9

Transmission of Kirigami (Secret Initiation Documents)

A Sōtō Practice in Medieval Japan

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EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY

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(WITH ASSISTANCE FOR *KIRIGAMI*

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Translator's Preface: Interpretive Problems

This chapter is Ishikawa's earliest attempt to explore the complex nature of a genre of medieval Sōtō Zen literature dealing with interpretations of kōans known as *kirigami*. It should be stressed that the field of *kirigami* studies was hardly explored at the time the essay was written in the early 1980s, and therefore it was nothing but Ishikawa's courage, passion, and painstaking efforts that opened up the field of studying these esoteric materials. Subsequent to this publication, Ishikawa produced dozens of important articles elaborating on this pioneering work.

The original text by Ishikawa is a highly condensed work and contains stylistic difficulties often shared with traditional Japanese sectarian scholarship. For this reason, in some cases the contents do not seem readily accessible to Western readers unless mediated and supplemented by additional remarks. I took the liberty of editing Ishikawa's text for the benefit of the Western audience. These additions are shown in brackets to distinguish them from the original text.[1]

Interpretive problems of this kind seem to be generic to the enterprise of translation. In working on this particular text, however, I was obliged to pay attention to the following issues. It is frequently pointed out that there is a significant stylistic difference between American and Japanese academic writing. For example, some Japanese scholarly texts lack question-proposing passages. Ishikawa's essay also lacks propositional segments. As translator, I was confronted with an interpretive gulf from the outset, and I had no choice but to read his essay thoroughly and add a plausible proposal to the original text. To

complicate this problem further, Ishikawa offers insufficient explanations for the quotations he employs in the paper. *Kirigami* are essentially esoteric documents dealing with the tradition of kōans and, hence, their contents are hardly understandable, not only for a Western audience but also for Japanese readership outside the closed circle of the tradition. (If anyone is confident of his or her reading skills of these medieval esoteric sources, I hope that he or she will contribute to the development of *kirigami* studies.)

Clifford Geertz once remarked that the objective of the humanities is to extend the realm of human discourse. Benjamin Schwartz insists on the importance of making particular forms of Asian thought accessible to the Western audience based on a detailed knowledge not only of the language but of the cultural context underlying the thought forms (see Schwartz's foreword to Hoyt Cleveland Tillman's *Utilitarian Confucianism: Ch'en Liang's Challenge to Chu Hsi*, Harvard University Press, 1982). In pursuit of these goals, I either shortened the original text or added supplementary sentences to Ishikawa's text, and also have offered definitions for several key terms that Ishikawa overlooked, in order to make Ishikawa's argument more accessible and "extend the realm of human discourse." I have done my best for my Dharma friend Ishikawa Rikizan, who passed away on August 4, 1997.

Kirigami as a Style of *Shōmono*

There is a genre of historical sources called *shōmono*. These are one of the sets of documents that are especially useful for revealing the nature of Zen training in the medieval Sōtō school as well as the popular religious practice of lay and common people in this period. [This chapter attempts to provide not only a general definition of the *shōmono* genre, which involves detailed commentaries on traditional kōan collections like the *Mumonkan* and *Hekiganroku*, but also detailed philological data on secret initiation documents called *kirigami*, which are one of the varieties or subgenres belonging to *shōmono* literature, dealing especially with esoteric comments on specific kōan cases.]

Shōmono documents are medieval Sōtō teachers' colloquial commentaries on traditional Zen texts. [Medieval Sōtō teachers, instead of utilizing the recorded sayings of previous Zen masters as one of the training methods, adopted their own understanding of the traditional texts as a means to instruct their students. Since their thoughts and understanding were expressed in the form of so-called *shō*, or explanatory notes, these records were later called *shōmono*.]

