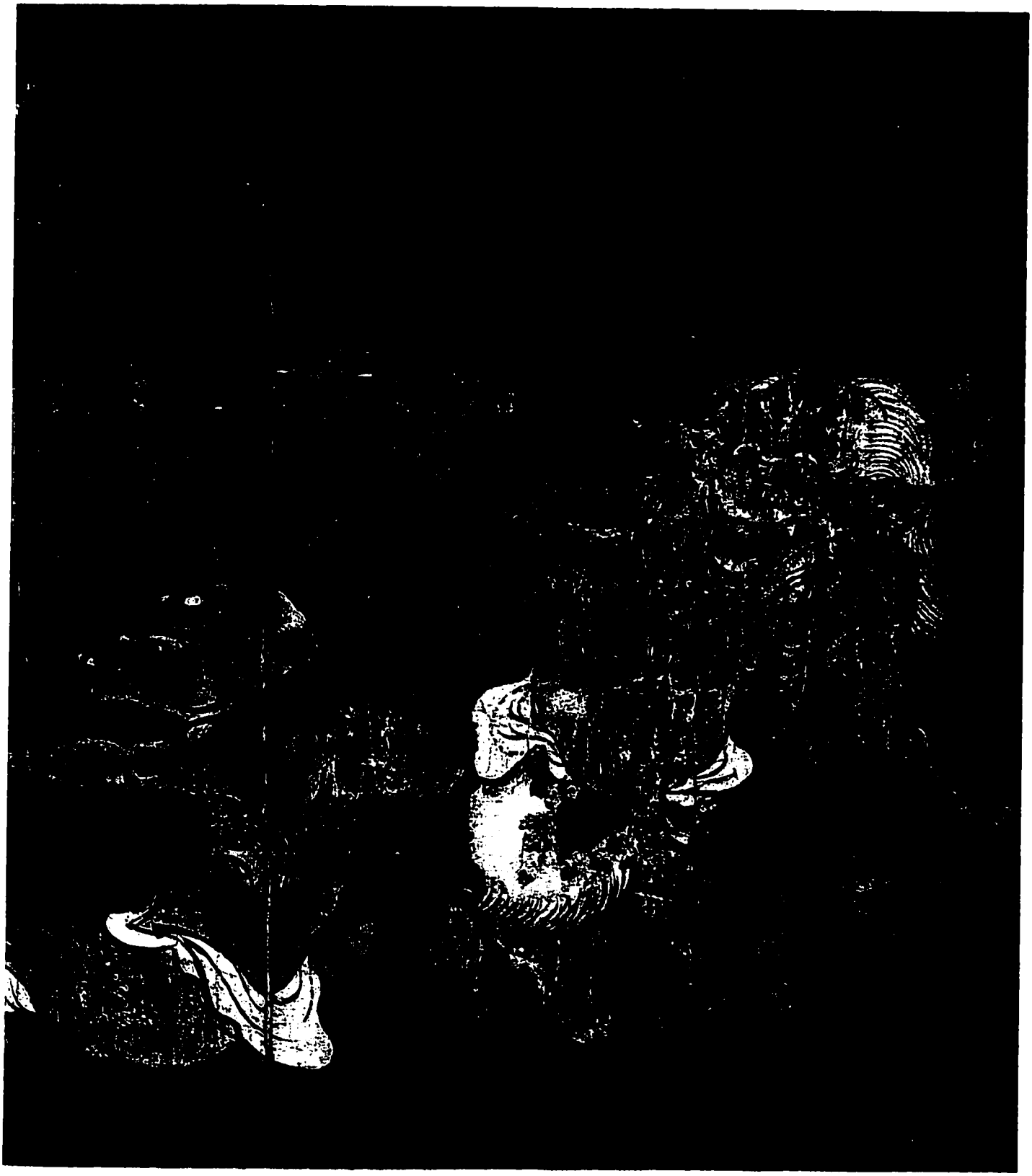
44. The remarkable thing about the depictions of the hungry ghosts is that until the opening of Japan to trade by Europeans in the fourteenth and especially eighteenth century, it is believed that the Japanese people had not come into contact with anyone who did not have black hair. In the hungry ghost scrolls, however, the hungry ghosts are often depicted with red hair. Initially people thought the artist was being fanciful. Later it was realized that when the Japanese face starvation the hair turns red and the stomach bloats and the rib cages show through. Obviously the artist was aware of what starvation looked like. No doubt the peasants as well had seen the spectre of starvation and it must have been as if the hungry ghosts suddenly materialized in their midst.

Figure 20. Hell Scrolls: Old Hag and Cauldron of Bones



Chapter 4: A Review of Scholarship on the Story Collections

In the preceding three chapters I have provided a background for understanding the role of the story collections. We have learned that Buddhism moved from being a religion practiced predominantly by the court and religious elite to a religion that encompassed most of the Japanese population. Simultaneously Buddhism moved from being a foreign religion to becoming part of the Japanese world view. Both of these movements were aided by the activities of itinerant priests and artists. This chapter examines the argument made by most scholars who study the story collections that the story collections were especially important in bringing Buddhism to the folk lay population of Japan.

Most of the scholars who have studied the Japanese story collections begin with the assumption that the story collections were written by monks to teach the lay folk population. This assumption stems from the perception of a great disparity between the elaborate and philosophical Buddhism of the *sutras* and the simple and concrete Buddhism of the story collections. As the *sutras* were the property of intellectuals and the religious elite, the story collections must be geared to the folk and lay population.

Within this framework of analysis, the story collections are understood to function as promptbooks for monks to use while proselytizing among the lay folk population.[1] They are

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1. This view has been put forward by numerous Japanese scholars. Yoshiko Dykstra writes that "Nagazumi Yasuaki... states further that they are derived from written sermons or notes prepared for use in preaching." (Dykstra, *Miraculous Tales*, p.6) Kobayashi refers to the scholarship of Hisao; "Kawaguchi Hisao conjectures that *Konjaku* was compiled by priests basically for the purpose of providing materials for their sermons to the laity. He has taken a hint from the example of China, where amusing tales were told in order to induce people to listen to the sermons." (Kobayashi, *The Human Comedy*, p.10) Marian Ury states without reference to other scholars that "It is probable, however, that the motive was religious and that behind the

seen as functioning in two ways: to entertain and to teach. As entertainment, the stories drew crowds to sermons[2]. To encourage the lay population to sit through a Buddhist sermon, priests or monks would begin with a narrative that would appeal to the tastes of the folk lay audience. Likewise the sermon itself could be spiced up by these narratives. To facilitate such use of the narratives by the monks and priests, the narratives were compiled into collections that served as prompt books. The systematic manner in which some of the compilations are ordered is thought to have allowed a priest or monk to easily find the most appropriate narrative to enliven his sermon.

In terms of their teaching function, the stories are seen as taking already existing folk narratives to espouse basic Buddhist concepts. The stories were originally oral and formed part of a 'folk' tradition.[3] Priests and monks took these narratives that circulated among the folk and adapted them to explain Buddhist teachings. The priests' aim was to make the Buddhist teachings more attractive and understandable to the folk lay population by using

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compilation was a very practical intention: to provide a handbook of stories which preachers might use to enliven their sermons." (Ury, Marian. *Tales of times now past: sixty-two stories from a medieval Japanese collection* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979. p. 2) Mills states that "It is true that the compilation, and even the reading, of such things as accounts of the lives of saints and eminent priests will have had pious value and may have been an end in itself. Yet it seems probable that a good proportion of the vast corpus of Buddhist tales was assembled for some more practical purpose, as source-material, perhaps, for the use of preachers to popular audiences." (Mills, *Tales from Uji*, p.34) Mills then states in the footnotes that "This is the conclusion of most scholars, e.g. Nagai ... and Nakano..." (Mills, *Tales from Uji*, p.34 footnote 1).

2. Mills refers to the scholarship of Kawaguchi "concerning the nature of popular services in China and Japan. He describes the atmosphere at such services as that of a carnival, with all manner of means emplyed to appeal to and sway the minds of the congregation. The religious side was enlivened by such things as plays, musical performances, and all kinds of attractive entertainments. An essential part of these blandishments was the telling of stories, and one can imagine that in the atmosphere described by Kawaguchi, the range of stories may have been fairly wide and their level may not always have been high. Almost any story may be made to bear a moral — and some may even have been told without any moralizing intent, merely as an inducement to listen." (Mills, *Tales from Uji*, p.35).

3. "Though it may draw material from oral tradition there is nothing to suggest that the traditions in question were any less current among the higher, cultured classes than among the lower, uncultured strata of society" Mills, *Tales from Uji*, p.34.

and adapting already familiar narratives. Thus through the story collections it is thought that the basic teachings of the Buddha, including concepts such as karma and rebirth, were taught to the folk lay population.

This chapter examines how the stories can be thought to support the above argument. Four components are considered; a) the preface which tells us who wrote the stories and what is the stated intent, b) the content of the narratives such as choice of material and character development, c) the style of writing such as the language used, the use of literary devices, and the genre and d) the type of Buddhism portrayed.

Please note that although the focus of this chapter is to portray as clearly as possible the argument that is presented by most scholars who study the story collections, these arguments are not my own. As a matter of fact in Chapter Five I will re-examine and challenge the basic assumptions underlying the argument presented in this chapter and will argue that the story collections were **not** used as handbooks by priests, neither were they all written by priests. But in order to understand as clearly as possible how the other scholars' argument works, I have given several examples, especially in the section on the style of writing, that are my own. It was necessary to provide examples myself as much of the scholarly work assumes familiarity with the stories and therefore simply states, for example, that 'the style of writing is such and such' without showing how this is the case. I hope this will not cause confusion.

Component One: The Prefaces

The prefaces are the most obvious place to begin. Statements made in the prefaces of the collections should give us fairly direct evidence of what the collector intended the

function of the story collections to be[4]. The conclusions that can be extracted from the preface should be the least ambiguous and the least open to interpretation but as we will see, this is not necessarily the case.

The first important thing that the prefaces state directly is who collected the stories. Many scholars state that the majority of compilers were Buddhist priests and monks. As we will see in Chapter Six, only 40% or 16 of 41 setsuwa collections can definitely be said to have been were written by the Buddhist clergy. But this percent increases to 70% or 14 of 20, if one only looks at the Buddhist collections. Therefore one would naturally assume that the scholars who state that the majority of compilers were Buddhist priests and monks are most likely referring to the Buddhist collections only. This assumption makes sense especially as most of the scholars interested in the story collections come from a religious studies background and would focus on Buddhist collections.[5] But these scholars then apply the conclusions drawn from the Buddhist *setsuwa* to all of the collections. So although 40% of all setsuwa collectors can be identified as members of the clergy, some scholars still state that the majority of the collectors were Buddhist priests or monks and do not consider why the non-clergy collectors were gathering these stories.

The second important thing that the prefaces state is the reason for collecting the stories. If the prime reason for collecting was for use as handbooks to spice up sermons for

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4. For those collections that do not have an extant preface, or those with a preface that does not state who collected the tales or why, there have been many conjectures made based on other indications. The name of the compiler is sometimes gleaned from other contemporaneous information or is reached by an examination of style. The intent of the compiler is extracted from other components.

5. The scholars who approach the material from a literary perspective and have included the secular and mixed collections in their study must have merely adopted the conclusions concerning the function of the collections made by the religious studies scholars.

the folk lay population, one would think that this reason might be referred to in some way. For example in Ichien's preface to *Shasekishû* (1283), Ichien writes

> Through the wanton sport of wild words and specious phrases, I wish to bring people into the marvelous Way of the Buddha's teaching; and with unpretentious examples taken from the common ordinary affairs of life I should like to illustrate the profound significance of this splendid doctrine[6]

Ichien's wish to illustrate Buddhism's significance using common ordinary affairs can be interpreted as a desire to teach and even to entertain, especially given the reference to 'wild words and specious phrases'. Although not a direct reference to either handbooks or a folk lay audience, this type of comment is interpreted as indicating their use as didactic tools.

A second example of a directly didactic intention by a collector comes from Minamoto Tamenori who compiled the *Sangô ekotoba* (984) "to explain Buddhism to a young aristocratic lady [Princess Takako] who had recently taken the vows."[7] In this case the collection is definitely didactic, but the audience was an aristocratic lady, not an unspecified group of folk lay people.

Implicit in the prefaces is an indication of who the intended audience was. The authors state "this work is intended only for the ignorant"[8] or "foolish people."[9] In many collections, the author prefaces the collection by saying that he humbly apologizes for the clumsy or inept writing and hopes that he will be forgiven as it is only for the uneducated and his reasons for writing are well meant. Although such statements might be considered indicative of an intended folk or lay audience they are rather formulaic expressions and can

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6. Morrell, *Sand and Pebbles*, p.71.
7. Mills, *Tales from Uji*, p.9.
8. Ichien in his prologue to *Shasekishû*.
9. Chingen in his preface to *Dainihon Hoke-kyô kenki* (Morrell, *Sand and Pebbles*, 71).

be found in even 'high' or 'aristocratic' literature. These statements are more likely a mark of the author's humility than of the intended audience.

The evidence provided by the prefaces does not provide definite proof that the story collections were Buddhist preachers' handbooks. It is only when they are considered alongside the following components, that the prefaces are thought to confirm the theory that the collections were written by monks to teach a folk lay audience the basic concepts of Buddhism.

Component Two: The Content

The content of the narratives can be seen as indicating that the collections were written for a folk lay audience. As we saw in the section on the history of literature in Japan, court literature was confined to certain subjects that were deemed refined. Likewise the sentiments expressed in the literature were not to be too strong or direct. As the court literature was written by the literate to be read by the literate, it is argued that the choice of material about the miraculous and odd and the lack of character development made the story collections unpalatable to anyone but a folk lay audience.

The choice of material or type of stories collected was often indicated by the collection's title. The *Nihon Ryôiki*'s full title is *Nihonkoku genpôzen'aku ryôiki* meaning "Miraculous Stories of Karmic Retribution of Good and Evil in Japan." And true to its title, the author Kyôkai recounts miraculous stories that demonstrate the law of karma. Likewise the *Dainihon Hoke-kyô kenki* or "Record of Miracles of the *Lotus sûtra* in the Country of Great Japan" focuses on miraculous tales that demonstrate the power of the Lotus Sutra. Other titles tell the reader the type of stories collected: "Record of [Persons in] Japan [who

were] Reborn in Paradise"[10] "Record of the Miracles of the Bodhisattva Ksitigarbha"[11] "Origin of the Pious Activity of Founding the Kongôbuzi,"[12] As seen in the titles, most of the stories involve extraordinary or unusual elements and events. They have a "naive concern with the curious or the miraculous."[13]

The topic of the extraordinary or unusual is contrasted with the topics found in court literature. As there is such a seemingly large disparity, the conclusion is drawn that the intended audience for the story collections could not be the court, so it therefore must be the folk. In claiming that the audience for these stories must be the folk, as the court had their own literature, it is assumed that only rural bumpkins would find this type of narrative interesting and worth listening to. Perhaps it is felt that only such ill-educated country folk would actually accept the stories to be true whereas the court, full of educated and 'rational' people, would understand the stories to be superstitious and full of ficitious elements. If the function of the stories is to teach the concepts of Buddhism then the audience must believe the extraordinary and unusual can happen. Thus it is argued that the use of extraordinary and fantastic events indicates that they were written for a folk lay audience.

The same argument is made for the lack of character development in the stories. The narratives concentrate on a sequence of events, as opposed to character development. They avoid lengthy descriptive passages or psychological analysis. Again these qualities are compared with those of the court literature to show how unlike the court literature the story

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10. *Nihon ôjô gokurakuki*, Brower, *Konzyaku monogatarisyu*, p.48.
11. *Jizô bosatsu reigenki*, Brower, *Konzyaku monogatarisyu*, p.54.
12. *Kongôbuzi konryû syugyô engi*, Brower, *Konzyaku monogatarisyu*, p.39.
13. Mills, *Tales from Uji*, p.36.

collections are. This dissimilarity seems to be the basis for citing these qualities as demonstrating that the collections were not written for a court audience as they lack the aesthetic style that would have pleased court readers.

Component Three: The Style of Writing

The style of writing is the strongest and most often used support for claiming the stories are handbooks for monks to use in teaching a folk lay population and therefore I closely examine this component. The argument is twofold. The style of writing is used to support the claim that the stories are designed to teach. And the style of writing is also used to support the claim that the intended audience for the lessons were the folk lay population. This section examines how the style of writing is used to support both claims.

As we saw in the section on the literature in Japan, historically the story collections have not been considered true literature. They did not measure up to the standards of the highly erudite and refined court writing of the time. The exclusion of story collections from literature is due primarily to the collections' style of writing, most often thought too didactic to be considered literature.[14] Some scholars state outright that "there is no question that the stories are subordinate to the didactic messages they contain."[15] The choice of very short narratives and the use of certain literary devices that clarify and emphasize the lesson to be learned are used to support the claim that the stories were didactic tools.

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14. This has changed somewhat and a number of the narrative collections, such as *Konjaku monogatarishū* and *Ujishūi monogatari*, are now said to merit being called literature. But even today, most of the other narrative collections are still considered simply didactic, not literary.

15. Kelsey, *Didactics in Art*, p.21.

The stories in the collections are short, ranging from as little as two or three lines to at most several pages. Apparently it is difficult for many scholars to imagine who would have a use for such short narrative bits. The court lady with time on her hands, wanting to read some amusing and amazing stories is not considered. Neither is a parent who wants to impress a certain moral lesson upon a child.[16] Not even the local gossip who is always looking for a good story to tell is thought of. The only possibility that most scholars can imagine is use by priests or monks to illustrate a point made during a sermon. In discussing the possibility that the stories were used by storytellers, Mills states;

> Nor, indeed, does much of the material of tale literature seem particularly suited, either in subject matter or form, consisting as it does of very brief anecdotes, for recital by such people [professional storytellers]. Yet there is one type of specialist for whom the purveying of short tales was an integral part of their activities, namely preachers.[17]

Especially relevant to this theory is the fact that many of the collections are organized into chapters based on themes. For example, *Shasekishu* is divided into ten books. Each book illustrates a major religious theme. All of the stories contained within each book have some connection (however seemingly tenuous) to that theme.[18] It is argued that such grouping into religious themes made it easy for a monk to search for an appropriate illustration for a sermon. Thus both the shortness of the stories and the organization of the stories are interpreted as indicating that the collections were designed to be used by monks and

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16. Thank you to Dr. Orr for these colourful examples of other possibilities.
17. Mills, *Tales from Uji*, p.33.
18. The theme in Book One is *honji-suijaku*. Book Two is about miracles performed by Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. Book Three is about doctrinal or moral issues. Book Four is about the problem of attachment. Book Five is about scholars and poetry. Book Six is about preaching. Book Seven is about karmic retribution. Book Eight is about stupidity and resourcefulness. Book Nine is about honesty, loyalty, and filial piety. Book Ten is about people who entered the religious life and final moments of contemporary virtuous monks. (See Morrell, *Sand and Pebbles*, p.56-59).

preachers to illustrate the doctrine.

