AKI NO YO NO NAGA-MONOGATARI: A LENGTHY STORY FOR A LONG AUTUMN NIGHT

by

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ABSTRACT

Aki no yo no naga-monogatari (A Lengthy Story for a Long Autumn Night), an anonymous work of the Middle Ages, has been considered one of the earliest and finest examples of those chigo monogatari (child stories) which have a homosexual relationship as their main theme. The popularity of numerous plays traditionally believed to be derived from Aki no yo no naga-monogatari as well as the appeal of its homosexual theme has motivated many authors to write commentaries on it, and the tale has even come to be associated with a popular legend. It is certain that Aki no yo no naga-monogatari was extremely familiar to authors of the Tokugawa period, by whom it was much appreciated.

Aki no yo no naga-monogatari is a valuable subject for literary scholarship primarily because it combines several techniques found in different genres. The amalgamation of Heian fiction, medieval war story, and Buddhist narrative created a unique type of literary work. In addition, the fairy tale, which became most popular during the Edo period, is prefigured in Aki no yo no naga-monogatari. In this respect, the tale stands apart from other literary works of the Middle Ages. In spite of the fact that many such works have been translated into English, Aki no yo no naga-monogatari and other similar stories have yet to be introduced to Western readers.
The introductory portion of this thesis outlines social conditions of the period during which Aki no yo no naga-monogatari was written. The historical background of the hero and details of the religious conflict which comes to light in the tale are given. In chapter two the diverse techniques employed by the author are discussed along with problems of genre classification. Lastly, works associated with Aki no yo no naga-monogatari are treated. The information in the introduction should enable the reader to achieve a better understanding and deeper appreciation of Aki no yo naga-monogatari.

My translation is based on the text in Nihon koten bungaku taikei. This is taken from the oldest existing manuscript of Aki no yo no naga-monogatari. For those interested in reading the work in Japanese, this text is the easiest to obtain. I have translated the text as literally as possible throughout, except where interpretation was absolutely necessary to make the meaning clear.

I hope that this translation will encourage others to study tales like Aki no yo no naga-monogatari, because they are an important link between Heian literature and the popular literature of the Edo period.
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INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I

A View of

Literature of the Middle Ages

The Heian period (Heian-
idai 平安時代) came to a close and control passed from the hands of the court nobles to the warriors in 1185, the year that marked the final battle between the Minamoto clan (Genji 源氏) and the Taira clan (Heike 平家). In the same year that power was seized by the warrior class, the leader of the Genji, Minamoto no Yoritomo 源 賢朝 (1147 - 1197) posted Shugo 守護, "Constables", and Jitô 地頭, "Stewards", throughout Japan in order to establish the Kamakura Shogunate (Kamakura Bakufu 鎌倉幕府). The period from 1185 to 1600, the year of the Battle of Sekigahara (Sekigahara no tatakai 關ヶ原戦) is classified as the Japanese Middle Ages (Chûsei 中世). It was an extended period of incessant war and extreme social unrest. Those who were forced to endure such adversity turned to Buddhism for comfort. In order to more adequately serve those in spiritual distress, existing Buddhist sects were reformed and new Buddhist orders were founded. Temples received the support of the new ruling class as well as the general populace. Their power increased and Buddhist influence came to dominate literature as well as many other aspects of culture.

In 1185, the Heike had been completely vanquished.
However, peace was not forthcoming. Following the Gempei War, the final war between the Genji and the Heike (Gempei no soran 源平の争亂), other historically important battles occurred: the Disturbance of Jôkyû (Jôkyû no ran 永久の難, 1221), the Battle of Bun'ei (Bun'ei no eki 永の役, 1274), the battles which brought about the Kemmu Restoration (Kemmu no chûko 建武中興, 1334) the skirmishes between the Southern Court (Nan-chô 南朝) and the Northern Court (Hoku-chô 北朝), and the Ônin War (Ônin no ran 应・任・乱) which took place from 1467 to 1477. The Ônin War, which centered around Kyoto, caused the fall of the governing body, the Muromachi Shogunate (Muromachi Bakufu 室町幕府, 1338 - 1573) and resulted in the division of Japan into separate territories each controlled by a rival leader.

These wars which brought about further changes in power and political system combined to produce among the people innumerable grievances which had no outlet for expression except that of religion. The severe cultural upheavals caused people to realize that they were indeed living in the age of the latter days of the Laws (mappô 末法 according to Buddhist periodization). Spiritually distressed, they sought solace in Buddhism. However, the practices of the existing Buddhist orders could not adequately fulfill their needs. Prior to the onset of the Middle Ages the established Buddhist sects had been largely supported by court nobles and in order to satisfy the demands of such a congregation, services were largely composed of incantation and prayers.
Having lost the support of the noble class due to the change in the governing body, Buddhist temples were forced to expand their teaching to include all classes of people, and at the same time they were compelled to overhaul their system of religious practices and theories in order to more effectively appeal to those in distress.

Abhorring the corruption of Buddhism, some monks of virtue attempted to reform their sects. They succeeded only partially in their task however, because their deeds were not sufficiently dynamic to gain the support of people in general. Concurrently, new Buddhist orders were being founded. The first new sect to be set up during the Middle Ages was the Jōdo Sect (Jōdo-shū 淨土宗) established in 1175 by Hōnen 法然 (1133 - 1212). Following this, the Jōdo Shin Sect (Jōdo shin-shū 淨土真宗) of Shinran 観鶴 (1173 - 1262), the Zen Sects (Zen-shū 禅宗) of Eisai 惠果 (1141 - 1215) and Dōgen 道元 (1200 - 1253), and the Hokke Sect (Hokke-shū 法華宗) of Nichiren 日蓮 (1222 - 1282), were founded. The Jōdo Sects soon gained tremendous prominence among all classes of people because of their unique doctrine, tariki-hongan 他力本願, "salvation by faith". The Zen Sects obtained the confidence of the new governing classes and their temples came to replace the Court as centers of the arts.

New Buddhism influenced many aspects of culture; literature was no exception. A concept of fiction (kyōgen kigo 狂言綺語) came to dominate the outlook of writers and
their audiences. The term *kyôgen kigo* was originally employed by Po Chü-i 白居易 (772 - 846) and was introduced in Japan by Fujiwara no Kintô 藤原公任 (966 - 1041) in his edition of the anthology of *Wakan rôei shû* 和漢朗詠集 (compiled in 1013). The ideas inherent in *kyôgen kigo* became widespread during the mid-Heian period when Jôdo Buddhism (*Jôdo-kyô* 净土教) began to take root in Japan.

Those who initially considered the concept of *kyôgen kigo* thought that they must refrain from writing and accepting fiction and must practice only Buddhism. Nevertheless, literary practitioners soon came to believe that they should write and accept fiction in order to attain higher enlightenment. Works written under the influence of this theory aroused unprecedented interest.

Once these questions concerning the purpose of literature came to the fore, the popularity of Heian style fiction (*tsukurimono* 作り物) declined and literature of a descriptive nature gained popularity. The frequent battles which had continued to take place since the late Heian period provided much material. Accounts of wars (*senki monogatari* 戦記物語) became ever more realistic and conveyed to people the vanity of life. Representative war stories of this time are *Heike monogatari* 平家物語 and *Taihei ki* 太平記. Techniques employed in these stories contributed to descriptive literature of other types such as: historical tales (*rekishi monogatari* 歴史物語), essay literature (*suihitsu bungaku* 戯筆文學) and autobiographi-
cal accounts (nikki bungaku 日記文學).

As mentioned above, interest in Heian fiction diminished. The reason for this decline is twofold. The nobles, having fallen from power, displayed less and less interest in writing and the new readers showed little enthusiasm for the tedious Heian stories which were characterized by mono no aware もののあはれ, "an affecting sense of refinement". Nevertheless, fiction after the fashion of Heian style fiction continued to be written. Karen Brazell notes however, that, "The narratives of this period are pseudo classical tales (giko monogatari 擬古物語) and many of them are simply imitations of earlier stories or rewriting of sections of The Tale of Genji." In spite of this fact, out of this type of literature evolved narrative literature (setsuwa bungaku 說話文學). These works were designed to be of practical value, namely, to edify. However they also served another purpose. They helped to transfer Heian techniques to a new genre, that of fairy-tales (otogi-zōshi お伽草子) which evolved during the last half of the Middle Ages.

Thus literature of the Middle Ages multiformalized during this period of continued conflict. The ascendancy of the court nobles in governmental and artistic spheres ended and the influence of monks, the most educated class, grew. Monks devoted themselves to every sort of creative endeavour and in time members of the new ruling classes were inspired to follow their lead. Authors of diverse
backgrounds produced a great variety of literary works which steadily increased in popularity during the Middle Ages.
Chapter II

Classification of
Aki no yo no naga-monogatari

Aki no yo no naga-monogatari is believed to have been written in the mid-fourteenth century, a period of extreme social unrest. The story, a composite of quite distinct elements of several genres, indeed reflects this unstable age of Japanese history. Because Aki no yo no naga-monogatari contains features of chigo monogatari, "a child story", otogi-zôshi, and hosshin-dan, "a story of regeneration", it has been classified at one time or another in each of these ways. When the narrative techniques of the story are examined one finds characteristics of each of the above genres as well as distinctive features of both Heian fiction and the war chronicles of the Middle Ages. Although these various elements are admittedly incorporated in Aki no yo no naga-monogatari, it may be argued that essentially it is a tale of regeneration.

The first eleven sections of the narrative are similar in tone to Heian fiction that describes the love of men and women. The author was forced to employ Heian technique throughout these sections to portray the relationship between Umewaka 梅若 and Keikai 桂海 because there were no conventional phrases which could be used to particularize a matter-of-fact relationship between men.
The Heian love story gives way to the super-natural tale upon the appearance of the long-nosed goblin (tengu 天狗) in section 12. Because of the nature of section 12, 16 and 17, Aki no yo no naga-monogatari is often classified as otogi-zôshi. This particular genre originated during the last half of the Middle Ages and came to be most popular during the early Edo period. Otogi-zôshi is a short piece of fiction which exhibits quite different features from those of Heian writings. Reflecting the diverse nature of Chûsei society, otogi-zôshi was intended for people of all classes and it is generally believed that the authors of such works represent a cross-section of society. The contents were based on folklore and the stories are didactic.

Section 13, 14, and 15 represent another genre popular during the early Middle Ages, namely, that of senki monogatari. The nature of the war story is highly descriptive and always greatly exaggerated in order to provide the audience with the actual sensations of battle. As war chronicles were for the most part oral recitations, the sentences of such stories are laconic and rhythmical.

Aki no yo no naga-monogatari has also been considered one of the earliest examples of a chigo monogatari. Chigo 稚児 originally meant an infant; however, it came to specifically denote those children brought up in large temples during the Middle Ages. Children came to be placed in temples for mainly two reasons. Firstly, temples provided the most thorough education to the children of high ranking court
nobles and warriors, and secondly, temples proved to be the most secure environment for children without parents or guardian. Those placed in the care of temples remained there until adulthood at which time some of them became monks and some returned to their own homes. Chigo monogatari refers to a story in which one such child is the hero. Until about one hundred years ago, women were excluded from temples, and thus temples were entirely the domain of men. Since homosexual relationships between the children entrusted to the temple and monks provided the theme in chigo monogatari, the term chigo monogatari came to denote a story of homosexuality. They are not always stories of sodomy but they are often thought of as such because these tales are associated with pornographic literature of pederasty written during the Edo period.

Ichiko Teiji states in his book, Chûko shôsetsu no kenkyû, that almost all the waka poems of "The Chapter of Love" in the anthology of Ansen waka shû 安撰和歌集 edited by the monk Kyôga 興雅 in 1369 are exchange poems (zōtô-ka 贈答歌), between monks and children. He adds that the monk poets of Gosan 五山, "the five Zen temples", composed many poems describing the beauty of young boys. The poems listed in the collection of verses, San'eki enshi 三益鸞詩 are examples of such compositions. He also states that Ryûben Hûin saijô ki 隆稱法印西上記, edited in 1250, describes the corrupt life of the monks of Onjô-ji 園城寺 who frequently stole secretly into the
rooms of the Kamakura youths residing in the temple. Ichiko Teiji noted the above points in order to prove that homosexual relationships were rife during the Middle Ages. Furthermore, he asserts that Aki no yo no naga-monogatari is the finest example of such a story.

It is wrong however to consider that the story is simply a description of the homosexual relationship of the heroes of the tale, Umewaka, and the monk Keikai. Rather, the main purpose of the author of Aki no yo no naga-monogatari was to illustrate the regeneration of Keikai from a Buddhist point of view. In Nihon ryōiki, there are many bizarre stories which have their origin in legends of ancient times, and which describe marriages between humans and other creatures. These stories intimate that bestiality existed in Japan of antiquity. The compiler, Kyōkai, simply added morals to the tales in order to use them as his sermons. It was profitable to use these stories because they were strange and therefore extremely attractive to the audiences of the early ninth century. The plot of Aki no yo no naga-monogatari is also far beyond reality and the combination of such a story with a conclusion of retribution parallels the elements of Nihon ryōiki. Umewaka's high rank would, in reality, have excluded him as a possible partner in a homosexual affair. Furthermore, in the concluding sections of the story, the reader discovers that Umewaka was actually a manifestation of a Merciful Goddess. In Japanese Buddhist narratives a Merciful Goddess often surrendered her-
self to a monk. Later the monk, tormented by a guilty conscience, became truly pious in order to expiate his sin.

Although *Aki no yo no naga-monogatari* contains elements of *otogi-zôshi*, it should be evident that *setsuwa* are bound to display characteristics of the fairy tale, providing as they did, a link between Heian fiction and *otogi-zôshi*. Moreover *Aki no yo no naga-monogatari* does contain the seeds of these *chigo monogatari* which describe homosexual relationships; however these descriptions served as an expedient through which the author was able to achieve his true intention, the edification of his audience. Thus, it is preferable to label *Aki no yo no naga-monogatari* as *setsuwa* and subcategorize it as a story of regeneration.
Chapter III

Historical Background of the Tale

In the previous chapter, the diverse narrative techniques of Aki no yo no naga-monogatari were mentioned. It is evident however that these variations are not simply a result of the combination of literary techniques. Careful examination of the tale demonstrates that it was composed of at least three accounts: the life story of the monk Sensai, the discord between the Sammon and the Jimon Denominations, and the legend of Umewaka. Underlying these first two themes are actual historical incidents that provided inspiration to the author of the tale. Knowledge of these events enriches the reader's understanding and appreciation of the story.

Biographical Sketch of Sensai

Although the life of Sensai has not been studied to any great extent, it is generally recognized that he established Ungo-ji, and carved a great image of Buddha (daibutsu) there. He is believed to have been an excellent chanter of Buddhist invocations and in addition, Sensai is known as one of the first poet monks of the late Heian period to use waka poetry to illustrate Buddhist thought.

Mangen Shiban (1627 – 1710), the compiler of Honchô kôsô den, recorded some of Sensai's
achievements as follows:

Sensai was a monk of Mount Hiei. He moved to the eastern part of Kyoto and there he practiced according to Tendai doctrine through which he sought the pure land. He established Ungo-ji in the first year of Tenji 天治 (1124). He also carved a hachi-jo 八丈 (approximately twenty-four meter) high golden figure of Buddha and he placed it in the Shôô-in 勝應院. In the seventh month of the first year of Eiji 永治 (1141), he called many monks together and he performed a consecration ceremony for the newly made image....