The *shōmono* group is further classified into five categories according to content: *kikigakishō/gorokushō*, or phonetic transcriptions of "open lectures on kōans presented at medieval Sōtō monasteries";[2] *monsan*, or secret kōan manuals or documents of "the curriculum, questions, and expected responses for each kōan";[3] *daigo*, which refers to a teacher's correct answer, exegeses of *gorokushō*, anecdotes about a student's conversation with a master that provoked his enlightenment, and the answers to kōan questions;[4] *daigoshō*, or fur-

ther commentaries and explanatory notes on *daigo;* and *kirigami,* or secret initiation manuals. [*Kirigami* literally means "paper strips" on which monks concisely recorded manuals of instructions for the performance of secret initiations and rituals. These instructions differed from traditional Chinese codes of monastic rules and regulations (*shingi*) because they referred to rituals conducted privately by particular abbots and reflected the assimilation of Japanese folk beliefs and magical practices. Among those things the monks recorded were closely guarded tips for daily rituals, explanations of the "three personal belongings" (*san-motsu*) to be transmitted from a master to a pupil, concrete illustrations of these personal items, and some *monsan* and *sanwa* (which are a particular type of *kirigami* providing questions and answers about a single kōan).]

A detailed analysis of these documents, however, leaves researchers with many difficulties, and a study of *kirigami,* which is the author's primary concern among the *shōmono* documents, is especially problematic. This is so partially because the project of researching *shōmono* in general, as well as *kirigami* in particular, is relatively new to the field of Japanese Buddhist history, despite the fact that the method of *kirigami* transmission was extremely popular among Sōtō monks and was practiced throughout the entire Sōtō organization, from generation to generation, and from the medieval to the modern period. [Questions still remain: Why has in-depth research on *kirigami* been overlooked thus far? What kinds of problems impede the process of analyzing *kirigami*?]

One of the problems in evaluating the *kirigami* is the magico-religious elements observable in some of the documents. Because the *kirigami* frequently contained occult ritual, such as Shinto–Buddhist syncretistic or pseudo-*yin/yang* types of divination, studies of *kirigami* in general came to be neglected and even despised in the later (that is, the early modern) Sōtō tradition. There were masters of Zen scholasticism who went further in stating that some *kirigami* notes merely demonstrate the original "scribbler's" own misconstrued ideas or their teachers' distorted views.

[In the Edo period, a tendency to look down upon *kirigami* was so exaggerated that some of them are believed to have been incinerated.] For instance, Menzan Zuihō in "Tōjōshitsunaidanshi renpi shiki," stresses the need to burn a *kirigami* in an essay titled "Shisho shōkyaku" ("Incineration of Transmission Certificate" [which apparently called for the destruction of transmission certificates, documents that were highly prized in Menzan's orthodox view of the monastic system]). Menzan asserts:

> The *shisho* (transmission certificate) is the last document anyone should ever consider burning up. For instance, a scroll of a certificate that the founder of Eiheiji temple received at T'ien-tung ssu (J. Tendōji) temple is, in fact, kept in the master's room at Eiheiji temple. But in the medieval period a new, problematic con-

cept of Buddhist lineage (garanbō)[5] was introduced. Due to the introduction of
this rule, disciples easily received Dharma certificates from their masters, and
the accession to abbacy at temples also became easy. Shisho was no longer of
importance and was even returned to the previous master! [According to this
practice], when there is no one or no place to return the certificate to, it should
be incinerated.

The contents of kirigami, and also the making of them, are thus useless. They
are the documents that must be burned up. ("Shicchū," Sōtō-shū zensho)[6]

With this assertion, Menzan points out the problem of the practice garanbō,
by which the arbitrary custom, or rather the audacious practice, of the inciner-
ation of transmission documents came into effect. Therefore he strongly as-
serts that it is the kirigami, which records secret oral instructions for what
he considers inauthentic practice, that must be destroyed in flames. Menzan,
substantiating each flaw in the practice, further demanded that another collec-
tion of 145 kirigami of spurious origins be destroyed by fire.