The inclusion of literary devices that facilitate learning such as repetition, rhetorical questions, summarization, and quotation of scripture are used to support the belief that the stories were meant to teach. These devices also facilitate memorization. An examination of the *Nihon Ryôiki* will demonstrate the use of such literary devices among the story collections. The *Nihon Ryôiki* is our example because it is considered the first Japanese story collection, and as such was the starting point for many of the other Japanese collections.[19] And as these literary devices are particularly characteristic of the stories' closing remarks, we will focus on this part of the stories.

There are five basic features of closing remarks found in the *Nihon Ryôiki*: repetition, rhetorical questions, summarization and inclusion of the audience in the lesson learned, quotation of scripture, and making a statement.

Repetition is found throughout the story collections. Events, character types, and phrases are very similar from story to story. Repetition of language is most clearly found in the formulaic ending to 24 of the 116 tales in *Nihon Ryôiki*. Each of the endings is a variation of "This is a miraculous event."[20] The repetition of this particular phrase is seen as

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19. The *Nihon Ryôiki* was itself based on the Chinese story collection tradition, specifically the *Shokyô yôshû* (*Chu-ching yao-chi*), *Myôhôki* (Record of Invisible Work of Karmic Retribution), and *Hannya kenki* (A Collection of Miraculous Stories concerning the *Kongô hannya-kyô*) (see Nakamura, *Miraculous Stories*, p.34-40).

20. Volume II tale 8, 34, and 42. And; "This miraculous event was witnessed in Japan" (I:3) "This is a miraculous story" (I:5) "It is a miraculous event" (I:9, III:5) "This is the wonder of the Shin hannya-gyô" (I:14) "This is indeed a miraculous event" (I:35) "This is an unusual event" (II:14) "It is another miraculous event" (II:24) "This is another of the miraculous events" (II:26) "This is also an extraordinary event." (II:34, III:20, III:37) "This is also a miraculous event" (II:40, III:1, III:6, III:17) "This is an extraordinary event" (III:9, III:11) "This is also a miraculous event in our country" (III:31) "This is a miraculous sign to bring the faithless to a realization of this." (II:36) "This is the first of all wonders" (II:37).

reinforcing the central theme of the collection — that the miraculous occurs in daily life and is the working of Buddhist law. The repetition of certain key phrases is seen by many scholars as an indication that the collections were not meant to be read from cover to cover.[21]

Rhetorical questions are the second literary device (and by far my favorite). They occur at the end of 21 of the 116 tales in *Nihon Ryôiki*.[22] In the story, the actions of the character demonstrate a Buddhist virtue. Usually this character is not human. The rhetorical question at the end follows a basic formula 'non-human has this virtue, how can a human not?' For example

> even an animal does not forget gratitude, and repays an act of kindness. How, then, could a righteous man fail to have a sense of gratitude.[23]

or;

> Even a spirit of the dead or a skeleton repays an act of kindness; how can a living man forget?[24]

As the answer is obvious, the rhetorical question makes a deeper impression on the audience than a straight statement would have made[25]. The rhetorical question teaches the listener the obviousness of certain actions.

Rhetorical questions also take the form of "How can anyone not believe that?"[26] or

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21. The same types of repetition can be seen in *sutras*, court poetry collections, Aesop's fables, etc. As will be discussed in Chapter Six repetition does not necessarily mean the piece is either didactic or for the folk lay population.

22. I:17, I:31, I:33, II:13, II:26, II:35, III:8, III:25, III:36 and the two tales that are quoted later. III:25 follows the same formula as the proper rhetorical quesions but ends with an exclamation point "The immediate repayment of our deeds is as sure as in this instance, and how much more certain repayment in future lives will be!"

23. I:7.

24. I:12.

25. See *A Handbook to Literature*, Fourth Edition, ed. C. Hugh Holman, Indianapolis:Bobbs-Merrill Educational Publishing, 1983 Page 381.

26. I:31 and likewise "How can we ignore this" (II:35) and "How can one doubt it?"(III:9).

"Who can fail to believe in the law of karmic retribution, as expounded widely in the Mahayana scriptures?"[27] These questions reflect the phrases about the stories' miraculous nature seen in the repetition section. This type of rhetorical question makes belief in the tale seem obvious. Both types of rhetorical question present the lesson learned in the story as a natural and obvious conclusion. This use of the rhetorical question is regarded as evidence of the didacticism of the stories.

Summary is the most obvious didactic device that the author uses. 62 of the 116 tales[28] end with a summary or recapitulation of the story's lesson such as "Surely we learn that the power of Kannon is beyond understanding"[29] or "We cannot but believe in the law of karmic causality."[30] This ending is seen as the most indicative of the didactic nature of the stories. A good lesson ends with a concise summary of what was learned in the lesson. The summary is particularly effective in the *Nihon Ryoiki* because it is accompanied with a change in point of view that moves to include the listener in the lesson learned. The narrative directly addresses the reader by using the plural form 'we', drawing the listener into the summarization.[31] For example, "Indeed, **we** know that the master saved himself through his devotion to dharma."[32] The *Nihon Ryoiki* is somewhat unusual in the directness with which the author states what has been learned from the story. Other collections do not necessarily

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27. II:30.

28. "We learn that he was incarcerated as a sage" I:4 "We learn that there really exists a mysterious correspondence" I:9 and others I:11, I:16, I:19, I:21,I:22, I:24, I:28, I:32, II:3, II:4, II:6, II:11, II:15, II:16, II:17, II:20, II:28, III:3, III:10, III:13, III:16, III:22, III:24, III:28, III:29, III:32, III:33, III:34, III:38, III:39. The other 28 tales that end with a summary are listed under the section about quoted scripture.

29. I:6.

30. I:10.

31. This technique of including the listener can be found in many different types of literature especially religious literature.

32. III:6, my bold.

make the lesson so explicit. But the inclusion of summary statements in the collections is said to indicate that they were used as miniature lessons. Again there is little question by scholars if there are not other possible uses for the stories.

A quote from scripture follows the summary in 28 of the 116 tales.[33] The quotations range from a generalization about what the scripture says such as "Honeydew in the present will be an iron ball in the future."[34] to quoting a specifically named *sutra*. The quote forms a link between the lesson learned from the story and the teachings of the Buddha. For example the end of Tale 10, Volume II states the lesson learned from the story and then quotes two scriptural passages that teach the same thing;

> Now we are sure of the existence of hell in this world. We should believe in the law of karmic retribution. We should not behave like a crow which loves its own chicks and eats others. Without compassion man is just like a crow. The *Nehan-gyô* says: "Though there is a distinction in respectability between man and animal, they share the fact that they cherish life and take death gravely..." The *Zen'aku inga-kyô* contains a passage which gets right to the point: "The one who roasts and boils chickens in this life will fall into the Hell of the River of Ashes after death."[35]

Like the summary ending, this ending is thought to function to teach the listener. In this case a connection is made between the listener and the scripture.

I have grouped all other types of endings into the fifth group — "making a statement" — for easier examination. Some of the stories end by stating 'this is the origin of...'. For example, I:1ends with "This is the origin of the name, "Hill of Thunder," given in the time of the old capital." Other stories end with a statement concerning the central character such as

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33. I:13, I:20, I:23, I:27, I:29, I:30, II:1, II:5, II:9, II:10, II:13, II:18, II:19, II:22, II:27, II:30, II:32, 'apt saying' II:38, II:41, II:42, III:2, III:4, III:15, III:15, III:18, III:20, III:23, III:26, III:27.

34. I:30, this particular quote is repeated in II:9 but is referred to as an old saying.

35. II:10.

"his fame will last forever."[36] Some of the stories simply end at the end of the action; "On the promised day he waited for them, but they never returned."[37] 19 of the 116 tales end with one of these statements[38] The origin statements are thought to have some didactic function but for the most part the stories that end with statements are thought to lack the same teaching power the other endings have.

The literary devices such as repetition, rhetorical questions, summarization, and quoting scripture are an integral part of the style in which the stories are written. Each of these literary devices are seen as functioning to teach or reinforce the lesson learned in the story. Thus the style of writing is used to support the argument that the stories were used to teach.

Victor Mair raises an interesting point, however, which is if the collections were written to be used by the priests as a handbook for preaching, as opposed to as reading material, then there would not be such formulaic phrases. "A performer would not need such markers"[39]. However such an issue is not discussed by any of the scholars studying Japanese story collections.

Another aspect of the style of writing that is used to support the argument that the audience of the stories were the folk lay population is the fact that they were written in Japanese using Chinese characters. As we saw in the history of literature in Japan, Chinese

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36. I:25.
37. III:12.
38. I:1, I:2, I:15, I:18, I:26, I:34, II:2, II:7, II:21, II:24, II:29, II:31, II:39, III:7, III:12, III:21, III:30, III:35.
39. "The existence of numerous transparently formulaic expressions in a short story may be regarded as an indication that the work was intended for a reader and not for a performer." Mair, Victor H. *T'ang Transformation Texts*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989. p.121.

was the main language of literature for the first couple of centuries after the introduction of Chinese civilization. *Nihon Ryôiki*, the first Japanese story collection, was written with Chinese characters. As Chinese characters were only understood by the literate, the language would indicate that the compiler intended the collections to be read by other monks, but "it is, however, written in a peculiarly Japanese brand of Chinese and would probably have been intelligible to the common people if they heard it read aloud."[40] Mills supports the belief that it was meant to be understood as Japanese. He states;

> At the end of each story, there appear notes on the Japanese readings of certain expressions. It is not known whether these are original and thus indicate that *Ryôiki* was intended from the first to be read as Japanese. That they may be original is suggested by the fact that they appear as early as 904, in the oldest extant manuscript, the *Kôfuku-ji* text of the first book[41]

Thus there is the sense that the stories were written so as to be understood by the Japanese unfamiliar with Chinese — that is to say uneducated. Another feature of the language mentioned by Mills who states, without really explaining what he means, that "certainly there is a popular feel about the language used"[42] in the narrative collections.

Component Four: The Buddhism Portrayed

The final component that is used by scholars to support the claim that the audience must have been the folk lay population is the type of Buddhism portrayed in the stories. The assumption is that as the Buddhism portrayed in the stories differs from the Buddhism of the court, the Buddhism of the stories must be geared for the folk lay population.

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40. Kelsey, *Didactics in Art*, p.21.
41. from footnote, Mills, *Tales from Uji*, p.7.
42. He continues by saying that "To some extent this can be said even of the collections written in Chinese; at least, they have a simple style, often heavily influenced by Japanese and thus showing signs of the corruption of Chinese which was to lead, via the curious hybrid style known as *hentai kambun*, 'abnormal Chinese, to the *wakan konkôbun* style." (Mills, *Tales from Uji*, p.34).

The stories give many examples of the workings of karma; they depict rebirth and the repercussions of sin; they describe the rewards of virtuous actions; and they espoused faith in both the Buddha and the *sutras*. All of these are basic, central aspects of Buddhism.

This basic Buddhism is compared with the type of Buddhism that would have been found in court Buddhism. As Mills states about the Buddhism presented in the narratives;

> Here the rewards of faith and the punishment for sin and unbelief are immediate, coming in this present life, by miraculous means.... the essence of its doctrine is simple in the extreme. These tales contain no abstruse arguments or profound doctrines. They are simple illustrations of a few basic Buddhist beliefs[43]

The simplicity of the Buddhism in the stories is used to support the argument that the audience was not courtly or elite because "the intellectual demands made by the religion embodied in the stories are never very high. The doctrines and teachings are of the simplest and most commonplace kind . . ."[44] These lower intellectual demands are thought to have only been made by the monks and priests when dealing with the uneducated folk lay population. Dykstra states

> In preaching to commoners, these priests found that discussion of the abstract theories and philosophies of the Buddhist laws would not arouse any interest in the untutored minds of their listeners. These priests deliberately chose fantastic and miraculous stories to narrate and introduce the basic Buddhist teachings [45]

But as we will see in the next chapter, the division between the court elite population and the folk lay population is much narrower than is assumed in this argument.

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43. Mills, *Tales from Uji*, p.7.
44. Mills, *Tales from Uji*, p.34-35.
45. Dykstra, Yoshiko Kurata, "A Study of the *Nihonkoku genpô zen-aku ryôiki* (A Record of the Miraculous Exhibition of Virtue and Vice in the Present Life of Japan)" Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, 1974. p.58.

The prefaces, the contents, the style of writing and the Buddhism portrayed in the narratives are used by many scholars to support the conclusion that the story collections were written by monks to teach a folk lay audience about Buddhism. What becomes highly interesting is that the same prefaces, contents, style of writing and Buddhism portrayed support completely different conclusions depending on the assumptions with which one begins.

The two chapters that follow this one question the validity of the initial assumptions of the argument presented above. Chapter 5 raises questions about the traditional distinctions made between the folk and the court and the religious elite and the laity and reconsiders the process of popularization. Chapter 6 re-examines the story collections themselves to see whether the conclusions outlined above are the only ones that it is possible to draw from the evidence.

Chapter 5: Questioning the Basic Assumptions

The argument presented in Chapter Four is based on an understanding of religion, as well as culture, literature, taste etc. as two-tiered; with the lay population believing something different and less sophisticated than the monks or religious elite. There are several major assumptions that are raised when one views religion as two-tiered. First, the laity and the religious elite are seen as being involved with two separate forms of religion; the laity being concerned with a simplified, dilute or degenerate version of that with which the elite are involved. The second assumption is that the laity are incapable of grasping the full truth and complexity of the religion and need something less demanding ethically, intellectually, and spiritually. The final assumption is that the elite are aware of this difference and act to promote it; simplifying and otherwise adapting the religion to meet the needs of the laity and thereby ensuring its widespread acceptance.

What makes this conception interesting is the fact that in some respects Buddhism represents itself as having two tiers as we have seen both in the concept of *upaya* and the theory of *honji-suijaku*. But I will argue that these two-tiered distinctions that are part of the Buddhist tradition do not coincide with the two-tiered distinction between elite and lay.

This chapter is divided into three sections that correspond with the three assumptions outlined above. The first section questions the separateness of the elite and lay forms of religion and re-examines *upaya* as a doctrinal support for two different tiers. The second section questions whether it is only the laity to whom simple concepts appeal by reviewing *honji-suijaku*. The final section considers whether the Buddhist elite has consciously adapted

religion to meet the needs of the laity by examining Gregory Schopen's work.

Folk vs Elite Beliefs — The Concept of Upaya

As we saw in the previous chapter, many scholars use the argument that the Buddhism described in the story collections is necessarily that with which the laity was involved because it is simple and basic. But if this is what is important to the laity, the question then arises — what aspects of Buddhism are important to the elite? Members of the court were certainly not sitting around the court in a constant state of enlightenement. They too, under the guidance of the religious elite, had practices that propitiated the Buddhas, that brought them merit, that demonstrated their faith. As Mills puts it:

> The nobility were no less naïve in their approach to Buddhism than the common people. They may have enjoyed the pomp and splendor of complicated forms of religious ceremony like that of Shingon, but intellectually they were just as ready as the common people to accept benefits on this earth, just as fond of magical hocus-pocus, just as riddled with superstition"[1]

It may be argued, however, that there was a form of Buddhism which was available only to members of the elite. The doctrine of *upaya* seems to indicate that such acceptance of a two-tiered religious system could be accomodated within Buddhism. A distinction is made between the true Buddhist path and *upaya* which may be seen as corresponding to the distinction between court practices and folk practices. If this is the case then the people of the court practice true Buddhism. The folk practice that which the Buddha creates out of compassion to meet the needs of all sentient beings and bring them closer to (or along) the Buddhist path. Such a distinction, however, can be challenged.

The concept of *upaya* makes a differentiation between absolute truth and relative

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1. Mills, *Tales from Uji*, p.36.

truth. The absolute truth is enlightenment; it is the attainment of nirvana. Relative truth is anything that brings one closer to the absolute truth. They are mutually dependent; the absolute truth cannot exist except as compared to relative, relative truth cannot exist except as compared to absolute truth. Each can only be cognized in comparison with the other. Most importantly, absolute truth can only be achieved through relative truth. As Kûkai states

> The Dharma is beyond speech but without speech it cannot be revealed. Suchness transcends forms but without depending on forms it cannot be realized.[2]

Theoretically there is no value judgement placed on the relative truth as long as it performs its function. As seen earlier in the parable of the burning house, the goat, deer and ox carriages were effective in getting the children out of the house. Although not the absolute truth, they hold relative truth as they saved the children from burning and led them to the white ox carriage. But although theoretically of equal value, historically, the valuation of absolute and relative truths has been a major issue. Different schools squabble over whose teaching is superior[3]. The point is, however, that no matter what the teaching, it must be remembered that it too, is just a boat for crossing the river — and it is to be left behind when reaching the other shore.

The effect that this has on our argument is that the Buddhism with which the elite is involved is as much "relative truth" as that with which the laity is involved. Neither of them is absolute. Given the variety of religious practices there may be differences in the particular

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2. As quoted by Ichien in *Shasekishû*.

3. The whole system of *p'an chiao* in which the different teachings of the Buddha were systematized according what part of the Buddha's life the teaching came from and the supposed level of the teachings. Each school had a slightly different list putting that school at the apex of the list. Although seemingly sectarian in emphasis, the *p'an chiao* system was essential in the Chinese acceptance of Buddhist teachings because it made sense of the many doctrinal discrepancies and contraditions.

practices that are common among the court members, the religious elite, and the folk lay population, but none of these practices can be said to represent a "purer" or more "authentic" Buddhism.

Honji-Suijaku — An Expression of Two Tiers

The second assumption to be examined is that the folk lay population is incapable of grasping the full truth and complexity of the religion and needs something less demanding ethically, intellectually, and spiritually. This assumption seems to be supported by the theory of *honji-suijaku*. Like the concept of *upaya*, *honji-suijaku* seems to present two tiers of deities — the Buddhas who are the compassionate source and the *kami* who are mere manifestations. It also seems to present Buddhism as a step up from Shintô, the Buddha readies the devotee for Buddhism by manifesting himself as a *kami*. The distinction between source and manifestation, Buddhism and Shintô, seems to correspond to the distinction between elite court population and folk lay population. In this case, the elite court population is seen as ready and able to practice the full truth and complexity of Buddhism whereas the folk lay population need the less demanding, ethically and intellectually, practices with which they are familiar, i.e. Shintô. Such a set of distinctions, however, can be challenged by an examination of the evidence.

Two story collections are especially known for espousing *honji-suijaku*: *Shasekishû* and *Kasuga Gonen Genki*.[4] It is interesting to compare these two works because although the

4. "One looks through the *Genki* onto the living pattern of *honji-suijaku* religion." (Tyler, *The Miracles of the Kasuga Deity*, p.3). Likewise the first of the ten books of *Shasekishû* is dedicated to advocating the syncretism between *kami* and Buddhas. This syncretism is also seen in Mûjû's defense of poetry for he claimed that if the Buddha had been born in Japan, the Japanese poems would be considered part of the mystic words as opposed to the Indian ones.

audience for each is thought to be different, they are both concerned with legitimizing the theory of *honji-suijaku*. *Shasekishû* is one of the collections that is thought to have been written for a folk lay audience. The *Kasuga Gonen Genki*, on the other hand, is known to have had a court, even state, audience.[5] There should, therefore, be a difference in how *honji-suijaku* is portrayed in each.