In Jimon denki horoku 寺門傳記補録, the author Shikô 志晃 writes that, "In the first year of Tenji, on the nineteenth of the seventh month, the monk Sensai founded Ungo-ji and placed a has-shaku 八尺 (approximately two meter, forty centimeter) high figure of Buddha there...." Both documents state that Sensai founded Ungo-ji in 1124 but there is conflicting evidence as to the actual height of Buddha's image which was placed in the temple.

Details of Ungo-ji are also reported in Iroha jirui sho 伊呂波字類抄.

In the fourth year of Jôwa 承和 (837), the Councillor of State 桓武 (737 - 806) might be offered. The monk Sensai constructed a temple to the west of this and placed a hachi-jo 八丈 high figure of Buddha therein. He named his temple Shôô Mida-in 勝應弥陀院. Nowadays both temples are referred to as Ungo-ji.
In addition to the above, in *Shoku Nihon kōki* 続日本後紀, it is recorded that the temple, built for the repose of the Emperor Kammu's soul, was east of the Yasaka-ji 八坂寺 and that it seemed to belong to Yasaka-ji; therefore, it was commonly called *Yasaka tō-in* 八坂東院, "the Eastern Cloister of Yasaka-ji".

A comparison of these sources raises some question as to whether Sensai actually founded the whole complex of Ungo-ji; however, if Sensai's achievements after his move to the annex of *Yasaka tō-in*, later called Ungo-ji, are considered, there is some basis for calling him "the monk who re-established Ungo-ji".

Nonetheless, one fact still remains unresolved. What was the actual height of the image of Buddha that Sensai raised? Ungo-ji was well-known for its figure of Buddha. In *Samboku kika shū* 散木奇歌集, a collection of waka poems by Minamoto no Toshiyori 源俊頼 (1055 - 1129), Toshiyori noted that he was asked to guide his friend to Ungo-ji to worship its *daibutsu*. This evidence supports the fact that Ungo-ji's image must have been large because in order to be referred to as *daibutsu* a statue must be more than *ichi-jō, roku-shaku* 一丈六尺 (approximately four meters, eighty centimeters) high. Therefore, the image mentioned in *Jimon denki horoku*, (two meters, forty centimeters), is far too small to be called *daibutsu*. Nevertheless, the height of twenty-four meters mentioned in the other sources seems to be far too tall because the tallest existing
daibutsu in Japan is found in Todai-ji in Nara, and it is approximately sixteen meters high. Amano Sadakage 天野信景 (1661-1733) also questioned the validity of the statements which reported that the statue was twenty-four meters high. He wrote in his book Shiojiri that, "... the Buddha of Ungo-ji was rumored to have been a hachi-jō high figure, but it might possibly have been a twelve meter high figure in a seated position...".

The oldest record in which the name of Sensai is mentioned is Honcho shōjo shū edited by Fujiwara no Mototoshi 藤原基俊 (-1142). A short piece by Sensai entitled, "Ungo-ji no Shōnin kyōgen kīgō kuyuru waka no jo" 雲居寺上人語狂言綺語和歌序 ("An Ungo-ji Monk's Foreword to Waka Poetry Composed as a Penance for His Involvement in Fiction") is listed in it. This essay is dated the thirteenth of the ninth month of the first year of Kashō 嘉承 (1106). Although this account gives no hint as to the identity of the writer, there is no evidence that other monks of Ungo-ji were involved with poetry.

In addition, it is known that poetry contests were often held at Ungo-ji around the year 1116 under Sensai's sponsorship. One particularly well-known competition was the Ungo-ji Kechien-gyō kōen utaawase 雲居寺結縁縁縫うたあわせ. It was held in the eighth month of the fourth year of Eikyū 永久 (1116) with Fujiwara no Mototoshi as the judge. In this contest Sensai composed three waka poems and won twice. After this he played off a tie with Minamoto no Toshiyori and
the result was a draw.


Sensai formed close friendships with Fujiwara no Mototoshi and Minamoto no Toshiyori, both leading poets of their day. This fact is known because Mototoshi listed several sets of poems which were exchanges between himself and his friend Sensai, in *Fujiwara no Mototoshi kashû*. It seems that Toshiyori visited Sensai often at his temple because he included six poems which had been composed at Ungo-ji, Sensai’s residence, in *Samboku kika shû*, Toshiyori’s collection of poems. Although Sensai’s works are relatively unstudied, it is evident from the result of the poetry contest noted above, the friendship shared with Mototoshi and Toshiyori, as well as from the fact that his poems are included in many Imperial anthologies that Sensai was equal in ability to the best poets of his day.

As a poet Sensai is described in *Kokon chomon jû* 古今著聞集:
...the monk loved waka poetry; therefore, the poets of his day frequently gathered together at his temple in order to hold meetings of waka verse. He painted a mandala of waka (waka mandara 和歌曼陀羅) and listed the Seven Buddhas of the Past (kako shichi-Butsu 過去七佛), together with the names of thirty-six well-known poets (sanjû-rok-kasen = 十六歌仙)....

In Ima monogatari 今物語, an example of Sensai's quickness of poetic repartee is given. Fujiwara no Nobuzane 藤原信實 writes that one day the Premier Kyôgoku 京極, at the time a minor official, was passing by Ungo-ji. He noticed Sensai's antiquated house and had a servant shout:

Hijiri no ya wo ba The old man's
mekakushi ni fuke broken down house...
Should be roofed
to hide the chinks.

Then he quickly drove away in his cart. Sensai made a novice run after the servant and say:

Ame no shita ni All under heaven,
morite kikovuru You never know what
koto mo ari will leak
And be heard in the end.

The author of Ima monogatari finishes this paragraph praising the quickness of Sensai who was challenged to compose the first three lines of the waka poem, the last two lines of
Another example of Sensai's wit is included in *Zoku shika shū* 46. It is recorded that one day as he was holding a service, water from a leak in the roof dropped upon his sleeve. As he got down from the dias he composed the following verse:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Inishie wo} & \quad \text{In the days gone by,} \\
\text{tazunete mo kiku} & \quad \text{If I seek, I'll find} \\
\text{ima mo miru} & \quad \text{a case.} \\
\text{moru-ya wa nori no} & \quad \text{Aha now I see...} \\
\text{kataki nari keri} & \quad \text{A house with a leaky roof} \\
\end{align*}
\]

In this poem Sensai comments on the fact that his service is interrupted by a leaky roof; however, he is at the same time referring to the fact that his sleeve, tear-soaked because he sleeps alone, is creating a barrier to salvation. From such evidence it is clear that even Buddhist services might be lightened by Sensai's wit and the reason Sensai is counted as one of those who initially expressed Buddhist thought through waka poetry becomes clear. It seems that Sensai recited poems whenever he had to talk, and that he held meetings of waka poetry even after Buddhist services, providing there were enough people. In fact he often arranged services specifically in order to hold meetings of poetry.

In addition, Sensai was a skillful chanter. In *Honcho kōsō den* 47 this talent is described. "Sensai was an admirable
chanter of the holy invocations, and it was said that when he performed everyone listened with joy. Ryônin 良忍 (1072 - 1132) of Mount Ôhara 大原 was taught to chant by Sensai...

This is an extremely interesting statement because Jôdo Buddhism was transmitted by means of chants, and Ryônin, the founder of the Yûzû Nembutsu Sect (Yûzû nembutsu-shû 融通念佛宗), was known to be one of the pioneers of such invocations.

Sensai's exceptional ability combined with his amazing sense of humor must have made him a popular figure among all kinds of people. The compiler of Hyaku renshô 百鑒抄 wrote that, "...the consecration ceremony of the hachi-jô 高金 image of Buddha was attended by both high and low who together deepened their devotion...". Similar comments are found in other sources. In Goshû òjô den 後拾遺往生傳 it is recorded that Sensai was called on by Minamoto no Toshi-fusa 源俊房 (-1121), the Minister of the Left, to perform the last rites which would assure him of companionship in the next life.

The monk Sensai died on the twentieth day of the sixth month of the second year of Daiji 大治 (1127). In Chûu ki 中右記 the compiler writes:

The twenty-third day: The monk Sensai died at the time of the dog on the twentieth day. He used to be a monk of Enryaku-ji 延暦寺. He practiced preaching and mastered it. He has been pious and he has performed various Buddhist services. He carved a hachi-jô 高金 image of Buddha in his temple and he also changed the
Eastern Mountain (Higashi-yama 東山) of Kyoto into hyaku-jo 百丈 (approximately three-hundred meter) tall image of Maitreya (Miroku 観音). He was the initiator of the one hundred day pilgrimage (Hyaku-nichi no gyōdo 百日行道) seeking paradise. Moreover he inspired all kinds of people to deepen their faith in Buddhism. However, he has already passed away. The days of Buddhism are also gone. Buddhism has been extinguished for a long time. Aha, it is indeed pitiable.

When the above historical accounts of Sensai are compared with descriptions of the monk in the last section of Aki no yo no naga-monogatari, it becomes clear that much of the author's characterization was based on historical fact. Although no document other than Aki no yo no naga-monogatari reveals that Sensai's former name was Keikai, that he was a monk soldier of Mount Hiei or that he had a love affair with a young boy, when Sensai's achievements and refined character are understood, it is easy to imagine why the author of Aki no yo no naga-monogatari wrote a tale with Sensai as its hero.

The Rivalry Between
the Sammon and the Jimon Denominations

Both Gishin (義真 - 833) and Ennin (794 - 864), disciples of Saichô (766 - 822), the founder of the Tendai Sect (Tendai-shu 天台宗), served as the chief monks (zasu 座主) at the headquarters of the Tendai Sect on Mount Hiei. Gishin's disciple, Enchin (814 - 891), also became a chief monk at Mount Hiei after he returned from China
in 858 and during the next seventy years members of his group controlled Mount Hiei. However, Ryôgen (912 - 985) of the Ennin line gradually gained power because he reconstructed many temple headquarters ruined due to fire. Antagonism between groups representing these two leaders soon developed. Eventually, when Yokei ( - 991) of the Enchin line was prevented from becoming the chief monk of Mount Hiei in 989, the Enchin group left Mount Hiei and established an independent branch, the Jimon Denomination (Jimon-ha), in 993, with its headquarters at Onjô-ji. From that time, the Mount Hiei branch has been referred to as the Sammon Denomination (Sammon-ha).

The complications between these two groups originated with the rivalry for abbotship; however from the time Onjô-ji became independent, owing to Onjô-ji having no right to build an ordination platform for the issuance of commandments, problems related to the ordination of monks arose. In order to confirm monks Onjô-ji was required to depend upon other temples, mainly the Sammon temple of Mount Hiei. This forced relationship raised difficulties.

The records of Haku renshô for the second year of Chôkyû (1041) and the second year of Enkyû (1070) mentioned that the monks of Onjô-ji frequently asked permission of the Court to build a platform for ordination (kaidan). These requests angered the monks of Mount Hiei, and in the first year of Eihô (1081) the whole temple complex of Onjô-ji was razed to the ground for the first time.
Following this, burnings of Onjō-ji by the monk soldiers (sōhei 仏兵) of Mount Hiei continued. In addition to minor raids, the whole temple complex of Onjō-ji was totally destroyed seven times.

Records of the first four attacks, which resulted in complete destruction, are found in Hyaku renshô. The first occurred on the ninth day of the sixth month in the first year of Eihō. It is written that on the day of the Hie Shrine (Hie-jinja 日吉神社) festival in the fourth month of that same year, the monks of Onjō-ji captured some attendants of Hie shrine and stole offerings. These acts incited the monks of Mount Hiei to action.

The second incident occurred in the second year of Hōan (1121), on the third day of the intercalary fifth month (uruu satsuki 閏五月) which fell between the fifth and sixth months. Onjō-ji was burned once again on the sixteenth day of the intercalary fifth month of Hōen (1140). In this account, the previous attacks of 1081 and 1121 are mentioned.

On the ninth day of the sixth month of the first year of Chōkan (1163) the monk soldiers of Mount Hiei destroyed Onjō-ji yet another time. This act was brought about by the monks of Onjō-ji who beheaded several Shintō priests on the third day of that same month. Apart from this direct provocation from Onjō-ji, however, there were several underlying reasons for this attack by the monks of Mount Hiei in 1163. In Hyaku renshô, it is recorded that in the second
year of Ôhô 应保 (1162), on the first day of the intercalary second month, Kakuchû 覚 忠, the son of an Onjô-ji abbot, was appointed as head monk of the Tendai Sect. The monks of Mount Hiei, however, forced him to decline the position. Moreover, in the fifth month of the following year (1163) the temple of Mount Hiei protested the fact that the monks of Onjô-ji had ceased to receive ordination at Mount Hiei. Seven days later, on the twenty-ninth day of the fifth month, Kôfuku-ji 興福寺 suggested to the Throne that the monks of Onjô-ji should cease to receive ordination at Mount Hiei and furthermore, that Mount Hiei should become subordinate to Onjô-ji. Thus the reason for Mount Hiei's violent assault is easily understood.

It is recorded in Azuma kagami 吾妻鏡 that Onjô-ji was destroyed on the fifteenth day of the fourth month of the second year of Kempo 建保 (1214) and that this attack was the result of trouble between the Shinto priests of Sakamoto (Mount Hiei) and Ôtsu (Onjô-ji) on the day of the Hie Shrine festival, the fourteenth day of the same month. The record also notes that this was the fifth occurrence, and that it followed incidents in 1108, 1121, 1164 and 1214.

Zokushi gushô 續史愚抄 records that the sixth burning of Onjô-ji took place on the second day of the fifth month of the first year of Bun'ei 文永 (1264). On the twenty-third day of the third month of the same year, the monks of Mount Hiei reduced almost all of their own temples to ashes in order to protest the fact that their request seeking the
abbotship of Tenno-ji 天王寺, which at that time was held by a monk of Onjô-ji, was ignored. Taking advantage of the confusion on Mount Hiei, the monks of Onjô-ji reconstructed their temple to resemble a castle and also built an ordination platform. Highly angered, the monks of Mount Hiei rushed to Onjô-ji.

On the twenty-fifth day of the fourth month of the third year of Bumpô (1319), in Hanazono Tennô shinki 花園天皇縁記, it is recorded that, "...the main hall, the ordination platform of Onjô-ji...everything was razed....". It seems reasonable to suppose that the cause of this incident was also related to the ordination platform of Onjô-ji.

From these documents recording the attacks and burnings of Onjô-ji by the monk soldiers of Mount Hiei, it is quite evident that the battle which takes place in sections thirteen to fifteen of Aki no yo no naga-monogatari is indeed related to actual historical events. In Aki no yo no naga-monogatari, a vain battle between two denominations was caused by the love affair between Keikai and Umewaka. Without knowledge of historical facts, the cause of this battle may seem rather unrealistic. Nevertheless, as it is clear from historical records that many of the initial causes of the actual battles were trivial. They merely provided an excuse for a release of the pent-up hostility of both denominations.

Hirasawa Goro 平澤五郎 says in "Aki no yo no naga-monogatari kô" 秋夜長物語故 that Aki no yo no naga-monogatari seems to have been written by a man who either saw
or heard of the incident of the year 1319, the last burning of Onjô-ji, and wrote the story while the memory of the battles held between the Sammon and the Jimon Denominations was fresh in the minds of people of the area. He notes that in section fifteen of Aki no yo no naga-monogatari it is mentioned that the Sammon Denomination had previously attacked the Jimon Denomination six times. He concludes that the battle which takes place in the tale was the one which occurred in 1319.