In the Eiheiji shicchū danshimokuroku narabini in, Menzan goes on to negate
the authenticity of a collection at Eiheiji temple (founded by Dōgen) con-
taining 140 paper strips or kirigami:

In the summer of 1746 (the second year of the Emperor Enkyō), I stayed at the
Jôyô-an hermitage of Eiheiji temple for about fifty days to receive intimately the
Dharma Treasure from the master in his room. When I looked around the room,
I happened to come across as many as one hundred and forty kirigami lying
about there. After having examined the list and contents of those documents I
understood that all of them conveyed the past teachers' misconstrued and dis-
torted ideas, and that none of them were useful to the Sōtō institution. ("Shic-
chū," Sōtō-shū zensho)

It is, indeed, true that every document Menzan takes up for discussion is of
spurious origin, but at present these materials are being reexamined and re-
evaluated in the fields of religious studies and kyōkagaku (studies of the pro-
cess of the propogation of Buddhism) as a rare source of information depicting
the actual Zen missionary situation in medieval Japan, as well as the regional
development of Sōtō organizations. In other words, there is no doubt that the
kirigami are precious historical sources in spite of their apocryphal contents.[7]

[As was mentioned earlier, in-depth research on kirigami presents research-
ers with various difficulties.] More precisely, these difficulties include the prob-
lems of the diverse nature of the contents and the rare availability of kirigami
documents of authentic origins. According to Sugimoto Shunryū in his Tōjō
shitsunai kirigami narabini sanwa kenkyū, which was a path-breaking work for
contemporary comprehensive studies of these documents, kirigami can be clas-
sified into nine groups [based on their function], these are gyōji (dealing with
sustained practice and ceremonies), tengen (eye-opening rituals), sōbō (funer-

als), *kechimyaku* (lineage charts), *shihō* (Dharma transmission), *kuketsu* (secret oral instructions), *sanwa* (questions and answers about a single kōan), *kaji* (prayers and incantations), and *zōsan* (miscellanea). However, Sugimoto's taxonomy is still provisional, and there is a need for further critical evaluation of his approach.

It was not until the modern period of Japan that *kirigami* were collected and edited in bound volumes instead of taking the form of separate cut leaves or paper strips. This development has enabled some researchers to work with a complete set of *kirigami* derived from a single stream of a particular Sōtō community. However, originally the documents were in the form of discrete paper sheets that had been transmitted one by one. Therefore they easily became scattered as time went by. *Kirigami* from the medieval period are especially difficult to find and obtain. (It is beyond the scope of this study to discuss the special circumstances of the historical situation of the medieval period in which *kirigami* had their origins.)

It is noteworthy that most *kirigami* discovered in the process of recent research efforts are from following periods: Kan-ei era (1624–1644), Bunki era (1501–1504), Eishō era (1504–1521), Genki era (1570–1573), and Tenshō era (1573–1592). However, their recorded dates are more or less self-proclaimed or spurious records, and close scrutiny suggests that among these *kirigami* those deriving from the *Kan-ei* era are actually the oldest, in spite of the recorded ages of other documents. Documents like *kirigami* and *monsan* often trumpet their own authenticity by fabricating lineage charts that somehow trace back to certain key persons such as Dōgen and Ejō. Some even claim to trace back to Ju-ching, Dōgen's mentor in Sung China [in order to gain symbolic authority by evoking a direct transmission of the ancient tradition from China]. Among *kirigami* documents that are of the most plausible authenticity, those of the Kan-ei era were handed down in collected volumes to later generations. In contrast, there is no historical evidence available to indicate that the other documents claiming to derive from earlier eras were also collectively bequeathed to posterity.

Kirigami and Kōan Literature

Based on a philological analysis of the source documents, the development of various kinds of *kirigami* will be discussed, especially the category of *sanwa* that are directly related to instruction in the study of *kosoku-kōan,* or traditional kōan cases originally contained in Chinese sources. *Sanwa* are one of the various types of *kirigami* documents, as was mentioned in Sugimoto's taxonomy. The difference from other *kirigami* categories is that *sanwa* documents contain questions and answers specifically about kōans, often referring to a single, specific case, in addition to various doctrinal points. Other *kirigami,* however, are collections of manuals of instruction for the performance of cer-
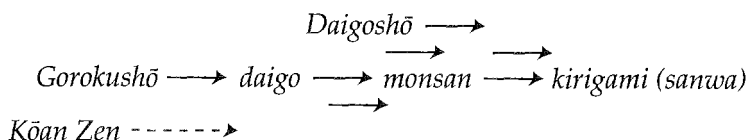
$$Daigoshō \longrightarrow$$
$$\longrightarrow$$
$$Gorokushō \longrightarrow daigo \longrightarrow monsan \longrightarrow kirigami\ (sanwa)$$
$$\longrightarrow$$
$$Kōan\ Zen\ \text{------}\blacktriangleright$$