But interestingly, there seems to be no difference in portrayal. Both collections treat the theory of *honji-suijaku* as an integral part of their audience's worldview. Both advocate the syncretism of Buddhas and *kami* and both see this syncretism as part of the religion practiced by the audience. Therefore it can be argued that the audiences for both collections saw the significance of *honji-suijaku* in the same way.[6]

The second way in which the story collections contradict the distinctions between 'complex' Buddhism and 'simple' Shintô is by demonstrating how intermingled the two religions were during the collecting period. The stories are a wonderful repository of descriptions of daily life and give us a fluid picture of Buddhism and Shintô in Japan. There are stories of married monks, monks who owned tea shops, and monks who were known for their wily ways. There are also many examples within the stories that tell us about how *honji-suijaku* worked in the daily interactions of Buddhism and Shintô. For example, even the depictions of the very institutions, the Buddhist temple and the Shintô shrine[7] show they

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5. Tyler, *The Miracles of the Kasuga Deity*, p.3 This collection is known to have had an aristocratic audience because the Kasuga Deity was that of the Fujiwara clan and the stories were written about and for the Fujiwara family. The Fujiwara clan was deeply connected to the emperor.

6. "The conventional distinction between 'aristocratic' (or possibly orthodox) and 'popular' may not necessarily apply to the religion represented by the *Genki*, however lofty its patronage." (Tyler, *The Miracles of the Kasuga Deity*, p.4).

7. I am using here the common terminology to differentiate between the buildings of a Buddhist center — a temple, and the buildings of a Shintô center — a shrine.

were not separate. Within most Buddhist temples there was a shrine for the local *kami*. And some shrines housed Buddhist images. As we saw in the earlier section on *honji-suijaku* these were established because the kami were thought to protect the temple.[8] Likewise there was much interaction between the clergy of Buddhism and Shintô. There are even some stories that tell us that some people acted both as a Buddhist priest and as a Shintô priest.

Given the evidence found within the story collections, it is clear that the theory of *honji-suijaku* functioned in the religion of the elite court population much the same way that it affected the folk lay population.

Questioning the Concept of Popularization — Schopen and the Image Cult

The final assumption to be examined is that the elite are aware a difference between their own religion and that of the lay or folk population and act to promote it; simplifying and otherwise adapting the religion to meet the needs of the laity. In his article "On Monks, Nuns

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8. There is an interesting example of this type of interaction as seen in the statues that look like Buddhist priests. In most Buddhist temples there are several statues or sometimes paintings of the temples' masters or patriarchs. As the Buddha's teachings are bestowed by master to worthy disciple(s), the master is highly revered and often is immemorialized through art. During the first three centuries, priests would go to China to gather a combination of wisdom, direct teaching from Chinese masters, and ritual implements for performing Buddhism including thousands of Sutras. Upon returning to Japan they often founded their own temples, or took over a less successful temple, and passed the teachings and treasures from China on to their disciples. Likenesses of such founders were thought to ensure that the teachings of the temple remained true, and were an important part of rituals. Shown seated in their robes, holding their prayer beads, their shaved heads remind the viewer that they have taken the Buddhist vows. Such images were highly realistic and depict the priest as he was. If one looks at three or four images, such as a painting, a sculpture or two and an ink drawing, all of them retain certain characteristics that go beyond stylistic or idealistic characteristics. Although for different purposes, Shintô uses almost identical iconography to embody the Shintô *kami* Hachiman in human form. Seated in robes, with a shaved head, holding something, Hachiman looks just like a Buddhist priest. Although there is no known model for the Hachiman statue, it seems to have the same naturalism of the Buddhist images. Given the impact and popularity of the anthropomorphic images of Buddhism, it is not surprising that Shintô would adopt the use of human forms in its art to increase its appeal. Such an adoption however leads to some interesting paradoxes within Shintô such as the paradox of multiplicity. Unlike the Buddhas and bodhisattvas whose numbers are infinite and their multiplicity does not contradict any element of Buddhism, Shintô had until this time been relatively singular concerning the gods. A particular *kami* resides in a particular place and protects a particular population. With the advent of a portrait of an empress who was still alive, for example, the question of which was the *kami* arose -- the statue or the empress herself.

and 'Vulgar' Practices: The Introduction of the Image Cult into Indian Buddhism,"[9] Gregory Schopen challenges the belief that the religious elite are required to pander to the plebeian desires of the folk. Schopen uses the image cult in Indian Buddhism to prove his point. Most scholarship on Buddhist image worship assumes that the statues of the Buddhas were important to the lay population as part of their devotional practices. Monks and nuns, it is assumed, knew their doctrine well enough to know that worship of an image of the Buddha had no significance and was discouraged. The monks and nuns, however, allowed the placement of these images in temples in order to draw the lay population into these temples so that they might be brought into right knowledge concerning the Buddha.

Schopen argues that such a set of assumptions is completely contradicted by the information contained in the inscriptions carved into the images. These inscriptions reveal who the donor was, what their place in life was (i.e. whether they were a layperson or not), and what their reasons for donating the image were. (Note the strong parallels with the information contained in the prefaces of the story collections) When Schopen examined these inscriptions, he found that a large percentage of the images were donated by monks or nuns. If just the earliest images were considered, the inscriptions showed an even higher percent of monks and nuns as donors. These findings indicate that the cult of images was initiated by the monks and nuns. Only as the cult of images became well established did the lay population begin to donate images.

Schopen's case is made even more clear by the use of the term '*trepitaka*' in the identification of many of the monk and nun donors. '*Trepitaka*' means one who knows the

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9. *Artibus Asiae* 49/1-2 (1988-89) 153-68.

Three Pitakas, i.e. someone highly learned. This term indicates that it was not unlearned monks or nuns but rather those known for their learning who were involved in establishing the image cult.

The final piece of information held within the inscriptions concerns the reasons the donor gives for donating the image. In the article, 'Filial Piety and the Monk in the Practice of Indian Buddhism: A Question of 'Sinicization' Viewed from the Other Side,' Schopen examines donations that were made to help benefit one's parents. Although many of the donors were lay people, there are enough monks and nuns who donated the images to benefit their parents that it is clear that what motivated monks and nuns to donate images was not a strategy to bring lay people into the temples but the desire to earn merit for themselves by donating images and transferring this merit to others.

Schopen concludes that the belief that the cult of images was a result of the religious elite being pressured into accepting the 'vulgar' practices of the lay population is contradicted by the evidence found in the inscriptions on the images. In fact, almost precisely the opposite is true: the religious elite themselves introduced the use of images as part of devotional practices, practices that they were deeply involved with themselves.

The situation concerning the image cult in Indian Buddhism has many parallels with that of the story collections in Japanese Buddhism. The initial assumptions made by scholars are similar, the information contained within the evidence is similar, and I would argue that the conclusions that Schopen makes can be applied to the story collections.

The initial assumptions that are made in the image cult can be distilled into three statements; a) the images were created by lay people, b) the images were used by lay people

in devotional practices because it suited their needs better than elite doctrine did, and c) the religious elite were persuaded to allow the use of these images as part of their Buddhist practices because it would bring the lay population into Buddhism. Similarly, the assumptions made concerning the narrative collections can be distilled into the same three statements; a) the stories were based on oral (lay) folk traditions, b) the stories were used in sermons for the lay population because the stories suited the needs of the laity better than the more sophisticated doctrine did, and c) the religious elite used the stories as part of Buddhist teachings in the belief that it would bring the laity to Buddhism.

But, the conclusions that Schopen reaches; with respect to the image cult in Indian Buddhism challenges all three of the basic premises and there is reason to believe that a similar outcome may be found in the case of the story collections. I will argue in the next chapter that in many cases, highly learned monks and scholars were the prime instigators and participants not only in the collection of the stories, but as the audiences for these stories as well. In the case of the Buddhist story collections, I will argue that it was not a case of the religious elite pandering to the needs of an ignorant and 'vulgar' lay population, but rather that the religious elite themselves were fascinated by the workings of the most basic but most profound Buddhist doctrines in their everyday lives. In the case of the secular and mixed story collections, I will argue that the members of the court and the laity in general simply enjoyed the tales and collected and listened to them because they were highly entertaining. This is not to say that there are not some collections that are overtly didactic and often moralizing, but these collections do not constitute a large enough part of the whole body of story collections that they should be used as the basis for conclusions about the significance

and use of the story collections as a whole. I will demonstrate rather that the story collections were written by a variety of people for a variety of reasons.

Chapter 6: Analyzing the Story Collections

As we have seen in the previous chapters, the scholarship on the story collections begins with a set of assumptions about who wrote the collections and for what audience. If these assumptions are disregarded and we begin with the assumption that the story collections were collected by a variety of people for a variety of reasons, the analysis of the story collections gives very different results. We find that some monks and scholars collected the stories about and for their own peers. Some were fascinated by the workings of the most basic but most profound Buddhist doctrines in their everyday lives. Some collected the stories just because they were highly entertaining, saying something of the foibles of life. We find that any one single explanation is inadequate to truly understand the story collections and the functions they had.

This chapter examines the body of story collections outlined in Chapter Two and follows the same structure as Chapter Four, examining the prefaces, the content, the style of writing, and the Buddhism portrayed.

Component One: The Prefaces

The prefaces tell us two things, who collected the stories and what this person's stated intentions were in writing the collection. As many of the prefaces are not extant, we must turn to other historical data to find out who wrote the collection. Likewise, there are only a small number of prefaces extant that tell us what the collectors intent was for writing the collections. But even these small numbers give us a strong indication of who wrote the stories and why.

I will begin by examining who collected the stories. This information is extracted from both the prefaces of the collections and from other sources.[1] For simplicity's sake, I have grouped the collectors into four categories : elite, court, laity, and unknown. Anyone who is part of the Buddhist clergy, whether priest, monk, or hermit has been included in the '(religious) elite' category.[2] Anyone who is a scholar, court noble, or is of aristocratic birth and has not become part of the Buddhist clergy has been included in the 'court' category. Anyone who has a name but no descriptive statement concerning them is included in the 'laity' category[3]. And when the collector cannot be gleaned from either the collection itself or from other writings, it has been included in the 'unknown' category.

Given these divisions, of the 20 collections that have been defined as Buddhist *setsuwa*, 14 were written by the elite[4], 3 were written by the court[5], 2 were written by the

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1. In discussing who collected the stories, I have used whatever names and titles have been proposed by various scholars without expressing whether there are any doubts as to the strength of such information. Where there are however serious questions concerning the authorship of a collection, I have placed a question mark beside the collector's name in Appendix B.

2. This category is perhaps the clearest because those who became part of the religious elite changed their names from their given birth name to their ordination names. Anyone who would have been writing would have made their status as a member of the Buddhist clergy obvious simply by stating their name.

3. Unfortunately, I realize this places some of the authors in the laity category who rightfully should be in the court category. But unlike the name changes that separate the religious elite from the others, it was not imperative that an author state his profession or place in society. Most of the information concerning the people in the court category come from contemporary sources. Through meticulous research of contemporary sources some of the names in the laity category would have to be moved to the court category but for the purposes of this thesis, I will include only those who were well known court members in the court category and the others in the laity category.

4. *Nihon ryôiki* (810-823) was written by Kyôkai who "lived a monastic life at a temple called Yakushi-ji, one of the great state temples in Nara" (Nakamura, *Miraculous Stories*, p.vi), *Nihon kanryôroku* (848-892) was written by Gishô of Gangô-ji, *Dainihon Hoke-kyô kenki* (1040-1043) was written by Chingen, "a priest associated with Shuryôgon'in of Yokawa (Dykstra, *Miraculous Tales*, p.3), *Fusô ryakki* (1094-1169) was written by Kôen, *Gukanshô* (1219-1220) was written by the Tendai archabbot Jien, *Kankyo no tomo* (1222) was written by the Venerable Keisei, *Shishû hyaku-innenshû* (1257) was written by the priest Jûshin, *Shasekishû* (1283) and *Zôdanshû* (1305) were written by priest Mujû, *Genkô shakusho* (1322) was written by Shiren, *Shingonden* (1325) was written by priest Eikai, and *Shintôshû* (1354-1358) was written by Agui en. (Where there is no specification as to what the person was, I have included those that have Buddhist names in this enumeration.) *Hosshinshû* (1216) was written by Kamo no Chomei, *Senjûshô* (1243-1255) is believed to be

laity[6], and 1 was unknown[7]. (See Graph 1) Of the 17 collections defined as secular *setsuwa*, 2 were written by the elite[8], 2 by the court[9], 8 by the laity[10], and 2 were unknown[11]. (See Graph 2) Of the 4 collections defined as mixed *setsuwa*, 1 was written by the laity[12], and the other 3 were unknown[13]. (See Graph 3) Of the 6 *ôjôden*, 1 was written by the elite[14], 4 by the court,[15] and 1 by the laity.[16] (See Graph 4) The *engi* were written predominantly by the temple priests[17] although Brower does indicate that they were also written by lay people[18].

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written by Saigyô, both of whom were originally of aristocratic birth but became hermits.

5. *Sanbô ekotoba* (984) was written by Minamoto no Tamenori, a "court noble and scholar" (Brower, *Konzyaku monogatarisyu*, p.44), *Honchô shinsenden* (1097-1098) was written by Oe no Masafusa, a "famous scholar" (Mills, *Tales from Uji*, p.36), *Hôbutsushû* (1179) was written by exiled court noble Taira no Yasuyori.

6. *Mizukagami*(1170-1195) was written by Nakayama no Sadachika and *Shûchû-shô* (1185) was written by Fujiwara no Kenshô.

7. *Zoku Kojidan* (1219).

8. *Jikkinshô* was written by the lay priest Rokuhara no Nirozaemon. *Kara kagami* (after 1294) was written by Fujiwara Shigenori in his old age, after he had taken orders.

9. *Zenke hiki/iki/isetsu* was written by Miyoshi Kiyoyuki (847-918) a "celebrated scholar of Chinese"(Mills, *Tales from Uji*, p.17). *Ki-ke ke-i jitsuroku* was written by Ki no Haseo who was "a great chinese scholar and was the rival of Kiyoyuki The following three do not specify the collector but rather state who the tales were recorded from; *Gôdanshô* was recorded from tales told by Oe Masafusa.*Chûgaishô* and *Fuke godan* were recorded from conversations of Fujiwara Tadazane. But as both Oe Masafusa and Fujiwara Tadazane were scholars I have included them in this category.

10. *Shumpishô* (before 1124) was written by Minamoto Toshiyori. *Fukuro sôshi* (before 1177) was written by Fujiwara Kiyosuke. *Môgyû waka* (1204) was written by Minamoto Mitsuyuki, *Kiri-bioke* (?) and *Guhishô* (?) have been attributed to Fujiwara Teika. *Kyôkunshô* (1232-3) was written by Fujiwara Takamichi. *Ima monogatari* (after 1239) was probably written by Fujiwara Nobuzane. *Kokon chomonshû* (1254) was written by Tachibana no Narisue.

11. The authors of *Yotsugi monogatari* (after 1254?) and *Kara monogatari* (before 1264-75) are completely unknown.

12. *Kojidan* (1212-1215) was written by Minamoto no Akikane.

13. *Konjaku monogatari* (1106-1110), *Kohon setsuwashû* (1126-1131), *Ujishûi monogatari* (1212-1221).

14. *Sange ôjôki* (1139) was written by the priest Renzen.

15. *Nihon ôjô gokurakuki* (983-988), by Yoshishige no Yasutane; an "outstanding Confucian scholar, student of the Chinese classics" (Brower, *Konzyaku monogatarisyu*, p.48); *Zoku honchô ôjôden* (1101-1111), by Oe no Masafusa, a "famous scholar" (Mills, *Tales from Uji*, p.36); *Shûi ôjôden* (1123) and *Go-Shûi ôjôden* (1137-1139), by Miyoshi no Tameyasu, a "famous historian and mathematician" (Brower, *Konzyaku monogatarisyu*, p.50).

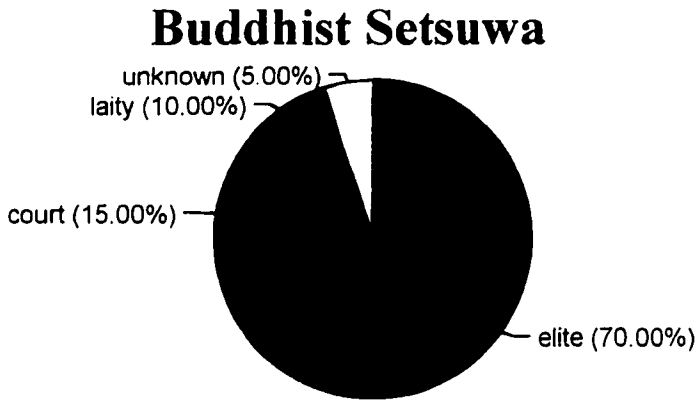
16. *Honchô shinshû ôjôden* (1151) was written by Fujiwara no Munetomo.

17. *Kongôbuzi konryû syugyô engi* (btw 971 and 1046?) is attributed to the priest Ninkai (951-1046).

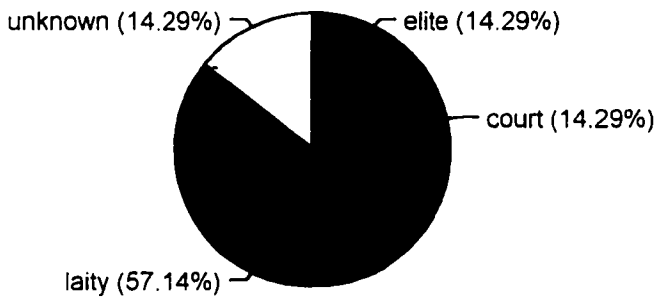
18. (Brower, *Konzyaku monogatarisyu*, p.28) This is supported by the fact that the *Sekidera engi* was written in 1025 by a certain Sugawara Moronaga. (Brower, *Konzyaku monogatarisyu*, p.39).

Graphs Showing Who Wrote the Story Collections

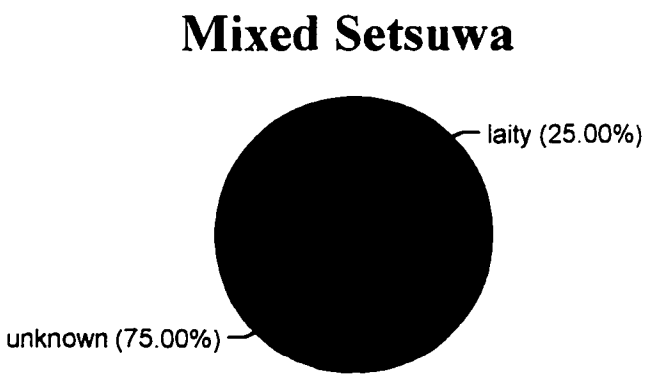
Graph 1



Graph 2



Graph 3



The *reigenki*, *Jizô bosatsu reigenki* (1016-68) was written by Jitsuei, the chief priest of Mii-dera but the collector of the *Hase-dera reigenki* (1200-1212) is unknown. The writers of the *uchi-giki* were both unknown[19] although the *Uchigikishû* was believed to have been copied by someone called Eigen; a Buddhist name. The later writers of *uchi-giki* were part of the Agui school[20] and therefore were no doubt monks or priests. Although these numbers make for dry reading, they give some fairly interesting results.