Hirasawa Goro says that learned men of that age must have known the exact number of times that Onjô-ji had been burned because historical documents occasionally mentioned these facts, and even in Taihei ki, which is not a chronicle, it is noted that Onjô-ji had been burned seven times before the first year of Bumpô (1317). (This must be an error because according to other historical documents the seventh burning of Onjô-ji occurred in 1319). The author of Aki no yo no naga-monogatari must have been well aware of this comment in Taihei ki. It seems reasonable to suppose that the author of Aki no yo no naga-monogatari consciously mentioned that six burnings had occurred before the battle described in the story.

The points that Hirasawa raises are completely valid. When the author wrote Aki no yo no naga-monogatari, he must have indeed used the incident of 1319 to convey to people the conditions of actual event. It may be possible to suppose, in addition, that there was a legend about Sensai, a monk
soldier of Mount Hiei. In writing *Aki no yo no naga-monogatari*, the author combined his knowledge of the life of Sensai with his experience of the actual conflict of 1319, an event which was the only battle of large scale which occurred during his lifetime, in an attempt to express Sensai's heroic legendary episode in his own words.
CHAPTER IV

Literature Related to
Aki no yo no naga-monogatari

It is important to investigate those works which are believed to have been the sources of the author of Aki no yo no naga-monogatari as well as later literature which is said to have been influenced by the tale. This research not only adds a new dimension to knowledge concerning the characteristics of Buddhist narratives but also provides new background materials for the study of literature of other periods. It is indisputable that Kojaku monogatari and Taiheiki provided some inspiration for Aki no yo no naga-monogatari and that the tale in turn influenced writers such as Zeami (1364? - 1443) and Ryûtei Tanehiko (1733 - 1842). In addition, for many years there has been a strongly held belief that the No song, Sumidagawa, upon which several Edo works and a chain of plays were based, was influenced by Aki no yo no naga-monogatari. Although this popular notion is incorrect, it is important to examine this misconception in detail because it provides insights which help to explain the tremendous popularity of the tale during the Edo period. In this chapter, those works which have been said to be related to Aki no yo no naga-monogatari will be examined and their relationships to the tale will be discussed.
The Author's Sources

Nishida Naokai 西田直養 (1863) was evidently the first critic to indicate the existence of a tale which may have provided inspiration to the author of Aki no yo no naga-monogatari. He says in Sasa no ya mampitsu 筆合漫筆 that in kan twenty-one of Konjaku monogatari there is a story which reads:

A dragon had assumed the guise of a tiny snake and was living in Mano Pond (Mano no ike 萬能池) in the Province of Sanuki �讃岐. A tengu who had taken on the shape of a hawk, captured him and carried him to Mount Hira (Hira no yama 比良の山). The dragon was imprisoned in a cave and was given no water. When he was about to die, the tengu brought in a monk of Mount Hiei, who was carrying a water bottle in his hand. A drop of water revived the dragon, whereupon he escorted the monk to his temple and then he himself returned to heaven.

Section seventeen of Aki no yo no naga-monogatari in which Umewaka is captured and imprisoned in the rock-jail indeed corresponds quite closely to this summary of a Konjaku monogatari tale.

Taihei ki has been considered to have had the greatest influence upon Aki no yo no naga-monogatari. Many well-established scholars such as Gotô Tanji and Kôjô Isao 高倉秋夫 have noted analogies in plot as well as striking correspondences in sentences. Moreover, they even
suggested that these two works were creations of the same author.

The following is an attempt to illustrate two examples of the parallels which may be seen in passages of Taihei ki and Aki no yo no naga-monogatari.

...iro koto ni kogashitaru fumi no fururu
sode sae kuyuru bakari no

(Section 7; Aki no yo no naga-monogatari)

...toru te mo kuyuru bakari ni kogaretaru
momiji-gasane no

(Kan 15; Taihei ki)

Although, fumi (a letter) is the object of the clause iro koto ni kogashitaru fumi no (the letter, which one strongly perfumed), whereas momiji-gasane (a red paper backed with yellow i.e., a letter) is the subject of the phrase kogaretaru momiji-gasane ni (the letter perfumed strongly), these two fragments are semantically identical. Moreover the phrase kuyuru bakari ni (as it may gain a lingering scent) is included in both sentences.

Other strikingly similar sentences occur in descriptions of early morning scenes:
Again, these passages are semantically equivalent to one another although there are some lexical differences as well as variations in word order. Although these similarities may be thought to be either examples of literary convention or coincidental, more than twenty such closely related passages can be shown to exist. Moreover, half of these similarities occur in kan eighteen of Taihei ki. From the above evidence, it should be clear that the connection between Aki no yo no naga-monogatari and Taihei ki is an extremely close one. Moreover because it is generally considered that Taihei ki was completed around 1368 - 1375, and that the oldest text of Aki no yo no naga-monogatari was copied in 1377, it is likely that the author of Aki no yo no naga-monogatari adopted those sentences from Taihei ki. As there is no definite proof with which to support this hypothesis, it may also be possible to consider that Aki no yo no naga-monogatari provided inspiration for Taihei ki.
Works Thought to Have Been Influenced by the Tale

It can be demonstrated that *Aki no yo no naga-monogatari* influenced writers of the Middle Ages and the Pre-modern period. Sentences patterned after the opening lines of *Aki no yo no naga-monogatari* are found in the No texts *Senju* and *Atsumori*, written by Zeami who seems to have been the earliest writer to show interest in *Aki no yo no naga-monogatari* and in the work of fiction, *Kakitsu monogatari*. The latter work was completed after the Disturbance of Kakitsu (*Kakitsu no ran*, 1441). Since the oldest text of *Aki no yo no naga-monogatari* is dated 1377, it is possible to assume that the opening sentences of *Aki no yo no naga-monogatari* were adopted in these literary works.

Ryûtei Tanehiko also employed sections of the tale in his works of fiction. He uses the phrase *"Shirakawa ohoko no sora-inji Gosan no sono monto-date"* from *Aki no yo no naga-monogatari* in his piece *Awa no Naruto* 阿波之鳴門, and he also adopted the waka poem *"Shirasebaya hono-mishi hana no omokage ni tachisou kumo no mayou kokoro no"* 知らせばや ぼの見しば 花の面影に 立らそう雲の迷う心を in his *yomihon* 読本, "story book", entitled *Yakko no Koman monogatari* 奴の小ま物語 which is known to be based upon the tale of "Aozukin" 青頭巾 of *Ugetsu monogatari* 雨月物語.
Other than the examples noted above there are no works which can be proved to have been directly influenced by *Aki no yo no naga-monogatari*; however, for many years scholars, writers, and audiences have believed that the No song *Sumidagawa* and its related works, a series of plays and several pieces of popular literature whose titles include the words *Sumidagawa*, were based upon *Aki no yo no naga-monogatari*.

Zeami's son, Kanze Motomasa 観世元雅 (1394? - 1492) composed the No text *Sumidagawa*. The basic plot structure of this piece is as follows:

A mad woman arrives at the ferry crossing of the Sumida River (*Sumida-gawa* 隈田川). At first the boatman tries to make fun of her. However, upon hearing that she has come from Kyoto seeking her missing son, he feels sorry for her and ferries her across the river. A man on the same boat, noticing that there are many people on the river dike loudly chanting prayers to *Amida* 阿弥陀佛 asks the boatman about it.

The boatman replies, "A year ago, a merchant came to this ferry crossing. He brought with him a boy purchased in Kyoto. Perhaps because he was too young for such a long trip, the youth had become sick. Cruelly, the merchant abandoned the boy and he continued north alone. The boy died shortly afterwards."

The boy was the child for whom the mad woman sought. After getting out of the boat she joins those praying on the dike, whereupon she hears the voice of the boy and sees his ghostly image.

Both *Aki no yo no naga-monogatari* and the No song *Sumidagawa*
incorporate incidents in which the hero is carried off against his will and dies a tragic death, however the only concrete similarity between the two is the fact that the names of the heroes are the same. Shuzui Kenji notes in Kabuki kyakuison shū that the idea for the No text Sumidagawa originated in Aki no yo no naga-monogatari, and that a kanazoshi, "story book in kana", Sumidagawa monogatari was based upon this No text. In addition, Goto Tanji called attention to the fact that Shida Yoshihide mentions in Nihon no densetsu to dōwa that Sumidagawa monogatari was related to Aki no yo no naga-monogatari. It is extremely difficult to imagine why such associations continued to exist, nevertheless, they were rarely challenged.

During the Edo period the series of Sumidagawa plays became extremely popular. Particularly well known among these dramas were Futago Sumidagawa by Chikamatsu Monzaemon (1653 - 1724) first performed at Takemotoza (a Jōruri theater in Osaka) in 1720, and the Kabuki plays Sumidagawa gonichi no omokage by Nagawa Shimesuke (1755 - 1829), which were performed initially in 1784 and 1814 respectively. These popular plays retained the plot structure of the No text Sumidagawa, as well as the name of the hero, Umewaka. Although these works had no more connection with Aki no yo no
naga-monogatari than did Sumidagawa, it is certain that theatergoers of the time who were interested in the origin of the plays believed that a relationship between the Buddhist tale, Aki no yo no naga-monogatari, and the Nô song Sumidagawa did indeed exist.

It was probably at this time that the legend of Umewaka came into existence. A memorial tomb was built at the temple of Mokubo-ji 木母寺 by the Sumida River, and a wooden image of Umewaka was enshrined there. Moreover the practice of holding a service to commemorate the anniversary of Umewaka's death was established. This custom has continued to present day.

Thus, during the Edo period the legend of Umewaka began to be associated with Aki no yo no naga-monogatari. In addition, adaptations of the Nô song Sumidagawa became increasingly popular. As mentioned previously, there was no connection between these literary works and Aki no yo no naga-monogatari; nonetheless, the pieces were completed by authors who felt that a relationship existed. It was inevitable, therefore, that this theory came to be supported by public opinion.

Ryûtei Tanehiko, a scholar who had studied Aki no yo no naga-monogatari more thoroughly than any of his contemporaries, strongly opposed the idea that Sumidagawa and its related works were based on Aki no yo no naga-monogatari. In Kôshoku-bon mokuroku 好色本目録 not only did he assemble four texts of Aki no yo no naga-monogatari but
he also commented on their quality. In his essays he dispelled several popular misconceptions about the tale and shed light on some unexplored areas.

In Ryûtei ki 柳亭記, he noted that the memorial tomb for Umewaka at Mokubo-ji was probably built by a dilettante who admired the No song Sumidagawa. He concluded this article saying that "...the story of Mokubo-ji temple and the tale of Aki no yo no naga-monogatari both concern someone called Umewaka, however, they [the heroes] are different people with the same name....". He also noted in Ryûtei ki that the wooden figure of Umewaka had not been in the possession of Mokubo-ji for any great length of time. It had been purchased by a monk of the temple during a visit to Kyoto. Ryûtei personally believed that the figure was not that of Umewaka but rather an image of Ushiwaka-maru 牛若丸. Furthermore, he noted in Sokushin-ô ki 足新春記, that the names of the monks of Mii-dera who are listed in Aki no yo no naga-monogatari as "Sennin-giri no Ara-Sanuki, Kanasaibô no Aku-dayû, Happô-yaburi no Musashibô 千人切の荒舞 岐がはさいぼうの鬼-うびふ, 八方やりの武蔵坊..." were actually all fictitious. The terms refer to the strategies of the game of vasasugare 八道行成, "fox and geese".

Neither the No song Sumidagawa and its related works nor the Umewaka legend can be proved to have their origins in Aki no yo no naga-monogatari, nonetheless it is evident that they have long been associated with the tale. For this reason,
Aki no yo no naga-monogatari was frequently referred to in scholarly works related to Sumidagawa. It is also evident that phrases of the tale were incorporated into a number of literary works. This fact testifies to the value of the work as a literary source and to its familiarity among later writers of the Middle Ages and Pre-Modern period.
NOTES ON THE INTRODUCTION


3 Gempei no sôran. After the Heiji War (Heiji no ran 平治の亂, 1159), the Heike actively intervened in the rule of the Fujiwara family 藤原氏, and soon practically controlled the country. Among those who were dissatisfied with this situation was Minamoto no Yorimasa 源頼政 (1104 - 1180). He raised an army in support of Prince Mochihito 以均 (1151 - 1180), the son of the Emperor Goshirakawa 後白河 (1127 - 1197) in 1180. This uprising was quelled by the Heike. However, following this many battles between the clans occurred until the Heike were
finally defeated at Dan no ura 増の浦 in 1185. The chain of battles between the Genji and the Heike are commonly called Gempei no sōran or the Gempei War. Ozawa, and Oda, pp. 110-1.

4 In Mappō tomyō ki 末法燈明記 which is believed to have been completed by Saichō 最澄 (766 - 822), it was said that mappō would begin in 1152. The age after Gautama Buddha's death was divided into three. The three divisions were shōbō 正法 (500 - 1,000 years), zōbō 像法 (500 or 1,000 years after shōbō), and mappō (10,000 years). It was believed that Buddha's direct spiritual influence would decline gradually and during mappō only superficial knowledge of Buddhism would exist.

5 Shuzui, and Shioda, p. 81.

6 Kōben 高辨 (1173 - 1232) of the Kegon Sect (Kegon-shū 華厳宗), Jōkyō 賢慶 (1152 - 1213) of the Hossō Sect (Hossō-shū 法相宗) and Eizon 歇尊 (1201 - 1227) of the Ritsu Sect (Ris-shū 律宗).

7 Earlier sects taught that one could achieve enlightenment only through penance. However, in Jōdo Buddhism (Jōdo-kyō 淨土教) it is said that invoking Buddha's name is the only way to gain enlightenment during the age of mappō. This basic belief can be illustrated in one phrase, tariki hongan.
Wakan roei shû. A collection of 589 Chinese poems composed by both Japanese and Chinese poets. These verses are arranged into five sections: spring, summer, autumn, winter and miscellany. The poems are accompanied by 216 waka verses. This collection was designed to be used for recitation. It is believed to have been completed in 1013. In NKBT, vol. 73. The poem by Po Chü-i in which the term kyôgen kigo occurs is on p. 200.

Refer to note 7 of the introduction. The doctrines of this sect were handed down by Asvagohosha 马鳴 (Memyô), Nagarjuna 龍樹 (Ryûju), and Vasubandhu 世親 (Seshin) of India, Hui-yuan 慧遠 (Eon, 334-416) and Shan-tao 善導 (Zendô, 613-661) of China and Kûya 空也 (903-972), Genshin 源信 (942-1017), and Hônên of Japan.

Shuzui, and Shioda, p. 84.

Ibid., p. 84. There is one exception to this statement. During early Chûsei magnificent waka poetry was being written by court nobles.

Heike monogatari. In this war story the rise and fall of the Taira Clan is described in Buddhist tone. In dai 226 dan of Tsurezure gusa 徒然草 written by Yoshida Kenkô 吉田兼好 (1283 - 1350), he suggested who the author and first narrator of Heike monogatari might have been; however there are conflicting views, and Kenkô's comments have not been validated. Heike monogatari is believed to have been

See bibliography.


The oldest text of Aki no yo no naga-monogatari is dated the third year of Eiwa 永和 (1377). There is no record of the tale before this. The battle described in the text seems to be the one which took place in 1319.

In NKBT, Aki no yo no naga-monogatari was included in the volume entitled Otogi-zôshi. Ichiko Teiji 市古貞治 in Chûko shôsetsu no kenkyû 中古小説の研究 (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppan-kai, 1955), p. 134, and Gotô Tanji
後藤丹治 in Chûsei kokubungaku kenkyû 中世國文學研究, (Tokyo: Isobe Kôyô-dô, 1933), pp. 65-6, insist that Aki no yo no naga-monogatari is a chigo monogatari.