FIGURE 9.1. *Evolution of* Shōmono *literature. Translator's note: Genealogy of* Kirigami *as a variety of* Shōmono. *From the* gorokushō *and* daigo *that collected lectures on traditional kōans there arose* monsan *manuals, with* sanwa-kirigami *emerging as the final stage of commenting on the source dialogues. This figure also highlights the role of* daigoshō, *or further comments and notes on the* daigo, *influencing the development of the* kirigami. *Ishikawa's essay itself, however, which emphasizes that* sanwa *are a variety of* kirigami, *does not further develop this point.*

tain rituals, such as the animating of Buddha images through the eye-opening ritual, holding funerals, conferring precepts, and transmitting the Dharma.

There are numerous *monsan* documents available from diverse streams of the Sōtō tradition which are very similar in content to *sanwa[-kirigami]* documents. Many of the *monsan,* or secret curriculum manuals of acceptable responses to kōans, appeared in the medieval period accompanying the spread of *"Kōan Zen,"* or a kind of Zen training emphasizing the study of traditional kōan cases [usually based on the major Chinese Ch'an collections, such as the *Wu-men kuan* (J. *Mumonkan*), *Pi-yen lu* (J. *Hekiganroku*), and *Ts'ung-jung lu* (J. *Shōyōroku*), in addition to Dōgen's *Mana Shōbōgenzō* and *Eihei gen goroku* texts]. However, I believe that a majority of the *monsan* documents did not necessarily stem from a direct study of traditional kōans in the major Chinese collections, but rather originated as a form of commentary on *gorokushō* and *daigo* documents [that, in turn, were records of lectures, sermons, and spontaneous discussions of traditional kōans, as well as additional cases originating within the medieval Japanese sect]. Therefore, it is possible to speculate that the two groups of the *gorokushō* and *daigo* were actually forerunners of the *monsan,* which then gave rise to the development of the [*sanwa* variety of] *kirigami* (as suggested in fig. 9.1).

Daigo are a kind of exegesis appended or words "capped" (*jakugo*) as indirect, allusive comments onto *gorokushō.* Usually *gorokushō* commenting on traditional dialogues and kōan cases conclude with a section of acknowledgments and with the capping phrases of *daigo.* Generally, the latter introduce episodes of a student's conversation with his master which provoked the former into an experience of enlightenment, and they also include answers for the questions raised by the kōans themselves. Although the following suggestion is based in part on speculation, probably all of these *daigo* archives were sorted into an independent subgroup of records which then developed into *monsan* or secret kōan manuals.

Mountains, Rivers, and Earth

Sentient and Insentient Beings

Enlightened All at Once
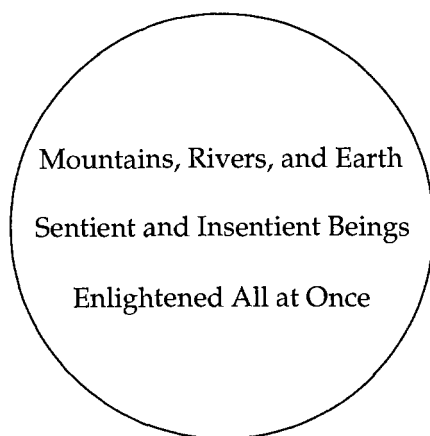
An ancient master said, *"Chōmongen* ('Eye on the head') is capable of casting a piercing light on all four lands around Mount Sumeru. What kind of eye is it?" The master pointed at a lamppost and said, "What an arrogant eye and ear it has!" The "Eye on the head" can be transmitted only when a master and his pupil have an eye-to-eye relationship. Original Heart (or Buddha Mind) can be transmitted only when they have heart-to-heart reciprocity. The "Eye on the head" has been transmitted from generation to generation until now.