For the discussion that follows, I have temporarily excluded *engi* and *reigenki* as the sources that I have used do not discuss either of these categories in depth. Suffice it to say that the *engi* seem, from the little said about them, to have been written predominantly by the religious elite at the request of the temple that forms the central topic of the stories collected. Such a commissioning of the work is one reason that the *engi* are not usually included in the discussion about the story collections. And there has been so little study (in English) about the *reigenki* that it is difficult to draw any conclusions about them.

If one considers only the Buddhist *setsuwa*, then it makes some sense to begin with the assumption that priests were the primary collectors as 70% of the collectors of the Buddhist *setsuwa* are part of the elite. But if one considers all of the *setsuwa* collections then the percent of elite drops to 42%. (See Graph 5) If one also includes the *ôjôden* and *uchi-giki* in these numbers then the percent of elite drops to 39%. (See Graph 6) As all *setsuwa*, *ôjôden*, and *uchi-giki* usually form the body of literature that is referred to when discussing

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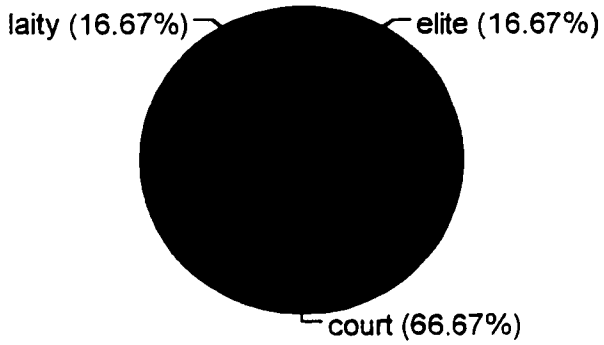
19. Makajima (As cited by Kelsey, *Didactics in Art*, p.24) states that draws the conclusion that the *Uchigikishû* was compiled by a monk, but I do not know on what evidence he bases this conclusion.

20. The products of the Agui school that I know of are; *Sengon-shû*, *Futsû Shôdô-shû* and *Sôan-shû*, (dates not given but later than the writing of *Konjaku monogatari*).

Graphs, cont...

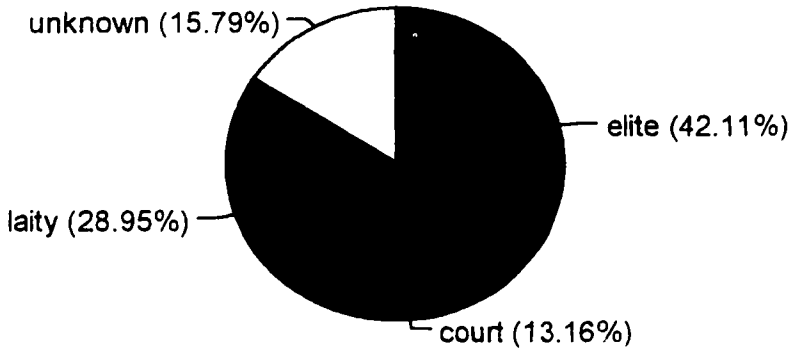
Graph 4

Ojôden



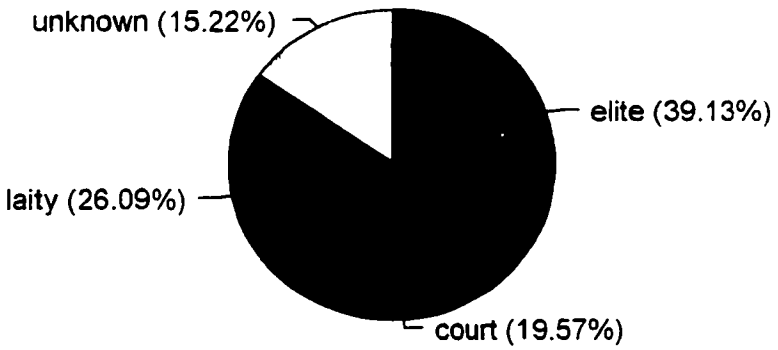
Graph 5

All Setsuwa



Graph 6

Setsuwa, Ojôden, and Uchi-giki



story collections, the question arises: if the elite were collecting these as handbooks to use during sermons, why were the other 46% collecting these stories?[21] At a first glance it would seem sensible to say that this 46% were collecting the secular stories, but this is not the case. If one considers only the Buddhist collections (Buddhist *setsuwa*, *ôjôden*, *uchi-gikî*) a surprisingly low 57% of the collectors were part of the religious elite. (See Graph 7) If the function of the Buddhist collections was to teach the folk lay population the basics of Buddhism then why were 35% of the Buddhist collections written by people whom we know were definitely not part of the clergy? Conversely why would the religious elite (14% of the secular setsuwa were written by religious elite) be involved in collecting purely secular tales? The remainder of this section examines various possible reasons why people collected the stories and examines the prefaces of the collections to see if these possibilities are supported.

Marian Ury gives an interesting answer to the question of why a member of the religious elite was collecting secular stories. In reference to *Konjaku monogatari*, (a mixed *setsuwa*, unknown collector) she says

> perhaps [the secular stories] are there because the book burst the bounds of its original plan, or because secular stories could also be used by the preacher, to draw a crowd. The compiler's stance, in any event, is determinedly didactic, and no doubt he felt that good advice is good advice, whether it has to do with accumulating good karma, or how to get on in the world (which may amount to the same thing). Or how to keep from looking ridiculous, or keeping from being cheated when you buy food[22]

In this case the compiler's desire to pass on good advice — to teach — is still thought to be the most important element of the reasons for collecting the stories. Such use of the secular

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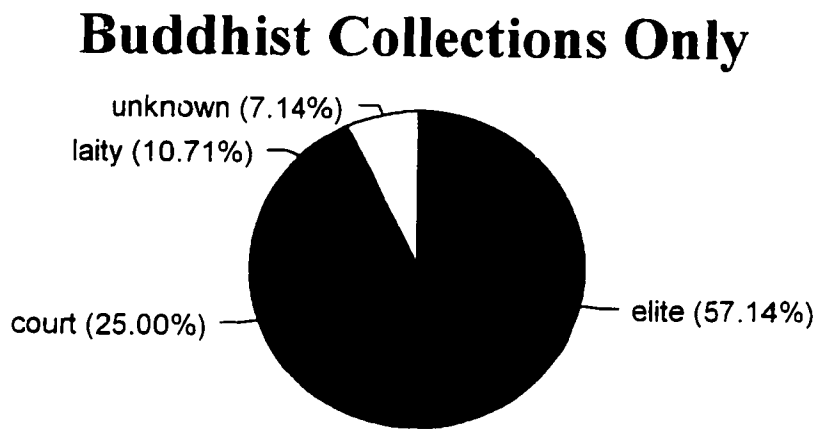
21. And yes, my math is better than it may seem: I have not included the 15% of unknown collectors as these could have been either elite or not.

22. Ury, *Tales of Times Now Past*, p.2-3.

Graphs, cont...

Graph 7



stories can be supported by the preface of *Shasekishû*, (Buddhist *setsuwa*, elite collector)

> So from among casual digressions this old monk extracts the sacred teaching, and among humorous anecdotes he points out the theory and practice of Buddhism. May those who have occasion to see it not despise this poorly-written work by means of which they may come to comprehend the significance of Buddhism; nor should they blame the inclusion of extraneous material through which they may come to understand the operation of moral causality.[23]

So although many of the stories in *Shasekishû* seem very far from teaching about Buddhism, Ichien, the author, sees the practical lessons learned in the 'secular' stories as part and parcel of the working of moral causality. But simultaneously Ichien acknowledges that the stories "strike his fancy"[24] And one has to wonder what the lesson of moral causality or even what good advice is contained in many of the stories. For example,

> A husband unexpectedly returned home while his wife was sleeping with her lover, and there was no way for him to make his escape. So the woman wrapped her admirer in a straw mat and carried it out, remarking that she wished to rid it of some fleas. As she was vaulting over the sunken hearth, the man, stark naked, slipped out of the mat and fell plumb into the grate.
>
> Seeing this, the husband opened his eyes wide in surprise; but, covering his mouth in a gesture of amazement, remarked casually: "My! What a big flea!" As the husband made no move to punish the man, he simply crawled away.[25]

There is no moral given, no reference to the karmic retributions, not even any mention of the relations between the man and his wife after this point. One can only wonder how the monk Ichien envisioned the story as teaching anything, but it certainly is an interesting and entertaining tale!

A reason that the court and laity may have collected religious stories was to gain merit. Merit making included temple building, collection writing, and teaching the lay

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23. Morrell, *Sand and Pebbles*, p. 72.
24. Morrell, *Sand and Pebbles*, p.71.
25. Morrell, *Sand and Pebbles*, p.208.

population. Sometimes this merit is said to be transferred to all sentient beings but even through this donation to all sentient beings it was believed that merit would be accrued by the performer. Collecting, transmitting, and copying these stories can be considered like chanting *sutras*, an activity that was thought to bring the collector or chanter great merit. Victor Mair gives a similar explanation concerning who wrote the Chinese *pien-wen*[26], (picture recitation or tranformation texts). Mair's explanation is important to the story collections because there are direct parallels and historical links between the story collections and *pien-wen.*[27] Mair states

> many of the [*pien-wen*]were copied by a body of lay students who had not yet passed their examinations and who were enamored of popular storytelling. Some considered it an act of piety to have religious stories copied out, even though these were decidedly non-canonical. On the other hand, canonical texts and lectures on them tended to be copied by individuals who were more directly affiliated with the Buddhist faith (Mair, 1989:131)

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26. According to Mair, *pien-wen* "are the written descendants of oral narrative performed by popular entertainers; they may deal with secular or religious subjects." (Mair,Victor H. *T'ang Transformation Texts*, p. 5.) They are typically identified by "the pre-verse formula 'please look at the place where X X happens; how does it go?'or some variation thereof" (Mair, *T'ang Transformation Texts*, p. 5). "There are no more than thirty verifiable *pien-wen* manuscripts in the world. One of the reasons why the number I give is so low is that I make a sharp distinction between *pien-wen* and *chiang-ching-wen.*" (Mair, *T'ang Transformation Texts*, p. 5) He differentiates them from *chiang-ching wen* 'sutra lecture texts' which he defines as "records or notes for religious lectures for laymen. They are basically exegetical texts closely tied to a single sutra but may contain a certain narrative component." They have the formula "'please sing' (addressed to the cantor) at the end of verse sections and preceding the citation of the sutra which is being explicated." (Mair, *T'ang Transformation Texts*, p. 5).There are several other genres of literature from Tun-huang that are often classified as *pien-wen*; "One is *ya-tso-wen* ("seat-settling text") which normally serves as the introduction for a sutra lecture and may be identified by the closing formula "those who are willing, reverently join your palms while I ask the cantor to sing forth the title of the sutra" or some variation thereof. Another genre, the name of which I am uncertain, is characterized by the pre-verse formula "At that time, what did he say." It occurs in works labeled *avadana* ("illustration of underlying causes through parable, metaphor, or story") and *nidana* ("the origins or underlying causes of")" (Mair, *T'ang Transformation Texts*, p. 6) See also Mair, Victor H. "Lay Students and the Making of Written Vernacular Narrative: An Inventory of Tun-Huang Manuscripts" Chinoperl Papers No. 10 (1981):5-96.

27. Like the story collections, the *pien-wen* are thought by many scholars to be "the prompt books of Buddhist monks, which they referred to when giving lectures or sermons. Available evidence drawn from various sources, however, indicates clearly that *pien* storytellers were primarily lay entertainers rather than monks and that some of them were women" Mair, *Painting and Performance*, p.1.

This desire to reap merit from collecting the stories is clear in the preface to the *Sanbô ekotoba* (984)(Buddhist *setsuwa*, court collector). The collector, Minamoto Tamenori says

> And so I have labored assiduously to gather these leaves from the vast forest of merit, and as I prepared for you this picture of the solid roots of the tree of Enlightenment, the feelings in my own heart got tangled in the very words, and my tears fell like rain upon my brush tip. This is my prayer: may my endeavors guide us both through this world and to the next...[28]

The image Tamenori creates is quite specific and wonderfully poetic. He refers to the stories, the pages, the 'leaves' as being gathered from the forest of merit. Thus the gathering gives merit to him and also to the Empress for whom the collection was produced. Likewise Tamenori prays that his endeavors — the collecting and writing out of the stories — will guide them both through this world and to the next. There is much less sense of Tamenori 'teaching' the Empress than there is a sense of his learning from and gaining merit from the collection himself, with the result that they both will benefit.

The desire to reap merit from the collecting of stories extends into the religious elite as well. The *Kasuga Gonen genki* (*reigenki*, court collector) is prefaced with

> Unable to restrain my zeal to honor the Deity, I have gathered this collection together to the best of my ability, so as to increase the faith of all men. Now that the work is in its final form, I have only to add these words. After I conceived this gesture of devotion, great good fortune blessed my house, and by this I knew that my plan had met with divine approval. May those who come after me be inspired by it to ever greater reverence and faith.[29]

The collector[30] sees the collecting of the stories as gaining him merit. The preface not only

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28. Kamens, Edward. *The Three Jewels: A Study and Translation of Minamoto Tamenori's Sanboe*, Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 1988 p. 94.

29. Tyler, *Miracles of the Kasuga Deity*, p.159.

30. "Takashina Takakane (fl.1309-30), the head of the imperial office of painting, did the paintings. The stories were compiled by the Kôfukuji monk Kakuen (1277-1340), in consultation with two senior monks of the same temple: Jishin (1257-1325) and Hanken (1247-1339). The text was written out by 'The Former Regent Mototada and his three sons'. These personages were Takatsukasa Mototada (1247-1313); Fuyuhira

acts to tell us what the function of the story collection was, but also acts as a miniature story of the efficacy of such collecting for bringing good fortune.

Yet another reason for collecting any of the stories is out of interest. Kobayashi suggests that the *Konjaku Monogatari* (mixed *setsuwa*, unknown collector)

> was carried out primarily as a hobby by an insignificant priest-scribe belonging to a big temple. In this case, the compiler is presumed not to have expected the publication of his work to serve any particular purpose.[31]

This possibility is supported by the *Kenke hiki* (c.901-918) (secular *setsuwa*, court collector) which the great Chinese scholar Kiyoyuki collected "simply because such stories aroused his curiosity or appealed to him."[32] Likewise, the painter, Tachibana no Narisue, originally wrote *Kokon chomonshû* (1254) (secular *setsuwa*, court collector) "as a collection of anecdotes to serve as subjects for pictures."[33] These two examples demonstrate that the reasons for collecting reached far beyond a desire to teach. In both cases, the collector of the stories wrote the collection for his own interests. And as we shall see when we examine the contents of the story collections, many of the collections, like these, seem to stem out of a love of or interest in something.

The final possibility that we shall explore in this section is that the collections served as a memento of a performance by a professional storyteller. Mair argues that the *pien-wen* were written down primarily by people who would have been present at the performance of a story and who wished a more permanent means of reliving the experience. By examining a

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(1275-1327);; the Kôfukuji monk Ryôshin (1277-1329); and Fuyumono (1285-1309). The *Genki* was dedicated in Engyô 2.3 (1309) by "The Minister of the Left."" Tyler, *Miracles of the Kasuga Deity*, p.9.

31. Kobayashi, *The Human Comedy*, p. 17.
32. Mills, *Tales from Uji*, p.17.
33. Mills, *Tales from Uji*, p.22.

wide variety of storytelling traditions which all seem to be linked with the storytelling tradition from which *pien-wen* and possibly the story collections originated, Mair is able to draw the conclusion that

> those who transcribe oral folk literature and thus begin the process of transforming it into popular written literature are very seldom the performers of oral literature themselves.[34]

Therefore a distinction needs to be made between those who would have been involved in *telling* the stories that were recorded in the *pien-wen* and those who were actually involved in *writing* them down.[35] These conclusions are important for two types of Japanese story collections. The *uchi-giki* seem to be based on specific occasions of storytelling. The *Hyakuza hôdan kikigakishô* (1110) (*uchi-giki*, unknown collector)

> is a bare-boned outline of the sermons delivered by the preachers at a large ceremony for the Lotus Sutra which was held at Daianji starting on the 18th day of the second month in 1110[36]

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34. Mair, *T'ang Transformation Texts*, p.111.

35. The primary evidence that Mair gives for his conclusions relates directly to the *pien-wen* found at Tun-huang. He examines several versions of Mu-lien's (Maudgalyayana) Rescue of His Mother from the Dark Regions. The first is a picture scroll depicting the progress of Mu-lien that has verses written on the back. The second is also a picture scroll, this time the written segments are placed between the pictures. The third text had 'with picture' originally in the title but that has been struck out and the whole scroll seems to have been pasted together, indicating that there were originally to have been pictures between the text segments but for some reason these were not completed and the spaces for the pictures were eventually cut out of the manuscript. Mair sees these three picture scrolls as demonstrating the historical link between the *pien-wen* that include both pictures and text and those that are simply text. The first picture scroll with the verses on the back were most likely part of the actual reciter's paraphernalia because the verse section of most oral narratives within the Indian tradition are fixed whereas the prose sections were fluid and up to the discretion of the storyteller. Likewise this scroll has the verses on the back which means the storyteller could remain behind the scroll allowing for maximal audience viewing. The second scroll was likely used for personal viewing and reading purposes as the entire text is included and the pictures are divided by this text. This is also reinforced by the fact that both the pictures and the text are on the same side of the scroll. The third scroll that has the presumably blank areas that were to have pictures that have been cut out is the final movement and link to those texts that are writing only. Mair argues that most likely the sponsor for the scroll ran out of funds before a painter could be hired. Lay students who were copying these stories would have no problem copying the text but would have to leave the paintings out because they would not have had the expertise to copy the paintings as well.

36. Kelsey, *Didactics in Art*, p.25.

Likewise the title of the *Uchigikishû* "Collection of Tales Written Down as Heard" (1134) (*uchi-giki*, unknown collector) is thought to indicate that "the text was written down either from memory, or as a kind of transcript of the actual words of a story-teller"[37] Thus these two collections can be seen as a record or a memento made by someone in the audience after (or during) the telling of the stories.

A slightly different manifestation of the story collection as memento is the *Hôbutsushû*, (1179)(Buddhist *setsuwa*, court collector), collected by Taira no Yasuyori. Yasuyori presents the collection in dialogue form as what he has heard over the course of an evening;

> [Yasuyori] visits the temple and spends a night in conversation with the people he meets there. They discuss what is the most precious thing in the world and come to the conclusion that it is Buddhism. When a woman asks why, a priest expounds the faith, illustrating his exposition with many tales. Thus the night passes, and at dawn the company disperses.[38]

The collection is a memento or documentation of the discussion of that night.

The prefaces seem to make it quite clear that there were many reasons for collecting the stories and there were many different people who collected the stories. Next we will examine the contents of the story collections.