18 Ichiko, p. 140.

19 Tengu. An imaginary goblin who inhabits deep mountains. It has a human figure with a pair of wings, a red face and an extremely prominent nose. It possesses occult powers and can fly freely in the air. Yamabushi, "mountain ascetics", (See note 57 of the text) have often been referred to as tengu because of their odd manner of dress and strange way of life.

20 The reader of Aki no yo no naga-monogatari will notice that the battle scenes of section fifteen of the text are highly exaggerated, especially in regard to the large numbers of monks taking part.

21 Ichiko, p. 134.

22 An example of an Edo anecdote: "Not long ago, a young swordsman, a retainer of Ayakôji, lured a boy from the Ayakôji’s mansion by a ruse. He wanted to take the boy into the bushes of the front garden in order to enjoy a chrysanthemum (kikû : another term for the anus). The boy tried hard to refuse. The swordsman said, 'Please don’t be unkind to me and endure this for awhile.' Saying this he embraced the boy tightly and held his indecent thing (mukutsukeki mono ) against the blossom. He must
have been too excited; he let the dew gush out over the tiny flower....". This anecdote appears in Ana okashi 阿奈廻加志, written by a well-known Japanese classical scholar, Sawada Natari 澤田名重 (1775 - 1845). In (Zenshaku) Edo sandai kisho (全釋) 江戶三大奇書, tr., by Okada Hajime 周田甫 (Tokyo: Yûkô Shôbô, 1970), p. 248.

23 Ichiko, p. 131. Ansen wakashû can be found in ZGR, vol. 14; 1.

24 Ibid., p. 132. San'eki enshi can be found in ZGR, vol. 13; 1.

25 Ibid., p. 132. There is no modern version of Ryûben Hōin sai{jô ki.

26 Ibid., p. 134.

27 Nihon ryôiki or Nihon-koku zempô zen'aku ryôiki 日本国現報善悪靈異記. This work contains 116 short Buddhist narratives. It is believed to have been completed in 797 or 822. Although these stories conclude with Buddhist morals, the plots of the tales are not closely related to Buddhism. This book is a fascinating account of the life of the common people of the Nara period (Nara-jidai 奈良時代, 710-784). NKBT, vol. 70.


29 For an example of such a story see the forty-fifth

30 This temple no longer exists. Details concerning the origin of the temple can be found on pages 13-14 of this chapter. Ungo-ji and its image of Buddha were destroyed by fire in 1436. Ashikaga Yoshinori rebuilt Ungo-ji in 1439. However, in either 1467 or 1469 it was devastated during a battle. See Mochizuki Shinkô 望月信享, (Mochizuki) Bukkyô dai-jiten (望月) 佛教大辭典 (Tokyo: Sekai Seitên Kankô Kyôkai, 1954), vol. 1, p. 236.

31 In DNBZ, vol. 102, p. 702.


34 Sugano Mamichi 菅野真道 (741 - 814) was one of a committee which carried out the city planning of Heiankyô 平安京 (Kyoto). He was also a member of the group which compiled one of the Six National Histories (Rikkoku shi 六國史), Shoku Nihon gki 續日本紀 which covered the years 697 to 850 and was completed in 797.

35 In (SZ)KT, vol. 6, p. 64.

36 In (S)GR, vol. 11, p. 614.

37 Gautama Buddha was generally believed to have been
ichi-jō, roku-shaku tall. Therefore, standing statues of Buddha have been made this size or half this size in a seated position. An image taller than ichi-jō, roku-shaku is called daibutsu.

38 In NZT, III, vol. 10, p. 663.


40 (S)GR, vol. 10, pp. 76-9.

41 The following waka verses by Sensai were included in Imperial anthologies:

Nori no tame ninau takigi ni kotoyosete vagate ukiyo wo kori zo hatenuru.

Kin'yô shû, in KT, kashû, p. 129.
Shin chokusen shû, ibid., pp. 222-3.

Iori sasu nara no kokage ni moru tsuki no kumoru to mireba shigure furunari.

Shika shû, ibid., p. 134.

Karanishiki nusa ni tachimote yuku aki mo kyô ya tamuke no yama-ji koyuran.

Senzai shû, ibid., p. 168.

Takigi tsuki keburi mo sumite inikten kore ya nagori to miru zo kanashiki.

Senzai shû, ibid., p. 168.

Tsune yorimo shinoya no nokizo uzumoruru kyô ya miyako ni hatsuyuki ya furu.

Shin kokin shû, ibid., p. 183.
Mukashi mishi tsuki no hikari wo shirube nite koyoi ya kimi ga nishi e yukuran.


Fumiwake te asa yuki mireba kohagibara shika no tachino no nishiki narikeri.

*Zoku goshûi shû*, ibid., p. 469.

Inishie no tsuru no hayashi no miyuki kato omoi toku ni zo aware narikeru.

*Shin shûi shû*, ibid., p. 613.

Saki-majiru hana no adama wo tachinubeshi nani midaruran nobe no karukaya.

*Shin goshûi shû*, ibid., p. 628.

42 In *NKBT*, vol. 34, pp. 152-3.

43 A mandala is a graphic symbol of the universe. It can be supposed that Sensai wrote waka poems on his waka mandara instead of pictures. Unfortunately, examples of this type of mandala do not exist.

44 Bibashi 毘婆尸, Shika 毘舍黎, Bishabu 毘舍浮, Kuruson 拘留孫, Kumaganmuni 拘那含牟尼, Kashô 迦葉 and Shakamuni 釋迦牟尼.

45 In *(S)GR*, vol. 21, p. 235.

46 In *(S)GR*, vol. 7, p. 89.

47 In *DNEZ*, vol. 102, p. 702.
This sect was established in 1117. Ryônin taught that if a person chants, his good deed will cause others to gain enlightenment. Because of this versatile theory the popularity of his sect became widespread.

In (SZ)KT, vol. 11, p. 55.

In DNBZ, vol. 107, pp. 111-2.

In ZST, vol. 13, p. 312.

Saichô 最澄 (766 - 822) founded Ichijô shikan-in 一乘止観院 on Mount Hiei in 788. This temple was renamed Enryaku-ji by Imperial order. It is the head temple of the Tendai Sect. Enryaku-ji is referred to in many different ways, two of which are: Hiei-zan 比叡山 (Mount Hiei) and Hokurei 北嶺 (the Northern Peak). In this text the temple is called Mount Hiei.

The Buddha of the future. It is believed that Miroku will descend from heaven in order to save those living-beings who have not already been saved by Gautama Buddha.

The name of Buddha is incessantly chanted by pilgrims who circle Buddha's image clockwise. This practice is continued for a period of 100 days.

In the second year of Tenroku 天権 (971), Ryôgen reconstructed Sôji-in 忍持院 and in the third year of Tengen 天元 (980) he reconstructed Kompon-chûdô 根本中堂 (the main hall of Enryaku-ji). See Hyaku renshô in
(SZ)KT, vol. 11, pp. 2-3.


57 Ibid., pp. 390-1. Also see Kokon chomon jū in NKET, vol. 84, pp. 54-5.

58 See (SZ)KT, vol. 11, p. 21 and p. 32 respectively.

59 Ibid., p. 37.

60 Large temples such as Enryaku-ji and Kōfuku-ji owned extensive estates (shōen). During the late Heian period when social conditions became unstable, it was necessary that these estates be guarded by armed monks of low rank. These monks were referred to as sōhei. The existence of such groups caused large scale rivalries between temples.

61 Located in Sakamato 坂本, a town at the eastern foot of Mount Hiei. It is also referred to as the shrine of the Guardian Spirit of the Mountain (Sannō 山王).

62 See Hyaku renshô, p. 52. In the lunar calendar a year consisted of 354 days divided into twelve months. One make-up month had to be added approximately every thirty months.

63 See Hyaku renshô, p. 62.
The headquarters of the Hossô Sect (Hossô-shû 法相宗) in Nara. Kagami no Ôkimi 鏡王女 (-684) founded Yamashina-dera 山科寺 in the Province of Yamashina (the area of Higashiyama-ku, Kyoto), according to the instructions contained in the will of her husband Fujiwara no Kamatari 藤原兼足 (614 - 669). This temple has been moved twice. When Heijo-kyô 平城京 (Nara) was founded in 710, the temple was moved there by Fujiwara no Fuhito 藤原不比等 (659 - 720) and was renamed Kôfuku-ji.

Hyaku renshô, p. 77.

In (SZ)KT, vol. 32, p. 711.

In (SZ)KT, vol. 13, p. 29.

Ibid., p. 29.

Ibid., p. 29.

In (Z)ST, vol. 2, p. 164.

In Shidô Bunko ronshû, 3 (1964), pp. 245-6.
See chapter four of the introduction.


Sanuki is now called Kagawa Prefecture (Kagawa-ken 香川県).

Hira no yama. A mountain in Shiga Prefecture (Shiga-ken 滋賀県).

Gotô, pp. 75-82; Kôjô Isao, "Eiwa shosha-bon Aki no yo no naga-monogatari ni tsuite" 永和書寫本秋夜長物語について, Kokugo kokubun, 24, 10 (1955), pp. 39-43.

In NKBT, vol. 35, p. 119.

Ibid., p. 353.

Shuzui, and Shioda, p. 111.

In YT, vol. 3, p. 1702. The author of this piece could also have been Kaneharu Zenchiku 金春禪竹 (-1401), Zeami's son-in-law.


ZGR, vol. 20; 1, p. 225.

This battle occurred because of the assassination


92 In YT, vol. 3, pp. 1517-35.

93 The river flows through the eastern part of Tokyo and drains into Tokyo Bay. Nowadays Sumida-gawa is written 隅田川, however, it was also written: 角田川. 角田河 and 墨田川.

94 The Buddha of the Western Pure Land (Saihô-jôdo, 西方浄土). Amida-faith became popular when Jôdo Buddhism became widespread.


96 Goto, p. 85.
97 Besides plays, *yomihon* were also written. *Sumidagawa bairyū shinsō* 墨田川梅柳新書 by Takizawa Bakin 龍澤馬琴 (1767 - 1847) is a well known example. In *TB*, vol. 46.

98 In *NMZ*, Edo bungei-bu 5, pp. 428-56.

99 In *MKZ*, vol. 15, pp. 4-52.

100 In *MKZ*, vol. 22, pp. 274-307.

101 A branch temple of the Tendai Sect in Sumida-ku 墨田區, Tokyo. It is said to have been founded in 976. A legend of Umewaka has been perpetuated by this temple. The legend is remarkably similar to the plot of the *No* text *Sumidagawa*. Also refer to Hori Yoshizo 堀由蔵, ed., *Dai Nihon jiin sōran* 大日本寺院總覧 (Tokyo: Meicho Kanko-kai, 1966), vol. 1, pp. 166-7.

102 In *SGR*, vol. 7, p. 147.

103 In *NZT*, vol. 1, pp. 709-10.

104 In *NZT*, vol. 1, p. 716.

105 Ushiwakamaru. The child-name of Minamoto no Yoshitsune 源義經 (1159 - 1189).

106 In *NZT*, ser. 2; vol. 7, p. 585.
A Lengthy Story for a Long Autumn Night

PROLOGUE

"Now listen closely. Flowers of spring bloom upon trees to reveal to man the gist of a bodhisattva pledge, 'Raise your eyes and seek the perfect wisdom of Buddha.' Conversely, the moon of autumn descends to lighten the water's depth to illustrate the meaning of another bodhisattva pledge 'Look below to save all.' Heaven is silent but nature unveils itself to all living beings.

If one possesses the mind of a human being, how is it possible not to make strenuous effort to seek the perfect wisdom of Buddha? One must strive tirelessly. Once a person has experienced the Eight Human Afflictions and has become disgusted with this impure world, his earthly desires will become nothing but perfect wisdom. Furthermore, when a person hears about the Five Celestial Signs of Approaching Death and he longs for the pure land, his mortality will become nothing but nirvana.

When Buddha and the bodhisattvas edify all living beings, they use two distinct methods which seemingly run counter to each other. They allow transgressors to enter the right from the wrong, and if there are people of undetermined fate who seek enlightenment, they transform their wickedness into righteousness.
If I should illustrate the foundations of these things my words would flow endlessly, for there are an amazing number of testimonies in the sutras and sastras and in the books of men of other days.

Since I happened to hear a story which is excessively strange, lift your heads from your pillows and listen carefully. The wakefulness of my old age allows me to narrate a rather lengthy tale for this long autumn night.

A long, long time ago, there was a monk named Sensai who lived in the Western Mountains of Kyoto. He was well-known because of both his upright character and his profound learning. He was formerly one of the monk soldiers of the Eastern Pagoda on the Northern Peak as well as the headmaster of the Institute for the Encouragement of Study. His previous name had been Keikai. In terms of Buddhist studies, he drank from the flow of the Jeweled Spring and swept all the clouds away from the moon of the Four Doctrines and the Three Outlooks. In terms of the other practices, he followed the path upon which Huang-shih kung had trod, and he mastered Inundation Tactics as well as Water-Back Tactics. Sometimes he enfolded people compassionately in the sleeves of his humble robe for their protection and at other times he heroically brought foes to their knees with his furious sword. Both monks and ordinary folk were truly dependent upon him, for he was an expert in literary and military arts alike.
When he was fully mature, at last comprehending the significance of the falling of flowers and the scattering of leaves, he experienced an awakening from his dream.

"What have I been doing? I happened to leave the realm of earthly dust behind me and became a follower of Buddha, but it seems as though I have done nothing but run after glory and wealth both day and night. How disgusting it is that I have neglected my duty to escape the circle of rebirth."

When he became aware of his sins, he decided that he should search deep into the mountains and in due course should construct a brushwood hut in which to retreat for awhile. Nevertheless, it is difficult for anyone to leave the place where he has old ties. It is the way of the world. Because he did not have the determination to terminate his relationships with the Physician of Souls, with the Guardian Spirit of the Mountain, and with his colleagues and fellow dwellers, he passed his time vainly. However one day something stirred within him. He was moved to put it into words:

Morning and night I have been buried under earthly dust. By chance I lost my way and I wasted three score years. With human eyes which see only glory and disgrace, when can I, who rests in the dark shadow of an old pine tree, see a cloud and yet sleep?
ONE

Perhaps I have not been able to do what I truly desire because evil or heretical thoughts have been hindering me. If this has been the case, I shall put my trust in the protection of Buddha and the bodhisattvas in order to attain my goal. Thinking thus, Keikai made his way to Ishiyama. He prostrated himself on the ground for seven days and sincerely completed his prayer for the reaffirmation of religious devotion which would instantly allow him to attain supreme perfect wisdom.

On the night which terminated the seven days, Keikai fell asleep using the dais of the officiating monk as a pillow. As he slept he dreamed of a handsome, indescribably elegant boy who stepped out from behind the brocade tapestry of the Buddhist sanctum and stood somewhat hesitatingly in the shadow of a flowering cherry tree whose blossoms were scattered about. Because the flower petals had fallen as lightly as snow on the boy's embroidered garment of a faint green color, Keikai was in doubt as to whether or not the cherry blossoms had once again burst into bloom on the distant mountains. The boy stood there with petals on his sleeves and seemed to be going nowhere at all. Nevertheless he vanished as day fades with the coming of evening. When the boy disappeared, Keikai's dream ended.
Keikai was jubilant because he felt that the dream had been a sign indicating the achievement of his prayer. Before the dawning sky had fully grown light he left for his temple. As if waiting for some expected event, he looked forward to the religious devotion which would arise within him. Accordingly, his decision to live in the dense mountains expired; conversely, the figure of the boy in his dream was never for a moment far from his mind. He was distraught and unable to endure such inconsolable pain.