FIGURE 9.2. *Part of the* Chōmon no manako kirigami *document*

The process of the evolution from the secret *monsan* manuals to the esoteric *kirigami* is more evident. [To illustrate this, we note that] among *sanwa* materials there is a document called *Chōmon no manako kirigami* (that Sugimoto groups in the category of *kuketsu* or secret oral instructions instead of *sanwa*), which is reproduced as figure 9.2.

The origin of the *kirigami* in question is found in a *monsan* document which is written on a scroll that Jakuen is said to have given to Giun [referring to two early, thirteenth-century patriarchs of the Sōtō sect at Hōkyōji temple]. It reads as follows:

> The Sixth Patriarch said, "The 'Eye on the head' is capable of casting a piercing light on all four lands around Mount Sumeru. What kind of eye is it?" The master pointed at the nearest lamppost and said, "What an arrogant eye and ear it has!" He continued, "The 'Eye on the head' can be transmitted only when a master and his pupil have an eye-to-eye relationship. Original Heart can be transmitted only when they have heart-to-heart reciprocity. The 'Eye on the head' has been transmitted from generation to generation up until now."
>
> Assimilating the words in the scroll, the Great Practitioner at Eiheiji said, "A head corresponds to eyebrows, and ears correspond to eyebrows. These relations

are called the 'Eye on the head.' It is the eye of the Dharma. . . ."[8]
Never let anyone else see this! This is the founder's authentic handwriting.

> Bowing a hundred times to Ryūtengohōzenjin [a Buddhist guardian deity],
> Rev. Jakuen presents this to Rev. Giun.
> (Document from Hōkyōji Temple, Ōno City, Fukui Prefecture, Japan)

According to the legend of Hōkyōji temple, the scroll containing the dialogue of the Sixth Patriarch commenting on the "Eye on the head" was first mentioned by Dōgen and was later recorded in Jakuen's authentic handwriting. If this is the case, there is no doubt that the *monsan* belongs to the Jakuen stream or faction of the sect. The question is how this came to be transmitted in the form of a *kirigami*. The difference between the two archives [of the *monsan* and *kirigami* (or *sanwa*)] is readily apparent from the style of the documents: the *kirigami*, which is the first record cited here, lacks the section known as *nentei*, or the passage that introduces a classic Zen dialogue or kōan in the manner of "taking up such-and-such a case." The *kirigami* also bears a diagram which reads, "Mountains, Rivers and the Earth; Sentient and Insentient Beings; Enlightened All at Once" (fig. 9.2).

There are similar diagrams observable in a *kirigami* called *Tsuki Ryōko* (reproduced as fig. 9.3):
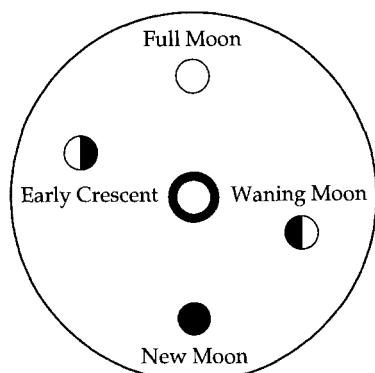
> Showing this *kirigami* to Gasan, Rev. Keizan said, "Unless you know there is a pair of moons you cannot be a blade of grass of the Sōtō tradition."

The *kirigami* in question is based on a kōan from the source titled, *Gasan oshō gyōjitsu,* which reads:

> One evening Kin (Fourth Patriarch Keizan) was enjoying the beauty of the moon when he abruptly asked Gasan sitting behind him, "Do you happen to know that there is a pair of moons?" Gasan replied, "No." Keizan said, "Unless you know that, you cannot be a blade of grass of the Sōtō tradition." ("Shidenka," *Sōtōshū zensho*)
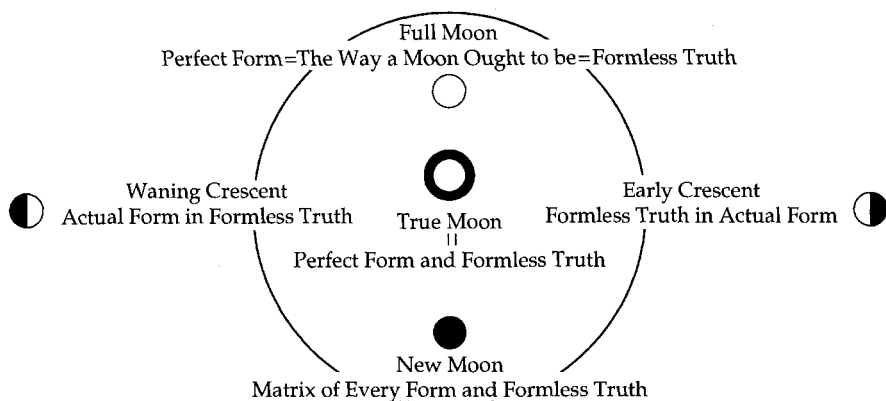
This kōan was transmitted to Gasan's successors, especially to those in Mukyoku's clique, which branched off from Ryōan's faction. Mukyoku Etetsu founded the temple of Ryōtaiji in Gifu Prefecture. The temple possesses his own handwritten epistle to Gekkō Shōbun:

> I will show an important thing of our school to Shōbun.
> Beyond our general knowledge, there is a pair of moons. Where is there not such a pair?[9]
> Abbot at Ryūsenji Temple, Etetsu

Full Moon

◯

Early Crescent ◖ ⬤ Waning Moon

◗

New Moon

(Diagram 1)

a

Full Moon

Perfect Form=The Way a Moon Ought to be=Formless Truth

◯

Waning Crescent   Early Crescent
◐ Actual Form in Formless Truth   ⬤   Formless Truth in Actual Form ◖

True Moon
||
Perfect Form and Formless Truth

⬤

New Moon

Matrix of Every Form and Formless Truth

(Diagram 2)

b

A full moon contains a new moon. A new moon contains a full moon. A full moon is to a new moon what a waxing crescent is to a waning one. Divide [fig. 9.3a] into two diagrams, and see [fig. 9.3b]. It seems that the Perfect Form of the moon (◯: Full Moon) contains all phases as well as the hidden truth that a moon is circular (⬤). "The hidden truth (the Formless Truth) in the Actual Form (◗: Early Crescent)" is identical with "the Actual Form in the Formless Truth (◖: Waning Crescent)." The Perfect Form of the moon also exists in the Absolute Truth that contains both the Perfect Form and the Formless Truth (⬤). A pair of moons, one existing in the physical sphere and the other in the metaphysical sphere, mutually reflect and interpenetrate one another to form one unified moon. This metaphor alludes to the relationship between a master and his successor, which is also like a pair of mirrors that mutually reflect each other so that neither one loses its brightness.

FIGURE 9.3. The Tsuki Ryōko kirigami

In addition to this epistle there is also a *monsan* of Mukyoku's stream that takes up the story of "two moons" for discussion. *Taisōha hisan,* which is the property of Kongōji temple in Tochigi Prefecture, similarly deals with the topic discussed in the above-quoted document. It says:

> A couple of moons sat before the master. The master made a brief commentary on an old text. The master, substituting for his pupil, replied to the commentary saying, "A lord illuminates an upper territory with this light, and his retainer illuminates a lower one with it. Reverand Fushū used to put his forefinger on the lower part of his thumb and say that a lord sheds this light on an upper place. Putting his thumb on the lower part of his forefinger, he also said that a retainer sheds this light on a lower place." [middle section omitted] *For more details, see the diagrams and the kirigami as well* [highlighting by Ishikawa].

Menzan Zuihō insisted that the pair of diagrams in the *kirigami* referred to as the *Tsuki ryōko* were the concoction of previous teachers' heathen views. However, it is clear that the formation of such a *kirigami* presupposes the popularity of the instructional technique of *kazoesan* among monks engaged in the practice of *daigo* in the medieval period. [*Kazoesan* is a teaching method devised by teachers of *daigo.* Usually a kōan of any kind consists of a few gradual levels of instruction. *Daigo* teachers added additional pedagogical steps to each level of instruction so that students might understand the kōan more smoothly. Those newly added steps were called *kazoesan.*[10]] A [well-known] *kirigami* on the saying "this very mind is Buddha" is a typical example of this technique. Thus the importance of *kirigami* in transmitting *daigo,* which interpreted the "main or critical phrases" (*watō*) of traditional kōans, cannot be denied.