Component Two: The Content

An examination of the contents of the stories show that miraculous tales form some of the content of the stories but not all. There are collections that focus on aspects of Heian court life, collections that espouse *honji-suijaku*, and collections that cover a wide spectrum

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37. Brower, *The Konzyaku Monogatarisyu*, p.56.
38. Mills, *Tales from Uji*, p.14.

of topics, from the miraculous to the mundane and everything in between. What is evident throughout our examination of the contents is that the topics discussed in the story collections would have appealed to a wide variety of people, folk and court alike. For that matter, there were many collections whose contents seem geared specifically for the court and elite.

To offer a basic framework for this section I turned to Hisamatsu who divides the story collections into four groups according to their source material: Shintô, Heian court life, Buddhist, and plebeian.[39] These four groups although not applicable to the story collections as a whole — each story collection has tales from a variety of Hisamatsu's groups — seemed to give us a possible way to categorize the general contents of the story collections. I found however that many of the stories that are traditionally categorized or grouped into Buddhist stories are actually more concerned with the religious phenomena of *honji-suijaku* than either purely Buddhism or purely Shintô. Thus I have divided Hisamatsu's third group into two categories: stories that are purely Buddhist and stories that deal with *honji-suijaku.* And I have dropped Hisamatsu's fourth category altogether because it raises problems with distinctions such as "plebeian".

There are no collections, to my knowledge that focus almost entirely on stories that have Shintô origins. There are, however, many stories within each collection that have

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39. The first group are the stories that have circulated in Japan since the earliest times and contain archaic and Shinto elements. The second group use Heian court life and "comprise biographies of noble men, stories relating to rituals and ceremonies, customs and habits of the court, and Chinese and Japanese poems. This group of *setsuwa* was motivated by a strong yearning for the glorious old days and life at court." The third group are the Buddhist stories and they comprise biographies of priests, tales of the origins of temples and images, and miraculous event. The motivation for these stories, according to Hisamatsu, is the desire to explain Buddhist teachings. The fourth group come from "gossip" and have a "plebeian quality" "some include legends or incidents personally experienced by authors or compilers in local areas. The characters may be nobles, military men, priests or commoners — yet all are grasped and portrayed from a plebeian viewpoint." As discussed by Dykstra, *A Study of the Nihonkoku*, in the footnote 49 on p. 183.

Shintô elements or involve *kami* and, as we will see later in this section, many of the story collections espouse the theory of *honji-suijaku*. An example of what is considered to be a story having Shintô origins is the tale from *Nihon Ryôiki* (Buddhist *setsuwa*, elite collector)

> In the village of Kusumi, Mizuno, Katakata district, Mino province, there was a woman whose surname was Agata-no-uji. She was over twenty but unmarried, and she became pregnant without any sexual intercourse. At the end of the second month in the spring of the tenth year of the boar, the first year of the Enryaku era, in the reign of of Emperor Yamabe, she gave birth to two stones after a three-year pregnancy. They measured five inches in diameter. One was blue and white mixed together, while the other was pure blue. They grew year after year.
>
> In Atsumi district, next to Katakata district, there was a great *kami*, whose name was Inaba. The deity took possession of a diviner, and spoke through him, saying, "The two stones which were born are my own children." Therefore, they were enshrined at the girl's residence in a sacred place surrounded with a hedge.
>
> We have never heard a story like this from ancient times until today. This is also a miraculous event in our country.[40]

As we discussed in the section on Buddhism and Shintô in Chapter One, the *kami* were often thought to be manifested in certain stones or other unusual natural elements. The unusual way in which the stones in the story came about (i.e. were born from a human as opposed to being uncovered in the earth) and their unusual appearance (i.e. their blue color) indicate their *kami* status. Other Shintô elements are; communication through a diviner, *kami* often making their desires clear through possession of a diviner, and the use of rope or in this case a hedge to mark off sacred space. The tales that have Shintô elements or Shintô origins would have been perhaps the most familiar, and would, especially early on in Buddhism's history in Japan have appealed to the widest audience. As we will see later, Shintô elements are even more pronounced in the stories that involve *honji-suijaku*.

Stories and story collections that come from Heian court life center around poetry and

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40. Nakamura, *Miraculous Stories*, p.266, Vol. III, Tale 32.

other courtly pursuits and the characters in the stories are usually members of the court. For example, *Kara monogatari* (secular *setsuwa*, unknown collector) is dominated by love stories.[41] *Kyôkunshô* (1232-3) (secular *setsuwa*, lay collector) tells stories about music and musical instruments. *Shumpishô* (before 1124) (secular *setsuwa*, lay collector), *Fukuro sôshi* (before 1177) (secular *setsuwa*, lay collector) and the first half of *Kohon setsuwashû* (1126-1131) (mixed *setsuwa*, unknown collector) tell mostly poem-tales or stories about poets and poems. *Yamato monogatari* (c.950) (secular *setsuwa*, unknown collector) has a theme of love and similar to *Ise Monogatari* (both of which are part of the *uta monogatari* or 'poem-tales' tradition). As we will see in the next section on style of writing, many of these collections aspire to some of the aesthetics of other court literature.

Along with the collections like *Yamato monogatari* that tell of love among courtiers, there were collections that recorded much more mundane topics that were of interest to the court such as biographies and histories. Works that fall into the biographical category are the collections about Prince Shôtoku and the *Shingonden* (1325) (Buddhist *setsuwa*, elite collector). *Fusô ryakki* (1094-1169) (Buddhist *setsuwa*, elite collector), *Gukanshô* (1219-1220) (Buddhist *setsuwa*, elite collector), *Kara kagami* (after 1294) (secular setsuwa, elite collector) are all based on or are translations of historical works.

Other collections such as *Gôdanshô* (secular *setsuwa*, court collector) have a wide variety of topics. Mills states that the *Gôdanshô*

reveals very clearly the kind of subjects which occupied the minds of the courtiers of

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41. This is not to say that the folk lay population did not enjoy love stories, but rather that the love stories contained within the two collections, focused predominantly on loverelations between certain court members.

> the time.... anecdotes about Emperors, stories of famous musical instruments, and many old legends, such as that of a demon on the Rashô Gate which cried out in admiration of the recitation of a passerby, or of the goddess Benzaiten on Chikubu-shima, who taught someone the correct reading of an obscure phrase. There are, too, many anecdotes about Chinese poems and about Confucianism.[42]

Given the wide variety of topics that seem to be geared for an aristocratic or court audience, it does not seem to make sense to claim that the story collections were written as handbooks to teach Buddhism to a folk lay audience. But, one could point out that all of the collections that we just mentioned as originating from Heian court life (and no doubt having court members in their audiences) fall within the secular story collections. Thus the distinction could be made between Buddhist collections and secular ones. But, interestingly enough, even this distinction does not withstand scrutiny for there are Buddhist story collections that seem to be directed to a courtly audience as well.

This next portion looks at the Buddhist stories, both those that were written predominantly by court members such as the *ôjôden* and the others Buddhist collections that were written by many different people. Most of the *ôjôden* (four of the six collections) were collected by court members and follow the courtly tradition of historical writings. The *ôjôden* are essentially collections of biographies that focus on people who were reborn in the Pure Land. The writing of biographies was a respectable employment for anyone who had an interest in history. Such biographical collections were an important part of Chinese historical writings[43], and the Japanese court members would have wished to emulate these biographical

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42. Mills, *Tales from Uji*, p.19-20.

43. Even the collection of biographies of the clergy became an important and respected part of historical writing in China. Arthur Wright gives an interesting exploration of how one of the collectors of Buddhist monks biographies created a space for the biographies of monks within the genre of Chinese biographies. "I venture to suggest that his adoption of the conventions of an established genre of Chinese literature was motivated by a desire — concious or unconcious — to recue Buddhist biography from the limbo

collections. Given the prominence of the Pure Land among all of the population of Japan, it is hardly surprising that stories about the lives of those reborn in the Pure Land were of great interest.[44] Unfortunately I have been unable to locate any *ôjôden* in translation so we cannot see how the *ôjôden* compare with the other stories.

Buddhist stories were written by many different people about many different topics. As we saw above many of them are biographical such as the *ôjôden*, some tell the orgins of temples such as the *engi*, still others seem to be fascinated with the workings of Buddhism in the daily lives of the characters. The stories in this category are the ones that scholars most often cite as evidence of the didactic aspect of the story collections, thus we have cited a number of them. But to examine the breadth of topics that the "purely Buddhist" story collections encompass, let us return to the stories that were referred to in Chapter Three to extract the characters' station in life and the central element of the story. Isowake, the melon seller, is a merchant and the story tells of his treatment of his horses. The man saved by the first character of the Lotus Sutra is an official and the story tells of his mishap. The first fox story involves a retainer out hunting. The second fox story involves the fox spirit, the possessed girl and a houseful of people and centers around a possession. The story about the stalwart wife departing her husband tells about their relationship. Although each of the

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of the exotic, the bizarre, and give to the lives of the monks a place of honor in the cultural history of China. In short, one of his motives — in writing this book and in writing it the way he did — was to advance the naturalization of monks and monasticism in Chinese history and society." p.385 Wright, Arthur F. "Biography and Hagiography: Hui-Chiao's *Lives of Eminent Monks*" *Silver Jubilee Volume of the Zinbun-Kagaku-Kenkyusyo*. ed. Kaizuka Shigeki and Kyoto University. Kyoto: Nissha Printing Co. 2 vols. 1954. 383-432.

44. Again we can turn to Wright's discussion of *Lives of Eminent Monks* to "Hui-chiao's subjects pass through the usual phases of human life from birth to death; they yield to the temptations of the flesh, they suffer from stammering and dysentery, they are buffeted by the social and political upheavals of their times. Miracles punctuate but do not dominate the sequence of events. Indeed miraculous happenings are no more frequent than in many secular biographies of the period." (Wright, "Biography and Hagiography," p.386).

stories involves the Buddhist ideas of karma and rebirth, none of them discuss Buddhist characters or Buddhist events. The characters range from merchants to officials and the events from the mundane daily treatment of the merchant's horses to the strange possession of a girl by a fox. Thus it is apparent that the purely Buddhist stories range over all different topics with characters from all different walks of life.

The final category, stories that deal with *honji-suijaku* are the most interesting to us. As mentioned in Chapter Five in the discussion about *honji-suijaku*, the stories tell us much about the interaction between Buddhism and Shintô in the daily lives of the Japanese. Although I mentioned *Shasekishû* (Buddhist *setsuwa*, elite collector) and *Kasuga Gonen Genki* (*reigenki*, elite collector) in Chapter Five as well, I would like to examine these two collections in a little more depth.

The author of *Shasekishû*, Ichien, is very explicit about his support of the intermingling of Buddhism and Shintô. This support is not stated as 'Buddhism and Shintô ought to mingle' but rather all of his stories and his prefaces and even the expressions that he uses justify and demonstrate how Buddhism and Shintô work together. For example, the very first story in *Shasekishû* begins with

> While I was on a pilgrimage to the Great Shrine during the Kôchô era [1261-64], an official explained to me why words associated with the Three Treasures of Buddhism [the Buddha, the Law, and the Order] were forbidden at the shrine, and why monks could not closely approach the sacred buildings.
>
> In antiquity, when this country did not yet exist, the deity of the Great Shrine [the Sun Goddess, Amaterasu], guided by a seal of the Great Sun Buddha inscribed on the ocean floor, thrust down her august spear. Brine from the spear coagulated like drops of dew, and this was seen from afar by Mâra, the Evil One, in the Sixth Heaven of Desire. "It appears that these drops are forming into a land where Buddhism will be propagated and people will escape from the round of birth-and-death," he said, and came down to prevent it.

> Then the deity of the Great Shrine met with the demon king. "I will promise not to utter the names of the Three Treasures, nor will I permit them near my person. So return quickly back to the heavens." Being thus mollified, he withdrew.
>
> Monks to his very day, not wishing to violate that august promise, do not approach the sacred shrine, and the sutras are not carried openly in its precincts. Things associated with the Three Treasures are referred to obliquely: Buddha is called "The Cramp-Legged One" [*tachisukumi*]; the sutras, "colored paper" [*somegami*]; monks, "longhairs" [*kaminaga*]; and temples, "incense burners" [*koritaki*], etc. Outwardly the deity is estranged from the Law, but inwardly she profoundly supports the Three Treasures. Thus, Japanese Buddhism is under the special protection of the deity of the Great Shrine.[45]

As we can see, the marriage of Shintô and Buddhism is made quite explicit. Ichien has taken the traditional Shintô story of the creation of the Japanese archipelago and slightly adjusted it. Usually it is Izanami and Izanagi who do the dipping. Amaterasu is the offspring of Izanagi. Ichien has also given the creation story a Buddhist twist. He has drawn a parallel drawn between the Sun Goddess Amaterasu and the Sun Buddha. And he has included the guidance of the Buddha in creating Japan by adding the Buddha's seal in the briny waters. By changing the original story to incorporate Buddhist elements, the story explains that the apparent separation between Shintô and Buddhism is actually proof that the Shintô *kami* protect and promote Buddhism. If Amaterasu had not given such a promise to Mâra then the great land of Japan would not have been formed and Buddhism would not have been able to flourish on it. This type of incorporation of Buddhist and Shintô elements occurs throughout *Shasekishû*.

Like *Shasekishû*, the *Kasuga Gonen Genki* is deeply involved in promoting *honji-suijaku*. Tyler is quite specific about the fact that he sees the religion expounded in the *Kasuga Gonen Genki* as falling into a 'twilight zone' that is neither Buddhist nor Shintô but

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45. Morrell, *Sand and Pebbles*, p.72-73.

is a combination of both. (see Figure 21 for a depiction of this intermingling) As Tyler says, the *Kasuga Gonen Genki* is "the living pattern of *honji-suijaku* religion."[46] The focus of the collection is the tutelary deity (*ujigami,* i.e. *kami*) of the Fujiwara Family and how he protects and promotes the interests of those who worship at the Kasuga Shrine. The Kasuga shrine protected Kôfukuji (a Buddhist temple) and provided the source of legitimacy for Kôfukuji's power.[47] Thus many of the stories involve both the Kasuga Shrine and Kôfukuji.

> On the 25th day of the 7th month of Jôhei 7, at the hour of the Boar, the Shrine groaned and shook in the wind; and at the hour of the Rat, a Tachibana lady who was then before the Sanctuaries uttered a cry. She called in the Shrine Guards, the Overseer, and the other priests, who gathered respectfully before her. She also summoned Shôen, a Kôfukuji monk who since the 23rd of the same month had been chanting Sutras at the Shrine. Then the God gave this oracle: "I am already a Bosatsu, but the Court has not yet given me any Bosatsu Name."
>
> At this, Senryô, a monk who practiced upon the Tendai Mountain, said, "What Bosatsu Name should we give you?"
>
> The God replied, "Jihi Mangyô Bosatsu."
>
> The Chancellor, the Ministers of the Left and Right, and all the Nobles murmured together. "It was up to us to decide that," they said.

There are several things that this tale tells us about the interaction of Buddhism and Shintô at the time. There was a Buddhist monk who had been at the Shintô shrine for several days chanting presumably Buddhist Sutras. The *kami* or god of the shrine pronounces that he himself is a Bodhisattva (Japanese: Bosatsu). A Buddhist monk addresses the *kami* instead of a Shintô priest. The court nobles such as the chancellor and the ministers attend the shrine and are responsible for the neglect of not giving the *kami* a Bosatsu Name previously.

As we can see, the contents of the story collections cover a wide spectrum of topics which would have spoken to a wide audience. Whether the collection was Buddhist or

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46. Tyler, *Miracles of the Kasuga Deity*, p.3.
47. Tyler, *Miracles of the Kasuga Deity*, p.1.

secular, whether it spoke of Shintô or *honji-suijaku*, there were topics to interest and entertain all of the Japanese population.

Component Three: The Style of Writing

In the same way that the style of writing was so important in the argument made by many scholars, it is important in our discussion. The primary argument outlined in Chapter Four is that the style of writing of the story collections did not aspire to the courtly values found in the 'high literature'. In the first portion of this section I will refute this claim by examining examples of stories that do aspire to courtly values. In the second portion of this section I discuss the emotional response that the short direct style of writing found in the story collections was able to elicit from its audience, whether courtly or folk.

In Chapter Two, we discussed the values that the court aspired to in the Heian and early Kamakura period. In some of the story collections both the quality of *miyabi* or courtly refinement and the sentiment of *mono no aware* or 'capacity to be moved by things' are expressed quite clearly. For example, the tales from *Yamato monogatari* (secular *setsuwa*, unknown collector) usually involve intrigues or encounters between members of the court. The characters that the *Yamato monogatari* holds in high regard are able to compose poems as the occasion requires and these poems are emotionally restrained and tell of the transience of life. Tale 126 from *Yamato monogatari* is an excellent example of these characteristics.

> Lady Higaki, who lived in Tsukushi, was extremely witty and led a life of elegance and refinement until Sumitomo's revolt when her house was destroyed by fire and all her furniture looted. What a pity this was!
>
> Unaware of this misfortune, Ono no Yoshifuru, the Senior Assistant Governor-General, arrived from the capital at the head of a punitive force. He looked for Lady Higaki's house where it had earlier stood and said: "I wish to locate the person called Lady Higaki. I wonder where she is living now." The men accompanying him said:

"She used to live in this neighborhood." "What could have happened to her during the disturbances?" asked Yoshifuru. "I wish to see her again." Just then a gray-haired woman, who had gone to draw some water, passed by before them and went into a wretched-looking hovel. Someone then exclaimed: "Why, is that not Lady Higaki?" Feeling sorry for the woman, Yoshifuru called to her, but embarrassed to be seen in such a pathetic state Lady Higaki refused to come out. Instead, she recited aloud this poem:

Mubatama no	My jet-black hair
Waga kurokami wa	Has turned as white
Shirakawa no	As the waters of White River;
Mizu hagumu made	I at last realize
Narinikeru kana	How old I have grown

Yoshifuru was so moved by her pitiful state that he took off one of his robes and presented it to her. [48]

As we can see the aesthetics of the Heian court are apparent throughout this tale. *Miyabi* is expressed in Lady Higaki's ability to compose an appropriate, but not too sentimental poem, on the spot. The sentiment of *mono no aware* is expressed in Yoshifuru's gentle sensibility of Lady Higashi's state and his offering of his robe in hopes that it would help her. The ability to compose poetry on the spot is slightly mocked, but is very cleverly done in the tale of the woodcutter from *Ujishûi monogatari* (mixed *setsuwa*, unknown collector)

Long ago, a woodcutter had his axe taken away from him by a forest keeper in the mountains. Seeing him with his head in his hands, very glum and disconsolate, the keeper said, 'Make up a clever poem about this and I'll give you your axe back.' The woodcutter then composed the following poem:

No evil I've done
Yet in this unjust world
My goods are taken away
Without an axe to cut,
What is there left for me?

The keeper would have liked to compose a poem in reply, but could get no further than mumbling, 'Er-er-. . . ' Then he is said to have handed back the axe, to the woodcutter's great relief.

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48. Tahara, Mildred M. *Tales of Yamato: A Tenth-Century Poem-Tale*, Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii, 1980. p.77, Tale 126.

It is clear that people should always aim at being able to compose a poem.[49]

In this case the characters are not part of the court or elite, yet one of them is able to compose a highly appropriate poem on the spot (unfortunately, as Mills points out, many of the puns are untranslatable). And the story ends by reinforcing the courtly aspiration of always being able to compose an appropriate poem.