Despite this, he burned incense and faced the figure of Buddha in hope of solace. He was able to share in the sorrow of the Emperor Wu who had burned the Incense of Returning Souls in order to meet Empress Li of the Han. When Keikai stood beneath clouds and viewed blossoms on the lonely mountains, he felt as though the grief-stricken tears of King Hsiang, who had sorely missed the face of the Goddess of Mt. Wu, were his own. She had become a cloud and then falling rain after meeting with King Hsiang in his dream.

Keikai received a message from the Guardian Spirit of the Mountain telling him that his loss as a monk would cause the Spirit as much pain as the swallowing of a long sword point downwards. He felt that his decision must have been affected by the Guardian Spirit's great grief. "Even though it is the Lord's wish, only if I can survive will I be able
to rekindle the Buddhist light which has been inclined to weaken.' Miserably Keikai thought, 'I will not live as long as the dew which vanishes before evening. I feel as though I may die this very instant.' He thought that he should tell the Merciful Goddess of Ishiyama of his complaint and he revisited Ishiyama.

THREE

As he was passing in front of Mii-dera, unexpectedly, spring rain began to trickle down his face. Deciding to take shelter, he walked down towards the golden hall. On the way he noticed an ancient flowering cherry tree, the beautiful blossoms of which trailed over a wall as if forming a cloud in the garden of the cloister of Shôgo-in.

I saw a house in the distance with flowers around it. I made my way towards it and entered...

Fascinated by the essence of this verse he approached the gate of the enclosure. Through it, he saw a graceful youth of about sixteen, slim of waist and slender of limb, who was wearing a pale red under dress beneath a light, gauze, silk robe with a fish-and-water embroidered pattern.

Unaware that he was being watched, the boy stepped from behind the bamboo blinds into the garden and broke off a
branch so full of blossoms that it seemed to be covered with heavy snow. He hummed this poem:

In the falling rain,
Though they're wet, I'll pick these Mountain cherry blossoms;
Oh wind to chase the clouds away,
Won't you now begin to blow?

He resembled a flower, wet with drops of rain from the blossoms. Keikai suddenly worried that another wind might tease this flower. He wished for enough sleeve to hide it.

Just as he felt that he wanted to free his mind to clouds or mist a heartless wind blew causing the door of the gate to squeak.

The boy at once looked about dubiously as though he had noticed that there had been someone observing him, and then, holding the flowering twig in his hand, he started to walk leisurely around the trees which marked the football field. His elegant miru-like hair became entwined with the thread-like leaves of the willow tree and he glanced back absent-mindedly with an inexpressibly beautiful look in his eyes.

His appearance was no different from that of the boy in the dream which had caused Keikai to lose his way in the unknown and the monk forgot the dream in the presence of the actual figure of the boy. It had become dark, but Keikai could not remember where he ought to have gone.
That evening he fell prostrate upon the veranda of the golden hall and passed the night gazing dejectedly on the garden.

Was it all a dream,
Or was it reality?
I could hardly tell
But no matter which the case,
My sad heart is still confused.

FOUR

When day broke he revisited the place he had been the day before and stood near the gate of the cloister. He saw a neatly dressed boy emerge from the gate to throw away water from a pail covered with a bamboo screen. He wondered whether this might be a boy-in-waiting of the youth he had seen the previous day.

He stepped close to him and said, 'I want to ask you something.'

Showing no surprise, the boy replied, 'What is it?'

Keikai was pleased with this response and inquired, 'Do you know the boy who seems to be sixteen or seventeen who was in this cloister yesterday wearing a fish-and-water patterned, gauze silk robe?'

Smiling, the boy answered, 'I am waiting upon him, his name is Umewaka. He is a son of Hanazono, the Minister of
the Left. This boy possesses such a rare and helplessly refined mind that he is unable to believe that deceit exists in this world. When old monks and young men gaze upon this flowering tree which is too late for spring and whose blossoms, clear as the moon of mid-autumn, seem to scatter nowhere, they appear to flaunt the glory of their individual households hoping to win him. However, the atmosphere of this mansion has been somewhat confined. He goes nowhere apart from those places where performances of music or dance are held. Invariably he faces the rear window of this building and composes poems, hums songs and idles his time away.

On hearing this Keikai was in high spirits. He thought to eventually employ this young servant as the bearer of the letter which would reveal to Umewaka his innermost thoughts. Nevertheless, he was afraid to act openly. He returned to his own mountain without even visiting Ishiyama.

FIVE

Because of the face he had seen both in his dream and in actuality, Keikai neither slept nor remained awake, but spent nights and days half-conscious. At last he found living nearby Shôgo-in, a man whom he had formerly known. Under the pretext of sometimes attending a meeting for poetry and other times being amused by a drinking party, he more and more frequently passed nights at his friend's house.

After some time, he became familiar with the young servant whose name was Keiju. They soon were having tea
together, drinking wine, and diverting themselves in various ways. Keikai even presented Keiju with an image of a spray of a scented orange tree made of gold. He added ten robes of variously coloured fine silk. Keiju saw that Keikai's heart was already pledged to Umewaka and it seemed to him that his own actions reflected thoughts inseparable from those of Keikai.

The monk confided to Keiju that the bewilderment brought about by his love for Umewaka would never disappear.

Keiju suggested, 'First of all let me have your letter, I will try to approach him.'

Even though one tries to make the surface of paper completely black with words containing the essence of one's feelings of love, it is impossible to express all. Rather than attempt this useless task Keikai wrote only a verse:

Were I to tell you...
I saw the flowering beauty
Of your lovely face.
Like clouds that rise beside it
I know not what to do.

SIX

Taking the letter from his bosom, the boy said, 'Please glance over this. A long time ago during a pause in a rain shower you stood in the shade of the flowering cherry tree.
Having become wet, you reentered. A refined man caught a glimpse of you and he fell secretly in love. His sleeve has already been smeared crimson with tears of blood. It seems he can no longer bear to release his emotion with tears.

The young master, with flushed face, was just about to untie the ribbon of the letter when a monk, one who had renounced the world, came stamping along the connecting corridor and entered the room. He wrenched the letter out of Umewaka's sight and jammed it into his sleeve. Keiju felt the situation hopeless but he attended his master until sunset waiting for another chance.

After some time, Umewaka handed a reply to Keiju through the window of the study. The boy felt lightness in the hand receiving the letter. He took the message hurriedly to the monk.

Keikai was so pleased that his eyes were aglow. It seemed impossible for him to stand still. He opened the letter but there were only a few words:

How can I depend
Upon your fickle mind?
It's like a flower
Which the freely drifting clouds
May overcast with shadow.
When the monk saw this letter he was in high-spirits and was reluctant to depart. He felt wretched just imagining future leave-takings and he considered staying for awhile in an inn nearby so that he could at least live with his eyes on the treetops of Umewaka’s garden. At the same time he sensed that this might be an unseemly act. Telling Keiju that he would come again, Keikai took his leave and returned to his mountain.

Although the day in spring was long, with each step that he took he looked back and after each second step, he made a step backwards, thus night fell before he was able to reach the monk’s lodge in nearby Sakamoto. At last he stopped to rest in a ruined hut somewhere near Totsu. He spent the entire night lost in thought. The next morning as he stepped out into the garden intending to go up the mountain he was detained by thoughts which seemed not to be his own. It was as if his waist were tied with a rope held by a thousand people.

Turning back from Totsu, he walked absentmindedly in the direction of Ōtsu. Rain was falling softly. When he was making his way along under the guise of his travelling clothes, a straw raincoat and a straw hat, he came across a rider with an umbrella in his hand. Keikai gazed at him wondering what kind of man he might be and he soon recognized Keiju. Keiju also perceived the monk.
The boy said, 'It is really strange. Because I have something that I must tell you, I am on my way to a mountain which I have never visited before. How fortunate it is to come across you here.' He leaped from the horse, grasped the monk's hand and led him to a nearby wayside shrine.

'What has happened?' asked the monk.

From his breast, Keiju took out a heavily scented letter. It seemed that Keikai's sleeves might acquire a lingering scent simply by touching it. Keiju smiled and jokingly said, 'His troubled mind must be far beyond my understanding. I was ordered to find you relying upon what you told me even if I should lose my way in the mountains. How much wetter will his sleeve become with tears if he should spend a night with you?'

When Keiju said this, Keikai replied, half in jest, 'I wish for such a chance to bring me the sorrow of parting.'

Keikai saw the letter:

That there be falsehood
I never truly realized.
I believed in you
But now I am compelled
To resent my trusting mind.
Keiju tempted Keikai, saying repeatedly, 'Since by the mansion there is a monastery inhabited by a monk whom I know, please stay there for awhile and keep your eye upon the openings of the bamboo screens.' Touched by his own emotion, the monk again went to Mii-dera.

Keiju arranged for temporary lodgings for Keikai in the study hall of the monastery. The superior of the monastery gave Keikai a cordial reception. Often parties with music of wind and strings, and meetings of poetical composition with evaluation of verses were held with numerous young boys in attendance. The days passed.

Keikai informed the superior of his intention to go to worship before the Great Bright Spirit of Shinra for seven days in order to achieve his supplication. Every evening, Keikai disappeared into the darkness beside the cloister and concealed himself either among the pine trees of the mound or in the dewy bushes of the garden. It seemed as though Umewaka had already noticed Keikai and it appeared that he was hoping that no others were observing them.

Keikai pitied Umewaka, whose predicament was such that he was trying to solve the conflict between his wish to step out into the garden and his worry about being conspicuous.

Keikai desperately tried to believe that seeing Umewaka at a distance was his appointed destiny. He regarded Umewaka's
affection as the source of his own life and for more than ten days he returned morning and evening.

Although people asked Keikai to extend his stay; nevertheless, he hesitated. He had decided to leave the monastery the following day when Keiju visited him and said, 'At last visitors from Kyoto are coming to the cloister tonight and they are going to have a drinking party. As the chief abbot of Shôgo-in will be terribly drunk, wait for me and do not leave until midnight. I was told to stealthily lead my master here. Please leave the door of the gate unlocked and wait for us.' He delivered this speech rapidly and returned home.

NINE

Upon hearing this the monk felt overjoyed and his mind was in a turmoil. He was beside himself with happiness. Listening to the striking of the hours of the night, he waited until the moon had moved to the south.

When he heard sounds which indicated that someone was opening the door of the Chinese style fence he looked out from the cedar-board door of the study and saw Keiju holding a fish-head lantern illuminated by glowing fire-flies.

Although the figure was quite shadowy and dim, he saw Umewaka in a golden robe of fine silk, standing by the willow tree whose thread-like leaves trailed over him accentuating his beauty. He stood in a gracefully hesitant manner as
though he were worrying about being seen by someone else.
Keikai was immediately enraptured by him. He felt more dead
than alive.

Keiju stepped in first, hung the firefly lantern on one
end of a horizontal piece of timber separating the upper cham­
ber from the room, knocked on the door of the study and told
Keikai that he had brought Umewaka. As the monk was at a
loss as to how to reply, he just indicated his presence by
bending his body slightly sideways. Keiju went round to
the garden and told his young master to hasten. Umewaka walked
ahead and entered the room through the panelled door.

Umewaka's scent, which had been absorbed by Keikai's
sleeves even when they had been separated by a great distance,
was now beside Keikai. Umewaka was so close that he seemed
to be leaning upon the monk. The fragrance of the beautiful
paper cord which resembled an autumn cicada's wing and which
for the first time held back Umewaka's hair, together with
the scent of his beautiful eyebrows which resembled moth feel­
ers, were so exquisite that flowers might have hated him and
the moon might have been jealous of him. Umewaka's hundred
expressions and thousand coquetries were impossible to des­
cribe either in a picture drawn with a brush or in words.

With the flowing of their tears, pent-up emotions were
released. Their beltings became untied and they shared the
same bed.

As the existence of an islet in a flowing current causes
the river around it to deepen, so their bond became closer.
Before the lovers' talk which could have lasted forever, came to an end, the bedroom became chilly. This caused their dream to fade as easily as purple dye is wont to. Since the water of the clepsydra had already gone, it became difficult to put off their tearful parting. They resented the cock who crowed the hour of dawn after this one secret night which had brought them together. It was as though a node had at last formed in a young bamboo.

Their clothes had become cool. Just as they were about to part the moon of dawn found its way into the room through the western window. The monk could dimly see Umewaka's fragrant eyebrows. Umewaka's face mirrored deep affection. Keikai had a fleeting premonition that Umewaka would not live until their next meeting.

TEN

In order to walk with Umewaka to his mansion the monk had left his accommodation in the early morning. Instead of returning to his own lodgings immediately, he remained standing on the stone pavement beneath the gate of Umewaka's cloister because he could not bear to leave.

He was still standing there when the young servant Keiju appeared and held out something, saying, 'A letter.' Keikai opened it and found that it was composed of few words:
Upon my sleeve,  
Did it stay? No, it has gone.  
After our meeting  
It brought us tearful parting  
The moon in the dawning sky.

The monk returned to his own study and wrote:

I saw it with you,  
This moon which has remained  
As dew on my sleeve.  
I cannot brush it away,  
Yet it will bring me nights of grief.

ELEVEN

To Keikai, the memory of Umewaka’s face was as nebulous as a dream, but with the lingering scent on the sleeves which had touched Umewaka as his memento, he climbed the mountain.

His languid mind prevented him from answering those who tried to talk to him about various matters. Although he had not intended to weep, his tears continued to flow and indeed, they attracted undue attention. The sleeves with which he wiped away his tears seemed to have become decayed.

He excused himself saying that as he felt unwell, he was unable to see anyone. He passed the days lying on his bed in tears.
When the boy heard about Keikai from others, he told his young master what had happened. Upon hearing about Keikai, Umewaka abandoned himself to worry. Thinking became troublesome and painful. Anxious about the monk but at the same time hoping to hear something from him soon, Umewaka waited for awhile. After some time, he finally called the boy to him and grumbled: 'The incident on that dream-like night seems unreal. Days have gone by and I have not communicated with him even by letter. If Keikai had not become ill, everything could have been left as it was and I could have forgotten my dream. But now I have heard that his life is almost as fragile as the dew. If he passes away, visiting him after his death will be of no use. I want to go to the mountain, however deep it may be, in order to see him. But if I go to seek him without leaving any word, I feel that it will go against the wishes of the chief abbot of Shogo-in. I cannot do such a thing. What has caused me to trust the words of this fickle man who has now departed for an unknown place? Why do I long so passionately for him? While my mind is thus, lead me. Let us search for him on any mountain or any strand.'

Saying this, Umewaka shed tears. He was still young and as may be expected of a child, his mind was unsteady. It is the way of the world; there is no way to discourage one who is in love.

Because Keiju understood his young master's sorrow, he said, 'I was given details about the place where he is living,
therefore, I will accompany you. If our actions displease the chief abbot, invent something later as an excuse.' Unaccompanied, Umewaka and Keiju left for their unknown destination.

TWELVE

Umewaka was born to the family of one of the three Ministers. His father was one of the nine Chancellors. As he usually travelled in a magnificent oxcart or on an excellent horse, he had never stepped even momentarily in either mud or soil. Consequently, his legs soon became wobbly and his mind became tired. After a short while, he could walk no farther. Even the boy escorting Umewaka was worn out.