But we must further clarify the relation between the *monsan* and the *kiri-gami* styles or genres of documents. For instance, in the above-quoted *monsan* called *Taisōha hisan* the master recommends that his pupil consult the *kirigami* for further interpretations of the source passage. As I have tried to show, these archives suggest the possibility that there was a strong sense of continuity and linkage in the process of the transition from *monsan* to *kirigami* in the medieval practice of kōan studies.

Final Thoughts

When one is considering the role of *monsan* as records of interpretations of traditional kōan cases in the medieval Sōtō sect, it is important to recognize that each stream transmitted its own unique *sanwa* documents, which were apparently distinguishable from those of different factions. But although there were many differences among the [*sanwa-*]*kirigami* transmitted by the various streams, many of the *kirigami* documents were virtually identical in terms of content and appearance. The only observable difference was often a slight variation in a few words that probably does not affect our understanding of

the historical sources. Therefore we can conclude that *sanwa* were useful in disseminating the *monsan* of various streams but were a somewhat simplified genre of the overall *shōmono* literature that relied on using symbolic expressions, such as diagrams, transmitted in the form of cut leaves or paper strips (*kirigami*).

One of the main problems in investigating these records is the deterioration of the strips of paper. However, at a certain point in modern Japan, *kirigami* were compiled into collected, bound volumes. The tasks of determining the time and nature of this crucial turning point in the history of the *kirigami* and of clarifying the process of compilation still remain untouched. These await additional philological research comparing the different kinds of *kirigami* documents of the medieval [unbound] and modern [bound] periods.

TRANSLATOR'S NOTES

1. For a full listing of these articles, see the bibliography in Bernard Faure, *Visions of Power: Imagining Medieval Japanese Buddhism* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996), p. 311.

2. See William M. Bodiford, *Sōtō Zen in Medieval Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993), p. 157.

3. See Bodiford, *Sōtō Zen in Medieval Japan*, p. 152.

4. In the Chinese Ch'an tradition, *daigo* referred to "an alternative answer to an old question or the master's own answer for a question to which no monk in the assembly would respond. In medieval Sōtō kōan literature, however, *dai* always indicated that the teacher is supplying the correct answer in order to instruct his student, not in order to replace the answer in the original text. . . . The students expected only to become conversant with the many nuances of each kōan. They did not have to create new responses." See Bodiford, *Sōtō Zen in Medieval Japan*, p. 153.

5. *Garanbō* was a new concept of Buddhist lineage that insisted on maintaining exclusive loyalty from generation to generation to the lineage of the founder of a temple. By so doing, the system could allow temples effectively to reject other able competitors from different lineages for the abbacy.

6. Ishikawa cites several passages from the compendium of sectarian literature, the *Sōtō-shū zensho* (Tokyo: Sōtōshū shūmuchō, 1970–1973).

7. Ishikawa cited these works, which were among the few available at the time of the composition of the chapter. Sakurai Shūyū, "Sōtōmonka ni okeru kirigami sōjō no ichikōsatsu," *Shūkyōgaku ronshū* vol. 9; Ishikawa Rikizan, "Chūsei Zenshūshi kenkyū to Zenseki shōmono shiryō," *Ida Toshiyuki hakase koki-kinen tōyōgaku ronshū;* and Ishikawa, "Chūsei ni okeru Zenshū kirigami no shiryōteki kachi," *Shūkyō kenkyū* vol. 246.

8. I have interpreted only a portion of Ishikawa's quotation, because *kirigami* documents were written in esoteric script and contain specialized terms and expressions that could be understood only within a particular group (that is, of course, what the documents were for). For the original *kanbun* or Chinese writing, see *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* vol. 30–2, 1982, p. 744.

9. Only the first half of the quotation is translated here.

10. I owe this information to Daiten Iizuka, Ishikawa's successor at Komazawa University. In addition, I am deeply grateful to Dr. James Roberson at Sugiyama Women's College for his editorial assistance.