The next portion of this section focuses on the emotional response elicited by the style of writing found in the story collections. I will use the definition given by Barbara Ruch in her discussion of the difference between high court literature, which is the first type of literature that she describes and other types which are often cast aside as being unworthy of inclusion in a period's literature. Ruch says

> The second type of literature is represented by arts that have no history of aesthetic codes, no body of criticism upon which practitioners based their activities. Their primary aim was to draw the listener deeply into an orally delivered narrative and to cause, above all, an emotional response (nostalgia, tears, laughter, pride, joy, astonishment, gratitude, religious conversion) in an audience...Perfection was sought in the verbal, aural, and in some cases visual techniques which elicit emotion, not in recondite wording employed to demonstrate erudition nor in the mastery of poetics that ensure the creation of an aesthetic atmosphere.[50]

With this definition, Ruch does not, and neither do we, wish to imply that the court population was involved with the high literature and the folk were involved with these orally delivered narratives. She is discussing arts that spanned both the folk and the court, both the elite and the laity.[51]

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49. Mills, *Tales from Uji*, p.198, Tale 40.

50. Ruch, *Medieval Jongleurs*, p.284.

51. The arts she listed were *Heikyoku*, *etoki*, *sekkyô bushi*, *Kowaka bukyoku*, *Kojôruri*, *kayô*, and later *bunraku* and *kabuki*. From what I can gather, the *Heikyoku* was music for the performance of the *Heike monogatari* which told of the battles for power between two vast families, a story that was much in vogue with the court as well as population at large. *Etoki* as was mentioned in an earlier footnote is the practice or practicioner of picture explaining. *Sekkyô bushi* were "sermon plays which drew on *setsuwa* literature and told

If we use the above definition to think about the story collections, we find that the story collections were written in a style that would draw from the audience some sort of emotional response. Short, direct, and focused on events, the stories were written to capture a specific incident. Young and old, rich and poor, folk and court, all would have laughed and gasped with equal glee or horror. Thus the style of writing does not indicate that the story collections were written for a folk lay population, but rather that they were written to provide the best means to elicit an emotional response.

With this in mind, the literary devices cited in Chapter Four; repetition, rhetorical questions, summarization, and quotation of scriptures are understood differently. These four devices are thought by many scholars to demonstrate that the collections must have been written for didactic purposes. The basis for such an assumption is that each of these features draw the audience into the story, make the message of the story clear, and hopefully send the listener away having learned something. I do not disagree that the features do just that — draw in the audience, make the story clear and send the listener away with something — but this does not mean that the stories were therefore meant to teach a folk lay audience the basics of Buddhism. The power of the stories and why they were able to appeal to so many people was based on their ability to draw the audience in and create an emotional response.[52]

In this section I explore the story collections with Ruch's definition in mind. I will

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of religious miracles that took place in Japan" (Putzar, *Japanese Literature*, p.116). Bukyoku were dance pieces. *Bunraku* was the puppet theater. And kabuki, probably the best known of these arts, are short fairly racous plays that often tell "tales of strife and disturbances in the households of *daimyo* [regional military lord] and persons of power; tales of miraculous happenings; and stories of Minamoto no Yoshitsune or the Soga brothers." (Putzar, *Japanese Literature*, p.129).

52. The same devices are used today to create much the same response -- Hollywood has it down to an art!

focus on laughter and horror (a form of astonishment) as the emotional responses. I have chosen humorous or horrible stories from the collections to demonstrate how the style of writing lends itself best to an emotional response such as laughter or horror, no matter what this response was elicited for.

The stories abound with humor and a surprising number of the stories focus on sexual humor, especially as relates to monks. As monks were supposed to be celibate the stories often tell of the desires that the monks have that are normal but that they must deny. The *Ujishûi monogatari* (mixed *setsuwa*, unknown collector) contains several humorous tales of monks and their sexual desires, such as

> Again, long ago there was a man known as Masatoshi the Minamoto Major Counsellor from Kyôgoku. Once when he had sponsored a Buddhist service, engaging priests to ring bells before the Buddha and choosing men of lifelong chastity to preach on the Sutra, a priest went up on the rostrum and with a strange expression on his face seized the bell-stick and brandished it, but failed to strike the bell. After some time the priest remained silent and everyone began to feel uneasy, then suddenly he quavered, 'Does masturbation count?' The whole congregation exploded with laughter, and a retainer called out, 'How many times have you done it?' Inclining his head doubtfully, the priest replied, 'I did it only last night.' At this, the place rang with laughter, and the priest took advantage of the confusion to make a hurried exit.[53]

The humor in this tale is based on timing. The story is set and the crowd becomes uneasy as the priest fails to strike the bell. Both the crowd and the story's audience expect a revelation of some kind. Both the crowd and the audience know from other stories that the priest must have done something wrong. When the priest finally admits to masturbation, the expectation of the horrendous is replaced by laughter at what, for anyone else in the crowd or audience, is perfectly natural. The situation is made especially funny when the priest 'inclining his head

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53. Mills, *Tales from Uji*, p.148, Tale 12.

doubtfully' says that he has only masturbated once. If what the priest says is true, then his reply is humorous because again it goes against the crowd and audience's knowledge of what is natural. If the doubt that the priest expressed is because he is not telling the truth then the humor lies in the admission of his guilt in the first place.

A different type of humor altogether is found in the story from *Shasekishû* (Buddhist *setsuwa*, elite collector). Like many of the stories in *Shasekishû*, this one is based on the wit of the characters involved.

> At a certain mountain temple the head monk, a stingy man, made some rice-jelly for his own personal use. He often nibbled at it, but, placing it high up on a shelf, would not share it even with his single solitary page. "When a person eats this, death is sure to follow," he admonished.
>
> "My, how I would like to try some!" thought the page to himself. Then one day when the head monk happened to be absent from the temple, while taking the jar down from the shelf, he spilled the jelly all over his hair and clothing.
>
> "I've waited a long time for this," he reflected, ravenously gulping down several cupfuls of the jelly, and knocking down one of the monk's treasured water-bottles, which struck a drain-stone and shattered.
>
> When the monk returned, the page was sobbing and blubbering. "Why are you crying?" he asked.
>
> "By accident I broke your treasured water-bottle. And then I thought how you would reprimand me, and felt so miserable that I saw no reason even to go on living. You told me that if a person ate this he would perish. So I took a cupful — but nothing happened. Even after eating two or three cupfuls, I didn't die in the least. Finally, I smeared it over my hair and clothes, but I still haven't died!"
>
> The rice-jelly was eaten, the water-bottle broken, and the stingy monk gained nothing. The wit of the page was exceptional — no doubt he turned out to be no contemptible scholar as well.

In this case, the humor is based on twisting what the audience knows to be the truth (that the page was hungry) into something else (that the page was seeking death). Without being pedantic Ichien is able to communicate that those who are stingy with their goods will lose out while those who are quick witted will go far in life. Throughout *Shasekishû*, Ichien

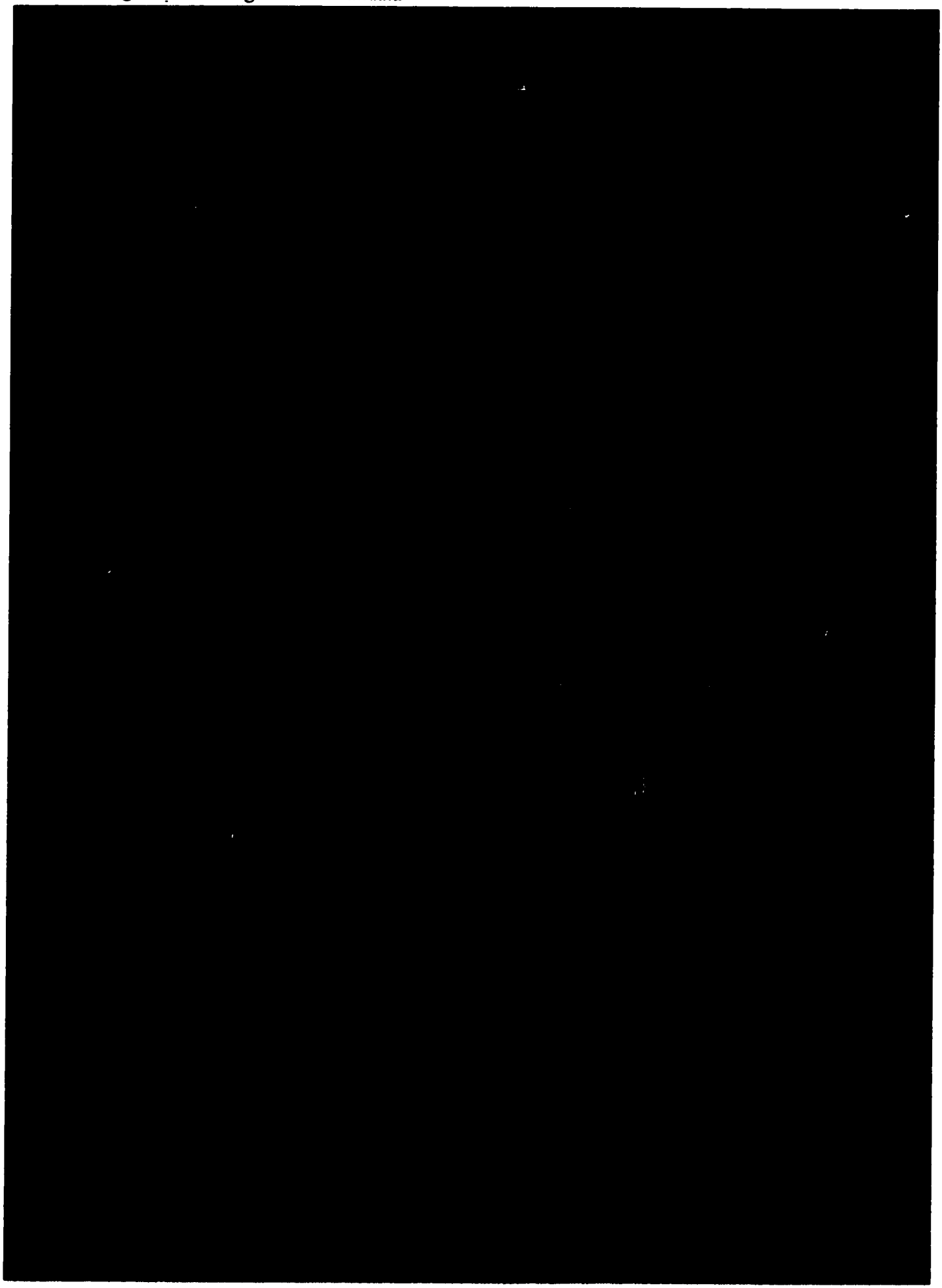
admires those who use their wit to get them out of difficult situations.

The style of writing in both of these collections, and in others, is short and to the point, with little character development and psychological analysis. This brevity allows the humor to shine. The repetition of images and storylines allows the authors of the stories to use the repetition to build expectations that can be played with to create humor. The use of short dialogues makes the piece dramatic and involves the audience. Although both of the stories involve the Buddhist clergy and may possibly teach a listener something about Buddhism, the dominant impact of the story is humorous not didactic. More importantly, there is humor in most of the collections no matter who the collection was geared for. Such an emotional response appeals to everyone, no matter from what part of the population.

The second emotional response that I would like to explore is horror. As we saw in the section on the popularization of Buddhism, the Hell Scrolls and the Hungry Ghost scrolls had a great impact on the Japanese population. Such vivid depictions of the horrors of rebirth were brought to the center of attention in some of the story collections. The *Nihon Ryôiki* (Buddhist *setsuwa*, elite collector) in particular abounds with images of horrible things. Kyôkai, the collector of *Nihon ryôiki*, was fascinated by the workings of karma and rebirth in the lives of the people in his area. Most of his stories focus on the rewards or punishments that the characters in his stories face given their actions. Particularly graphic and immediate are the punishments that Kyôkai describes. For example,

> there was a man whose name and native place are not identified. He was not benevolent and liked to kill living beings. He caught a rabbit and set it free in the fields after skinning it alive. Before long he contracted a fatal disease; his whole body was covered with scabs that broke out in extremely painful sores. He was never cured

Figure 21. Kasuga Shrine Mandala



and died groaning loudly.[54]

In each case, the punishments are not meted out in the next life, but in this very existence and most often immediately. The punishments are similar and occur inevitably. Another example is,

> Once a child of that village went into the mountain to collect firewood and played by that mountain path, carving a piece of wood into a Buddha image and piling stones into a pagoda. He placed the image in the stone pagoda and occasionally played there, making offerings.
>
> In the reign of the Emperor Shirakabe, an ignorant man laughed at the statue carved by the child in his play, chopping and breaking it with an axe. Hardly had he gone any distance when he threw himself on the ground, bleeding from the nose and mouth with both eyes plucked out, dying in an instant like the disappearance of an illusion.[55]

Again we see that the punishment is invariably horrible and corporeal. The style of writing, direct and without aspirations to refinement or courtly grace, meant the listener could experience as directly and as graphically as possible the events that occurred. Such a direct style of writing elicits an immediate response from the listener or reader whether folk or court.

Most of the story collections were written in a style that allowed for the most direct emotional response, no matter who the audience. Like the contents, the style of writing indicates a wide and varied audience.

Component Four: The Buddhism Portrayed

The argument that the scholars, outlined in Chapter Four, present concerning the Buddhism portrayed in the story collections is that the Buddhism portrayed in the stories

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54. Nakamura, *Miraculous Stories*, p.127.
55. Nakamura, *Miraculous Stories*, p.262-263.

differs from the Buddhism on the court and thus the Buddhism of the stories must be geared for the folk lay population. The Buddhism in the story collections is thought to be superstitious, basic, and unsophisticated. We have throughout the last two chapters questioned whether the audience of the story collections was limited to the folk lay population and have discovered that it was not. Likewise the Buddhism presented in the story collections was not limited to the folk lay population.

In the section on *upaya* in Chapter Five, I discussed the relationship between 'court Buddhism' and 'folk Buddhism' and noted that the court were involved in the same sort of practices as were the folk. The stories tell of both officials and farmers, monks and merchants involved in the same problems and dealing with those problems in the same manner, whether religious or not. Likewise all of the characters whether of low birth or of high birth are portrayed as involved in the same sort of religious practices as well as problems.

This similarity of practice between the court members and the folk population is supported by the portrayal of *honji-suijaku*. In Chapter Five, I pointed out that *honji-suijaku* was portrayed the same way both in collections geared towards the court and in other collections. The priests of both Buddhism and Shintô were portrayed as supporting this understanding of Buddhism. Likewise, court members as well as the folk lay population are portrayed as expressing similar reactions to *honji-suijaku*.

Thus the assumption made by some scholars that the type of Buddhism portrayed in the story collections indicates that the audience must be a folk lay audience is inaccurate. The Buddhism portrayed would have appealed to many different parts of the Japanese

population. Likewise, the audiences for the story collections would have been wide and varied.

We have reexamined the four components that make up the argument presented by many scholars who study the story collections and have seen that the assumptions that the scholars made at the outset are not the only assumptions and arguments that are possible to make about the story collections. I have argued that the story collections, as evident in the prefaces, the contents, the style of writing and the Buddhism portrayed, were written by a wide variety of people for a wide variety of reasons. I believe that more often than not, the stories, with their humor and their horror, with their tales of the miraculous and the mundane, whether written by monks or by court scholars, were essentially just stories. They talked of the concerns that faced the Japanese population, whether at court or in the fields. The stories would have given the Japanese a way of understanding the world around them. The stories would have enabled the Japanese throughout this time to share their experiences with each other. Sometimes a story is just a story.

Appendix A: The Dates and Titles of the Story Collections

An 'x' in a column indicates that the author has included the story collection in his or her list of collections.

Type	Dates	Titles	Nakamura	Mills	Brower	Kelsey	Putzar	Princeton
	710-784	***Zyôgû Syôtoku Hôô taisetu***			x		x	
	?	***Zyôgû Kotaisi Bosatuden***			x			
	731	***Sumiyoshi taisha Jindaiki***					x	
Buddh. setsu.	810-823	***Nihon ryôiki*** *(Nihonkoku genpôzen'aku ryôiki)*	x	x	x	x	x	x
	823-917	***Zyôgû Syôtoku Taisiden hokekki***			x			
	848-892	***Nihon kanryôroku***	x	x				
engi	895	***Daian-ji engi***		x				
engi	896	***Hasedera engi***		x				
engi	900	***Kôfuku-ji engi***		x				
engi	900	***Yakushi-ji engi***		x				
secular setsu.	c.901-918	***Zenke hiki/iki/isetsu***		x				
secular setsu.	? bef. 912	***Ki-ke ke-i jitsuroku***		x				
secular setsu.	?	***Yamato monogatari***		x				
	?	***Syôtoku Taisi denryaku***			x			
Buddh, setsu.	984	***Sanbô ekotoba***	x	x	x	x		x
ôjôden	983-988	***Nihon ôjô gokurakuki***	x	x	x	x		
reigenki	1016-68	***Jizô bosatsu reigenki***		x	x			x
engi	?	***Kongôbuzi konryû syugyô engi***			x			
engi	1025	***Sekidera engi***			x			

Buddh. setsu.	1040-1043	***Dainihon Hoke-kyô kenki***	x	x	x	x		x
Buddh. setsu.	1094-1169	***Fusô ryakki***	x					
Buddh. setsu.	1097-1098	***Honchô shinsenden***	x					
ôjôden	1101-1111	***Zoku honchô ôjôden***	x	x	x	x		
secular setsu.	1104-8?	***Gôdanshô***		x			x	x
mixed setsu.	1106-1110	***Konjaku monogatarishû***	x	x	x	x	x	x
uchi-giki	1110	***Hyakuza hôdan kikigakishô***	x	x		x		
ôjôden	1123	***Shûi ôjôden***	x	x	x			
secular setsu.	bef. 1124	***Shumpishô***		x				
mixed setsu.	1126-1131	***Kohon setsuwashû***	x	x		x	x	x
uchi-giki	1134	***Uchigikishû***	x	x	x	x		x
ôjôden	1137-1139	***Go-Shûi ôjôden***	x	x	x			
ôjôden	1139	***Sange ôjôki***		x	x			
secular setsu.	mid 12th cent	***Chûgaishô*** and ***Fuke godan***		x				
ôjôden	1151	***Honchô shinshû ôjôden***		x	x			
secular setsu.	bef. 1177	***Fukuro sôshi***		x				
Buddh. setsu.	1170-1195	***Mizukagami***	x					
Buddh. setsu.	1179	***Hôbutsushû***	x	x			x	x
Buddh. setsu.	1185	***Shûchû-shô***	x				x	
reigenki	1200-1212	***Hase-dera Kannon kenki (reigenki)***	x					x
secular setsu.	1204	***Môgyû waka***		x				
secular setsu.	?	***Kiri-bioke*** and ***Guhishô***		x				
mixed setsu.	1212-1221	***Ujishûi monogatari***	x	x			x	x

mixed setsu.	1212-1215	***Kojidan***	x	x			x	x
Buddh. setsu.	1216	***Hosshinshû***	x	x			x	x
Buddh. setsu.	1219-1220	***Gukanshô***	x					
Buddh. setsu.	1219	***Zoku Kojidan***		x			x	
Buddh. setsu.	1222	***Kankyo no tomo***		x			x	x
secular setsu.	1232-3	***Kyôkunshô***		x				
secular setsu.	after 1239	***Ima monogatari***		x			x	
secular setsu.	1252	***Jikkinshô***	x	x			x	x
secular setsu.	1254	***Kokon chomonshû***	x	x			x	x
?	not long after 1254?	***Yotsugi monogatari*** (***Uji dainagon monogatari, Koyotsugi***)		x			x	
Buddh. setsu.	1243-1255	***Senjûshô***	x	x				x
Buddh. setsu.	1257	***Shishû hyaku-innenshû***		x			x	
secular setsu.	bef. 1275	***Kara monogatari***		x				
Buddh. setsu.	1283	***Shasekishû***	x	x			x	x
secular setsu.	after 1294	***Kara kagami***		x				
reigenki?	1309	***Kasuga Gonen Genki***						
Buddh. setsu.	1305	***Zôdanshû***		x			x	
Buddh. setsu.	1322	***Genkô shakusho***	x					
Buddh. setsu.	1325	***Shingonden***		x				
Buddh. setsu.	1354-1358	***Shintôshû***	x					x

Appendix B: Author and Other Information Concerning the Story Collections

Brower Robert H. "The *Konzyaku Monogatarisyu*: an Historical and Critical Introduction with Annotated Translations of Seventy-eight Tales." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan,The Konzyaku Monogatarisyu, (UM 3724)

Kelsey, W. Michael. "Didactics in Art: The Literary Structure of *Konjaku Monogatari-shû*" (Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1976)

Mills, D.E. *A Collection of Tales from Uji: A Study and Translation of Uji Shûi Monogatari*, Cambridge: University Press, 1970.