They rested under a pine tree at Karasaki and they anxiously pondered their situation while gazing at the moon mirrored in the lake. They expressed the wish to be taken to Mount Hiei by any long-nosed goblin or evil spirit.

Just then, a very aged mountain ascetic in a four-sided palanquin with bamboo blinds came up to them. The ascetic made his followers move the palanquin in front of Umewaka.

The old monk asked, 'Where are you going?'

Keiju replied truthfully. The monk got out and said, 'It is I who am going to climb up to the place which is next to the monastery to which you are going. I feel really sorry seeing you so tired, therefore I will walk, and you can take
my palanquin.' Upon saying this, he made Umewaka and Keiju get into his palanquin.

Borne by twelve men, it moved as fast as a flying bird. They crossed the vast lake and went through the dark cloudy mist. Almost instantly it was brought to Mount Shaka in the Ômine Range. Here Umewaka and Keiju were shut up as captives in a jail built of huge rocks.

They could distinguish neither night nor day. They were able to see the light of neither sun nor moon. Dew dripping from the moss and the sound of the wind blowing through the pine trees combined to prevent their tears from ceasing for a moment.

It seemed that there were all kinds of captives, for only the sound of sobbing was audible in the cavernous darkness.

THIRTEEN

From that night, the chief abbot, who felt that Umewaka's disappearance was an extraordinary occurrence, was deep in grief. He asked everybody about it but no one knew anything.

Then, a traveller on his way to Ôtsu from Higashi-Sakamoto, arrived at Shôgo-in and said, 'A young boy similar to the one you describe passed me on the beach of Karasaki at about ten o'clock last night.'

When the chief abbot heard this he grumbled, 'Ah, I was told that Umewaka had secretly pledged himself to a monk of the Sammon Denomination but somehow I did not take it
seriously.' He became agitated as he spoke.

He was not alone in his annoyance. The fury of the entire temple was aroused. 'Assailing the Sammon Denomination could be very difficult. Instead let us make a rush for the mansion of the Minister of the Left to complain, for he must know about this.'

At once more than five hundred monk soldiers of the temple attacked the mansion of the Minister of the Left at Sanjō-Kyōgoku in broad daylight. More than fifty of those on duty nearby fought back at the risk of their lives. The monks of Onjō-ji, however, easily broke into the buildings. They burned down the galleries, the fishing pavilion, the building nearby the fountain and the splendid tile-roofed corridors. The mansion was razed to the ground.

FOURTEEN

With these acts the monks of Onjō-ji were still not able to rid themselves of their anger. The temple members discussed the matter together and concluded: 'There has never been, nor ever will be a disgrace to the Jimon Denomination which exceeds this. Therefore, if we take this chance to build an ordination platform for the Samaya commandments, the monk soldiers of the Sammon Denomination will surely come to attack us. This may be a means to destroy our foe because we will be taking advantage of territory familiar to us. This way, we will be able to eliminate heresy and spread our
commandments. Heaven is offering us this opportunity. We must not hesitate for a moment.'

At this, more than two thousand partisans of the same mind excavated several moats on the Nyoigoe Pass, reconstructed the interior of their temple to resemble a castle, and built an ordination platform for the Samaya commandments.

FIFTEEN

When the monks of the Sammon Denomination heard of this how could they hesitate in calling up their army? They had proceeded to Onjô-ji six times before because of the ordination platform.

'It is neither necessary to report to court nobles nor complain to warriors.' Crying, 'Let us hasten to Onjô-ji now and burn it down,' they sent their order to three thousand seven hundred and three subordinate temples and shrines.

First of all, the monk soldiers of the neighbouring states gathered and crowded to the top of Mount Hiei and to the town of Sakamoto. They said, 'The day of the monkey falls during the second ten days of the tenth month on the fifteenth day. There can be no luckier day than that.'

They divided more than one hundred thousand soldiers into seven armies which thronged to attack Onjô-ji from both front and rear. The gentle beach breeze blew upon those on horseback whipping their mounts along the strand of Shiga-Karasaki. The soft sea spray fell upon those in boats poling across the lake in the morning calm. Among
those who were thus advancing, was the monk Keikai. He was eager to be first into battle because he longed to leave his name to posterity. He realized that he himself had brought about this calamity. He was hastening out of the Nyoigoe Pass with his five hundred young comrades, each of whom had drunk the divine water, before the sky had grown light at around four o'clock.

The front and rear armies, in addition to those in the castle, totaled one hundred and seven thousand strong. Together they raised a war cry loud enough to destroy a huge mountain or spill a lake into the deepest part of the earth. Stepping over the injured and dead without regard, soldiers made a rush for the castle. The men at the front were from the temples of Shûzen, Zenchi, Enshû, Sugiu, Saishô, Konrin, Sugimoto and Myôkan-in, temples which were affiliated with the main temple of Mount Hiei, and also from the temples of Jôki, Jôjitsu, Nangan, Gyôsen, Gyôju and Jôrim-bô of the Western Tower, and Zempô, Zenjû and Hannya-in of Yokawa. Of one accord, the monks of the three towers combined together to fight.

On the other side, the defence, ready to hazard their lives were: the Devils of Suruga of Emman-in, the Seven Long-Nosed Goblins of Tô-in, the Eight Deva-Kings of Minaminoin-in, Ara-Sanuki, famous for killing a thousand, Akudayû, an expert in fighting with a two meter long, spiked iron bar, Musashibô, who caused his enemies to flee in eight directions, Engetsubô who could throw stones at targets of three hundred
meters distance, and Kakuso who was fond of cleaving men from head to foot. These fighters had all strengthened their faith to solid rock and metal and had made their lives as light as dust. Frequently, they left the castle bravely. They fought with great strength.

Arrowheads perforated helmets and spears raised clouds of dust. After fighting for about six hours more than seven thousand of the attacking cavalry had been injured. These men seemed closer to death than to life yet the castle seemed forever indestructible.

Seeing this, Keikai became furious and cried, 'This way of fighting is nothing that we will feel proud of recounting later. If I fill a moderate-sized moat with dead bodies, why can we not take the castle by storm? If there are men among you, follow me and observe my courage.' Then shouting roughly, Keikai leaped effortlessly down into the narrow bottom of the V-shaped moat. Stepping onto one shield, part of a row of shields lined up like a series of reckoning blocks, he jumped up to the top of the opposite side, a distance of about six meters. Placing his hand against an exposed pillar of the plaster wall, he nimbly cleared it.

In a headstrong manner he rushed alone into more than three hundred of his enemies. He grabbed men with his left arm and then stabbed them. He slashed men from their shoulder to their opposite arm-pit. He gashed bodies. Holding his sword behind him and stepping backwards, seemingly to allow his foes to escape, he took advantage of his adversaries' unguarded moments. He mowed men down one upon the
other. He chopped up his foes as endlessly as the waves lap the shore. He swung his sword wildly: in the shape of an X, in eight directions, in twisting patterns and in the figure of a cross. He pursued his foes to four corners and in eight directions. He cut around his enemies ceaselessly.

The more than three hundred soldiers who had been defending the Nyoigoe Pass perhaps thought that there was no contending with Keikai, for they started to run to the right and the left in confusion.

Other men, following Keikai, rushed in from eight directions and more than five hundred of them spread out and set fire to the buildings. As they did so, fierce winds began to rise and billowing smoke covered everything, the golden hall, the lecture room, the belfry, the Amida hall, used for incessant Buddhist invocation, the hall where prayers for the prolongation of life were offered, the monastery of the monk Kyôji, the memorial hall of the great teacher Chishô, and the quarters of the three Imperial Princes in holy orders. More than three thousand seven hundred buildings were simultaneously reduced to ashes. No chamber remained, save for the sanctuary of the Great Bright Spirit of Shinra.

SIXTEEN

While the young prince, unaware of the fate of Mii-dera, was imprisoned in the rock jail crying bitterly in low spirits,
an extremely large number of long-nosed goblins were gathered together discussing various matters.

One of the small-long-nosed goblins said, 'Although we consider fires, whirlwinds, small quarrels, arguments about sumo results, Shirakawa children's throwing-stone competitions, sacred palanquins carried by the monks of the Sammon Denomination and the Nanto, and the mondo of the five major Zen temples in Kyoto the funniest things to observe, yesterday's fighting at Miidera was particularly splendid. Perhaps it will stand without parallel in the world.

Another long-nosed goblin nearby said, 'It is strange, we have Umewaka here. If he had not been captured, fighting of such magnitude would not have taken place. While the monks of the Sammon and the Jimon Denominations were fighting, I saw the abbots of temples tripping over the ends of their long robes as they ran to and fro trying to escape. It was such an amusing sight that I composed a jolly acrostic verse.'

A goblin who was in an upper seat asked, 'How did it go?'

The goblin said, 'It went like this:

They are all worked up
And filled with bitter shame
At Mii-dera.
They surely brought it on themselves
And now must live in deep lament.'
As he read this verse, the face of every long-nosed goblin in the whole assembly crinkled into a grin. Umewaka, overhearing their talk, was in anguish knowing that because of him Mii-dera had been overthrown. However, there was nobody from whom he could learn the details and nothing he could do but continue to weep miserably with his boy.

SEVENTEEN

A little while later, mentioning that a gift from the Province of Awaji had arrived, into the jail, a goblin led an old man who was tied up. He seemed more than eighty years of age. The goblin said, 'This old fellow was captured because he stepped off the end of a rain cloud and fell down from it. Please name him as you wish and take him into your service. Nobody can soar in the sky better than he.'

A few days later, noticing that the prince and his young servant had been weeping, the old man said, 'My dears, your sleeves are soaked.'

The prince and the boy replied in unison, 'Shortly after we had left the place where we had long lived we fell into the hands of these long-nosed goblins. Whenever we think about the distress of our parents and teachers, our tears stream down without drying for a moment. That is why our sleeves are wet.'

The old man was very pleased and said, 'If what you say is true, let me enter into you. I can easily help you
reach the capital.' Saying this he wrung out Umewaka's sleeve. Beads of dew, resembling pearls or other jewels dropped from it. The old man put the beads into the hollow of his left hand and rolled them about carefully for a while. The drops of dew soon became one mass the size of a football. He separated this and placed one ball in the palm of each hand. He rolled each of them about for some time. The two dew-balls gradually became larger and larger. Finally they caused the inside of the rock-jail to flood. At once, the old man became a thunderbolt. Peals of thunder shook the ground and flashes of lightening lit up the sky.

The long-nosed goblins were full of pluck, but at this, they were all atremble with fear and they fled in ten directions. Then the Dragon God kicked the rock-jail and destroyed it. He took not only the prince and his boy on his cloud but also all kinds of people who had been captured from various other places. He led them to a place nearby the Garden of the Goddess Spring in the remains of the Emperor's palace.

EIGHTEEN

The monks and common folk, both men and women, parted from each other and went back individually to their homes. Umewaka and his boy returned to their own ancestral residence, Hanazono, but the buildings once roofed with tile or thatch had become a wide expanse of burnt-out ruin
and there was no one to tell them what had taken place.

They asked at a monastery in the vicinity and were told, 'The mansion of the Minister of the Left was burnt by monks who stormed from Mii-dera believing that your family must have been given notice about you, the young lord, taken away to Mount Hiei.'

They wanted to also ask about their chief abbot's fate but there was no place to stay the night. They said, 'Let us go to Mii-dera and ask about him.

Leading Umewaka by the hand, Keiju reached Mii-dera only after asking for directions innumerable times. Here they found that all the temples and the monk's living quarters had been razed and not a building was left. The dew drops falling from the grass in the empty garden were in harmony with the sighing of the wind among the pine trees on the empty mountain.

Saying, 'This is the ruin of our former house', they looked down and saw that the base stones of the temple had been shattered by the fire, that the green-moss had faded and that the branches of the plum tree by the eaves were dead. There was no fragrant breeze from the tree now.

'This worldly disaster, which has completely ruined everything, was caused by me along. My fortune must have ceased to be blessed by the gods... I must have been gossiped about.' Thinking thus, Umewaka was ashamed.

Although the scene was unbearable to look upon, since this was the place where they had lived for a long time and
which had been familiar, they were reluctant to leave immediately. Therefore, gazing at the moon mirrored in the lake, they passed a tearful night in the shrine of the Great Bright Spirit.

NINETEEN

They paid a visit to Ishiyama expecting to find the chief abbot. They were told, however, that he was not there. Keiju said to Umewaka. 'This being so, please stay in the main sanctuary of the temple tonight pretending to be a pilgrim. I will go up to Mount Hiei and try to visit the monk in his chamber.'

If there were nobody to dissuade him, Umewaka was willing to throw himself into any deep river, for he had made a profound resolution to leave this weary world. Weeping, he wrote a letter and handed it to the boy. Umewaka stood watching him go and waiting until he was out of sight without knowing that this had been their last meeting.

Since the boy carried the letter, he climbed hurriedly up the mountain to see the monk.

When Keikai saw the boy, he was speechless and at first wept unrestrainedly. Keiju too, had to wipe away his tears and try to tell the monk what had befallen Umewaka and himself.

Saying that he would first look at the letter, Keikai opened it and found a verse evidently written by Umewaka in a distracted state of mind:
It is my cruel fate
That I shall drown in the stream.
Into its deep pools
May now shine for evermore
The moon on the mountain edge.

TWENTY

The monk was highly agitated and cried, 'Just look at this. It is evident from this poem that his mind is troubled. Please talk to me as we go along. We shall leave without delay.'

Letting the boy go ahead of him after they had passed Sakamoto, in great haste Keikai proceeded to Ishiyama. Passing through Ōtsu, on the way to Ishiyama, they came across a group of travellers and overheard their conversation.

'Alas what a pity! What kind of unhappiness obliged the boy to throw himself into the water? How great must be the grief of his parents and teachers!'

Thinking that these comments might be a clue, Keikai asked them the details of the incident.

The travellers halted their steps, 'A while ago when we were crossing the Bridge of Seta, we saw a boy of sixteen or seventeen wearing only a tight-sleeved undergarment of red, the color of plum blossoms, and a divided skirt belonging to a fine silk garment. He chanted the sacred name of Amida about ten times while facing the west and then he threw
himself into the river. It was a pitiful sight, and we were about to enter the water to try to save him, when his body suddenly disappeared. We simply had to pass on dejectedly.' Saying this, they shed tears.

TWENTY-ONE

After they had heard the travellers' description of the boy's age and appearance, there was no doubt in their minds that the boy had indeed been Umewaka. Both the monk and Keiju were frightened. Their feet and arms became numb. They felt as though they would fall unconscious.

Nevertheless, the pair hastened in their palanquins to the foot of the bridge and looked around. They found the small blue lapis lazuli rosary to which was attached a gold brocade talisman with a thin lace, hanging on a column of the bridge. The talisman was the one that Umewaka had always worn about his neck next his skin. When the monk and the boy saw these things, both writhed in agony. They longed to throw themselves into the current, but many of Keikai's fellows came upon them and prevented them from doing so.

'Aah, at least I would like to see his lifeless face before I do anything further,' murmured Keikai. He stepped into a small fishing boat moored close by and looked into the depths.

At this, his friends took off their robes and they also started to look for Umewaka between rocks and in the shadow
of the dikes. Leaving no stone unturned, they searched everywhere but they could not find him. The monk and the boy lay on the ground and besought heaven, all the while continuing to weep.

After a considerable amount of time had passed they went down to the Rapids of Gugo to search for Umewaka. Their eyes were attracted by something crimson, resembling the red leaves of maples, caught behind a rock. Keikai poled the boat towards the object and at last found Umewaka. His face was lifeless, his long hair was entangled with weeds, and his body was swaying with the waves as they washed over the rock. The monk and the boy wept as they brought the body into the boat.

Keikai placed Umewaka's head on his lap while the boy embraced Umewaka's legs. 'How could he have come to such a plight? In doing this, what did he expect would become of us? Brahma, Indra, and Gods of Heaven and Earth, please take our lives and in return let us look at his living face which now has become a void.' Saying this, they wailed uncontrollably.

However, there is no case in which a blossom once scattered from a bough blooms anew or in which a morning moon having descended towards the west rises again. Umewaka's bright pink under-dress had become soaked, its color had deepened, and his snowy white breast was cold. The color which had once darkened his brows had become smudged, and his raven locks, now dishevelled, covered his face.
His extraordinary features had not changed but his eyes which had once shown a hundred coquettish expressions whenever he smiled were closed and the bright color of his skin had faded.

Both the monk and the boy threw themselves at Umewaka's head and feet and wept as though they might die. Keikai's fellow temple dwellers, right down to the lowest ranking monks, cast themselves on the moss of the river-bank and they also burst into neverending tears. Hoping that Umewaka would come to life again, that entire day Keikai and the boy held his body to their breasts to warm it. However, it was beyond their power to bring him back to life.

On the following day, at neighboring Toribeno, they let Umewaka's body ascend in a wisp of smoke. After the smoke had disappeared, one by one Keikai's fellow dwellers departed, but neither the monk nor the boy left.

They remained facing the heap of ash and continued to cry. Both felt that they wanted to be buried under the same moss as Umewaka but they called to mind the meaning of Umewaka's dying verse, '...May how shine for evermore, the moon on the mountain edge.' which signified that Umewaka had wished for masses to be held for the repose of his soul. Therefore, the monk did not return to his own temple, but remained in Toribeno and in due course exchanged his clothes for a black robe, hung Umewaka's ashes from his neck and departed on a pilgrimage over mountains and rivers.

Later he built himself a hermitage at the place called
Iwakura on the Western Mountain of Kyoto and performed religious rites for the salvation of Umewaka’s soul. In due course the young servant of Umewaka, Keiju, shaved his head and secluded himself in Mount Kōya where he remained until the end of his days.

TWENTY-TWO

The thirty ringleaders of Onjō-ji who had decided to build the ordination platform for the Samaya commandments could not possibly return to Onjō-ji to live. They became sick and weary of life and decided to break connections with Mii-dera. However, they resolved to visit the ruins of the Jimon Denomination in order to take their leave before setting out to begin those practices through which they would seek perfect wisdom. At the ruins they planned to hold a religious service to praise Buddha’s deep assurance of the truth.

Upon their return to Onjō-ji, they held a wake in front of the Great Bright Spirit of Shinra, and for the last time performed a service which could be compared to the ordering of the Buddhist delicacies.

Deep in the night when the border between waking and sleeping could not be distinguished, the sounds of galloping horses and rattling carts was heard coming from the eastern sky. It sounded as though a large number of exalted personages were on their way. The monks felt this quite strange.
Wondering what it was, they stole a glance upward and saw a high ranking monk who resembled an archbishop on clerical duty riding in a four-sided palanquin around which attendants were crowded. They also noticed a man in full court dress leading groups of armored warriors. Moreover, they beheld a woman wearing jewelled hair ornaments riding in a lightly equipped cart attended by scores of waiting women. Retainers dressed in faded pink garments were following these exalted personages.

The monks asked them, 'What kind of people have arrived?'

The attendants replied, 'This is Hie, Guardian Spirit of the mountain in Higashi-Sakamoto.'

The two distinguished visitors got out of their cart and palanquin and entered through the hangings of the sanctuary. The Great Bright Spirit straightened his crown and attempted to look dignified. He came out from behind the golden tapestry and faced the dignitaries.

After the seats for the honorable guests and the host had been decided, the rite of drinking to each other's health was performed. As there were presentations of music and dance, the Great Bright Spirit of Shinra was well entertained and he smiled in great delight. They all enjoyed the party which continued throughout the entire night.

When day broke the Guardian Spirit ushered him from the temple gate and remained outside for a little while.
TWENTY-THREE

The Great Bright Spirit walked up the fine stairs and was about to enter his sanctum, when one of the monks who had been engaged to remain awake throughout the night, knelt down before him and implored tearfully: 'In regard to the matter of raising the ordination platform for the Samaya commandments...it was in line with the Imperial sanction of the past. When we constructed it, we were thinking about the prosperity of our temple. We never considered for one moment that we might have built it because of our feelings of inferiority. The monk soldiers of the Sammon Denomination had often recklessly disregarded the Imperial decision and had brought various evil disasters upon us. Now they have burnt down our temple. We all realize how deeply aggravated both you, the Bright Spirit, and Buddha must be, but what was the intention of the Gods in having this party and playing merrily with Hie, the Guardian Spirit of the Sammon Denomination, our foe? It is a mystery to us."

When the monk concluded, the Great Bright Spirit summoned all the monks before him and said: 'The grudge you all hold may be considered reasonable but it stems from narrow thoughts. Listen closely. On the day that Buddha or a Bright Spirit performs an expedient act designed to bless all living beings, if they consider a certain person deserving they may give happiness to him. This, however, is not their main intention. Similarly, considering another person sinful, they may punish him as the upshot of their compassion.
They modify human deeds whether or not they are in obedience to Buddha's law so that humans may attain sovereign enlightenment.

It appears that you do not know why I am rejoicing. The destruction of temples and monasteries occurred to enable you to obtain divine favor through your efforts to rebuild them. The burning of the sutras and the sastras occurred to enable you to become closer to the providence of Buddha in your re-copying of them. Thanking Buddha while involved in the vicissitudes of life still has an aspect of birth and death. I showed my jubilation because I was overjoyed to see Keikai, who because of his sorrow, commenced preaching and began his search for enlightenment. The Guardian Spirit of the Mountain visited here to celebrate with me. How wonderful is the great compassion of the Merciful Goddess of Ishiyama who manifested herself in the form of a boy to help Keikai attain higher perception.'

When the Bright Spirit had thus spoken, he seemed to enter the sanctum. The thirty monks involved in the wake at once awoke from their dreams and everybody recounted the same story.

TWENTY-FOUR

'Aah, then the boy who threw his body into the water was an apparition of the Merciful Goddess and the calamity of the destruction of the Jimon Denomination by fire was an expedient for salvation.' Upon realizing this each monk deepened his piousness toward Buddha. Then, to strengthen
their resolve to practice Buddhist doctrines like Keikai, the thirty monks visited the hermitage in Iwakura where Keikai, who had changed his name to Sensai, had been living.

There, they saw a cloud hanging low over half of the thatched six meter square cottage. They also noticed that although it was after the frosts of the three autumn months, Sensai's robe was as tattered as a lotus leaf which has been torn by a strong wind. They saw, however, that there was enough to eat because the morning wind had blown down fruit.

Sensai had listened to the murmuring stream and to the wind blowing through the pine trees and had gradually awakened from his weary world's dream. Whenever he thought about Umewaka, streaming tears soaked the moon on his sleeve. At such times he recited this poem:

How can I forget
The light of the moon we saw?
Following its lead
I shall tonight proceed
To your resting place, the pure land.

When the ex-Emperor saw this poem on the stone wall of Sensai's study, he praised the verse endlessly and selected it for the 'Shakkyô' chapter of an anthology of poems called Shin kokin shû.

'A man of virtue will not remain alone but will soon attract companions. Although Sensai would have liked to avoid others, monks having had similar experiences came
together from all quarters. Consequently, they decided to build a temple near the capital which would widely serve ordinary folk. They performed the ceremony for the foundation of Ungo-ji.

They rendered the mask plays and songs of the twenty-five bodhisattvas in order to praise those who had entered the bliss of paradise. Among those who happened to see these performances, there was no one who failed to have his beliefs strengthened. From near and far people came together one after the other. Both high and low worshipped with hands clasped in prayer."

EPILOGUE

Shedding tears the old man concluded; "This story illustrates that the seed which enables people to attain Buddhahood is still found within karma."

Those who had been listening to what the old man had narrated admired his story. There was no one whose sleeve had remained dry.
NOTES ON THE TEXT

1. "Raise your eyes and seek the perfect wisdom of Buddha" 棲む菩提: a bodhisattva vow.


3. "The Eight Human Afflictions" 人間。八苦: i) the suffering of birth, ii) the suffering of old age, iii) the suffering of sickness, iv) the suffering of death, v) the suffering caused by being together with those whom one hates, vi) the suffering caused by being apart from those whom one loves, vii) the suffering caused by the inability to satisfy one's desires, viii) the suffering caused by the fact that one is attached to the five elemental aggregates of which one's body, mind and environment are composed. Refer to kushô 法師, in Abidatsuma dai bibasha ron 大乘勝鬘大普婆沙論, Genjô 玄奘, trans., in TSD, vol. 27, p. 402.

4. "His earthly desires will become nothing but perfect wisdom" 煩惱即菩提: literally, "Worldly defilements are in and of themselves enlightenment; a fundamental Mahayana notion. See Chigi, p. 6.

5. "The Five Celestial Signs of Approaching Death" 天上, 五衰. Gosui denotes the five signs of decay or approaching death of which descriptions vary. Refer to goshizui 增壹, in Zôichi agon 聖壹阿含經, Gudon.
6 "His mortality will become nothing but nirvana" shōji soku nehan 生死即涅槃: literally, "The birth and death of unenlightened beings is in and of itself nirvana"; a fundamental Mahayana notion. cf, note 4 of the text. See Chigi, p. 6.

7 "Two distinct methods which seemingly run counter to each other" jun'yaku no kedō 順逆變化: a method of guidance which is adjusted to suit men of virtue as well as men of vice. cf, innen ni gyaku jun ari 因縁有逆順... Chigi, pp. 48-59.

8 The former case refers to jun'en 順縁, "the fate in obedience", and latter case refers to gyakuen 逆縁, "the fate in disobedience". See Ryūju 龍樹, Shaku maka enron 釋摩訶衍論, Batsu daimata 無提摩多, trans., in TSD, vol. 32, p. 649

9 "Sutras and sastras" kyōron 經論. Kyō 經 is a sutra, ron 論 is a sāstra, "a doctrinal treatise".

10 "The Western Mountains" Nishiyama 西山: a mountain range stretching from north to south in the western section of Kyoto.

11 "The Eastern Pagoda on the Northern Peak" Hokurei Tōtō 北嶺東塔. Hokurei or the Northern Peak is another name for Mount Hiei. Tōtō or the Eastern Pagoda is the central tower of three main towers on Mount Hiei.
"The Institute for Encouragement of Study" Kangaku-in
勵學院: a college attached to a large temple.

"The Jeweled Spring" Yü-ch'üan (Gyokusen in Sino-Jap.): the name of a temple in Tang-yang 當陽, China which was established by T'ien-t'ai-ta-shih Chih-i 天台大師智顗 (Tendai Daishi Chigi, 538 - 597) in 592.

"The Four Doctrines and the Three Outlooks" Shikyô Sangan 四教三觀. The Doctrine taught by Shak'yamuni is divided into four categories and is called Shikyô. See André Toshio 安藤俊雄, Tendaigaku 天台學 (Tokyo: Heirakuji Shoten, 1968), pp. 81-111. The Sangan (or Santai 三跡) of the Tendai Sect are: i) Kûkô; all existence is non-substantial and void. ii) Kei; all existence is non-substantial, but it nevertheless has a provisional reality. iii) Chû; all existence is neither void nor provisionally real, but there is a truth which transcends this dichotomy which is none other than the middle way. Ibid., pp. 112-21.


"Inundation Tactics" noša [no hakarigoto]囊砲計: Han Hsin 韓信 (–196 BC) damned up the Wei River 准河 with tens
of thousands of sand bags later removed them when the army of Lung Chù 龍且 was crossing downstream. "Huai yin hou lieh chuan" 淮陰侯利傳, ibid., in CKBT, vol. 12, p. 31. Watson, p. 221.

"Water-back Tactics" haisui [no jin] 背水陣: setting up an encampment backing on the water is dangerous because in case of attack there is no way to escape. Han Hsin, however, used "Water-back Tactics" and later explained to his retainers that he believed his army would survive if placed in this fatal position. Ibid., pp. 28-9. Watson, pp. 215-7.

16 "The Physician of Souls" Iō 醫王: a manifestation of Buddha. Iō is enshrined in the main hall of Enryaku-ji on Mount Hiei.

"The Guardian Spirit of the Mountain" Sannō 山王. Ōmononushi no Kami 代物主神 is enshrined as Sannō. Also see note 61 of the introduction.

17 Chōchō bobo fūjin no soko shikkyaku ayamatte shōzū nen izure no hi zo ningen eijoku no manako koshō inri ni kumo wo mite nemuru.

18 Ishiyama 石山: a section of Ôtsu 大津 in Shiga Prefecture (Shiga-ken 滋賀縣). Ishiyama is well known because of the temple called Ishiyama-dera 石山寺, built in the mid-eighth century. Keikai went to this temple.

19 "The reaffirmation of religious devotion, which would instantly allow him to attain supreme perfect wisdom" dōshin
kengo, sokusho mujö bodai 道心堅固，即證無上菩提。
Refer to asa ni dôshin wo okoseba, sunawachi jôbutsu surukoto wo en 朝發道心即得成佛，in Bosatsu jûtôjutsu tenô jim-mo taisetsu kôfu kyô. 菩薩從兜術天降神母胎談廣曾經，Jikubutsunen 竺佛念，trans., in TSD, vol. 12, p. 1036.

20 "Cherry tree" sakura 櫻. In the text, the words hana no ki or a flowering tree appear. In Japan hana or flower has always meant either plum (ume 梅) or cherry blossoms. The flowering tree in this section is indeed a cherry tree; nevertheless, in section eighteen of the tale this tree is referred to as a plum tree.

21 "The Emperor Wu" Wu ti 武帝 (Butei, 157BC - 87BC): the fifth Emperor of the Former Han.
"The Incense of Returning Souls" Fan hun hsiang 反魂香 (Hangon-kô). This legend was made into a poem entitled "Li fu jen" 李夫人 by Po Chü-i. See Haku Kyoi, in CSS, vol. 12, pp. 165-70.

22 "King Hsiang" Hsiang wang 襄王 (Jôô): a king of Chu 蔡 ( - 223BC).

23 "The Buddhist light" hottô 法燈. In this case hottô means Buddhism. Buddhist teaching sheds light on all beings in darkness in order to lead them to the pure lands.
24 "The Merciful Goddess" Kannon: one of two attendants of Buddha. The Kannon-faith became popular when the Lotus Sutra (Hokekyō 法華経) became widespread. Kannon is enshrined in Ishiyama-dera.

25 Mii-dera or 御寺: another name for Onjō-ji.

26 Shōgo-in 聖護院: founded by Enchin; one of the three cloisters of Onjō-ji. Since 1613, Shōgo-in has been a headquarters for yamabushi (see note 59 of the text).

27 "I saw a house in the distance with flowers around it. I made my way towards it and entered" haruka ni jinka wo mite hana areba sunawachi iru: part of a poem by Po Chü-i. This poem is well-known to Japanese because it is included in Wakan rōei shū. In NKBT, vol. 73, p. 76.

28 He is wearing a type of jacket, suikan 水干, "water-dry". The term suikan may have been given to this garment for one of two reasons: either i) the material of the jacket was fulled without using starch, or ii) suikan was worn during boating play. "A pale red under dress" usu-kurenai no akome: This color under dress was usually worn by those in their lowteens; however, among high ranking nobles, this color was even worn by highteens.