Nakamura, Kyoko Motomochi. *Miraculous Stories from the Japanese Buddhist Tradition* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973)

Putzar, Edward. *Japanese Literature: A Historical Outline*, Arizona: The University of Arizona Press, 1973

Zyôgû Syôtoku Hôô taisetu ..... Brower, Putzar

Title translation:	Imperial Record of the Prince of the Law, Shôtoku of the Upper Palace
Date:	early Nara period between 710 and 784 and has even been said to antedate the *Kojiki* compiled in 712
Type:	not mentioned
Collected by:	?

"The *Zyôgû Syôtoku Hôô taisetu* is a brief chronological account of the principal events in the life of Syôtoku Taisi, with special emphasis upon his encouragement of and relations with Buddhism." (Brower, *The Konzyaku Monogatarisyu*, p.35-36)

"The text is primarily in Chinese and the stories are heavily coloured with Buddhist teachings; however, this collection is the source for later *setsuwa* about Prince Shôtoku" (Putzar, *Japanese Literature*, p.18)

Zyôgû Kotaisi Bosatuden ..... Brower

Title translation:	Biography of the Bodhisattva Crown Prince of the Upper Palace
Date:	before 805
Type:	not mentioned
Collected by:	by priest Sitaku (d.c.805)

"is an atttempt to identify Syôtodu Taisi as a reincarnation of Hui-ssû (d.577), an early patriarch of the Chinese *T'ien-t'ai* sect." (Brower, *The Konzyaku Monogatarisyu*, p.36)

Sumiyoshi taisha Jindaiki ..... Putzar

Title translation:	Record of the Age of the Gods of the Great Sumiyoshi Shrine
Date:	731
Type:	not mentioned
Collected by:	"It was presented to the Office of Religious Matters, the Jingikan, by the chief priest of the Shrine" (Putzar 18)

The collection records legends of the Sumiyoshi Shrine. The text is in Chinese and some of the stories can also be found in the Nihon Shoki

Nihon ryôiki ..... Mills, Nakamura, Brower, Kelsey, Putzar

Title translation:	Miraculous Stories of Karmic Retribution of Good and Evil in Japan
Date:	810-823
Type:	Buddhist setsuwa
Collected by:	Kyôkai, priest

in preface tells us that was modelled on Chinese works; *Meihôki [Ming-pao-chi: Rewards of the Next Life]* a collection in two books of stories about the workings of karma from the Sui and T'ang periods, complied by T'ang-lin between 650 and 655. Of this work, lost at an early date in China, several texts have survived in Japan, and *Hannaya genki [Panjo yen-chi:Study of Wisdom]* an abbreviation of *Chinkang panjo ching chi yen-chi*; not extant either in China or Japan. Compiled by Mêng Hsien-chung in 718. (Mills, *Tales of Uji*, p.6)

"The work is in Chinese, a fact that would indicate that Kyôkai envisioned his readers as other monks; it is, however, written in a peculiarly Japanese brand of Chinese and would probably have been intelligible to the common people if they heard it read aloud" (Kelsey, *Didactics in Art*, p.22)

Dykstra, Yoshiko Kurata, "A Study of the *Nihonkoku genpô zen-aku ryôiki* (A Record of the Miraculous Exhibition of Virtue and Vice in the Present Life of Japan)" Ph.D. dissertation, Los Angeles; University of California, 1974

Nakamura, Kyoko Motomochi. *Miraculous Stories from the Japanese Buddhist Tradition* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973)

Zyôgû Syôtoku Taisiden hokekki ..... Brower

Title translation:	Supplementary Record of the Biography of the Crown Prince Shôtoku of the Upper Palace
Date:	between 823 and 917
Type:	not mentioned
Collected by:	?

"contains many legends and accounts of supernatural occurrences which had come to be associated with Syôtoku Taisi during the course of time" (Brower, *The Konzyaku Monogatarisyu*, p.36)

Nihon kanryôroku (*Nihon kanreiroku*) ..... Nakamura, Mills

Title translation:	
Date:	848-892
Type:	not mentioned
Collected by:	Gishô, of Gangô-ji

"Originally composed of fifty-eight stories of miracles connected with various great temples, only fifteen stories remain" (Mills, *Tales from Uji*, p.8)

Daian-ji engi ..... Mills

Title translation:	Origin of Daian-ji
Date:	895
Type:	engi
Collected by:	— (Temple priest(s))?

Hasedera engi ..... Mills

Title translation:	Origin of Hasedera
Date:	896
Type:	engi
Collected by:	— (Temple priest(s))?

Kôfuku-ji engi ..... Mills

Title translation:	Origin of Kôfuku-ji
Date:	900
Type:	engi
Collected by:	— (Temple priest(s))?

Yakushi-ji engi ..... Mills

Title translation:	Origin of Yakushi-ji
Date:	900
Type:	engi
Collected by:	— (Temple priest(s))?

Zenke hiki/iki/isetsu ..... Mills

Title translation:	
Date:	c.901-918

Title translation:	
Type:	secular setsuwa
Collected by:	Miyoshi Kiyoyuki (847-918), "celebrated scholar of Chinese"(Mills, 1970:17)

It is unknown whether the three names are variations for the same work or whether Kiyoyuki wrote more than one collection of tales.

"They had no particular purpose, according to Konno. They are all stories of the supernatural and were written down by Kiyoyuki, either from his personal experience or from tales that he had heard, simply because such stories aroused his curiosity or appealed to him." (Mills, *Tales from Uji*, p.17)

Ki-ke ke-i jitsuroku ..... Mills

Title translation:	
Date:	? but before 912
Type:	secular setsuwa
Collected by:	Ki no Haseo, was also a great chinese scholar and was the rival of Kiyoyuki

A collection of mystery stories... though only one of these tales has been preserved

Yamato Monogatari ..... Mills

Title translation:	
Date:	c. 950
Type:	secular setsuwa
Collected by:	?

"The predominant theme is love, although there is no one central figure who appears throughout, as in *Ise monogatari*, *Yamato monogatari* is described as 'having always been praised, along with *Ise monogatari* and *Genji monogatari*, as indispensable reading for poets', and as 'a work valued down to the present day among poets as a book for would-be poets to study'. But it cannot be said to constitute one uniform whole. ....From Tale 147 onward, *Yamato monogatari* tends to become simply a collection of legends attaching to certain old poems. It is these aspects of the work which justify its inclusion in the category of tale literature, though one must beware of overstating the extent of its differences from *Ise monogatari*, since it clearly had such an attraction for poets throughout the centuries." (Mills, *Tales from Uji*, p.18-19)

Tahara, Mildred M. *Tales of Yamato: A Tenth Century Poem-Tale*, Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, c.1980

Tahara, Mildred M. "Heichû, As Seen in *Yamato Monogatari*" *Monumenta Nipponica* 26, (1971) 17-48

Tahara, Mildred M. "*Yamato Monogatari*" *Monumenta Nipponica* 27, (1972) 1-37

Syôtoku Taisi denryaku ..... Brower

Title translation:	Biography of Shôtoku Taishi
Date:	?
Type:	not mentioned

Title translation:	Biography of Shôtoku Taishi
Collected by:	the famous court noble and poet, Huziwara Kanesuke (877-933)

"mingles a strong supernatural and legendary element with historical fact." (Brower, *The Konzyaku Monogatarisyu*, p.36-37)

Sanbô ekotoba ..... Nakamura, Mills, Brower, Kelsey

Title translation:	
Date:	984
Type:	Buddhist setsuwa
Collected by:	Minamoto no Tamenori "court noble and scholar" (Brower, *The Konzyaku Monogatarisyu*, p.44)

The *Sambô-e* was compiled by Minamoto Tamenori for Princess Takako, second daughter of the Emperor Reizei

"As the title shows, the original was illustrated. Indeed, it may be that the test was no more important than the pictures, possibly even less, which would be an additional reason for the simplicity of the style. (Mills, *Tales from Uji*, p.9)

"to explain Buddhism to a young aristocratic lady who had recently taken the vows."

"collection contains sixty-two stores, and is in three books, each devoted to one of the 'Three Treasures' of the title. The Buddha, the Law, and the Priesthood. The first consists of thirteen jataka stories, telling of previous births of Sakyamuni and mostly illustrating the six virtues, the haramitsu or maramitas. The second contains eighteen stories of the development of Buddhism in Japan, from Prince Shotoku onwards, and the third has thirty-one stories recounting the origin of the various Buddhist services held in the couse of the year." (Mills, *Tales from Uji*, p.9)

Kamens, Edward. *The Three Jewels: A Study and Translation of Minamoto Tamenori's Sanboe*, Ann Arbour: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 1988

Nihon ôjô gokurakuki ..... Nakamura, Mills, Brower, Kelsey

Title translation:	"Record of [Persons in] Japan [who were] Reborn in Paradise
Date:	983-988
Type:	ôjôden
Collected by:	Yoshishige no Yasutane "outstanding Confucian scholar, student of the Chinese classics" (Brower, *The Konzyaku Monogatarisyu*, p.48)

was first collection of ôjôden "The forty-five biographies which it contains go back in time as far as Prince Shôtoku, that is, to the beginnings of Buddhism as a serious force in Japan." (Mills, *Tales from Uji*, p.10)

"Yasutane modeled his collection after certain similar Chinese works, including the *Ching t'u lun* mentioned above, and derived much of his material from the individual biographies of eminent Buddhists which had begun to be written in Japan at an early date (from footnote attached to this quote: Yasutane acknowledges his debt to these prior Chinese and Japanese works in the preface to his collection)."

(Brower, *The Konzyaku Monogatarisyu*, p.48)

Jizô bosatsu reigenki ..... Mills, Brower

Title translation:	Record of the Miracles of the *Bodhisattva* Ksitigarbha
Date:	1016-68
Type:	reigenki
Collected by:	Jitsuei, the chief priest of the Mii-dera

"This incomplete collection of twenty-five tales extolling the virtues of faith in the Bodhisattva Jizô and illustrating his miraculous power" (Mills, *Tales from Uji*, p.10)

"Describe miracles performed by images of Zizô; visits of this *Bodhisattva* to the hells to give assistance to suffering sinners; and the miraculous return from the dead of certain of his devotees. Many of the tales are presented as true occurences in the lives of well-known historical personages." (Brower, *The Konzyaku Monogatarisyu*, p.54-55)

Dykstra, Yoshiko K. "Jizô, the Most Merciful: Tales from *Jizô Bosatsu Reigenki*," in *Monumenta Nipponica*, 33 (1978), 179-200.

Kongôbuzi konryû syugyô engi ..... Brower

Title translation:	Origin of the Pious Activity of Founding the Kongôbuzi
Date:	between 971 and 1046?
Type:	engi
Collected by:	attributed to the priest Ninkai (951-1046)

"It describes how the famous Kôbô Kaisi founded the great Singon temple, Kongôbuzi, on Mt. Kôya, and has a strong supernatural mixture: encounters between Kôbô Daisi and various mountain deities, and other miraculous events are desribed in considerable detail." (Brower, *The Konzyaku Monogatarisyu*, p.39)

Sekidera engi ..... Brower

Title translation:	Origin of the Sekidera
Date:	1025
Type:	engi
Collected by:	by a certain Sugawara Moronaga

"in which the events leading to the resortation of the Sekidera, and the appearance ther of a sacred ox are related." (Brower, *The Konzyaku Monogatarisyu*, p.39)

Dainihon Hoke-kyô kenki* or *Honchô Hokke kenki ..... Nakamura, Mills, Brower, Kelsey

Title translation:	Record of Miracles of the *Lotus sûtra* in the Country of Great Japan
Date:	1040-1043

Title translation:	Record of Miracles of the *Lotus sûtra* in the Country of Great Japan
Type:	Buddhist setsuwa
Collected by:	Chingen, was a priest of Mt Hiei, 'a priest associated with Shuryôgon'in of Yokawa' (Dykstra 1983:3)

"it is a conscious attempt to produce a collection of Japanese stories to emulate a Chinese model, in this case the T'ang period *Fa-hua yen-chi*, by I-chi" (Mills, *Tales from Uji*, p.10)

"Masuda believes this work represents a new departure in the setsuwa genre, for the heroes of its various tales are generally "seekers of truth" (*kyûdôsha*) not to be found in either *Ryôiki* or *Sambô E*. These heroes are devotees of the Lotus Sutra who undergo intensely personal religious experiences" (Kelsey, *Didactics in Art*, p.23)

Dykstra, Yoshiko. *Miraculous tales of the Lotus Sutra from ancient Japan : the Dainihonkoku hokekyokenki of Priest Chingen*, Hirakata City, Japan : Intercultural Research Institute, Kansai University of Foreign Studies, 1983.

Dykstra, Yoshiko. "Miraculous tales of the Lotus Sutra: The *Dainihonkoku Hokkegenki*." *Monumenta Nipponica*, 32 91977). 189-210

Fusô ryakki ..... Nakamura

Title translation:	Concise Chronicle of Japan
Date:	1094-1169
Type:	Buddhist setsuwa
Collected by:	Kôen

"an interpretive history" (Nakamura, *Miraculous Stories*, p.44)

Honchô shinsenden ..... Nakamura

Title translation:	
Date:	1097-1098
Type:	Buddhist setsuwa
Collected by:	ôe no Masafusa

Zoku honchô ôjôden ..... Nakamura, Mills, Brower, Kelsey

Title translation:	Biographies of [Persons in] This Realm [Who Were] Reborn in Paradise, Continued
Date:	1101-1111
Type:	ôjôden
Collected by:	ôe no Masafusa

"is clearly a supplement to an earlier collection, perhaps to *Gokuraku-ki*." (Mills, *Tales from Uji*, p.11)

Gôdanshô ..... Mills

Title translation:	
Date:	1104-8?
Type:	secular setsuwa
Collected by:	Recorded from tales told by ôe Masafusa

"Its interest for us is that it reveals very clearly the kind of subjects which occupied the minds of the courtiers of the time. The current text is divided into six books, as follows: the first deals with Court affairs, such as official ceremonies; the second and third are entitled 'Miscellaneous matters'; the fourth has no title, but is similar to the fifth, which has the title '(Chinese) poetry'; the last is entitld 'Long verses'. In the miscellaneous sections will be found anecdotes about Emperors, stories of famous musical instruments, and many old legends, such as that of a demon on the Rashô Gate which cried out in admiration of the recitation of a passerby, or of the goddess Benzaiten on Chikubu-shima, who taught someone the correct reading of an obscure phrase. There are, too, many anecdotes about Chinese poems and about Confucianism. Indeed, the range of subjects is extremely wide, and it must be admitted that what we are considering here as a secular work does at one point treat of Buddha and the Gods. Nevertheless, this material plays only a minor part in the collection. In a society like that of the Heian Court, it would be surprising to find a collection of varied tales which did not make some reference to religion. But the main emphasis lies elsewhere." (Mills, *Tales from Uji*, p.19-20)

Konjaku monogatarishû ..... Nakamura, Mills

Title translation:	Tales of Times Now Past
Date:	1106-1110
Type:	mixed setsuwa
Collected by:	?

Brower Robert H. "The *Konzyaku Monogatarisyu*: an Historical and Critical Introduction with Annotated Translations of Seventy-eight Tales." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1952.

Dykstra, Yoshiko. *The Konjaku tales. Indian section : from a medieval Japanese collection*, Hirakata City, Japan : Intercultural Research Institute, Kansai University of Foreign Studies Publication c1986

Jones, S.W. *Ages ago : thirty-seven tales from the Konjaku monogatari collection*, Cambridge Harvard University Press 1959

Kelsey, W. Michael. "Didactics in Art: The Literary Structure of *Konjaku Monogatari-shû*" (Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1976)

Kelsey, W. Micheal. "*Konjaku Monogatari-shû*: Toward an Understanding of Its Literary Qualities." *Monumenta Nipponica*, 30 (1975) 121-150

Kobayashi, Hiroko. *The human comedy of Heian Japan : a study of the secular stories in the twelfth-century collection of tales*, Tokyo : Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies, c1979

Naito, Hiroshi. *Legends of Japan*. Rutland, Vt. : C. E. Tuttle Co., 1972.

Ury, Marian. *Tales of times now past : sixty-two stories from a medieval Japanese collection*, Berkeley, Calif. :University of California Press, 1979

Wilson, William Ritchie. "The Way of the Bow and Arrow: The Japanese Warrior in *Konjaku Monogatari*." *Monumenta Nipponica*, 28 (1973) 177-233

Hyakuza hôdan kikigakishô (Hokke shuhô ippyakuza kikigakishô)
..... Nakamura, Mills, Kelsey

Title translation:	
Date:	1110
Type:	uchi-giki
Collected by:	—

"Was certainly compiled from notes of sermons preached in the course of a hundred-day sûtra-reading ceremony at the Daian-ji in 1110, held under the patronage of an Imperial Princess thought to have been Fujiwara Sadako. ... Although the nucleus of each sermon is a tale or tales, these tales are quite short and form only a part of the whole, illustrating the points which the preacher makes with examples from India, China nad Japan. Thus *Hokke hyakuza* is not a tale collection in the same sense as the other works we have been considering." (Mills, *Tales from Uji*, p.12)

comes from same tradition as *Uchigiki-shû* but differs in form. "It is a bare-boned outline of the sermons delivered by the preachers at a large ceremony for the Lotus Sutra which was held at Daianji starting on the 18th day of the second month in 1110" (Kelsey, *Didactics in Art*, p.25)

Shûi ôjôden ..... Nakamura, Mills, Brower

Title translation:	Gleanings of Biographies of [Persons] Reborn in Paradise
Date:	1123
Type:	ôjôden
Collected by:	Miyoshi no Tameyasu (1049-1139) "famous historian and mathematician"

"The author states that he has written his collection as a supplement to Oe Masahusa's *Zokuhontyô ôzyôden*, and has included in it the biographes of a number of persons who were omitted from that work" (Brower, *The Konzyaku Monogatarisyu*, p.50-51)

Shumpishô ..... Mills

Title translation:	
Date:	before 1124
Type:	secular setsuwa
Collected by:	Minamoto Toshiyori

"are not tale collections really, since a large part of both is taken up with poetics. But in addition to matters of poetic form, they include a certain amount of *setsuwa*-type material dealing with poems and poets." (Mills, *Tales from Uji*, p.20)

Kohon setsuwashû ..... Nakamura, Mills, Kelsey

Title translation:	
Date:	1126-1131
Type:	mixed setsuwa
Collected by:	?