29 Furu ame ni nurutomo oran yamazakura kumo no kaeshi no kaze mo koso fuke.
30 The football field is marked with four trees one at each corner: a cherry tree at the north-east corner, a willow tree at the south-east corner, a maple tree at the south-west corner and a pine tree at the north-west corner. These trees are referred to as **kakari**.

31 **Miru** 海松: a kind of tufty seaweed; Codium Fragile. The word **miru** was often used to describe beautiful raven-colored locks.

32 **Kore ya yume arishi ya utsutsu waki-kanete izure ni mayou kokoro naruran.**

33 "A bamboo screen" **nukisu** 褫箋. The pail into which hand-washing water was poured was covered with a **nukisu**. It prevented the water from splashing.

34 **Umewaka** 梅若: literally "young-like a plum".

35 "Hanazono, the Minister of the Left" **Hanazono no Sadaijin** 花園, 左大臣. **Hanazono**, "Flower garden", was a place name in the north-western part of **Heiankyô**. The mansions of successive Ministers of the Left were located there. It was quite usual to refer to people of high rank by their address.

36 "This flowering tree" **ichiboku no hana** 一木, 花: metaphorically Umewaka.

37 "The rear window" **shinsô** 深念. This word is still used to describe a youth (especially a girl) of a good family, brought up with tenderest care.
39 Shirasebaya honomishi hana no omokage ni tachisou kumo no mayou kokoro wo.

40 "Tears of blood" ketsurui 血淚: an expression which describes bitter tears. This phrase is supplemented by the translator in order to make the meaning of the sentence clear to the reader. In the original text, it is written that, "the color of the sleeve had already become red" (sode no iro mohaya kurenai 袖色もハヤ紅).

41 "One who had renounced the world" shusse 出世: this term was used to refer to sons of noble families who became monks on Mount Hiei.

42 Tanomazu yo hito no kokoro no hana no iro ni adanaru kumo no kakaru mayoi wa.

43 Sakamoto 坂本: a town located at the eastern foot of Mount Hiei. There are many lodges for monks in Sakamoto. They are used by those heading for or leaving Mount Hiei. See also note 61 of the introduction.

44 Totsu 戸津: the name of a place located between Sakamoto and Onjō-ji. Sakamoto and Onjō-ji are about seven kilometers apart.

45 Ōtsu 大津: a city in Shiga Prefecture. Onjō-ji is located in this city.
"The Great Bright Spirit of Shinra" Shinra Dai Myōjin 新羅大明神: the guardian spirit of Onjō-ji. This spirit is believed to be either a foreign god or Susanō no Mikoto 素戔嗚尊, a son of Izanagi no Mikoto 伊弉諾尊 and Izanami no Mikoto 伊弉冉尊, the creators of Japan. Shinra Dai Myōjin was enshrined by Enchin, the restorer of Onjō-ji.

"The chief abbot" monshu 門主: a son of an Imperial prince or a high ranking noble who became the head of a cloister.

"The Chinese style fence" karakaki 唐築: a plastered wall which enclosed buildings.

"A fish-head lantern" gyonô no tōro 魚腦燈炉. The cartilage of a fish-head was boiled until it became transparent. It was then used as the globe of a lamp.

"Illuminated by glowing fire-flies" hotaru wo tomosu 蟻トトモス: a metaphorical expression describing a gloomy, bluish light.

A male had his hair tied up for the first time at his coming of age ceremony (Gembuku 元服).

"An autumn cicada wing" aki no semi [no hane] 紅蝉羽[羽]. Japanese find beauty within evanescence, i.e., the brief life of a cicada.

"Eyebrows which resembled moth feelers" gabi 蟻眉: beautifully arched eyebrows. This is a conventional phrase of
both Japanese and Chinese literature. Gabi also refers to a beautiful face.

53 "It was as though a node had at last formed in a young bamboo" shino no ozasa no hitofushi ni. This phrase is used to express the extent of their longing. The phrase can be translated another way because the word shino also refers to shinobu, "to act secretly". The word fushi also means "lying down (臥)". The inclusion of "a letter" 臥 must be a mistake in the text. "Letter" has to be replaced with "a node".

54 Waga sode ni yadoshi ya haten kinuginu no namida ni wakeshi ariake no tsuki.

55 Tomo ni mishi tsuki wo nagori no sode no tsuyu harawade ikuyo nageki akasan.

56 "The Three Ministers" sandai (or sankō): the Minister of the Left (Sadaijin 左大臣) the Minister of the Right (Udaijin 右大臣) and the Keeper of the Privy Seal (Naidaijin 内大臣).

"The nine Chancellors" kyûkyoku (or kugyô): court nobles with any grade higher than third court rank (sammi 三位) including sankō.

57 Karasaki: a spit in Lake Biwa (Biwa-ko 琵琶湖). Karasaki is located about three kilometers from Sakamoto and about four kilometers from Onjô-ji.

58 "Long-nosed goblin" tengu. See note 19 of the intro-
"Mountain ascetic" Yamabushi. They are affiliated with either the Tendai or the Shingon Sect (Shingon-shū). They do not believe in studying Buddhist doctrines. Instead they dwell in the mountains and undergo religious exercises there. Their major center is located in the Ōmine Range in Kumano, Mie Prefecture (Mie-ken).

"A four-sided palanquin" shihōgoshi: either with bamboo blinds or with a pyramidal roof. It was borne by a group of six men. If it was to be carried a great distance six or twelve men followed in order to take turns carrying it.

"Mount Shaka in the Ōmine Range" Ōmine no Shaka ga dake. The Ōmine Range is located about 50 kilometers south of Karasaki. See also note 57 of the text.

Higashi-Sakamoto: a place name; located in the eastern part of Sakamoto.

Sanjō-Kyōgoku: street names. The area around the intersection of Sanjō and Nishi-Kyōgoku, "West Kyōgoku", is called Hanazono.

Mansions referred to as shinden-zukuri were commonly owned by Imperial families and high ranking nobles.

"Samaya commandments" Sammaya-kai. These rules must be strictly observed by monks who are seeking to receive full ordination (Dembô kanjô) which will enable them to become high monks of esoteric Buddhism (Ajari).
"The Nyoigoe Pass" Nyoigoe 如意越: a pass between Mount Hiei and Onjō-ji. The route via Nyoigoe to Onjō-ji is shorter than the trip via Sakamoto.

See the second part of chapter three of the introduction, page 25.

"The day of the monkey" saru no hi 猿ノ日. In the sexagenary cycle, combinations of the ten stems (jikkan 十干) and the twelve branches (junishi 十二支) were used to denote year, month and day as well as directions. Saru (monkey) is the ninth unit of junishi. Saru no hi occurs every twelfth day although the saru no hi of the same stem occurs only every sixty days.

It was believed that Sanno's messenger was a monkey. The Hie Shrine festival was held when the day of the monkey fell during the second ten days of the fourth month.

Shiga-Karasaki 滋賀唐崎: a place name.

"The divine water" Shinsui 神水: water placed before gods. Just before a battle warriors drank of it and swore to fight bravely.

"Around four o'clock" gokô 五更: from three to five o'clock in the morning.
"The deepest part of the earth" suirinzai 水輪際: literally the area where the water wheel (suirin 水輪) exists. It was believed that there were four wheels (shirin 四輪) beneath the earth. Suirin is one of the four.

These are subordinate temples belonging to three towers: the main tower i.e., the Eastern Tower (Tōtō 東塔), the Western Tower (Saitō 西塔) and Yokawa 横川.

This passage describes those defending Onjo-ji. See page 35 of the introduction for further information.

"Had strengthened their faith to solid rock and metal, and had made their lives as light as dust" gi wo kinseki ni hishi inochi wo jinkai ni karuku shite: a conventional phrase which expresses the chivalry and bravery of warriors.

"The V-shaped moat" yagen-bori 羽根堀. Yagen is a boat-shaped chemist's mortar.

"Reckoning blocks" san [木]: small wooden blocks which were used for the four operations of arithmetic.

"Six meters". In the Japanese text it is said to have been ni-jo = 丈 high.

"To four corners and in eight directions" shikaku happō 四角八方. Shikaku denotes North, West, South and East, and happō denotes North-West, South-West, South-East.
and North-East and in addition, shikaku.

78 "Incessant Buddhist invocation" jōgyō zammai 常行三昧: cf. hyakunichi no gyōdō, note 54 of the introduction. Chigi, p. 12.

79 "The hall where prayer for prolongation of life were offered" Fugan gyōgan no Nyōhō-dō 普賢行願如法堂. The bodhisattva Fugen made ten vows to save all living beings. These vows are referred to as Fugen gyōgan. See "Fugen gyōgan bon" 普賢行願品, in Daihōkōbutsu kegon gyō, 40 kan bon 大方廣佛華嚴經, 四十巻本 (Shijū Kegon gyō 四十華嚴經), Hannya 般若, trans., in TSD, vol. 10, pp. 844-51. In a general sense, Fugen gyōgan is understood as "prolongation of life". See emmeiho 延命法 in Issai shonyoraishin kōmyō kaji Fugen Bosatsu emmei kongō saishō darani kyō 一切諸如來心光明加持普賢菩萨延命金剛最勝陀羅尼經, Fukū 不空, trans., in TSD, vol. 20, p. 578.

80 Kyōji 教侍: a monk rumored to have lived in Onjō-ji. When Enchin, the restorer of Onjō-ji, visited the temple for the first time, he met the one hundred and sixty-two year old monk, Kyoji.

81 "The great teacher Chishō" Chishō Daishi 智誠大師: Enchin's posthumous name.

82 "Shirakawa children's throwing-stone competitions" Shirakawa hoko no sorainji 白川ホコ空印地. Shirakawa is the area between Higashiyama and the Kamo River (Kamo-gawa 鴨川) in the northern part of Kyoto. See page 31 of the
introduction.

84 "Sacred palanquins carried by the monks of the Sammon Denomination and the Nanto" Sammon Nanto no mikoshiburi 南部南都御輿振. Nanto denotes Kōfuku-ji 興福寺 in Nara. When their requests were ignored monks of Mount Hiei and Kōfuku-ji often rushed to Kyoto with their sacred palanquins in order to present direct petitions to the Throne. See "Mikoshiburi" Heike monogatari, kan 1, in NKBT, vol. 32, pp. 134-6. Sadler, pp. 27-9.

85 "The Mondō of the five major Zen temples in Kyoto" gosan no sô no monto-date 五山僧門徒立. The Kyoto gosan are Tenryū-ji 天龍寺, Sōkoku-ji 相國寺, Kennin-ji 建仁寺, Tōfuku-ji 東福寺 and Manju-ji 瑠璃寺. They all belong to the Rinzai Sect. Monto-date can mean either "questions and answers" (mondō 問答) or "the struggle for power among believers". See page 31 of the introduction.

86 U-karekeru haji MI-idera no A-risama ya KA-i wo tsukuri-te ne wo nomizo naku. The hero of the tale, Umewaka is included in the verse as U-MI-A-KA.


88 "In ten directions" jippō 方: upwards, downwards and hoppō.

89 "The Dragon God" Ryūjin 龍神: one of the Eight Guardian Gods (Hachibushū 八部衆) of Buddhism. The esoteric sects

90 "The Garden of the Goddess Spring" Shinsen-en神泉苑: a Royal park constructed when Heiankyô was founded. Since Kukai空海 (774–835), the founder of the Shingon Sect, offered prayers for rain there, it became a popular place to hold such ceremonies. This park is located in Nakagyô-ku, Kyoto.

91 Wagami sate shizumi-mo hateba fukaki-se no soko made terase yama no ha no tsuki. 92 "The Bridge of Seta" Seta no hashi 93 "A divided skirt belonging to a fine silk garment" sui- kan no shimo 94 "The Rapids of Gugo" Gugo no se 95 "Brahma, Indra, and Gods of Heaven and Earth" Bonten,
Taishaku, Tenjin, Chigi: 神天，帝釋，天神，地祇. Bonten: the creator god of the universe. Bonten is one of two tutelary gods of Buddhism. Taishaku [ten]: another tutelary god. Taishaku receives reports about the moral conditions of all beings from the Four Quarter Kings (Shitennō 四天皇).

Tenjin: gods who inhabit the heavens. cf. Amatsu-kami 天々神.
Chigi: gods who are in charge of the land. cf. Kunitsu-kami 国々神.

96 "There is no case in which a blossom once scattered from a bough blooms anew" rakka eda wo jishi te nido saku narai naku 落花枝を辞い度咲く習く: cf. the poem entitled "Lo hua"落花 by Po Chü-i. Wakan rōei shû, haru, in NKBT, vol. 73, p. 79.

97 "Those eyes which had once shown a hundred coquettish expressions whenever he smiled" ichido emeba hyaku no kobi arishi manako 一度笑べば百媚生る眼, i.e., 一笑百媚生: from the poem entitled "Ch'ang hen ke"長恨歌 by Po Chü-i. CSS, vol. 13, p. 93.

98 Toribeno: a crematorium used during the Heian period. It was located in the eastern suburb of Heiankyô.

99 "A black robe" sumizome: a monk wears a black robe when he performs services for his own sake.

100 "Iwakura on the Western Mountain" Nishiyama no Iwakura 西山岩蔵. Iwakura is the area at the western foot of Mount Hiei; the north-east suburb of Kyoto.
101 "Mount Kōya" Kōya-san 高野山. The headquarters of the Shingon Sect are located here. Kūkai established Kongobu-ji 金剛峯寺 in 816.

102 "A service which could be compared to the ordering of the Buddhist delicacies" hōmai 宝味. Milk, cream, curdled milk, butter and ghee are called hōmai. The Buddhist service is metaphorically referred to as the process by which milk is made into ghee.

103 "Faded pink garments" taikō 退紅: worn by low ranking servants.

104 "The rite of drinking to each other's health" kempai no rei 献酬礼.

105 The first Imperial sanction was issued on the fourteenth day of the fifth month of the second year of Chōkyu 長久 (1041). The Emperor Gosuzaku 後藤吉四郎 (1009 - 1045) consulted delegations from all Buddhist sects about whether Onjō-ji should be permitted to build an ordination platform. Everyone except the monks from Mount Hiei agreed to the suggestion of the Emperor. See Hyaku renshō in (SZ)KT, vol. 11, p. 21.


107 Refer to note 7 and 8 of the text.
"Thanking Buddha while involved in the vicissitudes of life still has an aspect of birth and death" 一念報佛皆生滅 相なるかランヤ。This sentence infers that such deeds as the building of temples and the copying of sutras do not allow men to gain enlightenment. Only true piety enables one to reach the stage of nirvana.

"An expedient for salvation" 一念濟度方便。

Mukashi mishi tsuki no hikari wo shirube nite koyoi ya kimi ga nishi e yukuran.

The ex-Emperor Gotoba 後鳥羽 (1180 - 1239).

"A man of virtue will not remain alone, he will soon attract others" 德不孤 必有類： a quotation from "Pa i pien" Lun-yü 論語，在CKBT, vol. 3, p. 22.

"The twenty-five bodhisattvas" 二十五菩薩： guardians of those who chant prayears to Amida Buddha See Jūjō Amidabukkokkyō 十往生阿彌陀佛圓經, 1905; rpt., (Hong Kong: The Hong Kong Committee on the Photographic Publication of a Continuation to the Buddhist Tripitaka, 1946), "Zoku zō kyō," vol. 87, p. 292b.
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