"The first volume of *Kohon* contains mostly poem-tale types of stories, while the second contains popular Buddhist stories....*Kohon* appears to be more closely connected with the aristocratic monogatari-type literature than most other setsuwa collections; as such, it stands in an important pivotal position in Japanese literary history." (Kelsey, *Didactics in Art*, p.28-29)

Uchigikishû ..... Nakamura, Mills, Brower, Kelsey

Title translation:	Collection of Tales Written Down as Heard
Date:	1134
Type:	uchi-giki
Collected by:	?"most likely compiled by a Buddhist monk, probably one from the Tendai sect." (Kelsey, 1976:24)

"Makajima makes three tentative conclusions concerning the circumstances under which it was compiled: 1. It is probably a privately made record of sermons. 2. Its compiler was a monk, and he compiled it for sermon material. 3. At the time of its compilation both Japanese and foreign tales were in circulation through both oral and written sources; these stories were so familiar as to have aquired definite, standard forms of transmission. Although the final point seems dubious, it is of note that twenty one of the twenty-seven tales in the collection have some kind of connection with *Konjaku...*" (Kelsey, *Didactics in Art*, p.24)

"On account of the many *ate-ji* and strange uses of characters it is thought that the existing text may be, as the title implies, exactly as jotted down by some person who heard the stories told." (Mills, *Tales from Ise*, p.13)

"is written on the reverse side of a number of pieces of used paper; and some of these bear dates...on the cover of the collection appear the date 1134 and the Buddhist name Eigen...conjectures that this date refers to the year in which the manuscript was copied, since it would be most unusual for extremely old pieces of paper to be used for such a purpose..." (Brower, *The Konzyaku Monogatarisyu*, p.55)

"comprises a total of twenty seven Buddhist stories, which, like those of the *Sanbô ekotoba*, are of Indian, Chinese and Japanese origin. Included are miracles of the Buddhas, biographies of eminent priests, and other Buddhist tales of the supernatural. The title of the work seems to indicate that the text was written down either from memory, or as a kind of transcript of the actual words of a story-teller, perhaps a priest who used these tales to illustrate his sermons...is written not in Chinese characters alson, but in the mixture of Chinese and Japanese written forms...unlike most of the collections of Buddhist tales in Japan down to its time, written in such a manner that it could be easily read off as Japanese." (Brower, *The Konzyaku Monogatarisyu*, p.56)

Go-Shûi ôjôden ..... Nakamura, Mills, Brower

Title translation:	Later Gleanings of Biographies of [Persons] Reborn in Paradise
Date:	1137-1139
Type:	ôjôden
Collected by:	Miyoshi no Tameyasu

Sange ôjôki ..... Brower, (is mentioned in Mills text but not listed)

Title translation:	Biographies of [persons] reborn in Paradise Not Included in the Three
Date:	1139
Type:	ôjôden
Collected by:	Renzen, priest (mills,11)

Chûgaishô and ***Fuke godan*** ..... Mills

Title translation:	
Date:	middle of twelfth century
Type:	secular setsuwa
Collected by:	Recorded from conversations of Fujiwara Tadazane

"mostly consisting of anecdotes of real life...Neither is really a tale collection, in the sense in which we have been using the term, but both embody much material of the *setsuwa* type, and, like *Gôdanshô*, are of value for the light they cast upon the tastes and preoccupations of the Heian courtier. ... Their anecdotes are recorded plainly and with no attempt at artistic presentation." (Mills, *Tales from Uji*, p.20)

Honchô shinshû ôjôden ..... Brower, (is mentioned in Mills text but not listed)

Title translation:	Biographies of [Persons] of This Realm [Who Have] Attained Rebirth in Paradise, Newly Compiled
Date:	1151
Type:	ôjôden
Collected by:	Fujiwara no Munetomo

"the emphasis is, as the title indicates, upon individuals from the recent past; and the period covered extends roughly from 1070 to 1150" (Brower, *The Konzyaku Monogatarisyu*, p.52)

Fukuro sôshi ..... Mills

Title translation:	
Date:	before 1177
Type:	secular setsuwa
Collected by:	Fujiwara Kiyosuke

like *Shumpishô*, "are not tale collections really, since a large part of both is taken up with poetics. But in addition to matters of poetic form, they include a certain amount of *setsuwa*-type material dealing with poems and poets." (Mills, *Tales from Uji*, p.20)

Mizukagami ..... Nakamura

Title translation:	
Date:	1170-1195
Type:	Buddhist setsuwa
Collected by:	Nakayama no Sadachika

Hôbutsushû ..... Nakamura, Mills, Putzar

Title translation:	Collection of Treasures
Date:	1179
Type:	Buddhist setsuwa
Collected by:	Taira no Yasuyori

"The book is written in dialogue form, on the same lies as *Okagami*. The author, Taira Yasuyori, after his return to the capital from the exile into which he was sent for rebellion against Kiyomori, hears a rumour that the statue of Śâkyamuni at Saga is to return to India, because of the troubled conditions in Japan. He visits the temple and spends a might in conversation with the people he meets there. They discuss what is the most precious thing in the world and come to the conclusion that it is Buddhism. When a woman asks why, a priest expounds the faith, illustrating his exposition with many tales. Thus the night passes, and at dawn the company disperses." (Mills, *Tales from Ise*, p.14)

Shûchû-shô ..... Nakamura

Title translation:	
Date:	1185
Type:	Buddhist setsuwa
Collected by:	Fujiwara no Kenshô

Hase-dera Kannon kenki ..... Nakamura

Title translation:	Miraculous Records of the Hasedera Kannon
Date:	1200-1212
Type:	reigenki
Collected by:	? But is thought to be one author

Dykstra, Yoshiko K. "Tales of the Compassionate Kannon: The *Hasedera Kannon Genki*", *Monumenta Nipponica: Studies in Japanese Culture*. Vol XXXI, No. 2, 1976

Môgyû waka ..... Mills

Title translation:	
Date:	1204
Type:	secular setsuwa

Title translation:	
Collected by:	Minamoto Mitsuyuki

"Is a translation into Japanese by Minamoto Mitsuyuki of the T'ang-period Chinese children's book *Mêng-ch'iu*. Each of these tales of the careers of ancient figures of Chinese history is rounded off in the Japanese version with a thirty-one-syllable poem, hence the title ..." (Mills, *Tales from Uji*, p.21)

Kiri-bioke and ***Guhishô*** ..... Mills

Title translation:	
Date:	?
Type:	secular setsuwa
Collected by:	Fujiwara Teika? Attributed to

Ujishûi monogatari ..... Nakamura, Mills, Putzar

Title translation:	Tales of the Uji Collection
Date:	1212-1221
Type:	mixed setsuwa
Collected by:	?

"Of the 197 stories in the collection many seem to treat the *setsuwa* as a short *monogatari*, using colloquial language freely and including lively conversational dialogues." (Putzar, *Japanese Literature*, p.73)

Mills, D.E. *A Collection of Tales from Uji: A Study and Translation of Uji Shûi Monogatari*, Cambridge, University Press, 1970.

Ballard, S. "Some Tales from the Ujishui Monogatari" *Transactions Asiatic Society of Japan*, no.28, 1900, pp.31-45

Kojidan ..... Nakamura, Mills, Putzar

Title translation:	Tales of Anitquity
Date:	1212-1215
Type:	mixed setsuwa
Collected by:	Minamoto no Akikane

"It is divided into six books, according to subject-matter. The first contains largely stories of *yûsoku kojitsu* type concerning Emperors and Emperesses, though it also contains other of a different kind, such as the legend of Urashima. The second deals with famous non-Imperial secular figures such as Ban Yoshio, Sei Shônagon, Ono no Komachi, Narihira, etc. The third compirses tales of famous priests. The fourth is entitled 'Brave warriors', telling of Masakado, Sumitomo, Yoriyoshi, Yoshiie and others. The fith deals with Shinto shrines and Buddhist temples. And the last contains a mixture of stories, some concerning mansions but others concerning various arts such as music, dancing, wrestling, divination, etc. The sources of *Kojidan* include Buddhist *ôjôden*, works like *Gôdanshô*, diaries histories and tale collections like *konjaku*. Not only are some of the items very brief, but its narrative technique is extremely plain, and it has little literary value. Its style is inconsistent, varying according to its sources. There are a few items in Japanese *kana-majiri* style, but mostly it is written either in Chinese or in the curious hybrid of Chinese and Japanese known as *hentai kambun*, 'abnormal Chinese.'" (Mills, *Tales from Uji*, p.27-28)

Hosshinshû ..... Nakamura, Mills, Putzar

Title translation:	Religious Awakenings
Date:	1216
Type:	Buddhist setsuwa
Collected by:	Kamo no Chômei (?)

"is also attributed to someone who had retired from the world...Kamo Chômei. Of aristocratic origin, like Saigyô..." "The main theme of these, as the title implies, is the 'awakening of faith', but in fact the range is as wide as that of *Senjûshô*, with stories of *ôjô* or rebirth in paradise, religious magic, etc.; not surprisingly, if the compiler was Chômei, they cover also renunciation of the world by hermits" (Mills, *Tales from Uji*, p.15)

"Kyôkai's custon of adding personal comments and morals after each story developed into the genre of moralizing legends which flourished in the Kamakura period and produced introspective workds such as the *Hosshinshû* (Collection of Tales for Awakening Faith) and *Shasekishû* (Collection of Sand and Stone)." (Nakamura, *Miraculous Stories*, p.43-44)

Gukanshô ..... Nakamura

Title translation:	Miscellany of Ignorant Views
Date:	1219-1220
Type:	Buddhist setsuwa
Collected by:	Jien, 'Tendai archabbot'

"an interpretive history" (Nakamura, *Miraculous Stories*, p.44)

"The Decline of the Law was seen as the major, but not the sole, impetus in the unfolding of human affairs according to the monumental interpretive history" (Morrell, *Sand and Pebbles*, p.2)

"Historical work" (Mills, *Tales from Uji*, p.98)

Brown, Delmer M., and Ishida Ichirô. *The Future and the Past: A Translation and Study of the* Gukanshô, *an Interpretive History of Japan Written in 1219*. Berkley: University of California Press, 1979.

Zoku Kojidan ..... Mills, Putzar

Title translation:	The Tales of Antiquity Continued
Date:	1219
Type:	Buddhist setsuwa
Collected by:	?

"is only partly a continuation of the earlier collection (*Kojidan*), since it actually reproduces some stories from it. The division into books is roughly the same as in *Kojidan*, with the difference that the last of the six books contains Chinese stories. It differs also in that it is in a pure Japanese style (which is, however, rather dull). In general the content of the work has less relation to literature than that of *kojidan* In particular, despite its date and connection with *Kojidan*, Zoku Kojidan seems to have no realtionship whatever with *Uji shûi*" (Mills, *Tales from Uji*, p.28)

Kankyo no tomo ..... Mills, Putzar

Title translation:	Leisure's Companion
Date:	1222
Type:	Buddhist setsuwa
Collected by:	The Venerable Keisei? (Keisei shônin) "possibly by the monk Jien"(putzar p72)

"*Kankyo no tomo* is another collection with an extensive *zuihitsu* element; some two-fifths of the whole is taken up with the author's comments or expositions of points of religion" (Mills, *Tales from Uji*, p.16)

Kyôkunshô ..... Mills

Title translation:	
Date:	1232-3
Type:	secular setsuwa
Collected by:	Fujiwara Takamichi

"about music and musical instruments"

Ima monogatari ..... Mills, Putzar

Title translation:	Tales of the Present
Date:	after 1239
Type:	secular setsuwa
Collected by:	Fujiwara Nobuzane?

"Consists of fifty-three quite short tales of the late Heian and early Kamakura periods, love-stories, tales about poems, comic tales, ect." (Mills, *Tales from Uji*, p.21)

Jikkinshô ..... Nakamura, Mills, Putzar

Title translation:	Summary of the Ten Precepts
Date:	1252
Type:	secular setsuwa
Collected by:	Rokuhara no Nirozaemon "a lay priest".

"the ten precepts are basically confucian, though occasionally simply practical" "frankly didactic, aiming to instruct children by means of brief tales in ten principles of conduct." "Despite the didactic intention, the stories are not always very apt illustrations of the precepts, and many appear to be included for their interest alone." (All Mills, *Tales from Uji*, p.21-22)

Brownlee, J. "*Jikkinsho*, the continuity of practicality" Essays on Japanese literature, edited by Katsuhiko Takeda. Tokyo : Waseda University Press, c1977

Brownlee, J. "*Jikkinsho*: A Miscellany of Ten Maxims."*Monumenta Nipponica* 29 (1974), 121-161

Kokon chomonshû ..... Nakamura, Mills, Putzar

Title translation:	Tales New and Old
Date:	1254
Type:	secular setsuwa
Collected by:	Tachibana no Narisue

"this collection is perhaps second only to Konjaku in extent, comprising in twenty boods about seven hundred tales classified into thirty section. The coverage is vast, and the list of titles of the sections could well serve as a conspectus of the whole field of tale literature — Shinto deities, Buddhism, govenrment and loyal ministers, public (Court) affairs, literature (mainly Chinese poetry), Japanese poetry, music, singing and dancing, calligraphy, love, military valour, archery, horsemanship, wrestling and strong men, painting, football, gamblin, robbery, congratulatury (Court) ceremonies, grief, pleasure trips, attachment to worldly hopes, quarrels, humorous sayings, mystery, supernatural beings, food and drink, plants and trees, and finally fish, insects, birds and animals. The presence of a section on Buddhism and of Buddhist elements elsewhere... does not, of course, alter the fact that his is a secular collection. The Buddhist section, small through it is, was essential in an encyclopedic work of this kind, and Buddhist elements could hardly fail to appear among so many stories of a society permeated by that fiath. Still this is no Buddhist propaganda. Narisue was a painter, and the work was originally concieved as a collection of anecdotes to serve as subjects for pictures. But tlie scale of the work suggests that it may have somewhat outgrown this purpose." (Mills, *Tales from Uji*, p.22)

***Yotsugi monogatari* (*Uji dainagon monogatari, Koyotsugi*)** ..... Mills, Putzar

Title translation:	Tales of the Generations
Date:	early Kamakura (in part or in whole)? not long after 1254?
Type:	secular setsuwa
Collected by:	?

Senjûshô ..... Nakamura, Mills, Putzar

Title translation:	Selected Stories
Date:	1243-1255
Type:	Buddhist setsuwa
Collected by:	Saigyô ?

"*Senjûshô* has two features which distinguish it from its predecessors and which are typical of Kamakura Buddhist collections. The first is the prominence of a theme much in keeping with the spirit of the age, that of renunciation of the world in favour of the life of the recluse.... The other new feature of *Senjûshô* is the fairly extensive comments accompanying the stories; in perhaps one-third of the stories there is more comment than story. These comment passages are of the type found in workds of *zuihitsu*, or 'random notes' on various subjects, such as *Makura no sôshi* and *Tsurezuregusa*. There is thus an interesting link between tale literature and *zuihitsu*" (Mills, *Tales from Uji*, p.15)

Moore, Jean. "A Study of the Thirteenth Century Buddhist Tale Collection 'Senjûshô.'" Doctoral Thesis presented to Columbia University, 1982

Shishû hyaku-innenshû ..... Mills, Putzar

Title translation:	Personal Collection of Karmic Tales
Date:	1257
Type:	Buddhist setsuwa
Collected by:	Jûshin priest

"*Shishû hyaku-innenshû*.... has nothing corresponding to the expressions of personal opinion and comment which are such a feature of certain other Kamakura tale collections." (Mills, *Tales from Uji*, p.)

Kara monogatari ..... Mills

Title translation:	
Date:	before 1275
Type:	secular setsuwa
Collected by:	?

chinese tales "contains twenty-seven historical and literary anecdotes from .... Though they have a certain didacticism and even a Buddhist flavour about them, most of the stories are love-stores" (Mills, *Tales from Uji*, p.21)

Geddes, Ward. *Kara monogatari: Tales of China*, Tempe, Ariz : Center for Asian Studies, Arizona State Univ., 1984.

Shasekishû ..... Nakamura, Mills, Putzar

Title translation:	Sand and Pebbles
Date:	1283
Type:	Buddhist setsuwa
Collected by:	Mujû Ichien

"*Shasekishû* begins with a section of tales illustrating *honji suijaku*, the idea that Shinto deities are but avatârs of one or another Buddha or Bodhisattva. Strangely, however, these works show little sign of that characteristic feature of so many other tale collections of the late Heian and Kamakura periods, the nostalgia for the great days of the Imperial Court in the early and middle Heian periods. Mujû was in fact of aristocratic birth...His desire to preach Buddhism in a way which would appeal to a stupid layman determined both his manner and the manner in which he presented it. Any stories which could be turned to account he used -- comic tales, tales about poetry, love-stories, even bawdy tales, in addition to the usual kinds of Buddhist tales" (Mills, *Tales from Uji*, p.16)

Kara kagami ..... Mills

Title translation:	
Date:	after 1294
Type:	secular setsuwa
Collected by:	Fujiwara Shigenori "in his old age, after he had taken orders in 1294" (Mills, *Tales from Uji*, p.21)

"all historical tales translated"(Mills, *Tales from Uji*, p.21)

Zôdanshû ..... Mills, Putzar

Title translation:	Collection of Casual Digressions
Date:	1305
Type:	Buddhist setsuwa
Collected by:	Mujû Ichien

Genkô shakusho ..... Nakamura

Title translation:	
Date:	1322
Type:	Buddhist setsuwa
Collected by:	Shiren

Shingonden ..... Mills

Title translation:	
Date:	1325
Type:	Buddhist setsuwa
Collected by:	Eikai priest

"*Shingonden*, a collection in three books of simply written biographies of Buddhist figures (Indian, Chinese and Japanese), composed in 1325 by a priest named Eikai. Strictly speaking, this is not a collection of *setsuwa*, but much of its material is of the *setsuwa* kind." (Mills, *Tales from Uji*, p.17)

Shintôshû ..... Nakamura

Title translation:	
Date:	1354-1358
Type:	Buddhist setsuwa
Collected by:	(Agui in)

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Figure 12. The Face of Kannon. (page 107)

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Figure 18. Hungry Ghost Scrolls (page 310)

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Figure 21. Kasuga Shrine Mandala (page 79)